3 Theater Architecture

3.1 Ottoboni's Theater and Filippo Juvarra

Michetti's entry into the palace rolls anticipated that of the famous Filippo Juvarra who first appears in the cardinal's court in July of 1709 as one of Ottoboni's ministers without a monthly stipend.[110] According to his biographers, Juvarra was introduced to Ottoboni by his countryman and fellow professional in the cardinal's court, Francesco Pellegrini. The following month, Juvarra was grouped among the *Cappellani* or chaplains of the court; in October an allowance of five *scudi* is recorded after his name with the qualification, "a conto di Provisione."[111] This was raised to nine *scudi* in December at which level it remained until Juvarra's departure from Ottoboni's family in January 1715.[112]

As court residents, Angelo de' Rossi and Michetti received monthly allowances of twelve and eight *scudi* respectively, presumably to pay for the expensive materials required for their activities as sculptor and architect, whereas Ottoboni's resident painter, Trevisani, in his more than forty years in the cardinal's court is never cited as receiving an allowance to maintain his studio "a conto di Provisione." Presumably, he was paid by commission or amply rewarded by lavish gifts upon completion of his paintings, as archival documents and diary accounts suggest.[113]

Ottoboni may have encountered Juvarra already as early as 1705 during the awards ceremonies for the Concorso Clementino. Juvarra had won the prize in architecture which was awarded on the Campidoglio on May 5, 1705 in the presence of the Albani pope, Clement XI. The ceremonies included the performance of a symphony by Arcangelo Corelli who had been in Ottoboni's court in the Cancelleria from 1690. As Vice-Chancellor of the Church, Ottoboni was a ranking member of the papal court and highly likely present at the event.

The death of the Emperor, Leopold I, that same day, led to the commission of a funerary apparatus for the Imperial church of Santa Maria dell'Anima. Juvarra had been associated with this project, although the commission seems to have been extended to

110 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 57, "Rollo di Famiglia," no. 10, July 1709.

111 There is some confusion in the scholarly literature on Juvarra's entry into the Ottoboni court. Pinto writes that, "Juvarra first appears on the monthly lists of the Cardinal's retainers in January 1710;" 1980, p. 295, n. 21. In October 1709, Juvarra is listed with his first monthly stipend, five *scudi*, which is raised to nine *scudi* "à conto di Provisione" in December; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 57, "Rollo di Famiglia," no. 13, October 1790; no. 15, December 1709.

112 BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 69, no. p.o, January 1715. Juvarra's last entry in the Ottoboni rolls appears in January.

113 For more on Ottoboni's collection of painting, see Olszewski, 1989, 2002, 2004. A recent claim that Trevisani received a monthly stipend of fifty *scudi* is not documented; Gross, p. 342.

Carlo Fontana.[114] Juvarra had studied with Fontana, and it would seem reasonable that the master may have delegated some participation to him while still responsible for the project and its design. As legate to the Imperial court, Ottoboni would have been at the memorial ceremonies and once more placed in context with Juvarra.

Because Juvarra was an ordained priest, Cardinal Ottoboni would have been eager to have him in his court, for he had not, himself, taken Holy Orders, and would not for another twenty years.[115] Thus, Juvarra would have served Ottoboni's court and parish of San Lorenzo, and could have ministered the sacraments to his parishioners.

Juvarra's first lodgings in Rome had been on the vicolo del Leutari perpendicular to the Cancelleria along the side where the modern day Corso Vittorio Emanuele now runs. His drawing in Turin of Roman roof tops and bell towers has the caption, "Veduta della mia fenestra quando stavo al Vicolo delli Liutari."[116] This put him in proximity with his countryman Pellegrini and, as a priest, gave him easy access to the church of San Lorenzo.

Juvarra had been nominated for membership in the Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon May 13, 1708, and entered its membership rolls on June 10, 1708.[117] The president of the French Academy in Rome, Charles-François Poerson, wrote in November of 1709 that Ottoboni had given Juvarra an apartment in his palace.[118] He identified Juvarra as an "egallement bon Architecte et bon Machiniste," whom the cardinal had engaged to build a theater to accommodate *machine* in the performance of comedies and opera.

Juvarra's official entry into Ottoboni's household seems to have occurred as a result of his completion of a successful project in the Vice-Chancellor's palace. Valesio reported Ottoboni as already holding concerts in his new theater in early 1708, more than a year before Juvarra's formal entry in the palace rolls.[119] This early theater was

114 Hager credits Carlo Fontana with the construction of this apparatus whereas Brinckman, p. 47, and Viale Ferrero, pp. 10-11, n. 19 (as Ris. 59.4, 117, in Viale Ferrero, p. 363) suggest that Juvarra might have made the sketch, and Millon accepts the Turin sheet as by Juvarra; 1984, p. 352; Hager, H., *Carlo Fontana*, pp. 89-93, esp. p. 90 for discussion of the drawing in Turin attributed to Juvarra (vol. 59-4, fol. 117). Millon, 1984, p. 352.

