



THE THEATRICALITY OF THE BAROQUE CITY:
M. D. PÖPELMANN'S ZWINGER AT DRESDEN
FOR AUGUSTUS THE STRONG OF SAXONNY

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'Als ich nach der Augustusbrücke kam, die ich schon so gut aus Kupferstichen und Gemälden kannte, kam es mir vor, als ob ich schon früher einmal in Traum hier gewesen wäre.'

(As I came upon the Augustusbrücke, which I knew so well from engravings and paintings, it seemed to me as if I had been here once before, in a dream.)

Hans Christian Andersen

*'This luscious and impeccable fruit of life
Falls, it appears, of its own weight to earth.
When you were Eve, its acrid juice was sweet,
Untasted, in its heavenly, orchard air.
An apple serves as well as any skull
To be the book in which to read a round,
And it is excellent, in that it is composed
Of what, like skulls, comes rotting back to ground.
But it excels in this, that as the fruit
Of love, it is a book too mad to read
Before one merely reads to pass the time.'*

Wallace Stevens, *Le Monocle de mon Oncle, IV*

'It is impossible to imagine a language without also imagining a way of life (Lebensform).'

Ludwig Wittgenstein.

PREFACE:

Hypnoerotomachia-Germania.

I

This dissertation continues themes begun in an essay earlier this year. It greatly expands the consideration given to the term theatricality to include this topic in the broader context of the baroque city. It is my belief that the Zwinger can only be considered in the context of the baroque love of festival; this involves it in the wider significance of play and drama and techniques of presentation to the population of Dresden and Saxony. The ambiguities of "seeming and being", or rather, Schein und Sein, are richly developed, and played with, in the Zwinger. I intend to show that theatricality can be considered an active participation in the creation of identities; and not, as it is often surmised to be today, merely a one-sided representation of power. The knowing suspension of dis-belief does not involve deceit or foolishness. Rather, it is the innocence of this engagement with the reciprocity of action and fiction that allows societies to re-enact the drama of being in a satisfying, coherent and relevant manner. The projection of kingly phantasy into the public realm opens a space for a more meaningful dialogue than political absolutism would at first glance seem to encourage. The entrance of the supernatural into everyday life, through ritual, acknowledges the presence of a playful rationality. Indeed, for the ancients, upon whose festivity the baroque bases so much of its ambitions, the transcendence of divine issues occurs precisely at the moment in which human affairs are celebrated. At this point, order is achieved as an orientation of the arts of this world with that which they seem to be a partial manifestation of: cosmic harmony. Baroque festivals cannot be seen merely to be celebrations of antique religious or political rituals without any of the latter's piety. The baroque yearning for human perfectibility recognizes the limits of the potential of this quest. In common with all drama, baroque theatricality places mans' ethical position into a firmament in which the falseness of a gesture cannot be disguised, no matter how bizarrely it presents itself.

II

I first visited the Zwinger in Dresden in October 1993. I discovered a place full of half-complete architectural events. The river frontage of the old town had been re-built during the socialist period following its near total destruction during the night of February 13-14 1945. This view corresponds very well with the one Bellotto painted in 1753 (1). It is a chimera however; the ravages of war are still visble just behind these facades. The city is presented to the eye from an ideal distance across the Elbe. This theatrical aspect preserves some of the spectacular qualities of the baroque facades, but they now seem to be mere Flats (17th century painted-backdrops). The drama, which inspired their construction, seems very distant as one ambles rather pointlessly from one monument to the next. Then, one night, in the early hours, I was led around the Zwinger: up the steps of the Wall Pavillion around its small fountain, and we approached some other staircase disappearing downwards into shadow. I followed, and for a few seconds was blind. No light reached me from above or below, no sound either. My foot hesitated as it hovered in the night air. The next moment I was around the corner and in a world of light and water. The Nymphenbad refreshed my senses; hidden spotlights illuminated a scene of shells and rocks and carved figures. Each surface seemed to move, the folds of the nymphs' togas rippled with the green light of running water reflected on them. The sound of fountains was unspeakably loud. They poured downwards and surged up and then back on themselves to a rhythm entirely of their own. When, after some minutes, it had begun to become clearer as a pattern, we felt compelled to leave.

1 INTRODUCTION TO THE TOPIC OF THEATRICALITY AS AN ASPECT OF THE BAROQUE:

The baroque period coincides with the establishment of permanent theatres in the courts of Europe and with the construction of temporary ephemeral structures in the landscape. It is characterized by a great enthusiasm for all manner of representation. Indeed, the baroque can be described as the epoch of theatre's profoundest influence upon everyday life: Shakespeare's belief that 'All the world's a stage/ And men and women merely players' is often taken to be the essential expression of the theatricality of the age. Men's actions are placed into an ethical framework; and consciousness of the gods' view of our life as a drama, raises our actions to a form of praxis. This influence is clear in the architecture of the baroque, baroque space is rhetorical space, and its stability is dependant upon the dramatic cohesion of a unity of the arts in a meaningful way. The fundamental impulse of the period can be described as a search for formal articulation, in images and in a language of gestures, which make visible what we call the "metaphysical" situation of mankind.

The mode of this articulation is allegorical. This emblematic mode combines aspects of the natural world, light, sound, colour and rhythm, within a series of gestures in a spatial configuration. Music, iconography, dance and courtly gestures, are given a setting for their action which together with fountains, water-organs wind-flutes etc., aims to articulate a level of reality, which is traditionally the domain of theatre. This ideal realm orients its participants in the world through the acting out of an order, which is revealed in poetry; the temporal world takes its cue from the poets' revelations of cosmic harmony. The baroque artists and patrons sought to stabilise human affairs in the imitation of divine order. This desire manifests itself in a curiosity in science and in language; composite orders were sought which would allow goodness to shine forth in the beautiful¹. The ideal realm provides a space of perfectibility for this orientation of man with nature, and as such, with the heavens. In many ways, baroque architecture is idealized, just as man idealized himself in the baroque.

The spatial configuration of all the arts toward a unified effect was seen to exert a similar unifying power upon people. They were unified as both actor and spectator in the same moment, each playing a part in the shared meaning of baroque representation.

The combination of so many diverse elements in a coherent whole, in the manner of a performance, is clear in the fragmentary way each piece strives to create a unified effect. We can see this fragmentation in the spatial configuration of baroque gardens and in the houses themselves. The poetic landscape of the stage continues from an inner chamber through to the public spaces, out into the garden and even in the organization a belvedere of the landscape². All are connected by fragments of building, niches, arches, bowers, grottos; and the architectural realm extends from the rooms of entertainment within out into the natural world as a setting for play. Inside, the introduction of galleries does not only allow a view of art works or an artfully framed view of the landscape, one also has a prospect of the action of the drama of public life enacted below. The craze for collecting and displaying curiosities - natural history (living and fossilised), antiquities and artworks - from around the world, is complemented by a similar enthusiasm for treating life itself as a spectacle. Indeed, baroque space can be considered essentially theatrical, it is the representation of an ordered practical and spiritual life; the ideal realm, once a uniquely religious space, is incorporated into all aspects of dwelling.

¹This is a contemporary interpretation of Platonic cosmology; it is firmly believed that ideas appear in the world in the beautiful order of things. In this period Braukunst, for example, is seen to an art as Baukunst is. The difference is in the degree of articulation available to each, architecture is more fully embodied and as such able to fulfil order to a more intelligible degree. Ideas reveal themselves in what 'shines forth most (*ekphestator*)', *Phaedrus*, 250: 'a similar quality is claimed for the word *phanotaton*. Both words derive from *phainesthai* ("to appear" and "shine forth"), *Republic*, 518.

²This organisation is laid out in Serlio's treatise which Pöppelmann owned in German translation as *Die Allgemeinen Regeln der Architektur* (Hagen Bächler, 'Die Bücher aus dem Nachlass M. D. Pöppelmanns - Ein Beitrag zu seinem Weltbild', *Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann 1662-1736*, Harald Marx, ed., Dresden, 1990, p. 43). For Serlio, the frescoes of a baroque space continue in painted form the allegoric content of the theatre of plants and statues, grottoes and fountains of the garden. Art and life are contrasted and seen to have certain reciprocities; both are experienced in language. The Cartesian duality of Manneristic gardens is here resolved in a fusion between architecture and organic nature. The mediation is carried out in the theatrical elements and in the space of the ideal realm generally. This direction is apparent in Fischer von Erlach's project at Hellbrunn for huge natural amphitheatre (2); with very subtle spatial manipulation, the spirit of a place, *ingenium loci*, "speaks" (Petarch, *suasere, suggessit, horta est*, in *Fam. 10.4; Posteritati, Var. 42*. He asks '*quid non mutatio loci est?*', *Fam. 21. 13. 10*).

The extension of the ideal realm into architecture occurs for a number of reasons. Theatre is capable of bearing a degree of meaning of the transient arts of literature, dance and music, and these meanings are established in the spatial configuration of architecture. The integrity of religious ritual, and indeed faith itself, was challenged from the end of the sixteenth century by astronomical discoveries. This development was accompanied with a radical assimilation of areas of culture traditionally conceded to the arts. All spheres of intellectual activity combined in traditional culture in the formulation of a cosmology. The refutation of the Aristotelean-Ptolemaic cosmology, which had under-pinned the Christian paradigm, placed the astronomical knowledge of Copernicus and Galileo into a position of unique and privileged access to truth: Cosmology, which was the goal of all the arts, became replaced with the autonomous new science of astronomy. New Science was distinguished by its reliance upon experimental method, and the mediating position of practical wisdom (*phronesis*) is usurped by the claims of objective reason and mathematical certainty. The ability of rhetorical language to reveal aspects of reality through mimesis began to be severely doubted. The senses are considered suspect, and the efficacy of thought to express itself in poetry similarly questioned. In fact, the concept of 'a knowledge of the senses', *cognitio sensitiva*³, shows the degree in which reason is considered divorced from the world. In the face of this confusion and crisis, the baroque period attempts to regain some of the stability of representational coherence which Modern forms of mathematical language claimed uniquely for itself. Baroque space attempts to formulate a setting in which the reciprocities of thought and language are combined in images and gestures; the formulation of allegory is risen to a level of visibility in mottos and in their combination with paintings. This involved the situating of these emblems in spatial configurations. I suggest that the articulation of baroque space is inherently theatrical: the manifestation of poetic truth in the world should be seen to be the essential role of theatre. The latent knowledge of our place in a continuum of reality is formulated into a language of settings which combine typical aspects of places, in a meaningful manner. The theatricality of this unity of the arts is seen to offer a fuller and more complete representation of the reality of our ontological situation in the cosmos than the privative investigations of the laboratory. The appropriation of contemporary techniques such as hydraulics and lighting effects, maintain a degree of medieval curiosity in the natural world and its potential orientation with the divine. Optics, for example, are still considered in the baroque period to be a branch of architecture; and the revelation of the presence of the spiritual reality of the universe is attempted in the theatrical use of effects. Scientific technique has not yet become emancipated from the world of textual exegesis which baroque space engages with. Put in a positive manner, the baroque can be seen to participate in the enthusiasm of New Science, and its inventions, to fulfil the traditionally symbolic role of architecture in manifesting and bringing to visibility a cosmology. The combination of the arts in a theatrical setting should be considered to be an intensified experience of architecture's mediatory qualities; in revealing those aspects of the world, which can be formulated into a communicatively stable representation, order is established in the situations of human existence.

Many examples of baroque space show the practical aspects of life cast in a cosmic setting. The Library at St. Gall creates a series of situations for reading which combine the use of light - to see with - in a representational structure in which knowledge of the world, collected in books, is seen to create a view of the heavens. The placing of human actions into a celestial frame occurs in the most explicit manner in drama: for this reason, baroque space should be considered to be essentially theatrical (2a). The Zwinger is the primary example of a permanent festival architecture; its situation in Desden casts the city as a setting. This aspect of Baroque culture reveals the "original" role of places constructed and marked out by buildings as essentially spaces where time is fulfilled in particular and repeated activities. These actions are provided with a stable representational setting in the decorum of Baroque space. The term Baroque is problematic, however, and this is itself a function of the various conflicts in early modern culture, which its theatricality confronted and attempted to mediate. A brief understanding of the problem of the term will illuminate the problems it poses the world of modern scholarship.

³This term is first used by Baumgarten in *Reflections on Poetry*, Weimar, 1733.

ii The problem of the term baroque.

When the Italians first spoke of the *barocco* they were describing those qualities of an argument, which had been made in a far-fetched manner. Allusion to the witness of divine presences was a typical aspect of rhetorical presentation in the Renaissance: a 'baroque' proposition, however, would not cringe from claiming witness to supernatural engagement in temporal affairs through the exegesis of the human mind⁴. Baroque rhetoric was oratorically hubristic, elevating the role of the orator in a narcissistically self-conscious manner. Man enjoyed a new confidence in his powers of representation, and thought himself God-like in his interpretation of cosmic and political events⁵. This verisimilitude has been seen to exhibit characteristics which can be considered modern; the emancipated reason of the enlightenment is often considered to have had its first flowering in the baroque challenge to traditional modes of representation. The directness of baroque sublimation has often been understood as an expression of the modern characteristic of the Nietzschean will to power⁶. In many ways this is accurate. Baroque confidence in the ability of man-kind to assume, audaciously, a divine view-point from which the language of the natural world is accessible and available for manipulation, can be seen to announce the self-birth of modern science and the narcissistic societies of our modern world.

Since the Enlightenment, historians have chosen to interpret baroque representation in a curiously polarised manner. I shall begin by treating those interpretations of baroque culture, which school us in an attitude of mistrust for its excess. To do this the other usage of baroque should be considered: the term has a history of abuse, and I would like to suggest that this stems from an over-reliance upon the Portuguese formulation of *barocco*.

In the sixteenth century the Portuguese described a mis-shaped or deformed pearl as being *barocco*.⁷ The extent of this usage is unclear. However, modern historians of the baroque refer to the pearl-like qualities of baroque and rococo architecture. This is a sensible thing to do. The underworld is often seen to mediate itself through watery-rocks, and grottoes of baroque imagination combine both in homage to Venus. A serious mistake is made when these mediatory qualities - of material as aspect of rhetorical exegesis - are considered merely as aspects of formal play. The richness of baroque iconography is presented in a correspondingly cohesive language of materials.

⁴I would like to offer a brief comparison between the 'analogical mode' of humanist thought and the sense of genius that informs the baroque. Firstly, Ficino's sense of 'the Platonic-classical making (out of already existing materials):

The philosophic spirit imitates, and expresses exactly, the secret works of Almighty God, making them manifest in thought, words and letters, through different instruments and materials ... who can deny that the mind is *virtually* one with the author of the heavens himself? And in that sense he would be able to create the heavens if he could obtain the tools and the heavenly material. For he does now create them, albeit of another material, nevertheless on the same design.' (Letters of Marsilio Ficino, vol. 1, 190)

A century later, Bruno praised individual geniuses:

'... because they are naturally endowed with a lucid and intellectual spirit, when under the impact of an *internal* stimulus and *spontaneous* fervour spurred on by love of divinity, justice, truth and glory, by the fire of desire and inspired purpose, they make keen their senses and in the sulphurous cognitive faculty enkindle a rational flame which raises their vision beyond the ordinary. And these do not go about speaking and acting as mere receptacles and instruments, but as chief inventors and authors.' (*Frenzies*, 107-8)

Quoted in *The Cornucopian Mind and the Baroque Unity of the Arts*, Giancarlo Maiorino, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990, pp.56-7.

⁵This elevation of the status of human knowledge has many consequences: The appropriation of religious ritual and mythological symbolism for temporal celebration occurs during a period of burgeoning secularization. This curious paradox can be explained by the manner in which the sacred is brought closer to view; the gods are rendered human as man becomes divine. H.-G. Gadamer describes the distance which has been assimilated: 'The divine figures', in classical worship, 'have more the ontological status of the form of life which reproduces itself as genus in the cycle of natural life and not as individuals ... such continuous presence, like that which characterizes cyclical motion, is not achieved by man.' 'Concerning empty and full-filled time', in *Martin Heidegger in Europe and North America*, ed. E. G. Ballard and C. E. Scott, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1973, p. 83.

⁶See *The Fold*, Giles Deleuze, University of Minnesota Press, 1993, for a description of the baroque quest for order as essentially one for a universal language of power.

⁷'Barock ... eigentlich *schiefrund* (von Perlen gebraucht), dann soviel wie unregelmäßig, seltsam, wunderlich. Der Ausdruck kommt nach einigen vom portugiesischen *barocco* (rohe, ungleich geformte Perle), nach anderen von italienischen *parrucca* (Perücke) her und dient bei Erscheinungen des Lebens zur Bezeichnung des Ungereimt-Seltsamen, Launenhaft-Wunderlichen, das bis ins Unverständliche und Nürrische geht ...', *Meyers Konversationslexikon II* (1893), P. 483 (Barock).

Nonetheless, the supposed objectivity of modern interpretations of baroque architecture's attempts at mediation between chthonic and celestial realms tends to treat baroque space as a theatrical combination of aesthetic objects. Since the histories of the Enlightenment the phenomenological qualities of baroque representation have been dis-engaged from the world of meaning to which they belong. Thus, these fragments of an essentially dramatic presentation lose their textual significance and become to be seen as ridiculous posings of excess.⁸

The neo-classical period should be seen to as the historic emancipation of reason from a continuum of representation. The past is treated as that which is primitive and lacking the progress of enlightenment thought. The significance of geometrical form is still considered with mythology in the baroque in the creation of a cosmology, it attempts a textual exegesis of the condition of humanity and of the soul in the world. This search for a universal language to represent spiritual and ethical issues combines history into a comprehensive structure of communicative forms combined in a spatial configuration of a unity of the arts. By the latter half of the eighteenth century, this attempt was abandoned, in favour of a search for the original forms of discourse. Geometrical shapes gained significance alone, and lose their power if combined with un-necessary ornamentation⁹. The concept of the character of types replaces the traditional understanding of mutable forms which require orientation which each other to achieve stability of meaning. It was not until the second half of the last century that Jacob Burckhardt¹⁰ and Heinrich Wölfflin¹¹ attempt to understand the baroque in the context of the challenges to traditional culture made by the Scientific Revolution. Their projects are essentially rehabilitatory in nature; the baroque had come to be seen as a period of an hysterical exaggeration of forms, and the content of this mélange was dismissed as inaccurate and fantastic. From a modern "objective" viewpoint, baroque architecture was seen to be an aesthetic aberration.

The situation of these dis-engaged building elements, for instance, altars which recall proscenium arches, etc., are seen to exhibit characteristics common to the stage. This observation hints at the existence of a theatrical background, but ignores the ontological significance of dramatic temporality in the ritualistic structure of baroque space. To show the pervasiveness of the second understanding of baroque as a descriptive term, I would like to examine in depth the formulation of a sense of theatricality in two recent studies.

