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Luís Manuel Lourenço Sêro

Athens Institute for Education and Research

8 Valaoritou Street, Kolonaki, 10683 Athens, Greece

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Luís Manuel Lourenço Sêro, Associate Professor, Lusíada University, Portugal.

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ABSTRACT

When Kant established the noumenon¹ as the limit of knowledge in his Critique of Judgment, he set off a reaction among the most distinguished philosophers of the infinite: Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. This consciousness of the infinite and its analysis through the feeling of the sublime was the basis of all European Romanticism, as well as of the artistic currents that flowed from it. Although the theme of the sublime has been studied since Longinus, it was Hegel who extended the concept through the analysis of space and time in his The Philosophy of Nature, because nature as de-termination² of the idea necessarily falls in space and time.³ Consequently, the artistic achievement of that era could only be a figurative representation of the sublime and the integration of all arts in a whole with the purpose of awakening the feeling of *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Opera thus becomes a total spectacle, in which all the arts (poetry, music, painting, sculpture and architecture) could participate to evoke phenomena as determinations and thus refer them to the idea⁴ from where they came, achieving an intensive quantum⁵ in space and an eternal present in time, in which everything happens and flows. The concept of scenery is essentially an ideal evocation of a certain phenomenon and is thus removed from the negativity⁶ of space and time. The scenographers of the great theatres had such an important influence on the architecture of their time that the architecture itself became a scenario. Portugal kept up with the artistic movements

¹For Kant the noumenon was the real, the thing in itself, and it existed independent from the subject or the subject form through which it was perceived.

²De-termination – Movement away from the termination or consciousness of the formed object

³*Space and time – in the Kantian concept they are the support that enables objects to exist. It is the juxtaposition of objects that ensures a consciousness of the existence of space and time.*

⁴*Idea- For Hegel, the idea is the real, what exists in its most abstract substance without reflexion. It is the being in its purest existence independent from the subject.*

⁵*Quantum – For Hegel, the quantum is the negative of multiplicity, which is in itself undifferentiation in general. “Above all as a negative unit of difference, of continuity and of description, quantity is a being in itself (...) therefore it is already in itself indifferent in relation to its limit (...) “likewise the immediate simplicity of the quantity, the negative of the one is consequently the limit and the quantity is essentially quantum”*

⁶Negative – In the Hegelian lexicon, negativity is a lack, an absence that needs to be filled and thus permits dynamism, action, in other negativity is a power.

of the time and the scenographers of the São Carlos lyrical theatre were closely associated with some of the most representative buildings of Portuguese Romanticism. An analysis of this association based on the concept of the sublime, on the concept of space and time and on the concept of scenario constitutes the theme of this article.

Keywords: Sublime, Space, Time, Symbol, Connotation, Metalanguage, Romanticism.

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Introduction

This article aims to analyse interventions by opera scenographers in Portuguese architecture during the 19th century. This analysis addresses not only a selection of iconic architectural achievements in Portugal, but also the philosophical principles that are the essence of Romanticism.

These philosophical principles were enunciated by the philosophers of the infinite, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and in literary and intellectual movements of the late 18th century and early 19th century. Romanticism was a movement that based knowledge not on reason, but on feelings, because only feelings can induce the infinite. This infinite was felt as the sublime and it was this sublime that was expressed materially in the artistic works of Romanticism.

This art evoked infinite time and space and the archetypal manifestation of this art of evocation was a total work of art: the opera. This performance needs a physical representation, a psychological representation and a temporal representation. The physical representation uses scenery as intervention by architecture, painting and sculpture. The psychological representation uses music and poetry. Both representations are expressed through the dynamic and mathematical sublime. The temporal representation uses historical representations that induce the sublime in time. This article therefore has two separate parts:

- The first contains an analysis of the sublime, as well as an analysis of what scenery is as an artistic representation;
- The second part addresses a selection of works by scenographers from the São Carlos National Theatre in Portuguese architecture, as well as an analysis of these works.

An exception is made for the association of the king consort Dom Fernando with the construction of Pena Palace in Sintra. Although that he was not a scenographer, he never ceased to act like one in relation to this work, which is one of the most important scenic achievements in 19th-century Europe.

The Philosophical Foundations of Romanticism

In philosophical terms, Romanticism⁷ was based on the feeling of the sublime manifested in the action of the subject (Romance), as well as on concepts of space and time. If the action of the subject, even commanded by forces behind the phenomena, is always, in its achievement, in the private domain, the determination of the idea in space concerns nature⁸ and, in time, constitutes the story.

⁷*Romanticism* – Derives from the French word *roman* which describes a person's epic or lyrical action.

⁸Predication of the idea in space refers to the action of its materialisation through an object. For Hegel nature is the determination of the idea in space and the determination of the idea in time constitutes history.

Architecture scenically evokes these determinations and this is why we must approach them, even if briefly.

Analysis of the Sublime

The etymological meaning of the word sublime (*sub-limen* - up to + lintel) refers to an inner boundary, never defined because the infinite possibilities of the predication⁹ of the idea prevents this limit from being specified; not even in the world of phenomena has anything that can represent it. This why the sublime does not reside in a particular determination (the object), but instead in the subject that feels it.

In Critique of Pure Reason, Kant established an interesting difference between beauty and the sublime and individualised the feelings that they induce:

*The Beautiful and the Sublime agree in this, that both please in themselves. (...) The Beautiful in nature is connected with the form of the object, which consists in having boundaries. The Sublime, on the other hand, is to be found in a formless object, so far as in it or by occasion of it boundlessness is represented, and yet its totality is also present to thought. Thus the Beautiful seems to be regarded as the presentation of an indefinite concept of Understanding; the Sublime as that of a like concept of Reason. Therefore the satisfaction in the one case is bound up with the representation of quality, in the other with that of quantity.*¹⁰

Thus beauty is apprehended by its limit and by the harmonic proportions of its dimensions, by direct knowledge of its greatness and by the satisfaction that these characteristics infuse into the subject. The sublime, on the other hand, is caused by disproportion between the subject and the object. This disproportion can be colossal and so creates in the subject a feeling of anguish and crushing, caused only by the consciousness that the subject has of the opposition that exists between himself and the object. Kant even defines the monstrous and colossal concepts:

*An object is monstrous if by its size it destroys the purpose which constitutes the concept of it. But the mere presentation of a concept is called colossal, which is almost too great for any presentation.*¹¹

But Kant confers greater abstraction to the concept of the sublime by basing it on space (mathematical sublime) and on the creative power of the self-activity of the being¹² (dynamic sublime).

⁹Predication– Motion, the action of determination of the ideal

¹⁰KANT, Immanuel 1892. *The Critique of Judgment – Second Book Analytic of the sublime*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1892. p. 101.

¹¹KANT, Immanuel 1892.

¹²For Hegel a being is only a being through its self-activity.