115 Ottoboni would not take Holy Orders until 1724; Chracas, vol. 31, no. 1085, pp. 7-8, July 15, 1724.

116 The drawing is reproduced in Craig, 171, fig. 1.

117 Orbaan, J. (1914). Virtuosi al Pantheon. *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft,* 37, 50; BAV, "Libro di Congegatione dal 1702 al 1743," p. 61. For the Concorso Clementino, see Papaleo, G. (2012). I concorsi Clementini, in *Pietro Papaleo, Storia di uno scultore nella Roma barocca* (pp. 71-73). Rome: Palombi Editori.

118 *Correspondance*, vol. 3, no. 1390, p. 343, November 23, 1709; "M. le Cardinal Ottoboni luy [Juvarra] a donné un appartement dans son Palais et l'occupe présentement à un Théâtre que Son Eminence fait faire dans la Chancellerie pour y représenter des Comédies et des Opéras avec des machines, le Sr. Dom Philippes [Juvarra] estant également bon Architecte et bon Machiniste."

119 Valesio, IV, p. 26, February 8, 1708; "Il cardinale Ottoboni ha in questa sera dato principio a far cantare in musica, con intervento di dame, porporati e molta nobiltà, alcune cantata, havendo a tale

apparently the serviceable space that had been prepared by Pellegrini, less than a formative theater begun by Michetti who had just become a resident in the palace. It represented the beginnings of Juvarra's theater, as the records make no direct association of any others with the cardinal's major theater.

Juvarra's first projects involved changes of scenery for a lyric drama that Ottoboni had written and which was performed in his new theater.[120] This was barely a month after his arrival in the Cancelleria. The drama is not identified, but it either preceded the *Costantino Pio* which had its inaugural performance in January of 1710,[121] or was for this performance, which it has been claimed was Juvarra's first work of scenography for Ottoboni, and which, in an obvious exaggeration, was said to have required years of preparation for the dozen scenes.[122]

Juvarra's tenure in Ottoboni's palace was both prodigious and frustrating. Among the more than one thousand drawings from Juvarra's first decade in Rome are scores of scene designs, many identified with the Ottoboni theater, yet Ottoboni gave him no commission for a major independent structure. The cardinal's liberality, however, allowed Juvarra to teach and engage in outside commissions.[123] He had the same leisure to invent with which the cardinal had favored his composer, Arcangelo Corelli. Ottoboni's other composer, Alessandro Scarlatti, had complained that Ottoboni lacked the independent means for grand patronage, which may explain why he never became a court resident. It was this failing that eventually led to Juvarra's departure from the court.

Nonetheless, it can be shown that Juvarra's studies for stage designs had given him the scope to explore architectural space and interior light, and to define grand, centralized salons with openings extending in multiple directions. Juvarra's Roman period was fundamental for his scenographic activity as well as for his preparation as an architect.[124]

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effetto formare per sedere gl'uditori un bellissimo teatro e continuarà a dare questo trattenimento ogno mercordi sin alla fine del promisso carnevale."

120 Valesio reports the singing of Ottoboni's own drama in the Cancelleria's new theater with five changes of scenery by Juvarra; Valesio, IV, p. 361, November 27, 1709.

121 Valesio reports that the drama included beautiful *machine*; IV, p. 372, January 14, 1710. The music for Ottoboni's libretto had been composed by Carlo Francesco Pollaroli (1653-1723), the organist of San Marco in Venice; Valesio, IV, p. 374, January 21, 1710. See also, Termini, O. Pollarolo, Carlo Francesco (c.1653 Venice - 1723), in Sadie, XV, pp. 45-47.

122 Viale Ferrero, p. 20.

123 Conversely, Ottoboni may have avoided the need to support his artists more generously by allowing them to take outside projects, as he did not have a family fortune on which to draw. In an open letter to his son, Antonio alerted the young cardinal to the pressures he would face as a recently arrived nobleman in Rome; BM, It. VII 1608 (=7514):3.o fascicolo, ff.12, *Avertimenti dell'Ecc.ma Sig.e Antonio Ottoboni Proc.e di S.o Marco dati al Sig.e Pietro suo figlio hora Cardinale di St.a Chiesa....* This was printed as a pamphlet in Milan in 1712; see BM, Misc. D. 5326.