⁸Le baroque, en architecture, est une nuance de bizarre. Il en est, si l'on veut, le raffinement, ou s'il c'est dire, l'abus. Ce que l'austérité est à la sagesse du goût, le baroque au bizarre, c'est-à-dire qu'il en est le superlatif. L'Idée de baroque entraîne avec soi celle du ridicule poussé à l'excès.', Quatremère de Quincy, *Dictionnaire historique d'architecture*, Paris, 1789, I, S., 159. The notion of *excess* shall form one of the primary elements in our discussion of the play of the baroque: cf. 'the anthropological foundations of art as a phenomenon of play as an excess', H-G Gadamer 'The Relevance of the Beautiful. Art as play symbol and festival', in *The Relevance of the Beautiful and other essays*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 46.

⁹Descartes stated that 'We must consider the work of one hand superior to that produced by many', *Rules IX*, and the architectural consequences can be seen, I suggest, in the pure forms which Boulée proposes as archetypes.

¹⁰*Die Kultur der Renaissance*, Basel, 1860.

¹¹*Renaissance und Barock*, Basel, 1888.

i.ii The problem of 'theatricality' in the histories of baroque architecture.

Theatricality is rarely addressed directly by historians of the baroque. Baroque architecture seems so self-evidently theatrical that it is often considered a rather vulgar observation to consider. Theatre is so often associated with artifice and even deceit, that the baroque is often dismissed as being sinister and coercive, or as whimsical and not at all serious. Usually, however, theatricality is seen as a corruption; Late Baroque, or Ultra-Baroque are terms invented to describe the distaste theatricality inspires in historians¹². This is due to a coarse understanding of the representational integrity of baroque space. Theatrical display must be considered as part of the syntactical structure of baroque space, and as one of the aspects of the call to visibility which the age manifests. The situating of discourse in space is an inherently dramatic activity. The language of sculpture, painting and architectural detail is developed in the baroque to a degree of transparency suitable to embody and articulate metaphorical spatial structure. Each fragment is a grammatically coherent element in a setting for meaningful action.

¹²The delight art historians take in inventing terms to describe the differences in the progression of styles has led to theatrical baroque being called Ultra-Baroque. It is 'A third style - which was almost exclusively limited to the provinces, and which, while powerful, usually betrays a provincial lack of sophistication - may be called Ultra-Baroque because of its tendency toward dramatic self-representation.', John Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, New York, 1986, p. 6. The term Ultra-Baroque originates in *History of Spanish Architecture*, B. Bevan, London, 1938, p. 165; and was adopted by E. Kaufmann in *The Architecture of the Age of Reason*, Cambridge, 1955. Varriano notes, 'It has not met universal acceptance however', *op. cit.*, Ch. 1, note 7.

i.iii.a *The Theatricality of the Frame.*

Theatricality is addressed by Karsten Harries as a central aspect of baroque space. In his formulation, theatricality is evident in the influence of Pozzo's '*Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*' upon the church builders of southern Germany in the early 18th century¹³. The evidence for this influence is presented in one chapter as a close relationship between the spatial configurations of 'Altar and Stage'. The 'altar's lack of depth', is emphasised by the use of paired columns around it that 'function rather like a picture frame.'¹⁴ Theatricality is treated by Harries as play with the means of presentation of a religious event (fig. 3). One is able to experience the drama of the Ascension, for example, as if it is occurring and unfolding before our eyes. This action is cast naturalistically through the use of light, reflected and absorbed, which illuminates the movement of the dramatic representation of spiritual ascent. The depiction of heaven as a realm which is visibly beyond appropriation places our experience of spiritual matters into a *Theatrum Sacrum*.

From this evaluation, it is a simple for Harries to assert that baroque theatricality can be formulated in terms of a crisis of faith. For Harries, the world itself, and experience as an aspect of reality, is shown to be a formulation based upon a consciousness of language. The insecurity of faith, which he considers soon to become aesthetic, is described in an action of technical representation. The reality of the world is shown to be questioned through the fallibility of our eye-sight:

'Is not baroque illusionism supposed to make us forget that what we are seeing is just theatre? But who was ever convinced by an illusionistic fresco that the heavenly scenes above him were reality? The illusionism of Pozzo does not so much lead us to to mistake illusion for reality as it makes us wonder where one leads off and another begins: what is three-dimensional architecture and two-dimensional painting? The painted ceilings of the baroque do not lead to mistake theatre for reality; instead, they make us wonder reality is more than theatre, more than a dream surrounded by silence. The theatricality of the baroque church is a symbol of the theatricality of the world.'¹⁵

Harries begins his discussion of theatricality in questioning the assumption that this term is inevitably derisive in histories of the baroque. He posits physical evidence of stage management in the construction of representational space. This space can be seen to be engaged in a play of forms, which it borrows from the stage; and as such, it is engaged in the presentation of an alternative reality to the everyday. The character of religious experience as an aspect of festivals is not discussed. It is thus very difficult to consider his formulation as useful for a serious discussion of theatricality.

For example, Harries places the sermon in a position of primary importance in baroque theatricality. The temporal aspects of devotional movement, for instance the movement of pilgrims from one church to another to celebrate individual saints' festivals, are not investigated. In fact, for Harries, the effects of baroque rhetoric are not considered more important than as a commentary, which unites the representational qualities of the space with a historical exegesis of princely strife. That baroque presentation is situated in a world of human doubt, is seen by Harries to represent a degree of acceptance of the unresolved conflicts latent in perspectival representation. His interest in the participatory aspects of representation remains a purely technical one. Indeed, the participation of the congregation in the music of J. S. Bach and Heinrich Schütz is not considered by Harries as an example of a theatrical experience of space¹⁶.

Harries argues that baroque theatricality is evident in its essentially self-knowing play with the frame of 're-presentation'. The frame of this presentation is 'broken' to confuse the viewer. Artful

¹³K. Harries, *The Bavarian Rococco Church. Between Faith and Aestheticism*, New Haven, 1983, p. 128. Pöppelmann owned a copy of this book, ie. Pozzo's, translated as *Der Maler und Baumeister Perspectiven*, 1706/9, H. Bächler, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁶The creation of stage settings in churches, such as the *Baldacchino*, can be compared to the ephemeral stages of festival in which, Mairino tells us, 'The stage was conceived as a metaphor merging art, artist, and audience into indistinguishable parts of a single experience.', *Op. cit.*, p. 108. The addition of ephemeral *apparati* in churches during particular festivals, such as the Devotion of the Forty-Eight hours, by Bernini, created settings for single voices, choral chants, organ music, the reading of books and the preaching of words (Bernini's *Baldacchino*, 1624-33, St. Peter's is a permanent example of this).

technique breaks the tacit acceptance of the representational moment in which dis-belief is suspended, and poses art as a rebellion against the constrictions of the homo-centric perspective this Cartesian mode implies¹⁷. It is quite typical of modern formulations of spatial dynamics to suggest theatrical actions, such as doubtful artifice and illusions, are inspired by a desire to dominate life, control the moment of surprise, cancel chance, obliterate ontological insecurity, etc. The glorification of technical prowess, as a means to question faith, certainly manifests many of the characteristics of baroque presentation. However, that which can be considered to be play, in the modern sense, is often mere delight in technical virtuosity in which theatricality is seen to be rather like a joke, at the expense of the senses. In the moment of this self-conscious objectivity, the aesthetic experience becomes subjective (*Erlebnis*). The use of perspective tricks actually usurps reason. The order of baroque space, whilst engaging in technique, cannot be seen to be so formal, or so unstable. The formulation Harries makes, which we have considered as an example of an abuse of the term theatricality, is made in the language of hermeneutic discourse - he speaks of wishing to avoid the criticism of 'aesthetic objects'¹⁸. However, his reliance upon the juxtaposition of examples of the power of rhetoric, as a form of control, with recourse to examples of spatial manipulation, is intrinsically technical¹⁹. I suggest that Harries maintains the 'false antithesis' Gadamer speaks of, 'that there is an art of the past which can be enjoyed' and modern perspective art, 'of the present day that supposedly forces us to participate in it by the subtle use of artistic technique.'²⁰

Harries' work does suggest that theatricality, rather than being a 'discredit'²¹, should be considered as an essential aspect of baroque architecture. I would like to suggest that Harries' criticism of Wittkower's formulation of theatricality is not essentially different - 'emphasis on the theatre's theatricality is a device to prevent us from taking it seriously'²² - and that both critical view-points are informed by a technico-aesthetic sensibility. Rudolf Wittkower is almost entirely scathing in his evaluation of baroque theatricality. At best it is to be seen as 'enthusiasm'; one should not confuse 'the deep and sincere religious feeling' present in 'emphatic gestures and emotional expression' of Roman Full Baroque, 'for the declamatory oratorical requisites of the stage'²³. At the same time, he acknowledges the influence of Giacomo Torelli and the Bibiena family upon northern baroque architects. Despite recognition of a 'second great flowering in the north'²⁴, Wittkower's students remain enamoured of a conception of the Roman High Baroque, as

¹⁷K. Harries, *The Broken Frame*, The Catholic University of America Press, 1989, p. 87.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁹Harries seems to be suggesting that the theatricality of baroque space is an event of visual experience brought about through the manipulation of space by the instrumental means of perspectivity. Baroque theatricality reveals itself to be merely a form of presentation. Rather than creating an illusion as we understand it today, i.e., a magical experience which is perverting the laws of nature and the trustworthiness of sight, it is exactly at the moment when one becomes conscious of play that it can be said to have significance for life.

²⁰H-G. Gadamer, *op. cit.*, p. 28. It would seem that Gadamer is making specific criticism here of Hans Sedlmayr; I assume that Harries' position is informed by *Art in Crisis*. The disturbing nature of Sedlmayr's conservatism has been noted by various historians, eg. Juhani Pallasmaa. Gadamer's own opinion is that, 'we cannot simply contrast those periods with a rich shared symbolic tradition and those impoverished periods when symbols have lost their meaning ... In fact, recognition of the symbolic is the task we must take upon ourselves.', *op. cit.*, p. 47. This argument is developed as a critique of allegorical coherence; the symbolic is a language of recognition occurring at a deeper level of consciousness than the cultural. Identity is thus established as a universal rather than a mere political communality. We shall discuss this issue further below. At this moment it is necessary to clarify our criticism of Harries a little; Harries bases his sense of theatricality upon firstly, a sense of instrumentalized language, eg. the sermon, which is seen to be transmitted from one privileged position outwards; and secondly, the space for the reception of this "information" is fashioned as a stage-setting. Here, the technical aspects of theatre are emphasised as a form of 'illusionism'. This view is clearly one in which technico-scientific ability is seen to create certain magical conditions in which religious ritual is experienced. Gadamer considers such a formulation to be inherently modern: 'the deliberate and calculating pursuit of power and material advantage, that tendency toward acquiring and manipulating things to which we owe the principle achievements of our modern civilization. It is an account that fails to perceive that the original and still vital essence of festive celebration is creation and elevation into a transformed state of being', 'The festive character of theatre', *ibid.*, p. 59. Although it is perhaps unfair to associate Harries with such a modern sensibility, I hope that it is clear that his formulation of theatricality in baroque architecture does not go far enough in re-creating the conditions which he considers to have been lost in the negative aspects of theatricality. The term shall be compared with Gadamer's use of the concepts of play, symbol and festival in an attempt to understand the full significance of theatricality as dramatic temporality.

²¹*B. R. C.*, p. 122.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 138.

²³R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: The Sculptor of Roman Baroque*, London, 1966, p. 27. Quoted by Harries, *B. R. C.*, pp. 122-3.

²⁴A. Blunt ed., *Baroque and Rococo Architecture and Decoration*, London, 1978, p. 19.

'an architecture aiming at dynamic spatial effects'; as such, baroque architecture 'is intrinsically non-scenic.'²⁵.

It seems to me that the issue of effects is not properly addressed here. In Harries' criticism, the efficacy of baroque representation leads it to reveal itself as technique. Wittkower seems to want to deny that such artifice detracts from the presentation, i.e., when technique is discrete it is not theatrical: for Harries, however, baroque theatricality is entirely technical. The nature of the use of dramatic effects, and their role within a theatrical realm that extends to include the natural world, is ignored by both scholars. The temporal nature of theatrical presentation is central to the baroque juxtaposition of art and life. The love of festival which is particular to the baroque spirit, engages each building and garden in the staging of a literary event. As such, a baroque space is essentially a setting for the unfolding of a communicative moment of identity²⁶. The representational quality of baroque iconography and its exegesis through materiality is engaged in a dramatic temporality sufficient to itself. The shared experience of this movement occurs at a ritualistic level of re-enactment. In fact, it is a baroque achievement that the static arts retain some of the sense of ontological process that is generally only articulated within the domain of language. The dimension of exegesis of language and of the embodied spirituality of baroque space is clear in the pictorial content of its settings - the iconographic cohesion, which moves toward a moment of ascension or apotheosis. Rather than being a mere borrowing from the stage, the relationship between theatre and architecture is symbiotic. Theatrical space becomes naturalistic through the use of perspective. The development of the ideal realm in the baroque reflects its fusion of art and life. In the imitation of natural forces, and through the use of technique to give a setting for the movement of life, the baroque creates a micro-cosmic frame-work for the acting out of order²⁷. I would like to suggest that whilst the baroque harbours nascent instrumental ambitions, baroque theatricality attempts to orientate civic life around the important moment of identity that occurs in the intensified movement of dramatic temporality²⁸. Rather than treat all

²⁵R. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*, New Haven, 1982, p. 298. Wittkower hints at the importance of theatricality, nonetheless: It is often said that baroque architecture owes a great deal to the contemporary stage .. in his case (Longhena) a specific relation to the stage does exist. In *S. Maria della Salute* clearly defined prospects appear one behind the other like wings on a stage ... Longhena constantly determines vista across spaces', p. 297 (4). (We are also referred to *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design*, P. Bjurström, Stockholm 1961, pp. 104-6 (4a).) Wittkower notes that Carlo Fontana's competition project of 1694 for the completion of the Piazza of St. Peter's, Rome (5), 'would have appeared in his field of vision like isolated wings on a stage - model example of how, by seemingly slight changes, a dynamic High Baroque structure could be changed into a scenographic Late Baroque work.' (Harries' appropriation of the notion of "frame" could also be considered to come from Wittkower, in particular his description of Fontana's facade for *S. Marcello al Corso* (6), 1682-3, 'It is precisely the "detachability" of the Aedicule motif that gives its superstructure - the broken pediment with the empty frame between the segments - its scenic quality. The principle here employed corresponds to that of theatrical wings which are equally unconnected, a principle, as we have noted before (p. 297) that is foreign to Roman High Baroque but inherent in Late Baroque's classicism.', *Ibid.*, p. 373.): Wittkower continues to emphasize that, 'his influence was enormous, and such different masters as Juvarrá in Italy, Pöppelmann and Hildebrandt in Germany and Austria, and James Gibbs in England looked up to him in veneration', p. 376. (Pöppelmann possessed a copy of Fontana's *Discorso sopra lantico Monte Citatorio situatio nel Campo Marzio*, 1708, H. Bächler, op. cit., p. 45; he believes he received 'Konkrete Anregung' from Fontana for his design for the *Stadtschloss* in Dresden and for the *Stallhofgalerie*; Fontana taught Fischer, and Pöppelmann was in Rome in 1710, 'wo er sicherlich Fontana persönlich kennenlernte', *ibid.*). The treatment of theatricality as a borrowing of stage-like motifs is clear in this formulation, what is left awaiting fuller interpretation is the significance of this inter-change for our understanding of the action of baroque spatiality as it was perceived within the structure of a dramatic rhetorical setting.

²⁶This dimension of festival culture is authentically antique at least. Sabine McCormack describes the 'means whereby a population formulated its corporate identity' in festive celebration (in this case the feast of Adventus), *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, University of California Press, 1981, p. 21 (8).

²⁷The use of techniques common to the theatre to create settings in baroque gardens and houses is carried out at various levels of articulation. Firstly, the widespread manipulation of the landscape to create *Belvedere* involved massive earthworks to create a vista reminiscent of the proscenium stage, eg., *Palais Schönbrunn* by E. B. Fischer von Erlach (a primary influence upon the ambitions of Pöppelmann and Augustus). Secondly, the use of hydraulics to create waterworks which articulate these new landscapes. This was often carried out for entirely temporary performances; the bosquets of Versailles are described as 'temporary theatre mainly composed of water and plants', K. Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens-The origins and development of the French formal style*, New York, 1986, p. 213. For example, the destroyed *Grotte de Thetis* in which 'the iconography was suggested by Charles Perrault and the design carried out by his brother Claude' began life as a party-piece arranged around a fountain in the garden. When complete, 'the walls and vaults were richly decorated with designs of shell and rock-work, stones, crystals, corals, mother of pearl. From a large reservoir in the roof, hidden jets could insure as sprays or sheets of water falling over the walls. A water organ was installed in 1666, which among its effects produced the sounds of birds represented in shellwork in various niches ... Apollo retires to sleep with the Nereid Thetis, having made the circle of the earth, just as the King retires to Versailles having worked for the good of all the world ... Apollo in his chariot (is) going down into the sea.', *ibid.*, p. 201.

²⁸The essentially religious nature of festival should not lead us to consider it metaphysical. Rather, as M. I. Finley points out, 'With the emergence of the state and state cults, religion was a factor in providing legitimacy to the system as a whole: the psychological effects of massive, solemn sharing in state rights that passed the pragmatic tests over long periods. There is neither documentary evidence, however, nor reason to think that policy making was ever determined or deflected by

nature as a game to be played according to human rules, baroque representation is challenged by New Science; it seeks a degree of stability in allegory, and in the formulation of spatial settings to manifest the worldliness of truth, baroque representation attempts to find a visual language which is as transparent as mathematics (9). The mediatory role of mathematics as a form of *poesis*, is still present in the baroque's use of representation to aid our understanding of the divine. The challenge is to make visible this mediation. This conflict can be likened to 'the form of an old quarrel between philosophy and poetry.' The baroque uses technical apparatus, i.e., technique, to aid the revelation of truth in dramatic presentation. The combination of metaphor, dialogue and setting, in spatial situation suggests its roots lie in ancient drama²⁹; it is thus a question of the degree in which it can be considered a style of becoming, rather than a fixed assurance of mastery which manipulates a style of being³⁰.

reference to divine will or divine precept.', *Politics in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 26-7.

²⁹What should be emphasized is the role of metaphor in significant gestures, rituals, drama, and most of all in the spatial imagination in sculpture, painting, or literature as a complementary contribution to the synthetic role of language', 'Architecture and the Poetics of Representation', D. Vesely, *Diados*, June 1986, p. 33..

³⁰Werner Weisbach, *Spanish Baroque Architecture*, Cambridge, 1941, pp. 2-3.