The Mathematical Sublime

The Kantian definition of mathematical sublime has the force of a postulate:

*We call that sublime which is absolutely great.*¹³

Therefore, the absolutely great is that which reduces everything else to a lesser dimension, except the concept of infinity itself, which can be thought of as a whole, and this capacity for abstraction of reason encompasses the being in its substance:

*The sublime is that, the mere ability to think which shows a faculty of the mind surpassing every standard of Sense.*¹⁴

This is why the mathematical sublime creates in the subject a feeling of expectation and solitude that leaves us immobile before a spatial transcendence that we cannot overcome.

Dynamic Sublime

In The Science of Logic, Hegel considered that being is only to be by its self-activity and this one originates in its determination the nature. However this activity, is in itself infinite as well as its determinations are equally infinite. Kant has the same position in his “Critique of Judgment”:

*Now the proper unchangeable fundamental measure of nature is its absolute whole; which, regarding nature as a phenomenon.*¹⁵

The representation of this force in art leads to “Titanism”. The telluric forces of the landscapes, volcanoes, great cliffs or grand storms, etc. infuse in the subject a feeling of fear or expectation that he himself can only live if he considers that his safety is not endangered by the phenomena that surround him. Otherwise the preservation of his physical integrity is of primary importance and the instability in which he finds himself nullifies the feeling of the sublime. For Hegel this potential is a negativity, an infinite possibility of a *being there* and so:

In the ideal, interiority penetrates in such a way the reality that there is perfect correspondence between one and another. (...) In the sublime, the signification appears in the fore and such is its independence. That the whole exterior stands before it in a state of total subordination, realizing

¹³KANT, Immanuel 1892.

¹⁴KANT, Emanuel. 1995. *Critique de la faculté de juger- Livre II Analytique du sublime*. Paris: GF Flammarion, 1995. ISBN 978-2-0807-1088-8. p. 232.

¹⁵KANT, Emanuel. 1995. *Critique de la faculté de juger - Livre II Analytique du sublime*. Paris: GF Flammarion, 1995. ISBN 978-2-0807-1088-8. p. 237.

*that instead of implicating and revealing it, the interior only represents it, surpassing it.*¹⁶

It is this potential considered as negativity that Hegel applies equally to time and the determination of the phenomena that fall into it constitutes history.

The Concept of Space and Time

Space and time are the support of all phenomena, but their perception depends on the determinations of the idea: a *being there* (Space) and a *being another* (Time). Thus, space and time are conditions of all phenomena, both external and internal.

For Plato, space as χώρα (khôra) was a receptacle where primordial matter could acquire any form in the infinite possibilities of determination. For Aristotle, on the other hand, space was a τόπος (topos), in other words a space invested with meaning by the mere presence of a determination. Because these determinations succeed each other in a *being there*, before or after *being another*, they originate motion. When this motion is subjected to a number, this determines time.

*Time is the number of motion, in respect of the before and after, which is continuous because it belongs to a continuum.*¹⁷

As we have already noted, for Kant space and time were pure *a priori* intuitions: “*space is not a discursive concept (...) but a pure intuition.*”¹⁸ But these pure intuitions of phenomena are external when they refer to space and are internal when they refer to time “*Time is no more than the form of the inner sense*”¹⁹.

Hegel also considered space and time as pure intuitions, however, as we have seen, he introduced the concept of negativity.²⁰ For Hegel the negativity of space was a singularity, which constitutes the point. Because it is a “*being-there*” of the idea, it determines the place. However, by denying itself, this point creates in its motion the line that, in the dynamism of self-denying, creates the surface. In its dynamics, the substance of the intuition of space is thus mechanics.

In time, this concept of singularity is what Hegel called “*now*”, differentiating it from the concept of present. This “*now*”, in the act of denying itself, creates a *be-beyond*, which is the future. This now is the negativity of the future which, in return, when it denies, itself determines the past.

¹⁶HEGEL. 1993. *Estética- Desenvolvimento do ideal (Aesthetics- Development of the ideal) - Arte do sublime*. Lisboa: Guimarães Editores, 1993. ISBN 972-665-378-9. p. 211, 212.

¹⁷ARISTOTELE. 1999. *Physique*. s.l.: GF Flammarion, 1999. 978-2080708878.220^a.

¹⁸KANT. 2008. *Crítica da Razão Pura*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2008. ISBN 978-972-31-0623-7. p. 65.

¹⁹KANT. 2008. *Crítica da Razão Pura*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2008. ISBN 978-972-31-0623-7. p. 73.

²⁰In philosophy the positive and the negative refer essentially to a concrete determination and the possibility of determination. Thus positive (from the past participle of the verb *ponere*) means to be put, placed or the object in its complete determination. Negative means absence and non-existence or potency of determination.

However, denial of the negation is an affirmation and this affirmation is the present itself “*As a time reflected upon itself*” so it is complete in its cycle.

*The present is, only because the past is not: the being of the now has the determination of the not-being, and the not-being of its being is the future; The present is this negative unity. (...) If one considers time positively one can therefore say that only the present is, before and after is not; but the concrete present is the result of the past, and is pregnant with the future. The true present is therefore eternity.*²¹

Thus space and time are not in the things nor in the determinations of the idea (object). Space and time come from perception, from the self-activity of the idea. In the Third Ennead, Plotinus expounded on this subject:

*Thus we know Identity, a concept or, rather, a Life never varying, not becoming what previously it was not, the thing immutably itself, broken by no interval; and knowing this, we know Eternity. We know it as a Life changelessly motionless and ever holding the Universal content [time, space, and phenomena] in actual presence; not this now and now that other, but always all; not existing now in one mode and now in another, but a consummation without part or interval. All its content is in immediate concentration as at one point; nothing in it ever knows development: all remains identical within itself, knowing nothing of change, for ever in a Now since nothing of it has passed away or will come into being, but what it is now, that it is ever.*²²

This singularity is represented through a point that Romanticism sought to realise in space through an “*intensive quantum*” and in time through an eternal present in the form of memory, not as a copy but as an evocation of something that is not occurring.

Architecture - Scenery of the Sublime

The Concept of Scenery

The word scenery derives from the Proto-Indo-European *skai*, meaning bright or illuminated. In the sublime of space and time, scenery is therefore a particularity resulting from the determination of the idea.²³ This particularity creates a meaning in space which we can call place and a meaning in time which is the foundation of memory.

²¹HEGEL. 2002. *Philosophy of Nature*. Abingdon: Routledge, p. 235.

²²PLOTINUS. 1952 *The Six Enneads - 7 Time and Eternity*. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1952. p. 176.

²³In the sublime, scenery is a polarization of space and of times resulting from the existence of an object.

In a spatial analysis, scenery is an Aristotelian *topos* and in a temporal analysis (as an *a priori* condition of all phenomena) it appears as a Platonic *khôra*. Scenic architecture thus realises these two predicates through its own symbolic nature, which we will analyse next.

Symbolic Architecture

The word symbol derives from the *syn* (set) + *ballein* (throw), in the sense of bringing together two parts previously separated. All the determinations of the idea, precisely because they are determinations, are externalized in a concrete object in the domain of the particular. Now this object (the sign) has a sensitive outer part and this is its “*expression plane*”. However, when this sign is motivated by a meaning, it transforms into a symbol, because this meaning constitutes its “*content plane*” and becomes, together with the expression plane, the two inseparable parts of the symbol.