124 Boscarino, p. 153.

The scholarly literature has, understandably, emphasized his major building projects in Turin. The precise nature of his activities for Ottoboni can bear further examination and clarification given Juvarra's well established presence in the cardinal's court. From contemporary sources and his surviving drawings, it is known that theater projects for Ottoboni and the construction of an auditorium in the Cancelleria, c. 1708-1710, consumed Juvarra's early years in the Vice-Chancellor's service. As no theater exists in the palace today, its location and size are issues still under discussion, although explanations have been offered concerning the fate of the theater since its construction. The riddles of when it was removed from the palace, and why, have been touched on, but more light can be shed on these questions.

3.2 Juvarra's Theater Drawings

Scholars have relied on Juvarra's drawings for particulars about Ottoboni's theater. His numerous studies for stage designs include 130 in the Victoria & Albert Museum titled in Juvarra's hand, "pensieri di scene e apparecchie fatte per servizio del Es.mo Ottoboni in Roma p.l suo Teatro nella Cancelleria da me suo Architetto l'anno 1708 sino al 1712. D. Filippo Juvarra," where he makes it explicit that they are for a single theater.[125] There are scores of other stage designs in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin. Together more than 1,000 drawings in five albums help to document Juvarra's first ten years in Rome.[126]

It is noteworthy that these studies, although for Ottoboni projects, were not kept by the cardinal, but remained in Juvarra's possession instead, an irony in the age of great connoisseurs of drawings such as Pierre Crozat, Pierre-Jean Mariette and Padre Sebastiano Resta. Indeed, two residents in Ottoboni's court, Rossi and Trevisani, were reported as always making caricatures, yet Ottoboni seems not to have collected any of this highly popular genre.[127] This is neither a matter of carelessness nor largess on Ottoboni's part, because his tastes extended to music and opera, paintings, medals, tapestries and silver, but not to drawings. As the title of Juvarra's assemblage of sheets in the Victoria & Albert suggests, it may have served the architect as a portfolio for prospective patrons.

Mercedes Viale Ferrero has examined Juvarra's theater designs individually in a comprehensive study. It is beyond the scope of this report to comment on every sheet related to Ottoboni scenography, but an analysis of a select few will be useful to characterize the drawings, to determine how this phase of Juvarra's career may have

125 Juvarra's title associates these drawings with one theater in the Cancelleria, "per il suo Teatro;" Speaight, p. 5.

126 Millon, 1984, I. p. xi.

127 Pascoli, I, p. 276. Sutherland Harris, A. (1975). Angelo de' Rossi, Bernini and the Art of Caricature. *Master Drawings*, 13, 158-160. See also Olszewski, 1983.

influenced his later architecture, and as a means of better understanding the nature of the cardinal's palace theater.

For an appreciation of Juvarra's stage designs it is necessary to separate architect, scenographer and painter. The designs for stage sets can be viewed as illusionistic drawings more akin to painting than architecture. Their illusionism extends to the creation of fictive architectural spaces and landscape vistas. They are confident, rapid sketches – Juvarra's anonymous biographer noted that skill in wash and rapidity of execution characterized his draftsmanship[128] – which as stage designs anticipate many of the problems faced later in the century by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo in his ceiling paintings. Tiepolo was a master in the power of suggestion, implying the presence of an armada by a single mast, of an army with a soldier holding a pennant, and a fortress by the projection of a fragment of wall and balustrade. So too with Juvarra. Within the limited space of a stage he was forced to suggest Constantinople, a fleet lying in a harbor, or the interior hall of a palace. He came to grips with these problems in efficient fashion establishing a metonymic standard that Tiepolo would master on a large scale in the decades to follow.

The value of the drawings for Juvarra as an architect is that they allowed him to plan extravagant forms and grand spaces that kept alive the spirit of Borromini. Here were vast interiors expanding in all directions. Space was alternatively confined and opened, as Juvarra reinforced or perforated established perimeters along several axes. Juvarra's drawings also introduce us to aspects of architecture both as object and as space and light. It was necessary for him as draftsman, creating ultimately in terms of the spatial envelope of a stage, and using the Renaissance devices of naturalism and illusionism, to be able to visualize his painted scenes in three dimensions. Volumes and masses worked against space, light and color.

Juvarra's sets began with space expanding from a hollow volume or a nuclear mass to all points of the compass, although as constructed on stage they were reduced to plane surfaces of overlapping flats to suggest depth. Within the temporal sequence of the theater performance, Juvarra could count for effect on a series of scene changes for variations on a setting or contrasts to it. With a theater of modest size, he also had to strive for monumentality while retaining something of the room's intimacy. Against the confinements of a small stage he could count on the distractions of music and drama, the baroque *machine* and baroque landscapes.