The second formulation of the importance of theatricality in baroque culture - as an aesthetic matter to do with misshapen and exaggerated forms - is seen by Hermann Bauer to express a *horror vacui*. For the baroque prince, boredom could only result from abatement in his constant enthusiasm for creativity. The role of the monarch was seen not merely as one of energetic patronage, but also an active engagement in the production of art itself³¹. Thus, not only did Louis XIV commission Moliere's ballets, but he and Marie-Therese danced in and helped choreograph them also³². The family of Joseph I made an accomplished quartet performing the emperor's compositions for his empress' soprano. In this way, 'the courtly festival reveals the same *horror vacui* that the baroque eye found intolerable in a bare wall.'³³

The importance of play in the baroque imagination is emphasised by Bauer as a means to understand the restless activity of court life. The primary means of overcoming boredom - restlessness - occurred to the baroque peoples in the charming solution of endless festivals that typifies the age. Bauer bases his argument, in which theatricality is seen as the primary characteristic of baroque architecture, upon the observation that it was, 'potentiell eine Apparatur für Feste'. This is evident in the original formulation of much baroque architecture as ephemeral festival constructions³⁴, the most famous example of which, according to Bauer, is the Zwinger in Dresden.

Bauer traces the enthusiasm for provisional constructions to an impatience, which the baroque patrons felt in the intolerable distance in time between design and completion. This 'ungeduldige Kultur', preferred to build 'unsolid' things rather than wait for the appearance of a permanent building³⁵. We can see in this tendency an example of the desire to play with the possibilities inherent in the ambiguities of seeming to be and being, in theatrical representations of buildings. This culture was quite prepared to compare temporary festival structures to actually executed architecture³⁶. Bauer continues by situating the Zwinger in a tradition of representational architecture produced for 'Amusement'. The tensions of the age suggest a more serious reason for its ceaseless activity, however. The choice was stark; either one did nothing and watch the realm of art be usurped by the dry rationalism of New Science, or one attempted to fuse the techniques of artistic representation into a vision of reality which coincided intuitively with the way it is experienced by the imagination. The ability of many artists to communicate a common sense of purpose in their collaboration upon the creation of a single architectural space refuted the anti-dialectical mode of introverted, aloof Cartesian method. The unifying feature of festival experience rests in its participatory aspects; an attempt to manifest tacitly acknowledged truths in a shared experience of reality, involved the theatrical realm in providing an intensified and exaggerated frame for this communality. The monologue of modern scientific reason was countered by the combined voices of the festive dialogues. The arts were not yet separated off into individual professional departments - as at the University of Paris - but attempt together to make visible, in speech and physical form, a setting for human action, which requires no justification other than the possibility of its existence.

For Bauer, the baroque love of festival is an expression of the age's concern with "show"; and the dramatic temporality of theatre engages in the act of revelation (the Zwinger is described

³¹This can be seen as another aspect of the contemporary enthusiasm for Platonic thought; 'The good is the highest idea of the philosopher-king, who wishes to be the ruler of human affairs and cannot dwell forever under the sky of ideas', Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, London, 1989, p. 226.

³²*Les fêtes à la Cour du Roi Soleil*, M-C. Moine, Paris, 1984, p. 37, for a description of Louis' wedding dance.

³³'der das höfische Fest erzeugt habe, der gleiche *horror vacui*, der dem barocken Auge eine leere Wand zu einem unerträglichen Anblick macht', R. Alewyn - K. Sälze, *Das große Welttheater. Die Epoche der höfischen Feste in Dokument und Deutung*, Hamburg, 1959, p. 11f. Cited in H. Bauer, *Barock. Kunst einer Epoche*, Berlin, 1992, p. 144.

³⁴'... und manches hat seinen Ursprung sogar in einer ephemeren Festarchitektur.', *ibid.*, p. 111. For example, *Le Grotte de Thetis*, which the Perrault brothers built for Louis XIV at Versailles began life as a *Bosquet*. Bauer calls this process 'Die Monumentalisierung der Provisorien'. The Zwinger is described as being like 'a petrification of the pavilions and grandstands put up for the spectacles created to celebrate the upturn in Augustus' fortunes and the visit of the king of Denmark (Friedrich VI celebrated his Silver jubilee that year) in 1709.', A. Lang, in Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

³⁵'Man kennt die Ungeduld Ludwigs XIV., Versailles entstehen, die Ungeduld Urbans VIII., die Peterskirche vollendet zu sehen ... Das Barock ist eine ungeduldige Kultur. Es kann nicht warten. Es kann den Abstand zwischen Entwurf und Ausführung nicht ertragen. Lieber baut man unsolid.', Alewyn-Sälze, *Op. cit.*, cited in *ibid.*, p. 113.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 113-4.

by Pöppelmann as a Schauburg). The representation of a reputation was one of the surest ways of establishing one. The baroque princes vied for recognition of their patronage and powers of invention of ever more pleasurable entertainment³⁷. Augustus the Strong was especially conscious of the need for display, in 1719 he wrote to his son that: 'Princes win immortality through great buildings as well as great victories'³⁸. This intense sensitivity to the projection of personae engaged the baroque prince's subjects in the creation of a public realm which was highly sophisticated in its formulation of modes of representation. Indeed, in the example of the Zwinger, the entire population and extent of the city and its environs, is incorporated into a setting for the drama of the Prince's adventures.

I have mentioned already that one of the ways the problem of theatricality exhibits itself is in the polarised manners of response to baroque representation. Harries' view has been suggested to lack critical depth due to its avoidance of the aspects of baroque culture which can be considered theatrical. Harries relies too heavily upon an evaluation of the technical attributes of aesthetic objects³⁹. The cohesion of baroque representation is not considered during the action of a religious festival or a secular procession. Indeed, the appropriation of theatrical effects in the ideal realm of a baroque church occurs simultaneously as the elevation of public life in the city. The primarily religious nature of medieval theatrical performance is replaced by festivals which celebrate the divine status of temporal rulers. The apotheosis of the aristocracy occurs shortly afterwards⁴⁰; and the private residence can be seen to be in competition with the traditionally mediatory space in a town of the church⁴¹.

The universal application of a coherent iconography in various baroque festivals does not raise it to the status of a universal language to which theatre cannot be denied access. Hermann Bauer attempts to show how the order of baroque representation held within itself an ethical commentary, which reveals, as a secret language, deep truths. The *conchetto*, and other forms of refined codification such as the *impressa*, are considered by Bauer to allow the emergence, in an eminently dramatic uncovering, of primary expressions of the symbolic nature of human experiences of truths⁴². The shared experience of initiates during a theatrical exegesis of mytho-poetic truth creates a feeling of unity and communality best captured in the German word *Gemeinsamkeit* - communality, identity. The composite works of the baroque are considered by Sedlmayr, to be the last great moment of universal ambitions in the history of art's 'mediatory attempts'⁴³.

In setting up a dialectical situation between divine and human capabilities, the close comparison of nature and art is made in their correspondingly close proximity in the 'profile'⁴⁴ of a

³⁷Barbara Riederer-Grohs tells of how '*beeindruckt*' Augustus was with Cosimo-Medici's festival which he organised for the Saxon Princes visit in the summer of 1713; *Florentische Feste des Spätbarock - Ein Beitrag zur Kunst am Hof der letzten Medicis 1670-1734*, Frankfurt am Main, 1978, p. 57 (note 101, p. 141).

³⁸cited in Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

³⁹I make this criticism because the degree to which he considers theatricality to be participatory is unclear. I am taking the term theatrical to include ritual, and the participation of intimates in a festival Mass is aided by the addition of a center -piece around which their attention is focussed. This increases the sense of a ritual being a performance. Thus, theatricality is not just an issue of an altar which is a frame, but of the accompanying tableau which is comprised of all the aspects of ritual which have been discussed in relation to the *Baldacchino* below.

⁴⁰For example, the *Stadtschloß* of Prince Eugen of Savoy at Vienna depicts the hero's apotheosis as Apollo in the main hall. The Belvedere garden compares him to Achilles and Hercules; man is shown to be capable of achieving the status of a demi-god through action, and in this case war.

⁴¹See 'The Hunting Lodge at Veneria Reale. A Study in Rhetorical Space.', Hugh Cullum, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 1986.

⁴²'Ohne den Glauben an eine magische Verbindung der einzelnen Bestandteile eines emblematischen Symbols ist dessen große Beliebtheit kaum denkbar.', *op. cit.*, p. 200. Bauer takes Sedlmayr's argument (*Kunst und Wahrheit*, München, 1958, p. 140) that a sacred time structure exists in poetic representation to the position in which the specific case of baroque emblems are confused with ancient modes of metaphorical mediation. The baroque is seen to be capable of maintaining and improving upon the aspects of primary symbolic exchange between man and nature through the mediation of gods which the ancients sensed. 'The unity of Baroque space' according to Vesely, 'is established by the metaphorical structure of space, which has the capacity to hold together different arts and at the same time meet all the important conditions of practical life: *decorum* and *ethics*.' , *Op. cit.*, p. 33. The 'Transformation' which Bauer speaks of - of the symbol into meaning for contemporary life - places this moment into a realm of superstition. Faith in its ability to do so is seen, in an eminently modern manner to be a sort of illusionistic magical experience. The baroque attempt can be seen to recognize the extent of this project, and I would suggest its limits. The limit of representational possibilities is kept in sight in the baroque.

⁴³'the mediatory attempts of late baroque's classical phase.', H. Sedlmayr, *Art in Crisis*, London, 1957, p. 21.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 81.

baroque wall. Frescoes grow from columns suggesting a possible reconciliation between the organic and architectural in the plastic medium of stucco⁴⁵. The zone of mediation that is set up between the temporal and spiritual aspects of the world - worked upon in the sectional properties of a wall - is highly ambiguous however. The classical apotheosis of the hero is compared to the Ascension of Christ in the movement of a baroque column from the chthonic to celestial realms. Man attains a secular beautification, rather than a sacred beatification. This vertical hierarchy is interpreted in the *res extensa* of a continuation of the baroque project into the garden and landscape. This is itself an extension of the ideal realm of theatre as ritual, into a condition of phenomenological stability. The language of nature is considered to be accessible in the creation of a Universal Language. However mortal attempts to achieve this mediation are not considered a total success⁴⁶. The mediation of column capital and fresco is made ambiguously in stuccowork; and to 'see clearly no longer meant to know with certainty'⁴⁷. Baroque allegory does not assure mediation between mankind and heaven nor, unlike the audacity of New Science, does it assume that this is possible. I suggest that the theatricality of its representation must be seen to reveal criticism of the confidence of man to become god-like and to view the world from a divine position: as Pascal observed, 'So with pictures seen from too far or too near; there is but one exact point which is the true place wherefrom to look at them: the rest is too near, too far, too high, or too low. Perspective determines that point in the art of painting. But who shall determine it in truth and morality?'⁴⁸. Allegory reveals a metaphorical image of truth and is essentially fragmentary. It is precisely this problem, which the *conchetto* and *impresa* manifest: how can the language of baroque theatre be universal if it is so exclusively formulated? Indeed, how can it claim to have powers of universal signification?

This problem is fundamental to baroque theatricality. The ideal realm of theatre is able to carry much meaning in itself because it is seen to be at a distance from life; it has the potential of rendering visible, in a stylised manner, perfectible visions of human finitude. The comparisons of art and life in which the baroque engages, maintain this sense of the presence of the intelligible order of things as ideas (*eidōs*), within the sensible order of reality⁴⁹. However, the development of a naturalistic stage, combines in this period with the increased theatricality of everyday address, to the extent that the border between *Schein und Sein* was blurred, casting doubt about the efficacy of the senses to know anything properly. The call to visibility, which allegory manifests⁵⁰, should be considered to represent the ontological insecurity of the period. Baroque theatricality involves reason in an encounter with the world through language. As such, the hermeneutic experience of allegory is presented as a mode of being.

⁴⁵Architecture and organic nature, which in the baroque's composite works of art were completely fused', *ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴⁶Leibniz's proposal for a universal language is a reaction to Galileo's assertions that we each, as creations of God, have a godly potential to know the universe as He does: 'But surpassing all inventions, what sublimity of mind was his who dreamed of finding means to communicate his deepest thoughts to any other person ... of speaking to those who are not yet born and will not be born for a thousand years; and with what facility, by the different arrangement of twenty characters upon a page!' *The Literature Machine: Essays*, London, 1982, pp. 291-5. The Monad is considered to be 'a living mirror which represents the universe from its own point of view', *Monadology* 16. However, Leibniz is sceptical of the claims made by Newton that man can represent his tacit knowledge of the cosmos: 'Each soul knows the infinite, but knows it confusedly', he also distinguishes himself from Descartes (80) when he says, 'it is thus in thinking of ourselves, we think of being, of substance, of the simple and the compound, of the material and of God himself, conceiving that which is limited in us, in him is limitless', *Monadology* 30, *Principles of Nature and Grace founded on Reason*, SS.13, *Philosophical Writings*, London, 1988.

⁴⁷G. Maorino, *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁴⁸*Pensees* 381,

⁴⁹and what we mean by value can only be in experiencing the sensible mieu as value, as proportion to the human mind and revelatory possibilities - unless of course, we are merely arguing from design in the eighteenth century manner, but in this case God is a hypothesis, not an object of comprehension', T Comito, *T. I. G. R.*, p. 38.

⁵⁰Whereas medieval commentaries or *questiones* unfold within a purely logical textual space, the Humanist garden, like the Ciceronian, ... is essentially situated': the confidence inspired by perspectival representation encouraged the Renaissance gardener to 'turn outward toward the landscape rather than inwards toward a court.', 'The Humanist Garden', Terry Comito, in *The History of Garden Design*, ed. M. Mosser and G. Teyssot, London, 1991, p. 38. Here, the twin aspects of visibility are made clear: firstly, as a dialectical impulse taken from the ancients to manifest ideas in form as imagery and then, secondly, the ability to render these dialogues in a physical setting encouraged by techniques developed in the proscenium stages of baroque theatre (*perspectiva*).

ii The Hermeneutics of Theatricality.

The first half of my discussion of the theatrical aspects of baroque architecture and culture focused upon what I have called the technico-aesthetic interpretation. I then considered another critical aspect of theatricality, which we shall call the instrumental-allegoric: both studies exhibit, to varying degrees, these tendencies at once. This is typical of the difficult nature of our problem and the problematic way in which it is viewed as an aspect of modern cultural interpretation. The problem, which I have attempted to delineate, is one of the situation of interpretation. The situation of baroque representation in the potential of theatrical enactment of order has much to do with the establishing a degree of critical distance from the baroque.

Hans-Georg Gadamer refers obliquely to the baroque situation in his principal studies of theatre⁵¹. Indeed, his early work is also indebted to the research of Hans Sedlmayr⁵². Gadamer's work must be considered as an interpretation 'of the new philosophical outlook'⁵³. Of primary importance in this mode of questioning, is the place, which artworks occupy in the structure of our responsive experience (*Erfahrung*) of the natural world. The manner of our being in the world through language is constantly re-interpreted in artistic endeavour. Art occupies a uniquely privileged position in the order of our being in the world because each artistic experience is a participation, which engages the senses simultaneously with the creative aspects of the intellect. As a privileged mode of experience of reality, artworks all exhibit dramatic aspects of temporal revelation:

'Every work of art imposes its own temporality upon us, not only the transitory arts of language, music and dance. When considering the static arts, we should remember that we also construct and read pictures. These too are temporal processes. One picture may not become accessible to us as quickly as another. And this especially true of architecture.'⁵⁴

This is clearly especially true of baroque architecture: the combination of text and image in baroque space creates a background, which requires participation in interpretation if we are to become situated in it; and 'allow it to enhance our feelings for life'⁵⁵.

The 'vitality' of baroque art, Gadamer tells us, 'revitalised' the 'great unbroken tradition' of Christian-classical, Christian-humanist culture. He wants to situate the baroque as something which is radical within a tradition which is at once challenged in its continuity by change, yet established in its proper role as a constantly self-renewing mode of experiencing the world. The fecundity of imaginative play is seen by Gadamer to suggest a model of this participation with nature's creative processes. For Gadamer, the baroque is not distinguished from earlier and later periods of theatricality. Rather, it is situated on the cusp of traditional and modern forms of theatrical performance and can be considered to combine traits which he considers intrinsic to each. The baroque is thus to be considered a partly transformed moment in which the degree of its emancipation from traditional modes of experience of 'the shared self-understanding of the humanist-Christian tradition', should be considered in a particular way in each case. To do this

⁵¹The first period, which I shall call the age of elevated religious presence, lasted up until the introduction of the permanent theatre. Throughout this time, it was taken for granted that dramatic representation was nothing but an ancillary manifestation, an accident, as it were, of the religious festival. It fulfilled the particular function of gathering the religious community together for the festival. This form of collective festive celebration has a very long history behind it, and it was particularly characteristic of the cult of Dionysius. The medieval mystery plays, and even baroque theatre in many of its forms, like the plays of Calderon for example, did not wholly detach themselves from the cultic and courtly focal point of life in the Christian period. It is clearly a decisive characteristic of this chapter in the history of theatre that it was still able to serve as a gathering point in which the onlookers were of no less significance than the players.', 'The festive character of theatre' (1954), in *R.O.B.*, p. 61. The differences between symbol and allegory are discussed in his *Meisterwerk* of 1960, which appears in English translation as *Truth and Method*, London, 1993 (1975); without wishing to reveal too much of the argument at this point, it is sufficient to note that Gadamer mentions the baroque in the context of allegory: 'allegory is certainly not the product of genius alone. It rests on firm traditions and always has a fixed, stable meaning which does not resist rational comprehension through the concept - on the contrary, the concept of allegory is closely bound up with dogmatics: with the rationalization of the mythical (as in the Greek enlightenment), or with the Christian interpretation of Scripture in terms of doctrinal unity (as in patristics), and finally with the reconciliation of the christian tradition and classical culture, which is the basis of the art and literature of modern Europe and whose last universal form was the baroque. with the breakup of this tradition allegory was finished.', p. 79.

⁵²cf. *T. M.*, pp. 92 -6.

⁵³*R. O. B.*, p. 3.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

however, we must have a clearer understanding of the differences between the tradition from which the baroque grows and that which it encounters.

- ii.i H-G Gadamer's formulation of play, symbol and festival as an interpretation of baroque theatricality.

Gadamer considers the festival to exhibit, in an intensified manner, the essentially participatory nature of artistic experience. The moment of engagement with a work of art, no matter how personal, is one of recognition that 'art is knowledge and experiencing an artwork means sharing in that knowledge.'⁵⁶ Human beings are distinguished as experiencing the world through language, and as a linguistic experience, the artistic encounter reveals aspects of the world to us. This engagement is called mimesis, and it is a creative aspect of our relationship with reality in language. Gadamer believes that an artist, 'in so far as he expresses himself', creates:

'a community, and in principle, this truly universal community (*oikumene*) extends to the whole world. In fact, all artistic creation challenges each of us to listen to the language in which each work of art speaks and to make it our own. It remains true in every case that a shared or potentially shared experience is at issue.'⁵⁷

To understand the degree to which this truth claim is made we must acknowledge the language in which it presents itself. The theatricality of the baroque makes such great demands upon us through the experience of communal activity. This occurs in festivals.