It is in the relation between these two parts that architecture performs its scenic function. When the expression plane constitutes in itself a content plane, it forms a connotative symbol and the connotation is thus a value added to the “*expression plane*”. When the “*content plane*” constitutes in itself a system of signification, it originates a meta-language which is itself an added value of the “*content plane*” of the symbol. Romanticism is therefore based on:

- The philosophy of the infinite;
- Induction of the feeling of the sublime;
- The negativity of space (the point) as an intensive “*quantum*”;
- The negativity of time in an eternal present, as the singularity of the determinations of the idea, which constitutes memory.

Thus, the expression plane of architecture (styles) and their connotations are used to evoke memory and to reflect it on an eternal present. In representations of the Romanesque, Gothic, Baroque and other styles in the same building, it is not the style itself that is represented but its idea, condensing centuries of history in a single present. It is the sublime of time.

However, representing eastern Arab or European styles in a single building condenses in an intensive “*Quantum*” vast expanses of space. This is the mathematical sublime. Romanticism intended the concept of wholeness to be only realized by the motion of predication of the idea in the object, and in the reflection of this object in the idea that originated it. Only totality realized in this way could constitute the absolute: the origin and purpose of human action.

Accordingly, the scenery was itself an expression plane of the total work of art: Opera contains in a supreme unit all possible expressions of human aesthetics. The scenery is therefore its visible support. In the scene, it is an intensive “*quantum*” of space and time. In a performance, the intensity of the drama or tragedy was the domain of poetry and music. Intense, violent and passionate dramas (dynamic sublime) were thus performed in diverse spaces (mathematical sublime), evoking deep memories (the sublime in time) and for this reason the

scenographers who created these sceneries were in turn invited to take part and consulted in the construction of public and private buildings at the time.

Interventions by Scenographers in Portuguese Architecture

Rationalism has materialized its decadence through the rigidity of its own substance. Reason crystallized in logical principles of finite reason had no *space* for evolution and thus suffered cleavage from history. This cleavage began to emerge in the second half of the 18th century and was manifested in several fields:

- In the political domain, the French revolution, the fall of absolute monarchies and the Napoleonic campaigns paved the way for a definition of the political map of Europe. The principle that guided these new frontiers of nations was based on the concept of ethnicity of a person. Within Europe, empires emerged and they expended throughout the world in the form of imperialism.
- In the philosophical field, in opposition of the finitude of the *determination* of the idea (the object of study of rationalism), the philosophy of the infinite led to transcendental speculation, the most famous representatives of which were Fichte, Shelling and Hegel.
- In the social domain, Rousseau's theories of returning human beings to their existentialist condition, found their revelation in the American continent. The independence of the United States offered the possibility of discovering, cataloguing and organizing the "Brave New World" as a utopia and as a promise of a new dawn for humanity.
- In the field of arts, on the other hand, the philosophy of the infinite acquired an aesthetic²⁴ manifestation.

Indeed, as a counterpart to the beautiful (domain of the finite, limit and therefore of the positive), the sublime (domain of the infinite of the non-limit, and therefore of the negative) was the foundation for all artistic expression of this period. This philosophical "infinite", this negative and potential "Sublime", these "ethnicity of the people", could not be explained by reason. It could only be understood by sentiment, because only sentiment reflected the deepest and most transcendent unconscious.

It was through art that the sublime of force was felt not through its representation (because that would be impossible), but through its induction through an aesthetics that evoked phenomena. It appeared in both in poetry and literature in contrast to exacerbated feelings. In music, phrases were diluted in their development and *pianos* move through *crescendos* to reach *fortissimos* of strong aesthetic contrast; the symphony brought its multiple structurally integrated parts

²⁴ Aesthetics - Knowledge given by the senses. The term aesthesis was first used in the 18th century by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten to refer to the perceivable beautiful.

together in a single unit. Again, the subject here was guided by feeling rather than reason.

In painting, the balance of contrasts manifested itself at a chromatic level with the representation of diaphanous and enveloping atmospheres and accentuated contrasts between light and shadow, as well as in dark nocturnal environments revealed by dark light (oxymoron). Themes of paintings were also manifestations of great contrasts, both spatial, through extensive limitless landscapes, and dynamic, through convulsive landscapes. When painting expresses the sublime in time, it uses historic representation with characters animated by extreme feelings to bring historical phenomena into the present. Sculpture followed a similar path representing past or current heroes who were the protagonists of *Romantic* action.

Like the other arts, architecture was part of this movement and this was revealed in various aspects:

- An evocation of the “ethicity of people” was revealed in the restoration of the monuments of that same people, with controversy between the option of restoration as advocated by Viollet-le-Duc and the ruins advocated by Ruskin²⁵
- If it manifested the sublime in time, it used ornaments of styles (expression plane of architectural symbols) to evoke the past or bring it into the present, with diverse styles arising on the same building;
- If it manifested the sublime in space, it also used stylistic ornamentation and particular architectural forms to evoke distant civilizations. Chinese, Indian or Arab styles coexisted in the same restricted space.

But it was in the spectacle of the opera that an *intensive quantum*²⁶ was realized in both space and time of all the artistic genres encompassed in a single “total work of art”. It was understood, therefore, that the scenographers of these spectacles would contribute to the iconic achievements of architecture because architecture can be a physical support for all plastic arts, and its builders sought to accomplish in a single work what they intended to be the maximum and ultimate expression of Romantic art.

²⁵Cf. Ruskin’s *The Stones of Venice*.

²⁶The quantum is the real quantity, which is the same as being-there to be real. It is first of all quantity with a determination or limit but in its perfect determination it is the world. HEGEL. 2006. *Ciencia da Lógica (Science of Logic) - Tomo I - O ser - Versão 1812*. Paris: Editions Kiné, 2006. ISBN - 2-84174-387-x. p. 189.

The quantum has its determination as a limit on the number of numbered it is a discrete in itself a multiple that is limited; This multiple has, as has been shown, not a being-by-himself that would be diverse in relation to its limit and would put it outside itself. Because it is precisely within the number that multiplicity constitutes the determination in relation to the unit. p. 198.

The limit of quantum which, as extensive, had its existent determinateness as self-external number, thus passes over into simple determinateness.

In this simple determination of limit, quantum is intensive magnitude; and the limit or the determinateness which is identical with quantum is now also posited as simple: it is degree. – p. 200.