3.3 The Lost Theater

If there is to be an understanding of the character of Ottoboni's lost theater, it will have to be based on a combination of information from archival records, from clues in the halls

128 Viale Ferrero, p. 8.

of the Cancelleria, and from Juvarra's drawings. Multiple references have been made in the scholarly literature to a select group of sheets preserved in Turin where two related sets of drawings are located. There are two designs (Figures 3.1, 3.2) of a floor plan and of an elevation of the stage associated with a large theater, and a second group of drawings for a somewhat smaller space, which includes a floor plan and studies of longitudinal and transverse sections (Figures 3.3-3.6). Although the two sets are for spaces of different sizes, and one plan utilizes adjoining rooms (see Figure 3.1) whereas the smaller one is for a single hall, there are enough similarities between the designs to justify consideration of both of them for an understanding of the theater's general appearance. Both plans contain scales in Roman *palmi* to allow calculation of the appropriate area. The large one shows an auditorium with seventeen loges (five at the back wall and six on each side) encompassing an open area in the shape of an elongated rectangular horseshoe. Access to the boxes entered from narrow halls is by two circular staircases at the rear corners of the theater. There is an orchestra pit and a stage occupying the adjacent room and containing six sets of *canale* or channels for flats.

The drawing associated with this plan is a transverse section of the stage in gray wash with scenery added in washes of beige and dark brown ink (see Figure 3.2). This is related to the plan just mentioned, unlike the other drawings in Turin because of the narrow hallways shown adjacent to the boxes. The sheet reveals the mentioned lantern at the center of the audience hall shown breaking through the roof of the palace indicating a distinct alignment for the theater in this sheet. The section shows a balustrade separating the stage and orchestra pit from the audience, and it displays tiers of boxes in a four story elevation with narrow hallways allowing entry into them, presumably on ascending the spiral staircases indicated in the plan. Here the drawing implies that only the top three tiers have loges and that the ground floor is simply an open space.

The second group of designs includes a floor plan (see Figure 3.3) with auditorium and stage in a single space. Here an open central area is closed in by five sets of loges on each of three sides in the form of a squared letter U. There is an orchestra pit, a stage with five sets of *canale*, and a reserve stage. Because there is no room for hallways, entry into the boxes seems to be from single entrances into a box at each side and another at the back. The plan has been associated with a drawing of a longitudinal section of a theater which also shows five boxes on a side (see Figure 3.4). The section clearly reveals four levels of boxes, the bottom tier raised slightly above the auditorium floor, where there is also a balustrade demarcating the orchestra pit. A side entrance to the ground level boxes replaces the fifth box from the stage, matching an identically placed opening in the plan, but as hallways appear for access to the boxes at the back of the theater, this design is not easily associated with the plan just mentioned. On the other hand, dotted lines through the rear boxes in the second plan leave open the prospect of expanding the back of the theater to include a hallway. The section also shows a second space for the stage, but cannot be related to the first plan because it has five boxes along the side rather than six, and the lantern does not break through the roof indicating a different alignment for the hall.

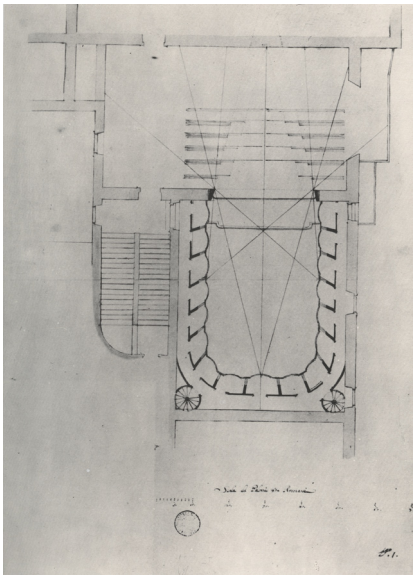

Figure 3.1: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, plan, 1708.

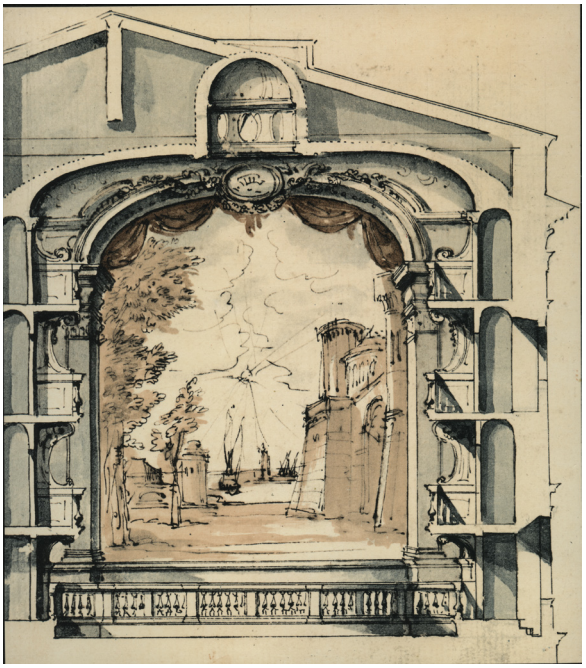

Figure 3.2: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, transverse section, 1708.