'If there is one thing that pertains to all festival experiences, then it is surely the fact that they allow no separation between one person and another. A festival is an experience of community and represents community in its most perfect form. A festival is meant for everyone.'⁵⁸

Gadamer is here extending and revising his consideration of the importance and power of play as a mode of experiencing being in the world, and suggesting that the structure of communal experience is essentially representational. The power of this representation suggests that the efficacy of the monological world of the workshop, or laboratory, is challenged in the baroque festival and by the shared experience of allegory.

To place the allegoric mode into its situation in the history of ideas, Gadamer recognises that the modern aversion to it is 'a result of the classicist conception of the symbol'⁵⁹. The primacy of the symbolic mode of representation can only be understood in terms of participation in shared meaning. As a synthetic form of representation which seeks to establish points of connection in diverse mythologies, baroque allegory attempts to fuse these into a coherent cosmological structure. The structuring of space in such a metaphoric manner - in which the language of materials is as developed as that a sculptor makes - organises a frame for mediation between this world and the order which is seen to be apparent in it as a fragment of the cosmic. The essentially fragmentary nature of human knowledge is acknowledged in the baroque collage of classical and Christian mythic elements. The cohesion of an exclusive language of representation such as the baroque allegorical mode has within itself the possibility for recognition of this theatrical play as a mode of articulation. It thus retains a sense of its partiality. The manner of this articulation is in an embodiment of order, a temporal orientation with God's creation, and involves active participation 'in which the onlookers were of no less significance than the players.'⁶⁰ The grand aim is to represent participation and the belief that representation is a form of participation. The impetus toward theatricality can be seen to be a reaction to the uncertainties of the age, and a desire to experience stability in the shared identity of festival. The antique rituals of festival provide the frame in which

⁵⁶ *T.M.*, p. 97.

⁵⁷ *R. O. B.*, p. 39.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* This is cited by Werner Oechlin in 'Fest, Festarchitektur und Öffentlichkeit', he points out that a suspension of disbelief is necessary for a successful performance to involve 'die ganzen Leute in einem Zusammenhang', Oechlin/Buschow, *Festarchitektur - Der Architekt als Inszenierungskünstler*, Stuttgart, 1986, p. 48. He continues to suggest that a festival is 'ein utopischer Vorschlag', *ibid.*, p. 54. We are seeing that in fact a more realistic view would see festivals to be part of everyday life, and that it is a mode of being rather than a manner of understanding being which is at stake. Festival can be compared to the ontological horizon of being; it is temporal and also involves memory in the spontaneous recognition of being. This spontaneity is inferred in the potential for recurrence of festival.

⁵⁹ allegory has unfairly come to be regarded as something cold and unartistic. In the case of allegory, the reference must be known in advance.', *R. O. B.*, p. 32.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

this world can be connected with a sense of human finitude; and thus a sense of our place in the scheme of things is re-established in a cosmic setting. The ancient sense of balance, (*isotropia*) which was observed in the heavens⁶¹, fascinated the baroque. The baroque attempts to create such stability in the allegorical consistency of its representation; this combination, of a poetic form for philosophical truth and a quasi-physical setting for mythic-poetry is similar to the challenge made to mythology in the Greek renaissance of the 5th century B. C⁶². This challenge is one to language; theatricality exposes the instability of the baroque sense of being. The baroque artists work to combine ontological insecurity into a coherent system of symbol and display, and this attempt is constantly revealing its excess to be doubt in the success of this project.

The composition of these fragments in representational theatrical manner - situated allegory - reveals a sense that our view of life is an essentially partial one:

'In the case of the symbol ... and for our experience of the symbolic in general, the particular represents itself as a fragment of being that promises to complete and make whole whatever corresponds to it. Or, indeed, the symbol is that other fragment that has always been sought in order to make whole our fragmentary life.'⁶³

Baroque allegory strives to achieve symbolic stability. The primary manner of experiencing this is public: the festival involves each person in a collective participation in representation.⁶⁴ I suggest that the theatricality of baroque architecture should be seen as a structure of representation, which occurs in a temporal manner⁶⁵. This dramatic, autonomous mode, orchestrates each gesture in a micro-macrocosmic manner; just as, in the baroque, each house is seen to be a representation of the city⁶⁶.

Dramatic temporality does not turn life into a work of art, or create a sense of ambiguity between the stage and the piazza that is irreconcilable. The *theatrum mundi* should rather be understood as a dialectical situation which exists in our mode of being in the world through language⁶⁷. The extent of mans' effective verisimilitude is questioned in theatrical presentation; thus, trick-pictures wish to extend the period of assimilation of information in an attempt to break through hackneyed means of experiencing reality . Theatrical performance works, because one is aware that something special is being presented; it can only carry meaning if we participate in the

⁶¹'cyclical process constitutes the being of living things. It constantly discharges itself in a process which is rhythmically repeated such that there is a continuous restoration of balance. The phenomena of balance that appears here points to the broadest associations of early Greek thought. In the cosmological realm it occurs in a series of formulations like *isotropia* or similar words and formulates the conception of being of *physis*, in so far as the world is not made and not borne by Atlas, but rather keeps and maintains itself in itself.' H-G. Gadamer, 'Concerning Empty and Full-Filled Time', *op. cit.*, p. 83. The interest in astronomy is combined with a corresponding belief in astrology in the baroque; just as physics and technological interest in manifest in alchemy. The medieval world placed great emphasis upon Optics; this concern is subtly altered by New Science. In many ways, the baroque can be seen to reject modern technological thought by its corruption of its use for spiritual matters. Theatre certainly engaged in a combination of mythic themes with the use of hydraulics to animate the setting. Festivals can be considered to orient man in a celestial context as the harvest is celebrated in a Christian feast, i.e., Fasching (Shrove Tuesday); the survival of the pagan gods is clear in the way in which the bounty of this world is offered up to the sky (the sun and God become synonymous in this context, e.g., the cult of Appollo is used to dei-fy the temporal lords of the baroque).

⁶²'Both these traditions, the rhetorical and the philosophical, assume that thought takes place in the world not in a space of its own creating, and that this engagement is essential to thought's very nature', T. Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance*, Rutgers, 1978, p. 52.

⁶³*R.O.B.*, p. 32: 'What does the word "symbol" mean? Originally it was a technical term in Greek for a token of remembrance. The host presented his guest with the so-called *tessera hospitalis* by breaking some object in two. He kept one half for himself and gave the other half to his guest. If in thirty or fifty years time, a descendant of the guest should ever enter his house, the two pieces could be fitted together again to form a whole in an act of recognition. In its original technical sense, the symbol represented a sort of pass used in the ancient world: something in and through which we recognize some-one already known to us.', *ibid.*, p. 31. The theme of reconciliation will arise in our description of the use of technique in the Zwinger to mediate between theatre and gardens.

⁶⁴The 'appeal of play' which Gadamer writes of *ibid.*, p.12, is that the 'excess of nonpurposive rationality in human play' (p. 23) carries in it the attraction to join in . This attraction is to an moment of identity and of participation. For Gadamer, an artistic experience is a moment of recognition, 'when we see something we must think something in order to see anything' (p. 29). As such we must participate in the work of art, as he says in another context, "The audience only complete what the play as such is.', *T.M.*, p. 109.

⁶⁵'it is only a short step from ritual dance to ritual observances taking the form of a representation. And from there, to the liberation of representation in the theatre.', *R.O.B.*, p. 24.

⁶⁶Plato, *Laws* 351.

⁶⁷'Thus we have the task of interpreting the work of art in terms of time', *T.M.*, p. 121.

play. This appears as a paradox, but we should consider the reality of dramatic time to be mimetic; it is not real - not merely a copy of actual lived experience - but reveals aspects of reality in the mundane which point toward an orientation with something higher: the 'transformation' of play into representation, Gadamer writes,

'characterizes the independent and superior mode of being of what we called structure. From this viewpoint "reality" is defined as what is untransformed, and art as the raising up (*Aufhebung*) of this reality into its truth'⁶⁸.

This is not, Gadamer points out, a "sacred time" - in refutation of Sedlmayr - dramatic temporality succeeds by being seen as a part of life; dramatic time does not reveal possible ways of understanding existence, rather, 'it is the mode of being of understanding itself which is here revealed as temporality.'⁶⁹

The horizon of time is experienced in language; our understanding of life is as partial as the representational stability to which we aspire. Thus, the static arts combine with the temporal in baroque architecture as a theatricality of being. The efficacy of this participation relies upon a sense of complicity. The baroque constantly reveals itself to us as an encounter with art, as a means of participating in the world in an authentic manner. It is thus the representation of a form of experience of communal recognition of self and of others, and of the latent aspects of temporal order. Since it seeks the symbolic in its own manner of articulation, it is also able to carry within itself a moment of identity. This cannot claim to be a form of primary symbolic mediation, and as such is not a universal communality. Baroque theatricality exhibits an acute awareness of temporal movement. The provisional nature of its dramatic presentation is clear in the predominance of festival. Permanent, solid architecture, restricts this movement, but can articulate a greater stability of meaning than exists elsewhere. In festival the life of the city is raised to the position of praxis as it is cast into a celestial frame. The theatre articulates the mundane⁷⁰. As festival can be seen primarily as a moment of recognition, the creation of a space for representation, such as a permanent *Festspielplatz*, acts as a space of mediation between the world and man. The problem of theatricality poses the question, how is representation situated in the city? And to what degree is the city situated by theatricality? I shall now describe the situation of the Zwinger in detail in an attempt to elicit the theatrical nature of a baroque city.

⁶⁸ He continues: 'The classical theory of art too, which bases all art on the idea of mimesis, *imitation*, obviously starts from play in the form of dancing, which is the representation of the divine.' I assume that Gadamer is here referring to 'the heavenly order of the cosmos that presented the true vision of the beautiful. This was the Pythagorean element in the Greek idea of the beautiful. We possess in the regular movements of the heavens one of the greatest intuitions of order to be found anywhere. The periodic cycle of the year and of the months, the alternation of day and night, provide the most reliable constants for the experience of order and stand in marked contrast with the ambiguity and instability of human affairs.', *R.O.B.*, p. 14

⁶⁹ *T. M.*, p. 121. The 'misunderstanding of Heidegger's ontological exposition of the time horizon', of which Gadamer accuses Sedlmayr here, has much to do with, I suggest, the problem of baroque theatricality. We live in the world through the equipmentality of its at-handness, Heidegger states: 'The house has its sunny side and its shady side the way it is divided up into "rooms" ("Räume") is oriented towards these, and so is the "arrangement" ("Einrichtung") within them, according to their character as equipment.', *Being and Time*, Oxford, 1993, p. 137. It is this degree of situatedness which rhetorical space seeks in the spatial configuration of allegory. Our being-in-the-world in language is clear in the way in which participation in drama is possible up until the moment at which it breaks down, i.e., reveals itself as mere theatre. From this awareness we can describe a temporality which is a personal engagement with the order of reality; 'A Being towards the world that "matters" to one (... Sein zu der "angehenden" Welt' - (being which is in process of coming before us, the forthcomingness of being in time, I suggest)) Dramatic temporality is a coming to existence through language; the meaning of theatre exists outside of the play.

⁷⁰ c.f. Aristotle, *Poetics*: praxis is the basis of festival as a form of *mimesis*. Gadamer calls this movement, or progression, from the temporal mundane to the temporal ideal, a raising up (*Aufhebung*)

2 THE HISTORICAL SITUATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ZWINGER.

i The European context.

The baroque can be considered the age of festival. The New Science combined with the ravages of the Thirty Year's War created a climate of mistrust in the stability of popular forms of (religious) ritualistic mediation. This crisis of representation also led to an intense sensitivity to the importance of universally recognisable forms of reconciliation. Catholic and Protestant had been at war too long for the possibility of another conflict based upon theological disputes to be entertained⁷¹. The Christian festivals were no longer enough to unify the states of Europe in common celebration⁷². Classical mythology exerted an influence upon the baroque festival as much to create a universal framework for international relations as any other language of mediation⁷³. Concord became to be seen as the ultimate political apotheosis, and the baroque princes aspired to embody peace⁷⁴. The self-representation of princes which is typical of the baroque, included paying elaborate homage to visiting monarchs. State visits were the occasion for monthly long parties, and courts competed with each other to provide ever more elaborate and lavish displays of hospitality. The festival provided a realm of employment for all manner of artists, poets, rhetoricians, scene-painters, musicians, sculptors; indeed, all the activities of the city, from brewing to hosiery were combined in the presentation of hospitality for a political ally: 'The imagination displayed in the adornment of the chariots, when the great Florentine artists undertook the work, made the scene so impressive that', Burckhardt believes, 'such representations became in time a permanent element in popular life'⁷⁵.

The composite works of baroque festival art place the monarchs of Europe into competition with each other in a purely representational sense. The faux medieval tournaments, the jousting etc., show how glory is won in a theatrical manner. The Pope is himself spurred to contest with the temporal lords of Europe (10)⁷⁶. The reconstruction of Rome is considered to be a reaction to the increasing influence of the merchant princes of Italy (11). The festival primarily makes visible the reconciliation between corporeal pleasure and the lightheartedness of the spirit;

⁷¹The importance of political stability in Europe is one of the central themes in Steven Toulmin's *Cosmopolis*, University of Chicago Press, 1990. Indeed, Toulmin traces René Descartes' first literary endeavour to a poem commemorating Henri de Navarre; the search for falsifiable representation, such as the formulation of allegory, is considered to be part of a general reaction to the political disturbances of the early 17th century. Descartes' method is seen as a reaction to the instability of textual expositions of truth; colloquial uses of the word "rhetoric" have ever since been insulting, hinting that rhetorical issues have to do only with using dishonest tricks in oral debate ... *formal logic was in, rhetoric was out*, p. 31. The role of poetry as a mediation between chthonic and celestial realms was challenged by the language of scientific fact in the form of abstract mathematics; indeed, the essentially geometrical movement of metaphor, and of mathematics as a form of *techné-poesis* loses its attendant role of *praxis*. Reason is isolated from the world to achieve an objective view. The movement from the agora to the laboratory is described in *The Ethics of Geometry - A Genealogy of Modernity*, David Rapport Lachtermann, N.Y./London, 1989: '*Syneidesis* originally designates conspiratorial knowledge - one is politically "in the know" together with others; in Aristotle's *Ethics* friendship as the basis of excellence is uniquely the medium in which self-knowing or self-consciousness can occur ... *Philia*, for Aristotle, in addition to the enabling occasion for self-consciousness, is the proform of the city. For Descartes, the mind is its own friend exclusively; it conspires with itself, at least when it is bent on inaugurating science. To expunge opinion is to detach oneself from the city much more resolutely than Socrates did ... Neither the indigenous nor the foreign is the product of self-generated ideas. Accordingly, the fictive self of the *Discourse* keeps its distance from both alike; to secure an Archimedean Point from which to initiate a wholly new science that self has to remain *atopos*, outlandish. Its natural home is not the *Agora*, but the mechanic's workshop', pp. 136-7.

⁷²In the case of the protestant countries there was not even a question of complement. It was one of total reversal. The liturgy of state ruthlessly replaced that of the medieval church; for the new reformed churches abolished religious images and ceremonial ritual ... The medieval religious plays gradually ceased to be performed giving way to a new type of secular mystery, entertainments staged in homage to the Virgin Queen (Elizabeth I) as she wended her way through her kingdom. A tremendous revolution had taken place, in which, under the impact of Renaissance Humanism the art of festival was harnessed to the emerging modern state as an instrument of rule.', R. Strong, *Art and Power*, Boydell Press, 1984 (1973), p. 19.

⁷³In this century festivals have been studied seriously as a curious ancestor of theatre, but they are in reality much more a branch of political history and thought. Within that area, for the most part, they are concerned with what might have been and, as such, are mostly despised by academic historians as serious evidence. And yet these ephemera tell us so much of the hopes and aspirations of the hour, albeit what they say often seems to us now absurd and irrelevant or their arguments ridiculous.', Roy Strong, *Splendor at Court*, London, 1973, pp. 247-8. This view has been suggested by Finley and McCormack to hold good for antique festivals also - at least after the 5th Century B. C. The ontological significance of a festival must be considered as the degree to which it informs everyday life. Politics is obviously, in this highly articulated form of representation, to be a form of *praxis* and thus highly theatrical.

⁷⁴'Charles I does not bring peace, he *is* peace. Subjects pay homage to the King not because his good rule has brought peace but because he is the abstract personification of it on earth', *Ibid*, p. 246.

⁷⁵Jacob Burckhardt, *The Culture of the Renaissance*, London, 1995 (Zurich, 1860), p. 273.

⁷⁶eg., Blunt, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

this is manifest in the recognition given to the act of seeing in which baroque theatricality combines the satisfaction of the mind's eye in the allegorically embodied manner of emblematic display⁷⁷. The temporal aspects of gardens and festival⁷⁸ exhibit the innocence the age considered to lie in the cultivation of the natural world⁷⁹. Gardens and festivals are closely associated in the baroque period; both are settings in which the ideal realm reconciles man with nature. This action is disclosed in spatial allegory.

The Florentine festivals provided the model for political festivals in most of Europe. I have mentioned that Augustus enjoyed the hospitality of Cosimo Medici III in 1713, his desire to reciprocate certainly a part of the inspiration for Elb-Florenz, as Dresden became to be known. The wedding celebrations of Cosimo I and Lucretia Borgia in 1546 involved the citizens of Florence in a grand pageant; the procession was based upon the Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne and the revelry of the populace can be likened to the medieval fools' inversion of the political hierarchy (12). These diplomatic festivals had not merely to do with the establishment of political stability however; a plea for recognition was made in them, from the monarch to his subjects, and the city oriented itself in its relation with the rest of Europe. The representational content became repetitive and predictable, but festivals established each European power in a coherent world of meaning, and in reference to each other established political stability amongst the diffuse religious loyalties of the period. They were literary events, providing a language for the enactment of the actual events of life, such as marriage⁸⁰.