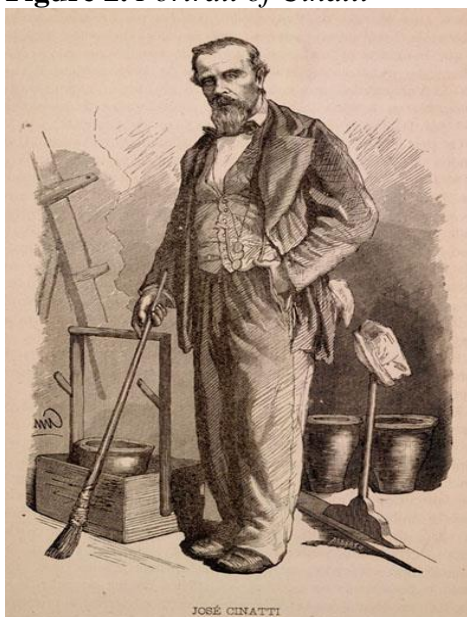
In Portugal this romantic movement accompanied the artistic development of the rest of Europe and its scenographic architecture was directly created by scenographers at the São Carlos National Theatre and by the king himself, who assiduously attended of all these spectacles. As scenic architecture in Portugal is an extensive and complex topic, we will focus on this particular case of Dom Fernando and also on scenographers of São Carlos in the second half of the 19th century – particularly Luigi Manini and Giuseppe Luigi Cinatti, as well as in some of the emblematic architectural works with which they were associated.

Figure 1. *Portrait of Fernando Saxe-Coburg-Gotha*



Although he was not a professional scenographer, Dom Fernando was the perfect *romantic* in his political and cultural action and created in his Pena Palace the most iconic work of scenic architecture in Portugal. The king always closely followed all its details, coordinating the technicians who worked on it and can indeed be considered an *architect* of his castle.

Figure 2. *Portrait of Cinatti*



Source: National Library of Lisbon, 2001.

Figure 3. *Portrait of Rambois*

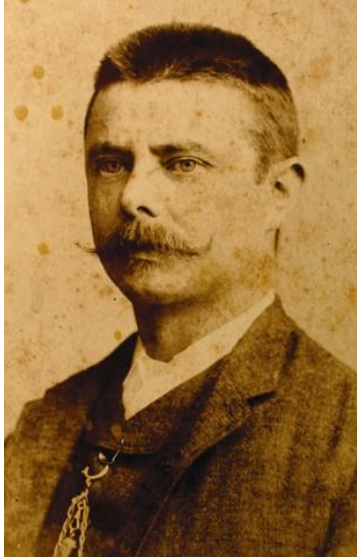


Source: National Library of Lisbon, 2001.

Giuseppe Luigi Cinatti was born in Siena in 1808. He was hired by Fortunato Lodi (Director of the São Carlos National Theatre) and arrived in Lisbon in 1836 (the year in which Fernando of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha married Maria II). His work as an architect was varied and eclectic and included stables for the palace of Eugénio de Almeida, Villa Nunes Sequeira, the tomb of the Dukes of Palmela, decoration of the interiors of Necessidades Palace and the new Casa Pia wing of Jerónimos Monastery. He died in Lisbon in 1879, distraught at the failure of his work on this monastery. Achille Rambois, born in Piedmont in 1810, was a student of Alessandro Sanquirico and was hired as a scenographer for São Carlos Theatre in 1834. He worked directly with Cinatti with whom he jointly produced scenic creations. Rambois died in 1882.

Another scenographer of renown, with important creations in Quinta da Regaleira and Buçaco, was Luigi Manini. Manini was born in Crema in 1848 and studied at the academies of fine art in Milan and Brescia. In 1863 he was hired as an apprentice scenographer at La Scala in Milan, where he worked under the guidance of Carlo Ferrario. Manini arrived in Lisbon in 1879 to take over as scenic designer, the position left empty after the departures of Cinatti and Rambois. After a slow start, Manini became highly successful and in 1888 Emídio Navarro asked him to design the new royal palace Buçaco, although the decline of the monarchy led to the building becoming a hotel.

Figure 4. *Photograph of Luigi Manini*



Source: <http://www.historiadeportugal.info/luigi-manini/>.

From then on, Luigi Manini was closely involved in several designs for houses for the bourgeoisie, such as the Biester villa, and aristocratic palaces such as Foz palace. In 1898 Carvalho Monteiro asked him to design a mansion for the Quinta da Regaleira, his property in Sintra, which was to become a symbol of initiatory association. Construction on the mansion finally began in 1905 and it was only completed in 1911. After the fall of the monarchy in Portugal (1910), Manini returned to Italy where he died in 1936. It is the works of these scenographers that we will analyse.

Fernando Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and his Pena Palace

On one of the peaks of the Sintra hills, there was a small monastery of the Order of Saint Jerome, donated to this order by Manuel I in 1502.

Figure 5. *Pena Palace*



Source: <http://www.travellerspoint.com>.

Over time, the monastery was abandoned and the property was confiscated by the state after the liberal government closed down religious orders in 1834. Like other properties formerly belonging to these orders, the small convent was put on sale. In September 1834 “*the auction of the monastery’s effects was begun*”²⁷ and on 3 November 1838, the king consort Dom Fernando bought the aforementioned monastery “*at an auction price of 700,000 réis*”²⁸ in order to rescue it from ruin and to build a castle that would consolidate his position as king consort and become his stylistic image. He paid for the construction of the castle with his own money and so it remained his private possession.

Figure 6. *Original Pena Monastery Building in 1834*



Source: Pereira et al., 1999.

²⁷In PEREIRA, Paulo e CARNEIRO, José Martins. 1999. *O Palácio da Pena (Pena Palace)*. London: Scala Publishers, 1999. ISBN 972-8087-61-6. p. 121.

²⁸Ibid.

Figure 7. *Pena Palace in 1843*



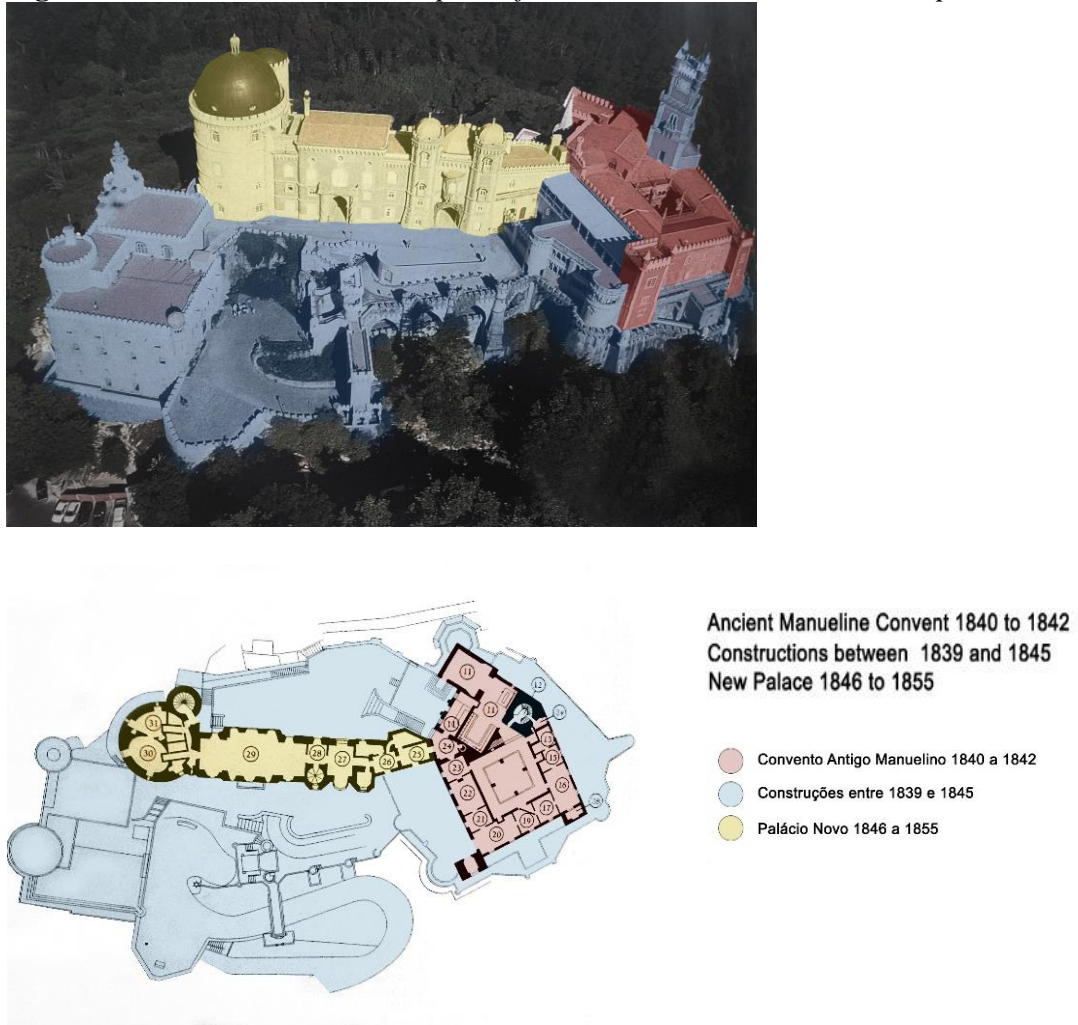
Source: Pereira et al., 1999.