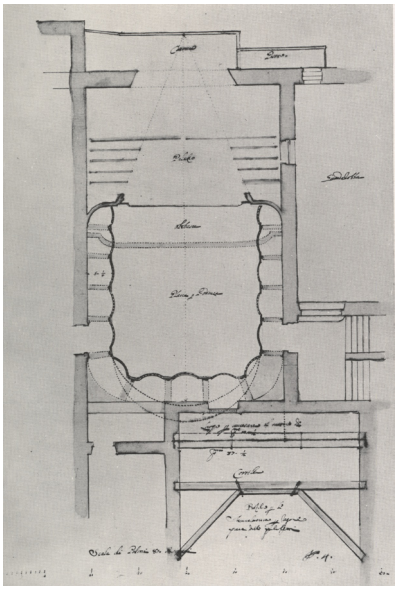

Figure 3.3: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, plan, 1708.

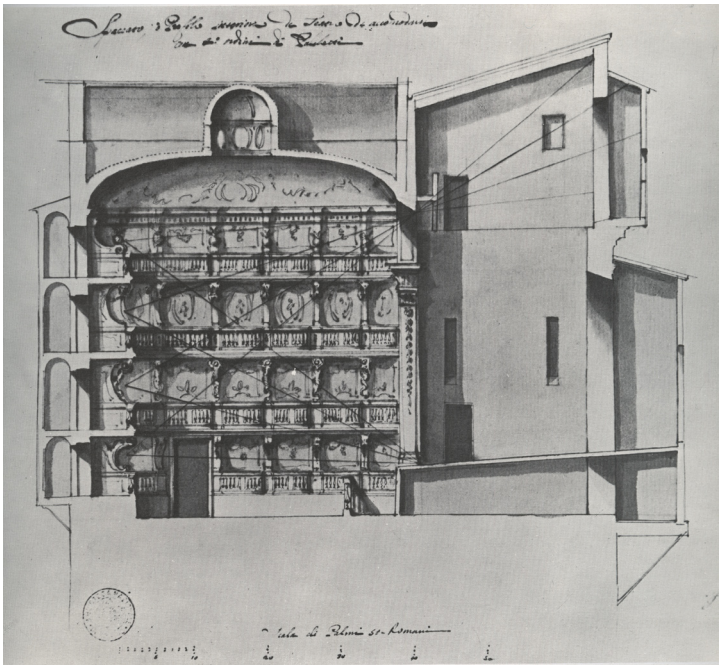

Figure 3.4: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, longitudinal section, 1708.

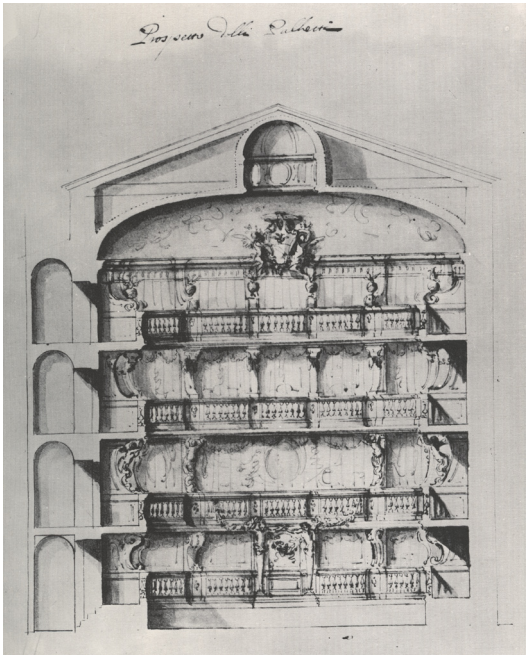

Figure 3.5: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, transverse section, 1708.