The worship of everyday life, in particular the cult of youth, is developed to a degree of representational stability in the festival⁸¹. However, the shift toward an architecturally embodied, and thus fully articulated spatial setting, occurs in France. Versailles combined many of the transitory elements of the festival in the bosquets. These theatres of water and plants were the settings on many occasions for the celebration of antique gods, Louis XIV's birthdays and courtly events generally (13). We have already discussed the petrification of these provisional structures - such as Le Grotte de Thetis. In theatrical performances of the period, astrology is the typical mediator between the ancient gods and the divine King's celestial representation - and between science and religion, or rather, between reason and myth; ballet fulfils the Pythagorean role of ordering mans' acts in a cosmic setting. The allegoric structuring of space reaches an extremely articulated state in the movements of dance; the forms of dancers spelling out the name of the King and his bride and a series of emblematic mottoes⁸². The royal marriage in 1666 (14,15) was also commemorated by the erection of a gateway to Paris following the designs of J.M.Chevotet⁸³.

⁷⁷Referring to 'Decorum und Repristination', Bauer remarks that, 'Alles Sichtbare ist eine theatralische Vorstellung', *op. cit.*, p. 52. He cites Werner Hager (p. 62) to illustrate the connection between visibility and language in the baroque: 'Er (the baroque) fragt zuerst wie eine Sache sich darstellt. Ihre sichtbare Erscheinung ist es, die überzeugt, hierin liegt die Gewähr ihres Wertes ...', *Die Bauten des Deutschen Barocks*, Jena, 1942, p. 25.

⁷⁸Terry Comito describes the situational Villa garden as theatrical in its 'composition of place', 'The Humanist Garden', *op. cit.*, p. 38: 'The world becomes a "green feast" when, through careful cultivation, the claims of body and mind are reconciled', *ibid.*, p. 37. The ideal realm, so often associated with gardens, is transferred to the city in Dresden, the garden becomes a theatre when it is part of the city; this movement is clear in its final form, the city parks of the 19th century exhibit a symbiotic relationship with the promenading spaces of the street.

⁷⁹The Ciceronian pun on the two senses of *cultus* runs like a leitmotif through the humanist writings, and what it seves to articulate is the conviction that education is only a higher form of husbanding nature's resources.', *ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸⁰D.J.Gordon writes: 'The union of marriage consummated in love typifies the harmonious ordering of man's nature and mans' society that follows when reason is obeyed; this is perfection.', *Renaissance Imagination*, ed. S. Orgel, University of California Press, 1975, pp. 138-9.

⁸¹Burckhardt cites a Florentine Renaissance song for us:

'Quanto e bella giovinezza
Che si fugge tuttavia!
Chi vuol esser lieta sie:
Di Doman no c'e certezza.'

op. cit., p. 276.

⁸²The body is cast into representation in the baroque', Mark Franko, *Dance as Text - Ideologies of the Baroque Body*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 6. Describing Louis' wedding ballet Franko says that, 'the dancers arranged like points in space create a false perspective, an illusionary depth ... they become an animated example of the space as text', *ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸³The *Entrée solennelle* of the young pair was commemorated with an ephemeral construction at the Place Dauphin. The Golden Age of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was the primary reference, Louis' reign is compared to the role of Appollo through solar symbolism and the casting of the square as Parnassus. The arts of husbandry, medicine, music etc., are medleyed in a poetic guessture of reconciliation; the King, 'als Beweger der Sphären und Stifter der Harmonie unter Göttern und Menschen bringt Apoll Frieden und Eintracht im Staat', Karl Möseneder, *Zeremoniell und monumentale Poesie. Die 'Entrée solennelle Ludwigs XIV. 1660 in Paris.*, Berlin, 1983, p. 96.

Louis was compared to Apollo in imitation of the emperor Augustine⁸⁴. The baroque archway combines the temporal movement of the trionfi, and the transience of dance, with the allegorical situatedness of a garden. The Roi Soleil is shown to traverse the heavens in a chariot, the seasons offering up their bounty in gratitude to his munificent presence. The order of the year is combined in the design of Versailles in the composition of the flora and fruit of the gardens. The significance of the Golden apple is to be seen as not only eternal youthfulness, but also the prize of peace. This political stability is a clear result of the pressures of Kingship, unsuitable mistresses are ostracised by the court, and marriage a responsibility of state⁸⁵. It is not surprising then, daily rituals are incorporated into the solar symbolism also⁸⁶. The arch is an introduction to an ideal realm, the *Grotte de Thetis* destroyed in the last century, captured the reflection of the sun as it sinks into the earth each evening, and the King witnessed this in public. This process moves from the creation of a vista to the observation of a spectacle to the staging of the body's daily activities as a symbolic event. The royal bedchamber, facing due east toward Paris, became situated symbolically also. To entertain the King was the ultimate privilege; the Sun was seen to rise in one's house bringing the benefits of health and the status of privilege.

The extensive uses of solar symbolism are seen by Roy Strong as 'expressions of an increasing political reality. In a post-Copernican universe the planets revolved around the sun.'⁸⁷ The presentation of astronomical alongside astrological issues makes it difficult to classify the baroque - indeed it is one of the primary aspects of the period of divided representation that technique has not yet become emancipated from cosmology⁸⁸. Many observers consider it to reject the Copernican model, and also to be a reaction against Cartesian reason⁸⁹. Nonetheless, as Peter Burke reminds us,

⁸⁴Peter Burke describes the 17th century in France as, 'Le beau epoch d'August', *The Fabrication of LouisXIV*, New Haven, 1992, p. 197. He cites the 'inscription on the King's bust at the convent of the Mathurins "More August than August", *August Augustior*', *ibid*, p. 195.

⁸⁵Louis' childhood sweetheart, Olympia Mazarin remained his mistress until a plot led to her fleeing to Amsterdam. Her son, the legendary military commander Prince Eugen de Savoye, became the Sun King's sworn enemy and eventually, as commander in chief of the Imperial forces defeated the French forces in Italy with the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim on 4th August 1704. Two architectural events directly followed this event; the creation of Blenheim Palace and of the Belvedere at Vienna. I shall continue to discuss the influence of Versailles below. Victor L. Tapié notes that Fischer von Erlach was present in London during Vanburgh's work upon the plans for Blenheim, and that there is an influence upon the Palais Schönbrunn - *The Age of Grandeur*, London, 1960, p. 184.

⁸⁶One of the first and most impressive festivals of Louis' marriage occurred in 1664. This song was composed:

*Brillant pere du jour, Toy de qui la puissance
Par ses divers aspects nous donna la naissance;
Toy l'espoir de la Terre, et l'ornement des Cieux;
Toy le plus necessaire et le plus beau des Dieux;
Toy, dont l'activité, dont la bonté suprême
Se fait voir et sentir en tous lieux par soy-même;
Dis-nous par quel destin, ou par que nouveau choisis
Tu celebres tes jeux aux r'evages Francais?*

- cited in Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁸⁷R. Strong, *Art and Power*, London, 1984 (1973), p. 26.

⁸⁸'I do not find many men of the first class here, there is indeed a prodigious number of alchemists at Vienna; the philosopher's stone is the great object of zeal and science.', *Prince Eugen of Savoy*, Nicholas Henderson, London, 1964, p. 243.

⁸⁹For example, Strong describes how the 'Revamped medieval romance', of the baroque festival, 'the imagery of sacred empire, of Christian and classical mythology provide the absolutist monarch with a repertory universally understood to promote his rule. In spite of the rise of scientific thought and method by the middle of the seventeenth century, the vitality of such material was remarkable, particularly when one realizes that it relied for its "power" upon the acceptance of a Neo-Platonic pattern of philosophical thought and on a universe pre-Copernican in its structure. The Renaissance court festival handed onto the Baroque court festival a set repertory of themes that continued to be acted out with increasing monotony throughout the seventeenth and into the early eighteenth century. By the middle of the seventeenth century court fêtes have become a mode of representation for the pattern of life of the Baroque prince. The heroic days of the sixteenth century, when they seemed to touch so closely the living tensions and realities of the hour, had gone for ever.', *op. cit.*, p. 247. See also, Harries, *The Broken Frame*: 'The victory of rocaille is the shipwreck of reason. Small wonder that the ornamental engravings of the rococo so provoked critics who, committed to the Enlightenment, committed to the project of rendering man the master and possessor of nature -think of Descartes's discussio of the passions of the soul, meant to help us defeat their anarchic potential - wanted to banish the irrational from art, wanted especially to banish the irrationality of love.', p. 87. The baroque paradox is that the creation of order often occurs in acts of abandonment and rejection of systematic law. We shall discuss this further below.

'The implied identification between the political order and cosmic order is a classic example of the legitimization of a particular set of institutional arrangements by presenting them as natural, indeed as the only possible system.'⁹⁰

This identification is inspirational for the architecture of the late seventeenth century.

The iconographic consistency of baroque festivals involves the use of elements of antique architecture, such as the triumphal gateway, in the presentation of modern victories. The reaction to the Imperial defeat of the French and the Turks created the desire to glorify *'einen deutschen Roi Soleil'*⁹¹. In describing the background to Imperial reactions to victory and to the passing of the Black Death Sedlmayr states that this ambition,

'had been with Joseph since the Triumph of 1690. The fantasies of the Viennese court artists coincided with those of the courtiers; to put Versailles in the shadow of their own creativity'⁹².

The influence of the French is clear in the triumphal arches which he built for the coronation of Joseph I in 1690; and then also in the permanent gateways which were constructed in Vienna for the entry of the emperor with his bride Marie-Therese:

'This superimposition of a light structure on a heavy base has an iconographical significance. It would appear as though the king, when passing under the arch, rose upwards through its open roof and was glorified in the image of the grace dispensing sun god within a canopy-like temple, surrounded by allegorical representations of the virtues. This apotheosis was not shown in a static picture, but as a process taking place (just as the mystery of faith was transformed into action in the High Altar at Mariazell).'⁹³ (16)

The French inspiration can be considered to have achieved its ultimate form in the first project, which Fischer drew for the *Palais Schönbrunn* (17). These designs, and the completed house exerted an intense influence upon the German-speaking world of the early eighteenth century. This project is part of what Professor Derek Beales calls the 'representational court structure of Joseph I'⁹⁴. The influence of Versailles is specific to a baroque court, which is actively engaged in the propagation of the arts. 'The most meaningful young Meister, Pöppelmann, Welsch, Neumann and the others, are all', Sedlmayr considers, 'grateful to Fischer for what he achieved before them all'⁹⁵. The French idea of a modern seat of government certainly inspired Augustus in his own patronage in Warsaw and Dresden, indeed, a contemporary observer described the Zwinger as 'Versailles im Spiegel'⁹⁶. For the first time indigenous architects were commissioned in the German-speaking countries. Fischer von Erlach was trained in Bernini's workshop as a silversmith and returned to Austria in 1686 at the perfect time to begin a career as an architect⁹⁷. Leopold I swore to offer up thanks to God for his land's deliverance from the twin terrors of the Black Death and the Turkish army. This promise led to a series of projects in Vienna culminating in the Karlskirche built by his grandson Charles VI. The first commission Fischer received was for two ephemeral arches for the coronation of Joseph I (16,17). These also used solar symbolism to represent the glory of the emperor's presence. The development of buildings from a provisional to a solid state reflects the careers of many baroque architects. It was usual to employ young architects as set-designers for festival structures, and many depended upon natural disasters to realise their projects in stone. The catastrophic fire of August 6th 1685 created the opportunity for a baroque building programme in Dresden. Pöppelmann became Baukonductor in 1704 following the death

⁹⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁹¹Hans Sedlmayr, 'Die Politische Bedeutung des Deutschen Barock', in *Epochen und Werke - Gesammelte Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte*, Wien, 1960, *Zweiter Band*, p. 145.

⁹²*Ibid.*

⁹³Hans Aurenhammer, *J. B. Fischer von Erlach*, London, 1973, pp. 115-6.

⁹⁴In conversation, April this year.

⁹⁵*Pöppelmann -- Der Architekt des Dresdener Zwingers*, Harald Marx, Leipzig, 1990, p. 167.

⁹⁶Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁹⁷H. Sedlmayr, *J.B. Fischer von Erlach*, Wien, 1956, p. 47. Pöppelmann got to know Hildebrandt quite well and both architects are indebted to Fischer Sedlmayr suggests.

of Marcus Conrad Dietze in a fire. The inspiration of France found fertile ground for the formulation of a Baroque State in Saxony.

ii The local context.

Saxony is an independent state in modern Germany; a Freistaat. In common with the other German Länder it existed until the last century as a Duchy with its Kurfürst, or Prince. August der Starke was the second son, and when his elder brother Johan-Georg II died suddenly in 1694 he became the unexpected ruler of a small but affluent kingdom. The young prince had spent two years, 1687-9, on a Kaveliers Tour of Paris, Rome and London⁹⁸. Augustus was a notorious scape-grace who loved art and sensual indulgence generally. He married unhappily in 1692, with Sybille von Machen and in 1697 took the opportunity offered through the elective position, 'as soon as one became available', of the Polish throne, to escape the nuptial embrace⁹⁹. In 1699 he took up residence in Warsaw, his wife remaining in Dresden.

The new King had converted to Catholicism in order to be able to accept the Polish throne, and he spent most of each year at his court in Poland. Augustus' visits to his ancestral seat were the occasion for great celebration. He generally coincided his periods of residence in Dresden with the February feast of Fasching (Shrove Tuesday). The beginning of Lent is traditionally associated with a period of over-indulgence and great merry-making. The King's advent brought with it the promise of spring and the sun's return.

Augustus the Strong was famous for his festivals¹⁰⁰, and his regular visits to Dresden can be compared to the imperial presence in Roman cities. The voluntary exile of the Kurfürst led to a celebration of his own diplomatic visit; Augustus welcomed himself to Saxony. The site of the Zwinger had been used since the middle ages as a Festspielplatz, and the ephemeral structure was converted to permanent use, I suggest, because the King wished to create a "solid" reminder of his political presence during his physical absence. He created a building, which constantly reminded his subjects of his imminence. The Kronentor of the Zwinger is modelled upon baroque interpretations of the Roman imperial arches. Here Apollo is used in a similar manner to represent the munificence of a distant ruler. The year is seen to be bountiful through the influence of the ruler's stable reign; peace brings good harvest, swords are beaten into ploughshares. This was obviously of primary importance for a monarch who was spiritually *non grata* and physically *non situ*. The success of Augustus' foreign adventuring was used as an example to his Saxon subjects; the limits of the possibility of his modernisation of Dresden illuminates the situation of a baroque prince's self-representation in the imagination of his court. To understand the importance of festivals for Augustus we shall trace the development of his establishment of a state of permanent festivity. The situation of the Zwinger in the baroque state of Saxony and in the city of Dresden illuminates the significance of theatricality in the architecture of a baroque reign.

⁹⁸R. Schrieber, *Augustus der Starker*, Hamburg, 1933, p. 19.

⁹⁹Wilfried Hansmann, *Im Glanz des Barock. Ein Begleiter Augusts des Starken und Friedrichs des Großen*, Köln, 1992, p. 12.

¹⁰⁰See J-L Sponsel, *Der Zwinger, die Hoffeste und die Schlossbaupläne zu Dresden*, Dresden, 1924,

3 THE URBAN SITUATION OF THE ZWINGER.

I *Barockstadt Dresden.*

The Zwinger is part of a series of projects executed by Pöppelmann in Saxony for Augustus the Strong. His father had commissioned Johann Georg Starke, one of Pöppelmann's predecessor as court architect, to build a Tiergarten and Schloß. to the south of Dresden. The royal residence was traditionally the medieval castle in the centre of the old town, within the city bastions. It was incredibly difficult for Augustus to alter substantially this building; it was the seat of the Protestant house of Saxony and he had no wish to destroy the symbol of his ancestral claim to the throne. His Catholicism extended to the creation of a cathedral designed by the Italian architect Marriani. This largely unused church sits in front of the *Schloß* and signals the essential movement away from the historic city centre which the Zwinger prefaces. Pöppelmann drew up many plans for the extension of the Zwinger into the old town this primarily involved a link between the castle and itself¹⁰¹ (20). This was an unfeasible option because it also involved a shift in geometry, which would have necessitated the destruction of part of the old castle¹⁰² (21,22). Augustus had to settle for the refurbishment of the second floor of the *Schloß* as a *Repräsentationssaal*¹⁰³ (23). He placed his collection of antiques and exotic curiosities there. The baroque princes were as excited by anyone in their period with the archaeological and geographical discoveries of the age, and Augustus' own adventures were presented as an example of modern entrepreneurship. The past was seen to represent stability but the future lay with the expansion of the kingdom abroad. The King's collection of plunder was complemented by his patronage of new German architects and artists. The chimes of porcelain bells from the *Glockenspieltor* of the Zwinger, the gate to the medieval castle, announced the future each quarter hour.

The city was fortified in the 15th century and is surrounded by an impenetrable marsh to the south-west (24,25). The centre of the medieval town was the Altmarkt. There is evidence of the performance of Passion Plays and of other religious festivals in the old market square. During this time, the site of the Zwinger was used for semi-permanent festivals, carnivals, and as a field for tournaments. Temporary seating was regularly erected, and painted structures provided shade from the sun. The earliest views of the Zwinger site show it in use as a jousting square, and it is demarcated by wood and plaster facades (26). These screens enclosed the audience according to rank - the aristocracy gaining a higher and better prospect of the festivities. The temporary structures are festively decorated with cloth and brightly coloured ribbons and bunting. In typically carnival fashion, the holiday from the exertions of work and the mundane life of the city is enacted in a space, which is a representation of an idealised city. The festival space is one in which the light-hearted is celebrated, and the most serious affairs of state are enacted in a self-consciously theatrical manner. Medieval public holidays were at once Christian and the surviving remnants of older cultures¹⁰⁴. Their evolution in the Renaissance into a coherent counter culture to the church festivals challenged the sacredness of the primary ideal realm in the city - the cathedral. The

¹⁰¹Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Schloßea Pillnitz und seiner Fassadenbemalung, Heinrich Magurius, Weimar, 1978, pp. 249-78.

¹⁰²Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁰³The second floor of the *Residenzschloß* was re-modelled to include reception rooms and private chambers for the royal family. Various degrees of privacy are evident in each room; the *Grünes Gewölbe* (The vaulted gallery lies in the eastern bar of the courtyard) was a long gallery with green satin wall-paper. Augustus displayed his treasures and precious stones in the *Preliosensaal* and in the *Juwelenzimmer*; this space is effectively the national archive, his ancestral crown and baroque medals are displayed together here in a catholic manner. The room has no frescoes, and is rather lined with *cabinée* and mirrors. His golden and crystal objects were used to illuminate the space, and riches are transformed into light (fragments of this room are reconstructed and housed in the *Albertinum* gallery; this retains some of their character. The large mirrors are made to appear as if they are windows, and their gilt frames recall an arch. The fragmentary nature of baroque space is clear here; each piece seems to be a part of a theatrical setting, and they recall the grottos in parts of the Zwinger). The *Antichambre* is also free of frescoes, it is domestic in scale as well as in its ornamentation. The *Thronsaal* is much grander though (it is also known as the *Audiengemach*). This public space has an iconographic programme depicting the battles of Alexander the Great with Kings Darius and Porus. The conquerer's entry to Babylon is painted above the throne, and Augustus is representing himself as a typically valiant and successful monarch. This iconographic programme is quite common, and the warrior-king is another of the baroque ideal phantasies. The private rooms of the King are also intensely symbolized. Pöppelmann visited Versailles in 1715 and has evidently taken the bedroom of *Le Roi Soleil* as his model. The presence of servants and ministers in the private rooms of the King makes them public realms, and indeed he is fulfilling what is considered to be a sacred duty in treating himself as semi-divine. To act out his role as paternal leader and interpreter of God's will on earth the baroque prince must make himself a representation of this power. The commissioning of artworks is part of this task of perfecting the world; beautiful things are still believed to articulate goodness in the Christian-classical tradition. Thus, the more coherent a room is - in iconographic, plastic and allegoric cohesion - the more articulated is the word of God.