The location was carefully chosen: the difficult access, ravines, and foggy climate were in accord with the feeling of the sublime and the convent was in the Manueline style and above all a work of Manuel I himself. It therefore bore testimony to the golden period of Portuguese history. Dom Fernando's intervention began in 1840 with the restoration of the original Monastery.

So, between 1840 and 1842, the renovation of the monastery and its improvement renovation continued, with the erection of the clock tower, an interesting and early pastiche of the Torre de Belém. From 1842 to 1843 the forecourt of the chapel was extended and the boundary walls put up, with their Moorish-style arches and the little belvedere shaped like an Arab minaret.²⁹

²⁹In PEREIRA, Paulo e CARNEIRO, José Martins. 1999. *O Palácio da Pena (Pena Palace)*. London: Scala Publishers, 1999. ISBN 972-8087-61-6. p. 41.

Figure 8. *Aerial view and Masterplan of Pena Palace with construction phases*



Source: Pereira et al., 1999.

We can see from this initial work that Dom Fernando did not intend to follow the principals of Viollet-le-duc for the restoration of monuments but wanted to make a scenographic intervention.

In fact, the access to the convent designed by Baron von Eschwege, with its capricious form, passing over a tunnel with circular buttresses crowned with battlements, accessed through a main gate, reinforces this scenic option. The king commissioned Baron von Eschwege,³⁰ a German engineer based in Portugal, to guide the work on his palace, for his culture and also because he could help to solve the difficult technical problems raised by the construction in its unusual location.

³⁰Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege was born in Aue in 1777. He was a military engineer and worked in Portugal from 1803. He returned to Essel where he died on 1 February 1855.

Figure 9. *Sala Árabe (Arab Room)*



Source: Pereira et al., 1999.

Figure 10. *Salão Nobre (Noble Room)*



Source: Pereira et al., 1999.

By 1842 the whole plan was outlined and the construction would be completed 1855, the original design having undergone several decorative alterations, although the architectural volumes were respected. The two gates, the triton window, the recreation of the window of the convent of Christ in Tomar, the oriental decoration of the stables and kitchen, the Arab decoration of the arcades and domes of the turrets and the Arab, Indian and Manueline ornamentation of the interior rooms revealed a scenic evocation of those civilizations in this interior and exterior architecture. A single building thus condensed hundreds of years and great distances, revealing a representation of Portuguese history and its empire. It was the materialization of Romanticism through architecture.

Cinatti and Rambois

As already noted, scenographers of São Carlos theatre made an influential contribution to architecture in the second half of the 19th century in Portugal.

In 1860, however, Cinatti deserved to be considered the best architect of an era time when the design of façades was of primordial importance. No one drew a noble façade better than he did: he had the talent of elegant proportions and his discreet taste harmonized the elements of classical vocabulary with a unique elegance in Portugal.³¹

In fact, Cinatti and Rambois intervened in a large number of architectural, restoration and interior decoration projects in Portugal, including the following:

- In 1845 they worked on the Calhariz palace for the first Duke of Palmela.
- In 1846 they designed for the tomb for this Duke in the Prazeres cemetery.
- In 1865 they designed the Nunes Sequeira palace on Restauradores square.
- In 1866 Count Vilalva commissioned stables for his palace designed to resemble a fortified castle.
- In 1874 Carlos Eugénio de Almeida gives Cinatti and Rambois the task of finishing the wing assigned to the *Casa Pia* of the Jerónimos Monastery.
- In 1875 Policarpo José Lopes dos Anjos commissioned from Cinatti a design for his Anjos palace.

Of particular interest among the works of a Romantic nature by Cinatti and Rambois were their interventions on Necessidades Palace and Jerónimos monastery.

³¹FRANÇA, José Augusto. 1999. *O Romantismo em Portugal (Romantic architecture in Portugal)*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1999. ISBN 972-24-1066-0. p. 343.

Work on Necessidades Palace

Since 1580, this site in Lisbon has been occupied by a small chapel dedicated to *Nossa Senhora das Necessidades*, who was venerated by many sick people who attributed numerous miracles to her.

Figure 11. *View of the Front of Necessidades Palace*



In 1742 Dom João V ordered the chapel to be enlarged and also built a palace and a convent, which he donated to the Congregation of the Oratory of Lisbon. In 1750 the palace was already built and was the only royal building to survive the 1755 earthquake. Because of this catastrophe, the royal family lived an improvised building in Ajuda and designs for a new palace dragged on through the reigns of Dom José I and Dona Maria I. It was only in 1802 that Dom João VI began the construction of the new palace of Ajuda.

However, the French invasions, the departure of the royal family to Brazil and the civil war between absolutists and liberals significantly slowed down the construction work, which was interrupted more than once.

That is why when Dona Maria II married Fernando Saxe-Coburg-Gotha in 1836, they went to live in Necessidades Palace and it was this king consort, who had introduced Romanticism into Portugal, who commissioned Cinatti to decorate the grand staircase, the Etruscan room, the blue room, the guard room and the Renaissance hall.

Figure 12. *Grand Staircase of Necessidades Palace*



Source: <http://www.palaciodasnecessidades.com>.

Although Sidónio da Silva was responsible for the supervision of the works, Giuseppe Cinatti (1808-1879) was appointed artistic director. This scenographer architect, highly qualified for the prestigious albeit risky project, due to the responsibility involved, was probably entrusted with this task due to the skills he had revealed in the design of opera scenery for the São Carlos Theatre, which Dom Fernando attended religiously.³²

In fact, if we analyse the decoration in this palace, we can find notable similarities with the scenery that he painted for operas at the São Carlos theatre.