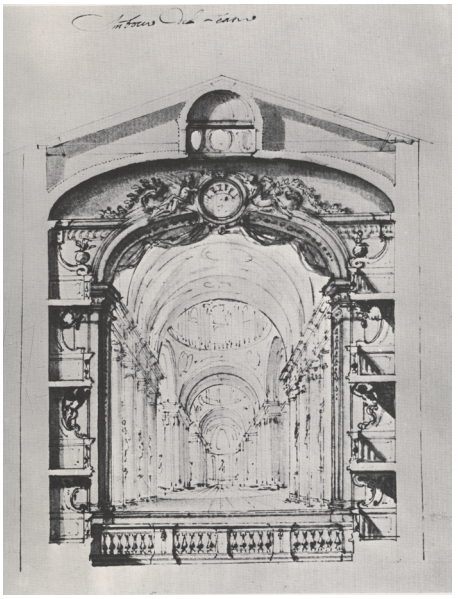

Figure 3.6: Filippo Juvarra, *Ottoboni Theater*, cross section of stage, 1708.

Lines of sight are drawn from loges at all levels to the floor and ceiling of the stage. The section shows a raking stage floor ascending as it recedes from the audience, plus upper and lower reserve stages. A hollow space beneath the stage is also indicated. The reserve stages appear as appendages to the exterior wall, and the roof above the stage has been inverted to create an envelope of space presumably to accommodate cloud machinery. The reserve stages placed above and below an entablature of the outer wall indicate that the theater when installed would occupy the top two floors of the palace. The hallways behind the boxes at the back of the theater are shown as part of an exterior appendage to the wall which has been broken open for them.

Boxes at the second level are separated by atalantid figures, those at the fourth level by Ottoboni heraldic devices of the double-headed eagle surmounting a banded globe. Similar details appear in transverse section where the second level is distinguished by a triple loge of honor at its center demarcated by a balustrade and the atalantid figures (Figure 3.5). The central box below it is replaced by a doorway and staircase for entry to the audience hall. This design shows a hallway only along the left tier of boxes as one faces the loge of honor, which might remove it from association with the second plan. At the center of the top tier of loges a pair of winged figures supports a banded shield with the double-headed eagle. It is these Ottoboni emblems in the sheets which associate the six related drawings with the lost theater of the Cancelleria.

The remaining drawing (see Figure 3.6) depicts a cross-section of the stage with a scene in architectural perspective. Above the proscenium arch a *tondo*, seemingly for a clock, is supported by a pair of winged figures, symbolic and formal counterparts to the heraldic device at the back of the hall. A lantern in the ceiling of the auditorium has its cupola nestled just within the peaked gable of the roof. The lack of hallways at both sides would associate this folio with the second plan (and set it apart from the transverse section just mentioned).

3.4 Studies of Juvarra's Theater Drawings

When these drawings in Turin were first introduced to an English speaking audience in 1926, it was pointed out that both drawings of plans could be related to the same space, a corner area of the Cancelleria where the garden impinges on the Corso Vittorio Emanuele (see rooms nos. 7-10 in Figure 2.4).[129] The larger of the plans (nos. 7 & 10 in Figure 3.1 as located by the staircase) was to fit into the space facing north, the other east. Which of these was executed and whether at the site indicated require further discussion, but the plans were considered to be for a puppet theater.[130]

129 Craig, 229.
130 Craig, 174.

A study of Filippo Juvarra in 1937 included essays by Lorenzo Rovere, Vittorio Viale and Albert Brinckman, Scipione Maffei's brief biography of Juvarra from 1738, an anonymous *vita* first published in Rome by Adamo Rossi in 1874, and a catalog of Juvarra's drawings from 1714 to 1735 assembled by his pupil, G.B. Sacchetti.[131] Brinckman in his study of Juvarra's drawings concluded that the architect occupied himself with theater projects for only a brief period in his career, from 1706 to 1713, or largely during the time when he was associated with Cardinal Ottoboni before his departure from Rome at the end of 1714. Brinckman noted Maffei's comments as linking Juvarra with Pellegrini in constructing a puppet theater, "Era il Pellegrino di rara abiltà nelle meccaniche; onde per aver luogo d'operare secondo il genio, persuase il Cardinale di lasciargli costruire in certa sala del suo Palazzo un piccolo Teatrino ad uso di pupazzi,..."[132] but concluded from the dimensions given by Juvarra in his Turin theater drawings, and from the vertical stage format, that Juvarra's designs had to be excluded from any association with a puppet theater.[133] From the smaller Turin theater plan, Brinckman extracted dimensions given by Juvarra in Roman *palmi* (see Figure 3.3).[134] Brinckman identified a hall on the *piano nobile* of the Cancelleria (11 x 16.5 x 7.6 m or 36' x 54' x 25') that would have been large enough to accommodate the plans in Juvarra's drawings and too large for a puppet theater.