¹⁰⁴See *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, Jean Seznec, New York, 1953.

tension between pagan and Christian belief managed to reconcile the temporal issues of the Harvest Festival, for example, with an intense interest in formulating a new language of ritual, which could incorporate both practical and spiritual affairs in a unifying celebration of public identity. The baroque festival aspires to a stable allegorical structure for the representation of the often-competing interests of church and state. One of the ways it achieved this was to worship the semi-divine status of human affairs, and the heroic example of the monarch.

Augustus was well aware of the necessity to present his reign as fruitful. His self-imposed exile made the celebration of his glories a primary concern. As well as collecting art, it was necessary to provide a permanent home for his treasures in Dresden, and Augustus was anxious to gain vicarious glory through patronage. The Zwinger is described by its architect as a *Schauburg*, and reference is made to the *Campo Marzio* as an influence upon its formulation¹⁰⁵. Rather than being conceived as a museum, the Zwinger was a receptacle of the active arts. Pöppelmann built the *Holländisches Palais* (27) across the river for the Herzog von Württemberg. This was given as a gift to the King in 1715, and became known as the *Japanisches Palais* (25) after the collection of *Chinoiserie*, which Augustus moved there. The expansion of the Baroque city was impossible in the unsuitable conditions to the south and in the medieval centre for the reasons outlined above. The Zwinger is built upon the medieval bastion and is surrounded to the south and west by a moat, which enlarges to become an ornamental lake. A Zwinger is a Bailey or outer-courtyard of a castle in Old German, and the military purpose of this omega-shaped court was entirely representational. Indeed, the Kronentor breaches the city defences and the bridge, which crosses the moat at this point had to be constructed of wood to enable ease of destruction from within in the case of attack (28,29).

The only area available for the continuation of the King's baroque intentions lay to the north, and Pöppelmann duly designed and supervised the construction of the *Augustusbrücke* which fords the Elbe¹⁰⁶. The northern shore was developed as the Neustadt to the plans of Pöppelmann and Augustus. The King was eager to create a capital, which reflected his status as a baroque prince and to encourage his subjects in innovation after his example. The Zwinger is thus a transitional space between the old and new cities, and as such is a space of mediation between the past and Augustus' plans for a baroque future for the city¹⁰⁷ (30). It is a place for the representation of all that is most sociable in civic life, and it is no surprise that the stonework is carved into folds of drapery and the roof-line moulded to appear as a great festival tent (recalling the Trianon de Porcelaine at Versailles 31 - but in this case a pleasure garden for the people of a city).

The monumentalising of the provisional, which Bauer speaks of, has a series of effects upon the structure of public life. Religious festivals are obviously a moment of conflict between the King and his subjects in this case, and the order of the year becomes celebrated in an increasingly secular manner. The appropriation of pagan gods into festival performance and architectural ornament only abets the development of an ideal realm as a profane space in the city.

¹⁰⁵Just as indeed the Ancient Romans, amongst their other astonishing structures, also used to build huge public buildings for show and amusement that these took up a vast area, and incorporated yet other buildings, such as race-courses, fencing-quintain-hunting-and animal-baiting rings, stages, covered and open-air walks, colonnades, etc., ...but above all a long round-ended *Schauburg* or arena, for victory-carnival-and state parties ... so the fabric of this royal so-called Zwinger-garden is so cunningly laid out that it embraces all the above mentioned buildings., Pöppelmann, *Kupferstichwerk*, Dresden, 1929.

¹⁰⁶See Eberhard Hempel, *Der Zwinger zu Dresden*, Berlin, 1961.

¹⁰⁷The enthusiasm of the baroque for composite works which saw the entire city as the site for representation was not shared by the next generation. Augustus III, our King's son, did not have much affection for his father's architect nor for the patronage of the arts generally. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the architecture of the cities of Europe became increasingly institutional, and the role of the monarch as patron declined in the face of private patronage and public subscription. The arts became increasingly fragmented as the development of individual faculties of professional knowledge in the universities testifies.

As we have suggested, the opportunity for Augustus to achieve his ambitions in the city of Dresden were severely curtailed by the political implications of his conversion to Catholicism. The impetus to create a Schloß in imitation of Versailles in the city had to remain a partially fulfilled project. He turned his attention instead to the creation of a series of buildings across the river, and up and down the Elbe, east and west of the city.

Pöppelmann designed a Lustschloß near Pirna to the East of Dresden - down river toward Bohemia for Augustus. This building provided a haven for the King's extra-marital activities away from the city and the presence of the catholic and Protestant churches. Although, as a divine ruler, Augustus' private life escaped official criticism, it was necessary to maintain a degree of discretion in the positioning of such an openly anti-thetical building. *Schloß Pillnitz* compensates for this in the flamboyance of its architecture and in its domination of its riverbank setting (32). The tent-like profile of the Zwinger's roofline becomes a full-blown example of the Chinese style here (33). The Pleasure Garden recalls Louis XIV's villa at Marly. The creation of a retreat from the seriousness of city life is a rather Imperial gesture¹⁰⁸. However, apart from a war with Sweden and troubles with pirates off the Polish coast, Augustus the Strong dedicated himself almost exclusively to the propagation of artworks and to every manner of aesthetic satisfaction. The order of city life was becoming increasingly theatrical, and in imitation of Augustus' sensuality the public life of the aristocracy became increasingly catholic in its tastes. At Pillnitz the King entertained foreign and domestic guests in an unrivalled show of hospitality (34,35).

The Barockstaat was completed in the east with the construction of a hunting lodge, *Schloß Moritzburg*. Pöppelmann oversaw the construction of an artificial lake filled with living fish, and undertook the design of a magnificent *Schloß* upon the resultant island. The building is approached from a wide pathway through the surrounding forest and this vista culminates over a bridge four hundred meters long (36). In eminently baroque fashion, Augustus' energies ran to a love of collecting the trophies of the magnificent wildlife, which populates the Saxon countryside. He was an accomplished sportsman and relished the thrill of chasing all manner of game¹⁰⁹. The Mansard roofs of the Jagdschloß (37) are a more refined version of the extravagance of Pillnitz, and were the model for most of the architecture of the Neustadt. The painted facades include *fenêtre faux* and allusion to the stonework behind the plastered wall (38). The baroque princes had to satisfy their subjects' expectations in every sphere of manly accomplishment, and Augustus engaged in his self-representation with gusto. It is not merely in the presentation of the royal self in festivals which enabled the baroque prince to fabricate a dramatic persona; the commissioning of portraits of oneself as a hero, for example as Jason, required also the instrumentalization of the countryside. The woodland was developed into a parkland for the pursuit of live fleeces¹¹⁰. The Schloß is connected with the city by a series of alleys through the landscape - after the manner of Versailles. we are approaching a point at which the use of techniques to aid representation are becoming celebrated for their own efficacy, in other words, technique is beginning to master the natural world and become technology (39-43).

Augustus promoted the baroque ideal with great panache and impressed his contemporaries with the magnificence of his life style. The extension of representation into the surrounding of a city begins in the Zwinger; the architecture of his reign manifests all the attributes of *cultus*, and the Zwinger must be seen as the principle element in the firmament of his glory. To understand the situation of all this theatrical display of god-like prowess, the Zwinger shall be considered first as a permanent building and then as the structure for the transient arts of festival - we can look to the unifying example of a festival to see the extent of the realisation of the baroque ideal of a perfected civic state. Before doing so, we shall trace the development of the building from temporary to stable construction.

¹⁰⁸ Its origins are close to that of the anique villa: the *vita contemplativa* is an antidote to the *vita activa* of the city. It provides an ideal commentary much in the manner of a festival (gardens are an ideal representations of the order of the countryside, just as theatres are ideal versions of cities, cf. Frances Yates, *The Globe: Theatre of the World*).

¹⁰⁹ The hunt is an important aspect of Royal ritual. See Cullum, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁰ This move involves Pöppelman within architectural landscapes and should be seen as significant as a development of his ideas for the Zwinger, ie. architecture as landscape and garden as building.

4 A DESCRIPTION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ZWINGER.

The festivals of the Renaissance were a development of the medieval carnivals, and in particular, the passion plays were re-cast as secular (mythological) triumphal processions. A degree of stability was established in the erection of temporary structures on the edges of cities for the hospitality of visiting dignitaries. Augustus the Strong was inspired to create a permanent example of *Festarchitektur* and work begun in 1712 upon the construction of what is now known as the Zwinger.

Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann had been involved in the festivities three years earlier, and he was commissioned to draw up the King's sketches for a permanent *Schauspielplatz*. The brief was relatively simple in programme. Augustus wished to create a public place in which to hold regular celebrations of state. His sketch shows a preference for the incorporation of a series of gateways into a narrow, essentially theatrical, backdrop (44). This thin curtain was to be the background and spatial delimitation for the activities to be enacted within. The omega shape of the plan - which was later mirrored - was to allow the *parti* of the thin corridors of the Zwinger to become a viewing platform for the aristocratic guests to view a performance. The space within the walls was conceived as an *Orangerie Royale*. These are reminiscent of wings of a stage. They are interrupted in each corner of the finished building, by two-storey structures which include the various activities associated with show and representation in baroque culture (45).

At the beginning of the project, the only firm idea, which Augustus communicated was that the building should house an Orangerie. The contemporary interest in re-establishing a Garden of Eden was a typical admixture of the eschatological symbolism and scientific curiosity aroused by the discovery of strange species of plants in the New World. This suggested the possibility of gathering together all the dispersed elements of the natural world into an image of paradise; and thus the birth of the museum coincides with the formulation of the first zoos and botanical gardens. The glory of a Sun-King was ideally represented in the cultivation of southern fruits, their mythological home is evoked in the presence of living fruit within an iconographic programme which glorifies the King as Apollo. In typically baroque fashion the fruit was encouraged and enabled to grow through the use of mirrors which reflected the sun's light upon them; this borrowing from the stage-craft of Inigo Jones emphasises the theatricality of the *Garten des Ewigen Frühlings*¹¹¹. Augustus' magnificent munificence is shown at work in the propagation of sacred fruit; the celestial gaze of his divinity reveals its attention in the wonder of a foreign harvest. The galleries of horticulture open out in the summer months and the orange trees are supported upon the shoulders of podiums carved to represent satyrs. Their disuse through out most of the year emphasises the temporality of the theatrical character of the Zwinger.

During the early years of the Zwinger's construction the idea for a *Herculestor* developed into a design for a triumphal gateway - the *Wallpavillon* later incorporates homage to Hercules. The various gateways of the Zwinger connect it with the city in a symbolic and physical manner. As I have suggested, the *Kronentor*, which opens to the marshland south of the city should be compared to an imperial entry (46). The iconography of the stonework appeals to a contemporary identification of Kingship with Apollo (47). The splendour of a baroque reign establishes itself through representation, and in this case the Saxon crown is super-imposed over the depth of the entrance. This depth of space emphasises the transient nature of the King's presence in his capital, and was brought to full allegoric presence during the *Planetenfest* of 1719 in which Augustus entered the city as the embodiment of the element of fire. The oculus over the portal suggests the ascension of his spirit as he assumes his divine duties as monarch. The huge golden crown establishes a metaphorical presence in the city of a solar symbol. The King is present in the form of the light reflecting from this effigy of his crown¹¹². The carvings of Pan remind one of the immanence of nature's celebration in festival. The stone is sculpted to suggest at once the temporary arches of baroque festivals - as folds of cloth and theatrical drapery - and the spirit of Bacchus. The stonework seems to be caught at the moment of bursting into fruit; the memory of the wooden construction of its predecessors and of the laughter of the merriment they inspired is

¹¹¹ Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 74. The Zwinger was conceived as a 'Bau aus Garten Eden' we are told by Augustus' biographer Dieter Faßmann, *Das glor würdigste Leben und Thaten Augusti des Großen, Königs in Polen und Chur-Fürst zu Sachsen*, Hamburg, Franckfurth, 1733, pp. 795-807.

¹¹² This is an eminently Roman association, as McCormack suggests, 'the imagery of ascension and arrival, seen as a supernatural event and expressed in terms of a vision of light, was current in antiquity and late antiquity.', *op. cit.*, p. 44.

depicted in the grinning faces of the Satyrs and in the amphorae of wine they bear¹¹³. The celestial and terrestrial worlds are represented in harmony during the celebration of the earth's bounty. This worship through festival maintains a sense of the luminous stability of the heavens and the chthonic metamorphosis of fruit into wine and stone into vegetation and vice versa: the natural and mythological worlds are fused in representation.

This allusion to the pleasure associated with the King's return, is continued in the two other points of transition. The *Glockenspielpavillon* and *Wallpavillon* were not complete in 1719, when the half-ephemeral and half permanent-building was inaugurated during the wedding of Augustus III. They belong to the second design period, 1715-18. The first impulse was to build an orangery, and this can be considered to be a theatre of nature. This desire is furthered in the continuation of the illusionist garden theme in the primary intentions to create a grotto. The *Nymphenbad* is diagonally across from the *Opernhaus* in the completed building and should be considered as a counter-point¹¹⁴.

Considering the explicitness of the theatrical representation in the Zwinger, it is not surprising that one of the first pieces to be constructed was the *Opernhaus* (48). Built as an enclosed space in the classical form of an amphitheatre, the proscenium stage is ideally viewed from high up and from the centre of the projected sight lines. Augustus had visited the opera house which Mauro designed in Venice, and in 1717 the theatre architect arrived in Dresden with seven scene-painters, five carpenters and two interpreters¹¹⁵. Galli Bibiena was employed to work with them to formulate a series of settings for performances. The inspiration for this is clearly to emulate the *Hofopernhaus* of Joseph I at Vienna (49, 50). The Zwinger is a baroque Hof, which cannot be an extension of the medieval *Schloß*, but it is nonetheless typical despite its independence from the old town. The representational *Saale* are an attempt to establish a mediation between the past and the future, and should be considered exemplary of the baroque situation on the cusp of traditional and modern culture. Representation is the hinge around which this movement is made; at the other end of the southern wing, after the Crown Gate the King wished for a room for the display of scientific instruments.

Der mathematisch-physikalische Saal (51) is built in two storeys and comprises of a gallery of astronomical devices. It displays telescopes and globes and charts of the solar system. Included are clocks and pocket-watches which double as calendars. Of particular interest is a mantle piece clock shaped as a building (52). This object is topped with a miniature version of the Saxon crown, which adorns the neighbouring *Kronentor*. The micro-macrocosmic dimension of baroque representation is evident here in the situation of these instruments of vision beneath ceiling frescoes; scientific technique is situated under a painted sky. This representational space offers the traditional view of the significance of knowledge in an ascension of the spirit. The marble columns of the vaulted rooms grow from rectilinear forms into a flowering Corinthian capital (53). The rustic bases upon which many baroque structures begin are replaced here by a movement from abstract geometry to mythologized nature. This profile becomes an ambiguous zone in which the swirling capital is fused within the brushstrokes of amorphous clouds. In the clouds we see nature bursting into life in vases as emblematic cornucopia. The allegory of Psyche represents knowledge's aid to the soul; she appeals to Venus to engage Mercury's wisdom in the plight of temporal strife (54). The traditional role of optical curiosity - as articulation of religious experience of the world - is recovered in this baroque space. The representational stability of *mathematica* is placed firmly in its traditional position of mediation between ideas, in their pure form (*eidōs*), and the horizon of their transparency in the visible and comprehensible situation of being. The soul is depicted in a position of sharing in the celestial observation of the eye; thus the intelligible is seen to be present in the sensible order of reality¹¹⁶. The emancipation of astronomy from cosmology has not occurred yet.

¹¹³Augustus' association of himself with the divinely inspired state of festive exuberance is another example of the Roman proto-type of which Pöppelmann speak; as McCormack puts it, 'The imperial pietas was the foundation on which the atmosphere of imperial adventus was built up, an atmosphere of the supernatural penetrating into the natural order', *ibid.*, p. 24.

¹¹⁴The allusion to an Imperial Adventus corresponds with the theme of a commentary upon countryside and city further here (*Vita Contemplativa* and *Vita Activa*). The *Nymphenbad* is the King's private retreat, his celestial cave within the Zwinger, ie. within the city's bastions. It is highly likely that the *Nymphenbad* represents a commentary upon the building's situation on the cusp of the urban and rural world; that it can be considered a micro-cosmic representation of the Saxon landscape, ie. the waterfall recalls the presence of the Mountains of *Saschen Schweiz*.

¹¹⁵Guther Meinert, 'Das große Opernhaus am Zwinger', in Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹¹⁶The attempts of baroque architecture to assimilate the Copernican cosmology into a representational framework

The message to Augustus' subjects is that knowledge of strange things need not disrupt the continuity of life: Augustus' reign is presented as an opportunity for ever more glory. The wonder of scientific knowledge is seen predominately to be an aid to interpretation. Its display in galleries places it apart from traditional modes of articulation, yet it is situated alongside essentially dialectical modes of experience and study. The museum is here a theatre, and it retains the sacred nature of this space; knowledge is seen to represent the soul's apotheosis.