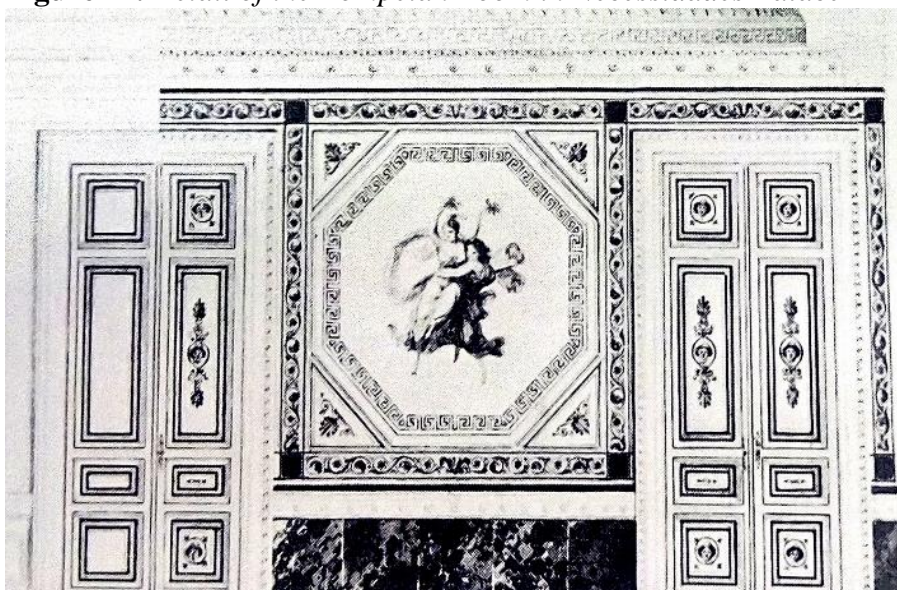
³² TEIXEIRA, José. 1986. *D. Fernando II - Rei-Artista/Artista-Rei*. Lisboa: Fundação da Casa de Bragança, 1986. Depósito legal nº 1476/86. p. 147.

Figure 13. *The Pompeian Room in Necessidades Palace*



Source: <http://www.palaciodasnecessidades.com/>.

Figure 14. *Detail of the Pompeian Room in Necessidades Palace*



Source: Teixeira, 1986.

Work on Jerónimos Monastery

Jeronimos monastery was built by Dom Manuel I and its first stone was laid on 6 January 1501.

Figure 15. *Aerial View of Jerónimos Monastery*



Source: <http://www.fuenterrebollo.com>.

It is one of the most iconic Portuguese monuments and its architecture reveals the transition to the Renaissance that in Portugal acquired a particular form known as Manueline, which is not only genuinely Portuguese but also the expression of the most glorious period in our history.

Until the 19th century, the monastery was increasingly neglected and abandoned.

On 28 December 28 1833 ... the Liberal government, bringing forward by a few months the effects of the decree of May 1834, decided to transferred Casa Pia³³, founded on 3 July 1780, to the monastery.³⁴

When in 1834 the monastery and its lands were incorporated into the national treasury, the original monastery was in a considerable state of neglect.

It is not the purpose of this article to describe the whole restoration of the monastery, but only to point out that after 1860, with the patronage of Dom Fernando and José Maria Eugénio de Almeida as administrator, the work that was carried out comprised the entire west wing of the monastery, which was completely rebuilt. For this purpose, several designs were drawn up to house the *Casa Pia*, but it was only in 1867 that Eugénio de Almeida hired Cinatti and Rambois to modify and decorate this wing.

The Cinatti design for the Eugénio de Almeida palace stables provided an opportunity for mutual understanding between the two, and that was the grounds for of his contracting.

Rambois and Cinatti, when they began their work on the Jerónimos, were mere executors, since responsibility for the work was ultimately borne by

³³Casa Pia – Charitable institution founded in the reign of Dona Maria I by Pina Manique. Its purpose was to shelter unprotected children, support them and educate them by giving them a trade.

³⁴ANACLETO, Maria Regina. 1997. *Arquitectura Neomedieval Portuguesa (Portuguese Neomedieval Architecture)*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997. ISBN 972-31-0748-1. p. 201.

*the administrator who delegated these duties (...) to the then director of the institution Francisco António da Silva Neves (...)*³⁵

*On the same day, 20 August 1874, Carlos Eugénio, 'considering that it was proper to entrust this work of the greatest responsibility to employees who deserve the confidence of the administration of the Casa', entrusted this commission to the scenographers.*³⁶

His design kept the façade on the same plane but introduced a new and rich decoration in the Manueline style and placed in the centre: a disproportionately tall tower, with an eclectic composition and a capricious hybrid style.

Figure 16. *Design for Jerónimos Monastery*



Source: Anacleto, 1997.

³⁵ ANACLETO, Maria Regina. 1997. *Arquitectura Neomedieval Portuguesa (Portuguese Neomedieval Architecture)*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997. ISBN 972-31-0748-1. p. 223.

³⁶ Portaria da administração a real casa Pia de Lisboa, sendo provedor o excelentíssimo Senhor Carlos Eugénio de Almeida in ANACLETO, Maria Regina. 1997. *Arquitectura Neomedieval Portuguesa (Portuguese Neomedieval Architecture)*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997. ISBN 972-31-0748-1. p. 223.

Figure 17. *Collapse of Jerónimos Monastery Tower*



Source: Anacleto, 1997.

Due to its size and bad construction technique, the tower collapsed on 18 December 1878. Ramalho Ortigão described the tower as a “*scenographic composition with the theatrical simplicity of a scene change, at the end of the season on the stage of San Carlos*”³⁷, clearly revealing the opinion that contemporaries had of this work on public monuments.

The two scenographers were discredited by this disaster and lost their positions. They suffered different fates: Cinatti passed away from grief in 1879 and Rambois returned to Italy where he died in 1882. It was to fill the vacant places that they had left at São Carlos that Luigi Manini was hired as a scenographer.

Luigi Manini

Luigi Manini was the last great scenographer of São Carlos to strongly influence Portuguese architecture. His interventions could be considered the *twilight* of Romanticism, marking the end of an era. The fall of the Monarchy in 1910 and the crises of the first Republic opened space to Modernism and its representative artistic movements.

Luigi Manini was born in Crema in 1848, studied in Milan and, in 1873, began his apprenticeship as a scenographer, under the guidance of Carlo Ferrario

³⁷ORTIGÃO, Ramalho. 2006. *O Culto da Arte em Portugal (The Cult of Art in Portugal)*. Lisboa: Esfera do Caos, 2006. ISBN 9789-898-02513-5. tomo II. p. 116.

at La Scala Theatre. With the departure of Cinatti and Rambois, Luigi Manini became the scenographer of this theatre in 1879 and in 1880 he also took up the same post at the Dona Maria II national theatre.