The theater with its four tiers of boxes was one of charming intimacy compared with the Capranica, which had a stage almost twice the size of Ottoboni's.[135] It had a square proscenium arch, 40 x 40 *palmi,* as against Ottoboni's vertical 34 x 26 *palmi*. Juvarra's theater for the Queen of Poland also had a square stage opening whereas that at the Tor di Nona was wider than high. Brinckman referred to the variant design with only three tiers of loges.[136] This would seem to be a correct reading of Juvarra's drawing. Here a letter of October 11, 1710, which alluded to Ottoboni's desire to change the appearance of his theater, seems pertinent.[137] It cited a lack of boxes for the comfort of the audience and mentioned the three tiers added by Juvarra, but this

131 Rovere, pp. 18-21, 22-29; Viale Ferrero, p. 10, n.3. Viale Ferrero suggests that the anonymous biographer who has been associated with Sacchetti and with Juvarra's brother, Francesco, is the latter. See Millon, 1984, pp. xiii-xiv, for a review of attempts in the literature to identify the *anonimo*. More recently, Millon appears to favor the identification of the *anonimo* with Francesco Juvarra; 1984, p. 14.

132 Rovere, pp. 19, 141.

133 Rovere, p. 142.

134 These were given as 41 to 43 *palmi* or c. 9.3 m (or 30'6") within a hall 48 *palmi* high (10.72 m or 35'). The stage was 28 *palmi* by 35 *palmi* high (that is, 6.24 x 7.8 x 5.03 m, or 20'6" x 25'7" x 16'6").

135 Ottoboni's stage opening measured 6 x 7.5 m (19'8" x 24'7"). See Craig, 229 on theater stages. Ottoboni's theater was grand by comparison with those found in most private palaces of the period such as that at the Ricasoli castle in Meleto characterized by Romby, C. I teatri delle famiglie fiorentine del '700 e il teatro Ricasoli a Meleto, *Proceedings of the Inaugural Conference for the Ricasoli Collection,* University of Louisville.

136 Rovere, p. 146.

137 *Correspondance*, vol. 3, no. 1458, p. 418, October 11, 1710.

would seem to be in addition to a row of boxes already in place for a total of four tiers. The addition was most likely an extension of Juvarra's own construction from 1708. Finally, Brinckman observed that Juvarra's designs for the opera, *Tito Manlio* (1712), required a stage apparatus for a bank of clouds.[138] He suggested that this *machina* was probably constructed by Pellegrini. If so, this would account for Maffei's association of the fellow countrymen, although Juvarra was also referred to as a *mechanista*.[139]

In 1942, Juvarra's several Turin drawings were again studied to fix the size of Ottoboni's theater and to discover its precise location.[140] Arnaldo Rava felt, as had Brinckman, that an approximate gauging of the theater's dimensions could be determined directly from the scales in Juvarra's plans. Although he differed with Brinckman slightly in his dimensions for the hall, he concurred with many of Brinckman's conclusions (see Table 2). Additionally, Rava referred to the description of the theater which had appeared in the inventory compiled just after Ottoboni's death in 1740.[141] The inventory recorded it as consisting of four tiers with thirteen loges in each. The theater was appraised in the inventory at 205 *scudi* which also included stage machinery. Rava gave its dimensions from the drawings as thirteen meters in height with an area of seven by eleven meters. Although introducing the inventory information with its description of a theater with but thirteen loges, Rava promptly ignored the inventory by taking his dimensions from the larger plan in the drawing following the lead of Brinckman. From comparisons of Juvarra's drawings with floor plans for the palace, Rava situated it on the *secondo piano* (or third floor) but along the Corso Vittorio Emanuele toward the palace garden.[142]

George Spaeight considered the question of the Ottoboni theater anew in 1958, focusing in his study on the theater's size.[143] He assumed that the palace had contained but a single theater, and he was interested in ascertaining if it had been a normal sized hall for musical and dramatic productions or a smaller theater exclusively for puppet performances. He appears to have been stimulated in his search by Maffei's statement that Ottoboni had Pellegrini construct a puppet theater. Spaeight was puzzled by the stage openings indicated in Juvarra's drawings with their vertical format and large dimensions. He argued that the dimensions must have been in minor Roman *palmi* (one *palmo* = 7.4 cm or 3"), and that the puppets were rod puppets, usually four or more feet tall, and not hand puppets or string puppets which were generally smaller and required a horizontal stage. Furthermore, he interpreted the *staffage* figures in

138 As in Rovere, p. 146, n. 1.

139 Viale Ferrero, p. 20.

140 Rava, 74-79.

141 AS, N.A.C. 1838, March 5, 1740, pp. 292v-293. See also, Viale Ferrero, p. 95, n. 15. The inventory reports that it had twenty benches with iron rails and tables. Its stage was given the dimensions of 33 x 40 *palmi* (or 24' x 29'4"). It was appraised at 205 *scudi* (and not 250 *scudi* as Rava claimed).