One of Pöppelmann's earliest intentions was to place a *Grottensaal* beneath the *mathematisch-physikalischer Saal* (55). The wisdom of the muses, bubbling up in the sound of water, rises through the building to the realm of celestial observation above. Scientific instruments would thus be incorporated into a hierarchy of knowledge, which includes medicine, husbandry, music and poetry. The potential of each of these arts to articulate *theoria*, or theoretical knowledge, depends upon their degree of embodiment. The stability of architecture gains an ability to articulate ontological matters when it is placed as a form of *poesis* which mediates between aesthesis, and the phenomenological world, and *theos*, which is the goal of theory - *theos*, *theoria*, literally, to perceive the ultimate order of the gods in heaven (cosmos). This movement, of sensation to reflection and finally to the formulation of thought as analogy, represents the traditional mode of dialectical reasoning; as Gadamer suggests, 'theory means sharing in the total order itself'¹¹⁷. I have earlier used the example of *Braukunst* and *Baukunst* to illustrate the degree to which each art can be considered abler to articulate ideas and thus order. Baroque architecture combines the transient arts of poetry, music and dance into a representational whole, which is at once the setting for these activities and an articulation of their movement when no performance takes place. It is thus an attempt to create a unity of the arts in an ordered setting, which orients human action with that which is most good, and is revealed as such through the beautiful manner of its presentation of the wonder of creation. The traditional Christian-classical sense of truth as revealed and uncovered (*Alethia*) is presented in the dramatically temporal movement of baroque representation; the knowledge of a work of art reveals itself in time and requires participation. This movement of thought is called to visibility and manifest in baroque space as a series of settings, which are visited in turn, i.e., as a situated movement of representation: baroque settings are temporal and their narrative content can only be experienced to be understood fully. The decision to place a grotto in the opposite corner from the *Opernhaus* and along from the *mathematisch-physikalischer Saal* is part of the programme of display which Pöppelmann formulated for the *Zwinger*. As a *Schauburg* it was to include all the aspects of artistic endeavour, and the Saxon achievements in these various fields, in a coherent programme of individual settings. They are united in one building yet require one to move from one setting to the next. We must walk in the open air or through the orangery. The arts are cast in a continuum of experience of the world.

In September 1719 the *Zwinger* was used to stage two festive events in celebration of the marriage of Augustus the Strong's son to Maria-Joseph von Habsburg (56) - I shall describe this month's activities in detail below. During the wedding celebrations the unfinished north eastern part of the *Zwinger* was completed as a temporary festival structure. Made of wood and plaster, this ephemeral structure was painted to appear a part of the stone building which was itself ornamented to appear as a petrified theatre. The last pieces of the *Zwinger* to be converted into solid form completed the garden theatre theme: no garden was complete without a grotto, and a new gateway was constructed which led to it (57).

The *Wallpavillon* is built into the earth bank of a mound, which overlooks the lake which the moat runs into to the east of the *Zwinger* (58). Various schemes were drawn-up by Pöppelmann for this gateway (59); unlike the others it is primarily a *Treppnhaus* and one ascends it to the walkway above. The *parti* of the *Zwinger* is a half-storey above the ground level (this level

reponds also to the geometrical principles of Descartes. The knowledge of cosmic order is seen to lie within the soul and is thus beyond absolute comprehension to the mind. However, the effort is nonetheless made to represent what we can see of ideas in the order of nature; it is thus quite common for the structure of plant life to be compared to that of celestial objects and architectural movement maintains a hierarchical order which is essentially vertical. Thought is thus placed into a situation in which it is seen to grow out of observation of the world, and all aspects of this are part of a continuum of experience in which the senses have (partial) access to knowledge. The most famous example of this is found in the architecture of Guarino Guarini. In the dome of *S. Lorenzo*, the cosmos is seen in a geometrical consistency which filters down, as light, to the less clearly articulated order of organic life. See 'Geometry and Light in the Architecture of Guarino Guarini', James Patrick McQuillan, Ph. D. Dissertation, Cambridge University, 1991.

¹¹⁷H-G. Gadamer, *T. M.*, p. 454 (he quotes Aristotle's *Metaphysics* in arguing that for the Ancient Greeks theory 'approached seeing and knowing the order of the world. Modern theory is a tool of construction by means of which we gather experiences together in order to *dominate them* ... Ancient *theoria* is not a means in the same sense, but the end itself, the highest manner of being human.', *Ibid*).

is supported upon the shoulders of Satyrs which create podia for the display of orange trees during warm weather) (60-63) A shallow sweep of steps comes out from the facade of the pavilion, and the next landing gives access to the external gallery level from which the audience viewed festivals (64). On ascending a straight flight you arrive at a fountain which is set into a scalloped niche in the wall. The stones ripple here with light reflected upon the moving water and back up over the walls. The sound of water lapping against stone and falling into itself is echoed all around in premonition of the delights to come. To the left and right respectively, doorways give access to the galleries of the orangery and to the *Französischer Pavillon* (this wing now houses the surveyors and curators of the monuments commission). This level is articulated on the inner face of the Zwinger by a frieze which also includes ornamental brackets for the display of urns and plants. Rising on each side of the fountain, two sets of identical staircases dogleg around it. The second flight is noticeably steeper than the first and at this point one is inclined to pause and draw breath. A prospect is offered back across the Hof¹¹⁸. The vista is framed – and presented – by the arches of the *Wallpavillon*, and the pictorial quality of a staged event is emphasised by the disengaged columns which support the second floor above. This level is at once the roof of the Zwinger and the level of the land banked behind this wing. This Promenade connects the upper floors of the various representational *Säle*. A cornice, articulating the limit of the building, continues at the gateways and is held up here by yet more Satyrs. These creatures are shown in poses of drunken intoxication and sport crowns made of vines laden with fruit (65). The comic setting of festival is depicted here in the grinning faces of the Satyrs. The transformation of fruit into wine is caught in the moment of the return of the stones to organic matter as the whole building bursts into laughter. One disgruntled Satyr is biting his arm as if he wishes to put down his burden and join in the merriment of the revellers he gazes upon. This state of imminent collapse recalls the temporary nature of festival structures and the building fabric of the arches are seen to hang rather than to take the weight of the load, which the columns bear. The satyrs are joking in more ways than their expressions alone suggest; they are depicted supporting the upper levels of the Zwinger in which the serious activities of culture are housed. In structural terms this is of course not entirely correct, but it is an aspect of baroque theatricality that each element of a building fulfils a representational as well as a technical purpose.

The vaults of the pavilions are representations of the painted canopy of stars inside – frescoes by Louis de Silvestre; outwardly they recall the swags and billows of festival tents. The green patina of the copper and its ductile qualities make it appear as sleek and stretched as the sky. This, in turn, is shown supported upon the shoulders of *Hercules-Saxonicus* (66). Augustus is likened to the demi-god, in Balthasar Permoser's sculpture, bearing the world in the manner of Atlas. He is flanked on both sides by figures by Paul Heermann; to the left Venus and Paris symbolise virtue's rejection of seduction¹¹⁹. Venus is depicted as a virgin protected by a roaring lion. Strength is shown to come from the overcoming of temptation, and Augustus is cast as an ascetic. His reign is sanctified by the presence of Juno accompanied by Minerva. Wisdom is shown to ally herself with the virtue which Augustus's moral strength protects, and this combination is fitting for the majesty of Kingship which Juno witnesses. The Saxon and Polish emblems are depicted entwined supporting in harmony the crown of Augustus. The *Wallpavillon* should be seen to continue the themes begun in the *mathematisch-physikalischer Saal*: the chthonic realm bears the weight of the celestial. The philosopher-king must bear the responsibility of his divine position, and the unity of his subjects establishes stability in the lower levels. The festival space of the Zwinger brings together the King's disparate subjects in an act of communality and identity. Order is seen to be possible in the harmony of human affairs. The revelry of festival creates order from the disparate forms of its participants – the unity of the arts, and this unity is a brief temporal accord, but one from which the world achieve its proper orientation in the cosmos. The role of a garden-theatre is thus to show us that this accord is temporal in essence.

The grotto, which was to sit beneath the celestial rooms of the science gallery is located to the right of the *Wallpavillon*. One turns toward a vista of the river and notices a pool, which is stirred by the force of a spring welling up from within. Steps lead down and around into the darkness. Descending these, a moment comes, after the half-landing, when you are suddenly blinded; you stretch out your right arm to the curving wall or step inwards to the comfort of the bulging stones of the other side of the space. After the shadow of the descent itself you are suddenly falling into an impossibly bright space, which is so incredibly filled with the crash and spurt

¹¹⁸Von diesen Pavillon nun könnte man überaus schön die ganze große Plaine übersehen', Gudrun Stenke, 'Festarchitektur', in Milde ed. *op. cit.*, p. 341.

¹¹⁹see *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, Mario Praz, Roma, 1975 (1964), pp. 71, 214.

of water that you don't notice the sound at first. The vapour from numerous fountains falling, and jets of water shooting up to bisect them, creates at once a cooling and humid atmosphere. It is like stepping into a cloud, or suddenly finding that you can breathe beneath the surface of a pond. A pool dominates the centre of the space and its waterworks rise to the level one has just left behind. The disengaged columns around the arch are shaggy with regular bands of straggly-carved lichen. All around the walls nymphs dance in the swirling light of their niches. On moving into the room the rocks of the *Hauptkaskade* are visible, and it becomes clear that you have descended around a waterfall. The pool above has been gently emptying itself into this great torrent rushing over the green slime of the rustic stones. Nerieds blow salutes from their horns, and it is clear that this is to be seen at once as an artificial and yet natural clearing. One is underground after all and it is as if the building fabric has rotted away here to reveal the rock it is built upon.

This space is a theatre of sacred nature. The first nymph to the right of the rock pool, Leda, is in the throes of seduced by Zeus in the form of a swan. The supernatural is shown entering this place. It is roofed by a cupola of sky and clouds. Grottos are essentially naturalistic settings and the Greeks worshipped rocky springs in which the spirit of Apollo was thought to dwell¹²⁰. The life-giving properties of clear running water were mythologised as a source of order¹²¹; the healing qualities of song mingle with the arts of medicine. The elements conspire in the order of return and rejuvenation, which the language of allegory articulated in ceaseless combinations. The elusive, partially embodied moment of recognition of situated existence, was taken as a baroque motif; the cohesion of the arts of the world as they fall from Parnassus into their different forms in the world suggested the possibility of a recovery of unification of identity. This pre-lapsarian unity was seen to be partially possible¹²². The consistency of representation suggested the potential re-establishment of the innocence of the original garden. The baroque grottoes are a fantastic admixture of pagan and Christian fictive spaces.

Philosophy is taken to be made besides running water in Phaedrus¹²³, and the baroque impulse was to create setting for thought which is situated in the processes of the natural world. These naturalistic grotto spaces are for reflection and meditation, and aid the rejuvenation of the spirit and the mind¹²⁴. In Renaissance culture, this activity is taken from the Roman model of the villa; and the *vita activa* of the city finds refreshment and solace in the contemplation of nature in the countryside. In the manneristic *nymphaea*, an irreconcilable juxtaposition of art and life is

¹²⁰The Renaissance Nymphaeum: its origins and development in Rome and vicinity', Frank J. Alvarez, Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1981, p. 5.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹²²The significance if the fruit in the main court of the Zwinger becomes clear at this point. As the original food of man in Genesis and in classical mythology (see 'The Doctrines of Pythagorous' in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), the vegetarianism of the Garden of Eden is compared to that of the Golden Age. The dividing of the year into seasons occurs because of the abduction of Proserpina by Pluto at Sicily. Her mother, Demeter appeals to the child's father, Apollo, to rescue her. Juno judges that Proserpina must stay half of each year with her husband; 'Her looks were sad, and fear still in her eyes./ And yet a queen, and yet of that dark land/ Empress, and yet with power and majesty/ The consort of the Sovereign Lord of Hell.' (Ovid, V. 485-515, trans. Melville, O.U.P., 1986). autumn and winter pine her banishment, and spring and summer become the seasons of comedy and love as she is amongst men. The world is thus ordered. Unlike a medieval paradise, the renaissance garden turns outward to the world (see *The Garden of Eden - The Botanic Garden and the Re-creation of Paradise*, John Prest, New Haven, 1981, pp. 97-104, for a discussion of the images of paradise used by Milton and Dante and the situatedness of Eden in a european landscape). The collection of all the dispersed aspects of the world, foreign species of fruit, artworks, etc., re-creates, in a baroque garden, the unity of the Golden age and of Eden. Thetis' love for the world is shown, in many baroque gardens, to be semen which flows as water over the land, making it fruitful (see my M-Phil essay 'L.J.von Hildebrandt's Belvedere at Vienna for Prince Eugen of Savoy'). This succour is our consolation for being human and banished from heaven in our mortal span. The baroque saw its duty as one of enabling creation to acieve a state of symbolic perfection. The state of man is seen to be one of division from his heavenly wholeness (as the soul is cut in two as it is born on earth in Plato's *Symposium*); just as the year is divided into seasons, 'each of the halves, which originally belonged to complete living being, seeks to be made whole once again. Thus every individual is a fragment or a *symbolon tou anthropu* (191d.)' - *R.O.B.*, Gadamer, p. 32. The experience of this recovered unity is compared by Gadamer to love. The allegorical mode attempts to find a form of representation such that 'the symbol is that other fragment that has always been sought in order to complete and make whole our own fragmentary life', *ibid*. The division of the year casts man into a state which lacks the balance of nature and of the gods; but the task of ethics is seen in the baroque interpretation Christian and classical terms, to be an attempt to reconcile our natures with the harmony evident in the natural world. The landscape of the kingdom is thus mythologized after Ovid's treatment of Italy; in this case it alludes to the mountains of Saxon Switzerland down stream from Dresden. The Zwinger is a representation of all the arts held in the stability of Augustus' patronage, and the *Nymphenbad* is a microcosm of its kingdom See the reference to Plato's *Laws* above): this will become clear in the next chapter when we shall see the Zwinger used in conjunction with other festival settings throughout the region.

¹²³Comito, 'The Humanist Garden', *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹²⁴The Nymphaea of private Roman residences were not religious; its purpose was to delight with the refreshing sight and sound of running water', Alvarez, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

depicted in an architecture, which cannot become wholly organic¹²⁵. The sense of failure of man to discover the language of nature in the arts, is a symptom of the paralysis New Science inspired for a while; the baroque responds to this in recognition of the process of enlightenment as one, which occurs through, and not despite language. The languages of all the arts are rejuvenated in an operatic mediation, which attempts to combine their partial articulation in an embodied unity. We find the intensity of this attempted mediation in the *Nymphenbad*.

As well as attempting to find a stable form of universal representation in allegory, the baroque period has serious misgivings regarding the perfectibility of such a project. The confidence which perspectival representation inspires is tempered by a sense of modesty in assessing the potential success of science alone to provide an authentic vision of truth. The language of this discourse is at once refuting the claims to superiority of New Science, and utilising modern techniques to create allegoric settings. These settings should not be considered to be created with the intention of providing an alternative version of reality, but rather, aspects of the world are revealed in the act of mimesis. For example, the haze of mist created in the intersection of the falling and rising water of the *Hauptkascade*, reveal a rainbow on sunny days. This wonder is not presented as a trick or as a result of technique; it is rather that the architect's judicious arrangement of water in light can disclose aspects of the natural world, which are beyond appropriation. Science is still considered an art, just as medicine is seen capable of achieving the redemptive quality of poetry in the myth of Parnassus. In this case the grotto should be seen as a celestial cave. The twelve Nymphs represent the lunar months. This *Saal*, associated with the *Französisches Pavillon*, is the counter-point not only to the temporal transience of the *Kronentor*, but provides a commentary also upon the Mathematical instruments in the cosmological chamber – architecture and the events it stages are also a form of clock (in this case the crown gate stands in for the body of the King in his absence, witness to his return, just as a monument is a *momento mori* that records the past and the act of devotion and remembrance renews the sacred time associated with it is a form of time-keeping more meaningful than machines that simply register time passing). The stability of the celestial realm is compared with the exaggerated geological ruination and metamorphosis worked by water upon stone. The worldly affairs of court are not entirely glorified but placed modestly into a state of architectural decorum in relation to the temporal scale of nature and of the heavens.

The baroque is a period, in which the unity of the arts, reveal their inability to approach a state of mathematical, transparent mediation. Paradoxically, the *non-finito* ambiguity of poetry attempts to achieve a state of allegoric cohesion. The imperfectibility of this project is recognised to lie in a sense of blasphemy, which is closest to the Greek notion of hubris; the various arts can be combined in a meaningful manner, but the baroque retains the traditional notion that any ultimate state of perception of *Aletheia* is beyond formulation.

Festival is at once a moment of recognition of order and the worship of the transcendental desires of man. This inability to bear mortality without the expressions of intelligence that revolts against this order is the paradox of festival. Theatricality casts temporal desire into a firmament in which the abandonment of reason exists in a cosmic setting. The failure of scientific reason to comprehend the limits of its reification of reality is placed against the Dionysian exuberance of sacrifice; the violence of this juxtaposition is clear in the way all the arts combine in festivals' refutation and corresponding celebration of temporality. Thus, the theatricality of baroque space sends one gasping from it to the stability of our experience of the world. The overwhelming of the senses in the *Nymphenbad* is the counter-point of the communality of festival. The density of dramatic temporality achieves two contradictory things at once. Firstly, festival is cosmological: order is celebrated. The annual festival orients the rest of the year within a representational structure of chthonic and celestial harmony. Secondly, this moment of identity and recognition in festival, is one in which exuberance and disorder reign. The desire to overcome temporal bonds and also fear of the inevitability of our mortal condition, are released in a space in which we are purged of them. The imitation of gods acts as a form of *catharsis*, and thus the apparent paradox of festival

¹²⁵cf., 'It is the essential duality between art and nature that makes the grotto such a perfect specimen of mannerism. Is it a cave cut in architectural form out of rock, or, alternatively, architecture overlaid with the accretions of Time? ... Nowhere is this art/nature dichotomy better expressed than in Tlomei's letter ... "The *ignegnoso artificio* newly rediscovered of making fountains, which indeed is seen in use in more palaces in Rome, where mingling art with nature, one cannot discern if it was the work of the former or the latter; thus some appear as natural artifice, and others as useful nature: in such a way they contrive in these times to assemble a fountain that seems to be made by nature herself, but with masterly artistry', *Heavenly Grottos*, Naomi Miller, New York, 1982, p. 44.

is an opportunity for the re-establishment of contentment. In the main *Hof* of the Zwinger, collective identity is represented supported on the shoulders of the Satyrs: the lascivious love of carnal humanity is let loose during carnivals in the use of the Zwinger for the feast of *Fasching*, and this chaos is transformed into meaning; thus, order is articulated during the *ecstasis* of dramatic revelation.

In the etchings of the *Nymphenbad*, the architectural experience is shown to be primarily an exaggeration of the visual sense. Etchings accompanied the built reality of a Baroque project as a textual exegesis spreading the fame of the patron and their architect. They also explain the spatial significance of the iconographic configuration. The exaggerated perspective allows an ideal view of the architect's intentions and attempts to represent the meanings of spatial relationships (69).

In the famous engraving of this space in the *Kupferstichwerk* we see from the shadow of the *Französischer Pavillion* (70). This room is built in celebration of the courtly arts, of which love is the highest ideal. We see the bodies of courtesans affect ignorance of the act of display an invitation into the centre of the King's fantasy entails¹²⁶. Behind their shrouds of sophistication, the city beauties act out innocence as if they are so many ornamental fish in the moat. The King's intimates promenade, affecting indifference to the scene before them, but at once similarly upon a stage. The women are living examples of perfected states of grace.