Although at the beginning of his career he was not very well accepted by a conservative audience, his art became increasingly successful, especially in sceneries for operas by Verdi, Boito and Wagner, among others. By 1883 his fame was already consolidated and he began to receive requests for work on ephemeral architecture. In 1888 he was invited to draw up a design for Buçaco palace. From then on, his work included remodelling a building for Alfredo Keil, the Guida villa and the painting of the interior of the Biester villa in 1890. He also designed several villas that were not built.

In 1895, he painted his last sceneries for São Carlos and left the theatre for good in order to devote himself to architecture. However, he still guided and designed some of the opera sceneries for Serrana, Irene; and Dona Branca, all by Alfredo Keil.

Manini then devoted himself to numerous works of architecture, but in the context of this article, we will focus on two of his most emblematic creations, which became icons of late Romanticism in Portugal.

The Buçaco Hotel Project

The order of Discalced Carmelites arrived in the hills of Buçaco in the district of Coimbra in 1628. During the 17th century, the friars built a small monastery and on adjacent ground they built a *calvary* that re-created Mount Carmel. As already mentioned, the 1834 law decreeing the dissolution of religious order led to the nationalisation of the convent of Buçaco and its forest.

At the time, the Portuguese court was divided between Sintra and Cascais and Dona Maria Pia Saboia wished to have a palace with extensive romantic gardens to which she could retire and where her court could rival that of Pena Palace. Various designs were made for gardens in the romantic style, representing a return to nature and the restoration of the small monastery began. Manini was invited to present a new design for the palace in 1888 and submitted the final plans in 1890.

Figure 18. *View of Buçaco Hotel*



Source: www.booking.com.

It is a small building, that reveals itself to be a great retreat house rather than a royal palace.

In 1888, negotiations concerning the Rose-Coloured Map³⁸ were in progress, culminating in the 1890 British Ultimatum that forced Portugal to relinquish control of the territories between Angola and Mozambique. It was a time when Portugal's self-esteem was reflected in exaggerated nationalism. In keeping with this nationalism, Manini recreated through the architecture of the Jerónimos monastery and its Manueline decoration a sublimated evocation of the humiliated homeland.

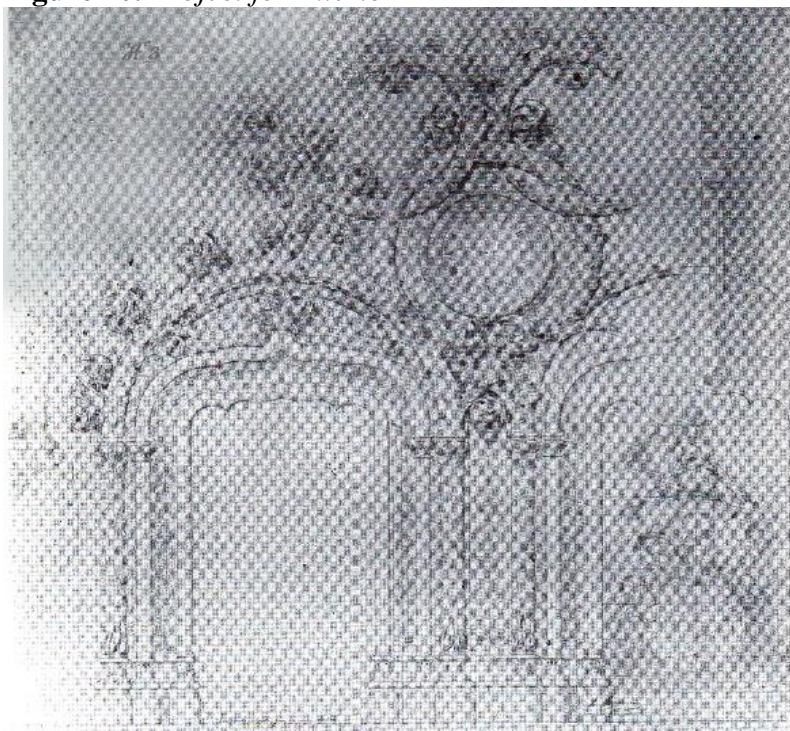
³⁸The Rose-Coloured Map was a Portuguese document asserting its claim to the land between Angola and Mozambique. The map was drawn up by the Lisbon Geographical Society in 1886. As Portuguese possession of these territories conflicted with British interests, in 1890 Britain presented an ultimatum, forcing Portugal to drop the claim. There was a huge sense of national humiliation in the country and sentiments in defence of the homeland were exacerbated by a growing nationalist movement.

Figure 19. *Interior of Buçaco Palace*



Source: <http://partiupelomundo.com>.

Figure 20. *Project for Interior*



Source: Anacleto, 1997.

The decline of the monarchy, the disaster of the British Ultimatum and the bankruptcy of the public treasury in 1891 prevented the Dona Maria Pia from completing her project. However, there was a need for investment in the central region of Portugal and completion of the project would solve the problem of the property's sustainability. The royal palace was therefore transformed into a hotel and its construction was completed in 1907. Meanwhile, Manini was replaced by Nicola Bigaglia and the architect Norte Júnior, who designed the wing known as the "house of the coats of arms."

The Palace of the Regaleira

António Carvalho Monteiro, who had a huge personal fortune, bought Quinta da Regaleira³⁹ in 1892. In 1896, he commissioned a design in the Neogothic style for the remodelling of the existing mansion. The reasons that led Carvalho Monteiro to reject this project are unknown and in 1898 he hired Luigi Manini to produce a Manueline-style design.

Figure 21. *Aerial View of Regaleira Palace*

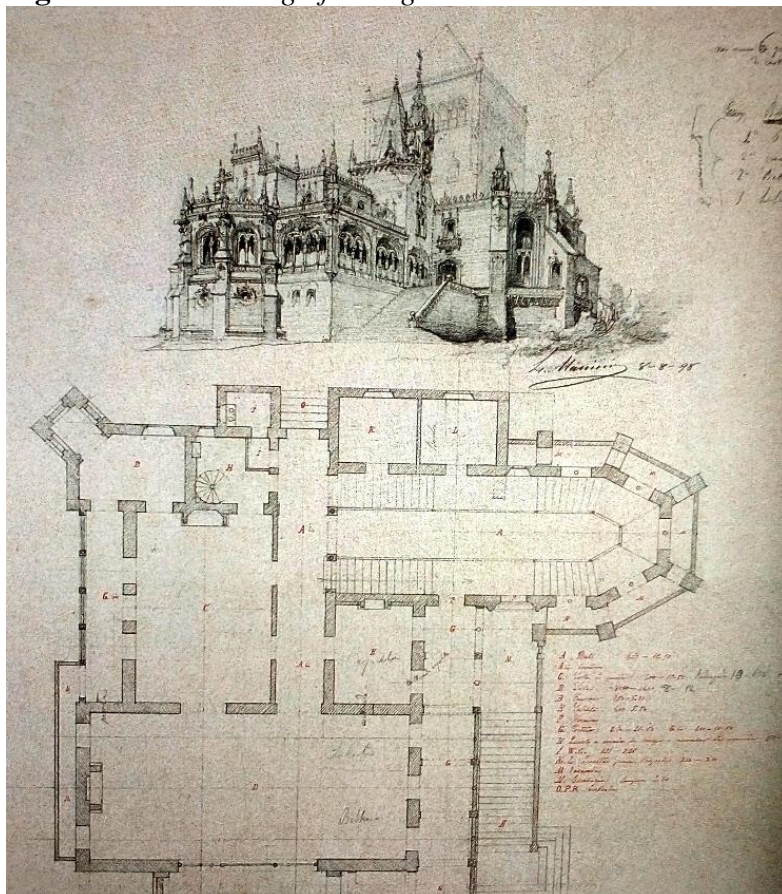


No doubt because of his training as a painter and scenographer, the primacy of perspective being considered an asset, guaranteed Manini an overall conceptual strategy not only in the morphology of the building - the equilibrium of the architectural masses – but also their relationship with the

³⁹The name of Regaleira is due to the fact that the previous owner Dona Ermelina Allen called her stays in this villa and the view that could be enjoyed as a delight (*regalo*). She would later be honoured with the title of Baroness of Regaleira.

*place and its landscape. In this overall approach, Manini favours the implantation of the palace building on sloping terrain.*⁴⁰

Figure 22. *First Design for Regaleira Palace*



Source: Pereira, et al., 2006.

But this design was difficult to build because of its size and for this reason, between 1898 and 1904, the original property was expanded and conceptual determinants were defined for a design that was to include the palace, a chapel, stables, a greenhouse and an extensive park that would also convey archetypal sentiment and the overcoming of human transcendence.

By 1904 the carriage house and much of the park had been completed, and in 1905 the construction of the palace began, making use of the original rectangular building in which changes of a scenic nature were introduced.

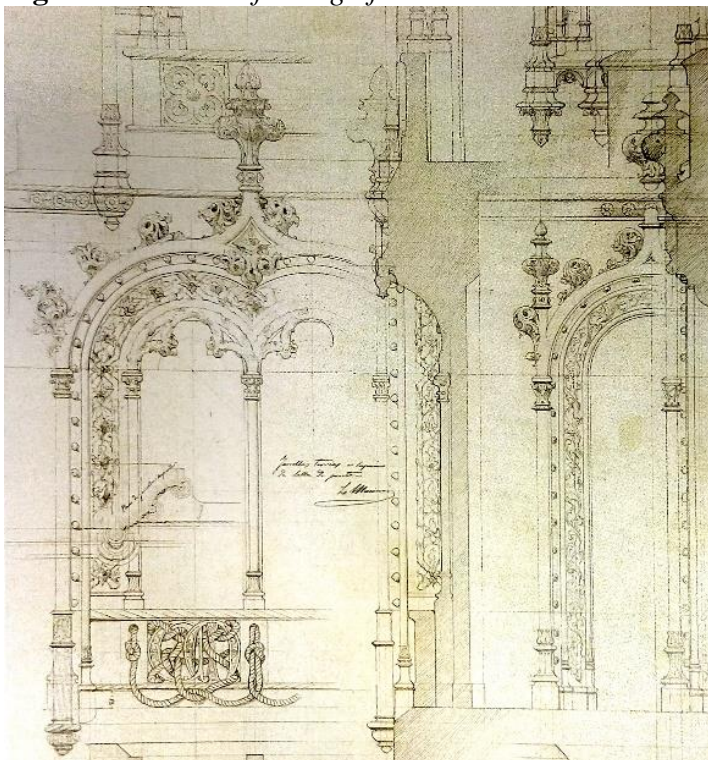
⁴⁰CARITA, Helder. 2006. *Luigi Manini, Imaginário e Método - Quinta da Regaleira Projecto e Método (Quinta da Regaleira Project and Method)*. Sintra: Fundação Cultursintra, 2006. ISBN 989-20-0322-5. p. 101.

Figure 23. *Detail of Regaleira Palace Entrance*



Source: Google Maps.

Figure 24. *Detail of Design for the Entrance*



Source: Carita, 2006.

As required by the client, this second design was further changed with the introduction of another floor not only for storage but also to install an alchemical laboratory for the owner. An analysis of the designs suggests that Manini was unenthusiastic about this alteration, drawing up a summary proposal of alterations without the aesthetic concern that we can observe in most of his drawings.⁴¹

In 1908 the chapel was completed and in 1911 the interior decoration of the palace was completed, thus finalizing the whole project, with determinants of a scenic character of intense expression.

The immanent theatricality of these touches confronts us with Manini's design logic in which a defined plastic line prevails from the exterior to the interior. The aesthetic definition of façades had absolute primacy over concepts of interior spatiality.⁴²

The consequences of the fall of the monarchy in 1910 and the First Republic displeased Manini who returned to Italy where he died in 1936.

The work of the Regaleira was the last great work of Romanticism in Portugal and its Manueline style the ultimate evocation of a nationalism that, inoperative in itself, died with the First Republic.

Conclusions

Romanticism was the last gasp of a “symbolic art” movement in which the value of the content plane overlapped the expression plane. This could only induce an archetypal representation of the ideal and scenery corresponded precisely to the polarization of an abstract space that this “scene” evoked.

It is therefore not surprising that in the craving for total realization of the human being, the feeling of the sublime underpinned the representations that could induce it. And this is valid for all arts that are realized in time and space, as well as for all human behaviour manifested in ethnicity of the people, which could only be achieved in the realization of the state. The arts therefore represent nationalisms and politically peoples.

In Portugal, the introduction of Romanticism by a German king consort would be expressed in architecture in the restoration of national monuments as a way of preserving the national memory and by the contribution by São Carlos scenographers, who shared the common denominator of being Italians from

⁴¹CARITA, Helder. 2006. *Luigi Manini, Imaginário e Método - Quinta da regaleira Projecto e Método (Quinta da Regaleira Project and Method)*. Sintra: Fundação Cultursintra, 2006. ISBN 989-20-0322-5.p. 104.

⁴²PEREIRA, Denise e LUCKHURST, Gerald. 2006. *Luigi Manini, Imaginário e Método (Quinta da Regaleira Project and Method) - Entre Cascais e Sintra*. Sintra: Fundação Cultursintra, 2006. ISBN 989-20-0322-5. p. 87.

northern Italy. It should be noted that the areas of Europe where Romanticism was most apparent were precisely the north of Italy, Germany and the eastern part of France.

In Portugal this movement was manifested in architecture, which also supports other plastic arts, in royal palaces, in the restoration of historical monuments and in private projects by the upper classes. The architects who gave shape to these buildings were chosen among the scenographers of the royal theatre because they themselves materialized the total work of art: The Opera. These constructions from the second half of the 19th century began with Pena Palace and ended with Regaleira Palace in 1911.

The rising materialism of the first half of the 20th century with its plastic expression in modernism has removed the transcendent value of its “content plane” from the symbol. And if in terms of plastic simplicity and scientific operativity, this era was declared liberating, the fact that it oppressed intuition and the feeling of the sublime has led humans to incomplete existentialism, poorer and more limited than the unlimited feeling of the romantic sublime as a drive for life.

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