The perspective of the drawing distorts the situation of the enclosed room to cast it as a *Bühne* overlooking the audience. In this act of voyeurism, we see here the moment of petrification of theatrical ritual. The actors assume indifference to the audience, and theatricality of baroque space has become an activity aloof from the participation of all players in a representation of the drama of life. *Alθεια* loses her modesty in this view. The drawing belies the power of this situation. These space are cosmological settings: both sit beneath celestial canopies, the pavillion under its frescoes and the *Nymphenbad* beneath the rain and sun. The sound and the wetness of the atmosphere stun you at first. Dialogue returns hesitantly. The illusionism of the space does not remove it from reality. Nature is given a role to play in the representation. The direction is from above.

¹²⁶Hansmann records the visit of the Prussian King in 1722 (71), in which Augustus is shown, in a contemporary engraving, to offer his guest the hospitality of one of the royal mistresses, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10. Augustus is reported to have fathered 354 illegitimate children, and the *madchen* in the example given is allegedly at once one of them, and one of the King's lovers. The iconography of the main courtyard, in which Augustus' virtue is compared to an innocent Venus, is a representational device which to it was not necessary for him to adhere. The co-existence of order and dis-order in festival is similar to this example; the representation of order is necessary to assure political stability.

CONCLUSION:

In the first part of our discussion of baroque theatricality we have considered the problem of interpretation which it poses. Theatricality has been seen to be an aspect of representation, and we have sought to understand the situation of this in the critical histories of baroque architecture. Representation is the primary factor in the baroque reaction to the nascent instrumental culture of New Science. The offering of an alternative dialectic of a unity in the arts is a reaction to the monological discourse, which threatens to destroy the traditional role of poetry as a mediation between sensation and knowledge; baroque architecture provides a setting for the experience of the world which attains an ethical coherence. The stability of this experience is attempted in an allegorical setting of thought with images, and then within a spatial configuration. The movement from sensation to analogy and the ultimate situation of this in cohesion of representation has been seen to be theatrical.

We have described the Zwinger as a permanent structure, which establishes all the arts of a Baroque city in spatial stability. The building was used for festival, and we must now consider the twin states of the Zwinger; during performance and as piece of urban architecture.

i Festival and the baroque city.

Faßmann includes a detailed description of the wedding celebrations in September 1719 in his biography of Augustus the Strong. This has been documented in the work of the East German historians responsible for the symposium honouring Pöppelmann to celebrate the completion of the reconstructed Zwinger in 1988. Recently, Herman Bauer has incorporated the festival architecture of Dresden into his work; the task of interpretation of the festival iconography has been neglected, we lack the space here to give more than a description of the performances, but I shall attempt to consider the significance of the Zwinger in the dramatic and mundane order of the city of Dresden.

Augustus was anxious that his son's wedding be celebrated in the most lavish manner possible. This is a typical baroque enthusiasm for representation, and international alliances were the opportunity for self-representation. As we have suggested, the situation of Augustus is an intense example of this: Augustus III had been absent from his ancestral home in the eight years preceding his marriage, and his father was concerned with the reception of this Polish-Saxon catholic in the affections of his Saxon subjects. The cruel summer and harsh winter of the previous year had created great suffering in the Saxon people, and a huge festival was the ideal moment to display his munificence¹²⁷. The alliance with the Holy Roman Empire was signal enough that the small kingdom of Saxony was achieving recognition in the wider context of European power. Augustus was very enthusiastic at the possibility of an entirely representational event, and the unfinished Zwinger was to be pressed into use for the first time for the display of the magnificence of his unorthodox reign¹²⁸.

The bride was met at Pirna, downstream from Dresden on 30th August. More than a hundred Gondolas greeted her voyage from Prague. She was escorted to Dresden and entertained, along with two hundred Grafen, in the private rooms of the old Schloß (see Fig. 23). The wedding celebrations began on 10th September¹²⁹ in the grounds of the *Holländisches Pallais*. The

¹²⁷The 'funfair of the nation' of 20th september 1719 went a long way to placate the empty stomachs and grumbling voices of the population; see Marx, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-6 for a discussion of the political situation.

¹²⁸Pöppelmann draws the analogy between imperial and baroque presentation in the *Kupferstichwerk*: 'the rediscovery of the Roman art is the major influence upon our architecture today', and Löen, who made the engravings, says in another context (which impressed Pöppelmann enough to commission him Bächler suggests, in Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 47), 'The Zwinger represents the harmony of art and power', *Sylvanders von Edel-Leben zufällige Betrachtungen. Von der Glückseligkeit der Tugend*, Frankfurt am Main, 1726, p. 85. This tendency is revealed in the mammoth task of Claude Perrault; his translation of Vitruvius' *Dix Livres d'Architecture*, Paris, 1684, displays a degree of faith in the order of antique patronage that prompts Alberto Pérez-Gomez to suggest that, 'Claude identified the Golden Age of Louis XIV with the mythical excellence of the Roman empire. Architecture had to be conceived in terms of Roman prototypes.', *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, M.I.T. Press, 1983,

p. 35. Pöppelmann possessed a copy of François Blondell's *Cours d'Architecture* and his *Architecture Pratique* Bächler tells us, *op. cit.*, p. 45. I am inclined to believe that he has more in common with Blondell than either of the Perrault brothers; as Pérez-Gomez says, Blondell remains convinced of the role of proportion - as an expression of mathematics' essentially metaphoric movement, and Pöppelmann, I suggest, shared Blondell's appreciation of 'architecture's fundamental symbolic role', *op. cit.*, p. 45.

¹²⁹N.B., Bauer is guilty of a mistake here, or rather, perhaps Reimer's in Berlin are. It is stated twice that the 12th is a Sunday, it is actually a Tuesday. The *Apollofest* occurred on Sonntag, 12 September 1719.

Gartenparterre between the *Schloß* and the river was filled by at 5 p.m. for a *Singspiel*. The royal parties retired for dinner at seven o'clock, and afterwards witnessed fireworks sent from a temporary wooden structure on the riverbank ¹³⁰(72). A three act *Schauspiel* was enacted in which Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece is undertaken; he emerges triumphant from his battles with dragons and wild beasts and the triumph is revealed to be Augustus the Younger's. Marie-Joseph's name is illuminated in fireworks; the drama is revealed as an epigram, the fleece of our hero's victory is his bride. The court viewed this spectacle from the windows of the *Schloß*, and the general population from across the river. *Festarchitektur* was typically accompanied by the ephemera of fireworks, and they provide a suitably energetic climax to the drama. This day had been celebrated earlier in a *Turnier* in the Altmarkt. The royal parties sat in an *Ehrenloge* and witnessed the towns' peoples' delight at the faux medieval tournament of jousting between the Austrian and Saxon knights (73). This was an entirely choreographed event, and no one was injured. For the sake of manners, Augustus allowed his guests and allies to win slightly more of the tournament events. The theme of the entire wedding feast was a *Planetenfest*, and the fireworks were dedicated to Apollo; the tournament to Mars.

The next event occurred on the following Friday, 15th September 1719. The *Karusell der Vier Elemente* was dedicated to Jupiter held in the Zwinger (74). The performance began with the representation of the four elements by theatrical machines. Then, each Element was preceded by 105 horsemen riding through the *Kronentor*. The first element to arrive was that of fire accompanied by dancing sprites. Augustus represented himself as Apollo; the Sun King was clad in 'red velvet inlaid with golden thread', Bauer tells us, he wore 'a belt encrusted with diamonds and rubies, his most-beloved precious stones'¹³¹. The Groom followed representing water and he was followed by Herzog von Weißfels and by Prince Friedrich Ludwig von Württemberg representing earth and air respectively. The harmony of Jupiter is worked out in a ritualised battle in which Augustus is seen to establish order. Material magnificence is displayed in a traditional manner and in simple iconographic patterns. The Zwinger is used as a traditional sports field on this day, it is introduced into the national consciousness in the performance of an inherently stabilising spectacle¹³²; Jupiter overcomes chaos and establishes all the aspects of life in their proper relation.

The following Monday, 18th September, is the occasion of a tribute to Diana. This Lunar festival occurs on the river as well as upon its banks. Animals are hunted into the shallows and corralled in specially constructed enclosures. A great white stag has been specially trained for its death, and Augustus is shown to be heroic in his successful pursuit of the beast. The population of the city watch the King's bravery from the *Augustusbrücke* and from assembled barges.

The Zwinger was used again for the *Wirtschaft Jahrmarkt* of Wednesday, 20th September 1719¹³³. In imitation of the typical German farmer's wedding, the royal families mingled with the crowds disguised as common folk. This event was an offering of the King to his subjects, and everyone was invited. The religious festivals of the Weihnachtsmarkt and the Easter passion plays are replaced with an alternative celebration of the harvest. Augustus has shifted the site of this festival from the Altmarkt to his new building before it is actually finished!

The festival for Venus occurred the following Saturday, 23rd September, in the Große Garten. This event was almost entirely feminine, and the ladies of the court amused themselves in playing *Ringstechen* (a version of darts in which an arrow must be thrown into a ring). The successful throw would ensure the victor a happy marriage. A *Venustempel* was constructed and brightly illuminated; the royal party dined and danced until the early hours.

The final event of this celebrated month was dedicated to Saturn and took place on Tuesday 26th of September in the mountains of *Sächsische Schweiz*. Italian comedy was performed in two artificial grottoes during the afternoon. These theatres were constructed in the

¹³⁰ The play of water and light in this position establishes themes manifest in the project's development as the site of the Nymphenbad. The spatial structure of this ephemeral piece requires further investigation.

¹³¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 130-1.

¹³² The model for this performance was the marriage of Marie-Joseph's grandfather, Leopold I at Vienna in 1667. The *Robballet* had also been performed there. The horse ballet is a Hellenic tradition dating from the 5th century B. C..

¹³³ Augustus spent the hours between noon and its opening at 5pm 'totally alone, without anyone else ... and took the work in through his eyes, organised the afternoon's events', Faßmann, cited in Marx, *IOp. cit.*, p. 74.

rocky terrain of *Plauenschen Grund*. Dinner was then served for the court in front of the Festspielplatz in an illuminated building, constructed from wood and plaster, to appear as a mountain. Atop sat a temple for Saturn. Whilst the royal party dined, sixteen hundred miners came out of the darkness to salute them with juggling skills involving their lanterns in a bizarre mixture of technical demonstration and fantastical theatre. The spectacle was followed by a mass dance in which the royal family led thousands of spectators and participants in celebration of the newly-weds. The meaning of this event is clear; the King's subjects are shown to work for him as they labour at the cultivation of the earth's riches. Nature itself pays homage to the King and his family.

ii Theatricality and the city.

The Zwinger is a permanent example of the ephemeral architecture, which typifies the baroque. It was not used for festival all of the time (75), and became known as Der Zwinger-Garten. The project drawn-up-by Lonelune to extend the building to the Elbe was to enclose a garden (76). This was never built¹³⁴. Augustus III, the son of Augustus the Strong, did not continue his father's enthusiasm for the baroque representational culture. The Zwinger represents a particular moment in the history of architecture. Shortly, the attempts at cohesion, which all the arts combined to articulate, are rejected in favour of a science of pure forms and a technical attitude to structure (just as order became to be associated with authority). The festival is the ultimate expression of the baroque's attempt to involve all of the arts of the city in a unity of purpose and identity.

The mundane order of the city is articulated in the representational space of festival. During performance, the action of everyday life is presented in an ideal form, and all the arts of the city, from saddlery to cookery, are combined in a cosmological structure. The Zwinger was a frame in which baroque life was situated; and in many ways we see the city through it. During festival, the building would have been part of a particular structure of activities and of spaces connected with them. In an allegorical formulation, the visibility of an analogy seeks the manifestation of an image, which suggests a degree of reciprocity between an idea and the world. This situatedness is achieved in the festival programme in which particular performances are specific to the place in which they occur. For example, the final event during the wedding celebrations of 1719 involved the miners of Saxon Switzerland in a demonstration of their skills. Work was idealised. The essence of a location is articulated in a representational and meaningful manner. The kingdom is ordered around a series of events, which raise its *poesis* of mundane activities to a state of praxis.

Festival space is highly articulated but hardly embodied, however. The imagination is called to play in the association of action with place in the formulation of a situation. Outside of the temporal frame of a festival, the architect of the Zwinger attempted to manifest the imminence of a theatrical performance. This is achieved in the iconography and in the treatment of materials in which it is presented. The Garden of Eternal Spring maintains the allusion of the Zwinger to a temporary festival building. This was achieved in the paradoxically dis-temporal manner of supporting a climate in which the fruit in the orangery was eternally blossoming. The Zwinger is a *Hesperidian* realm, but this illusion remains distant from the everyday life of the city. It is partially recovered in dramatic performances, but acts primarily as a poetic structure for the activities associated with (Baroque and Renaissance) gardens.

For Pöppelmann, the Zwinger should be seen as a modern version of the Campo Marzio. It is significant that the people of Dresden understood the Zwinger as a garden, rather than as a *Schauburg*. The place never became a green world in any sense other than as a representational one. The ability of the ideal realm to allude to paradise is clear in this recognition of the power of representation to suggest that a garden embodies aspects of order beyond physical appropriation. The *Zwinger-Garten* need not be a botanical garden to suggest Eden: a garden is a fragment of order, which is 'held in our hesitant stay'¹³⁵. Faith in the power of analogy to represent order suggests that the potential of dramatic temporality lies in the revelation of aspects of reality in language¹³⁶. Representation is a temporal experience in which being-ness is articulated. As such,

¹³⁴The grassed areas of the main *Hof* were not constructed until the 1930's during the period of National-Socialism.

¹³⁵H-G Gadamer's allusion to Hölderlin's 'Bread and Wine', *R.O.B.*, p. 53.

¹³⁶c.f. J.B. Jackson, 'Landscape as Theatre' in *The Necessity for Ruins*, The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980: 'Toward the middle of the 17th Century the metaphor of landscape as theatre quite abruptly and quite radically began to change its significance. Theatre ceased to mean exclusively spectacle and came to mean drama, the analysis and solution of a problem.', p. 72. Jackson suggests that this moment is one of transition from the Classical to the modern world. His emphasis upon the pictorial qualities of theatrical space are yet another example of the obvious importance scholars attach

representation is the manner of becoming, which reflects upon our experience of being. The time involved in making and in experiencing an act of representation suggests a reciprocal relationship between thought and the world: that our manner of being human is a reflective experience articulated in the various layers of representation in - this case Baroque - space. This mimetic experience establishes the act of representation as an intense, dramatic, referent of the temporality of being in the natural world. Aspects of both the natural world and its analogues in representation - the cultural world of the city - are revealed in the temporal experience of interpretation. In this way *urbi et orbi* (the city and the world) are placed into an ontological - temporal - structure of representation of commentary upon one another.

The lack of change in the atmosphere inside the orangery manifests the stability of the metaphoricity of the place in the imagination of a city. A rhetorical space achieves stability in the memory of those who experience it. The relevance and importance of this situation lies in the meaning of a space in time¹³⁷. The baroque attempts to create spaces of mediation retain a sense of the partial voice of many engaged together in imperfect harmony.

In Belotto's painting *Der Zwinger zu Dresden*, 1749-52 (frontispiece), we see the people moving through the Hof as if the space is an abandoned stage, awaiting action. The action of daily life is depicted by Bellotto in a space which was no longer used for the Baroque festivals which inspired its creation, the brief period of its full meaning in use. However, the role of the Zwinger in the city of Dresden should be seen as the provision of a setting for action, which established city life in relation to the landscape and the natural world. This act was seen to be the necessary rehearsal for a temporal accord with the forces of divine nature. The Baroque recognition of the importance of a moment articulated in a revealing gesture displays a sense of involvement and participation in the world in which man is both actor and audience; and a belief that life itself is the setting for the drama of being. The period is characterised by an acute sensitivity to the tacit aspects of order in the mundane life of a city and its commentary upon the landscape; a city is part of the natural world and yet an elevated moment (*Aufhebung*) - raised up - in the act of people gathering together. The significance of this dialogue lies in a sense of a careful bringing to light of an underlying and latent configuration of ideas, which illuminate our situation in the Cosmos. This reciprocity is seen also in the closeness of art and life as levels of a hierarchy of being articulated in language; the ideal world of theatre provides a model for behaviour just as the drama is situated in settings in the natural world. The re-creation of settings in nature for drama recall their initial role as sites for the first cities. Urban cultivation is seen in the Baroque as an elevated form of gardening; the fulfilment and embodiment of a culture - *civilitas* - and its education, as it is itself exemplary. The medieval cloister garden is opened outwards and brought into the heart of the city of Dresden; this fragment of the ideal allows an intense experience of a possible reconciliation between man and nature - *ruri et urbi* (the city and the natural world) - through the exegesis of life and of art. Thus, as a fully embodied experience - with or without stylised performance - the Zwinger can be properly considered a symbol. In this sense it reminds us of the situation of political life in its relation to the natural world¹³⁸: The Classical analogy of landscape and theatre is recovered in the Baroque period to reveal that city life is itself an idealised form of action, it is essentially theatrical.

to the sense of sight manifest in a perspectival world-view. A deeper significance of the call to visibility which the age manifest in optical curiosity can be also found, as I have suggested above, in the notion of allegory. This ontological sense of place, rather than a mechanical curiosity in the *Res Extensa* of space, is suggested in Pérez-Gomez's reading of Vitruvius in which the "origins" of architecture correspond with the origins of the city and the birth of language: 'In a moving passage that re-creates the beginning of humanity, the Roman writer describes how some thickly crowded trees, tossed around by storms and winds, and rubbing their branches against one another, caught fire. Men first ran away like animals, terrified by the fury of the blaze. Eventually they approached the fire and realised that it kept them warm. They subsequently added more wood to the fire and learned how to keep it burning. As a result of this social event, they stayed together and uttered their first words, learning to name the reconciliatory act that kept them alive. With this initial poetic naming came the naming of the poesis of architecture, the possibility of making', 'Chora: The Space of Architectural Representation' in 'Chora 1 Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture' ed. Pérez-Gomez and Parcell, McGill-Queens Press, 1994. This moment is acted out in dance as a remembrance of being human and related with nature through making and in language. The space of architectural representation is existential; theatricality is our recognition of the art of becoming human in language.

¹³⁷ It is significant that the Zwinger was the first public structure which the Dresdeners began to reconstruct after the bombing. Rather than the Socialist re-modelled Altmarkt, the Zwinger was the site of political representation in 1989; the place where the citizens first rediscovered their voice with the cry of 'Wir sind das Volk!'.

¹³⁸ For the Ancient Greeks the primary moment of the creation of the polis (city) lies in the act of making a 'ring-wall' (polis). This making provides the ontological foundation for action: ethics is based upon poesis. The Zwinger is a walled garden built upon the city bastion and the techné-poesis of its formation provides a representational setting for the praxis of being. This was known in the Baroque period as decorum. Its walls open to the Neustadt as a model of behaviour and as a site for political identity; representation.

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