142 Rava, p. 4. This appears to be the same site as suggested by Craig, 229.

143 Spaeight, 5-10.

Juvarra's scene designs as of the diminished size more appropriate for rod puppets operated from below the stage. The popularity of rod puppets during this period emboldened Spaeight to contradict Brinckman who had argued that the theater's scale was too grand for a puppet theater.[144]

In 1964, Frederick Warner reported that Juvarra's Turin drawings contained plans for two separate theaters nearly identical in appearance, the one a single room, with the other, large theater requiring two chambers.[145] He also pointed out the small size of both relative to modern halls, although the scale was typical of private theaters of the time in Italy, if only somewhat larger as appropriate to the cardinal's status.[146] Warner stated that apparently only one of these plans had been constructed, but he was unable to indicate which. He believed that it was possible to locate the original site of the constructed theater by comparing Juvarra's drawings with the Cancelleria's ground plans. To this end Warner superimposed scale drawings of Juvarra's plans on selected rooms from the palace's ground floor plan although he maintained that the theater would have been on the *piano nobile*. Rava had argued similarly, but placed the theater on the *secondo piano* also along the present Corso Vittorio Emanuele (Figure 3.7), where he identified two rooms which seemed to fit the plans. Warner believed that Juvarra's two plans differed in dimensions because their proportions had been dictated by the spaces for which they were being considered. Warner's diagrams, however, indicate that his superimpositions of the plans on rooms along the Corso Vittorio Emanuele would have involved the destruction of several walls.

Warner's major contribution was to detail the dimensions of the theaters in the two plans (see Table 3). The auditorium of the larger theater was 30' wide, 26'6" deep and 35' high; the smaller plan was for a space 29'9" x 36'6" x 32'. The audience boxes were 4'6" wide, 3'9" deep and 6'6" high (versus 4'9" x 3'9" x 6'6" for the smaller plan). Reducing the number of loges in the smaller plan allowed for wider and more comfortable boxes. The proscenium opening was almost the same size for both plans: 24' high x 19' wide vs. 24'6" high x 20' wide. The larger stage was 30' wide and 19' deep whereas the stage for the smaller theater was of greater dimensions, 50' x 31', so curiously outsized presumably because of its intended location in the palace, and the need for scenery.

144 Rovere, pp. 140-146.

145 Warner, p. 37.

146 Warner, p. 39; for example, see Romby's study in note 135, above.

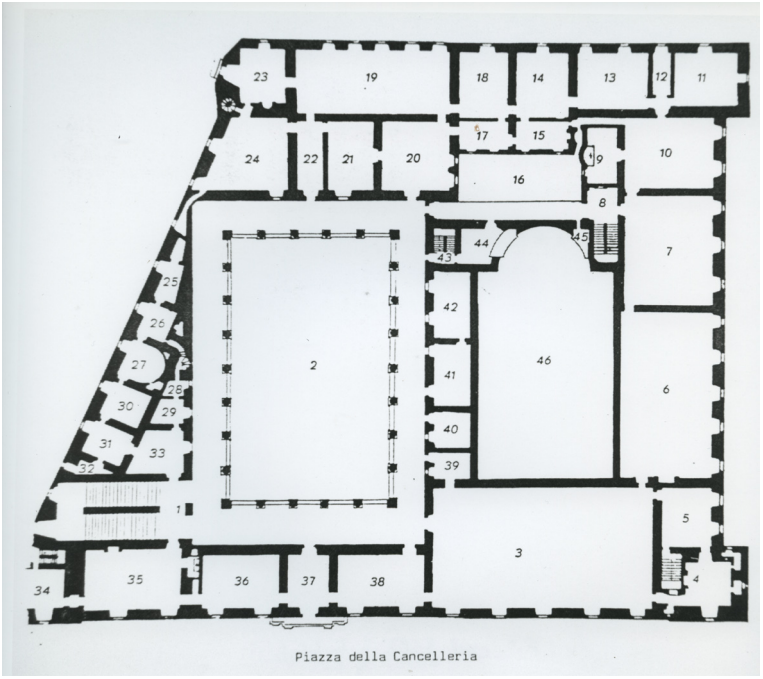

Figure 3.7: Cancelleria, plan, *secondo piano*.

Table 3: Dimensions of Plans for Juvarra's Theater

Reference	Auditorium			Stage		
	height	width	depth	height	width	depth
Craig, pp. 172, 229 *	-	46p	50p	-	-	42p
	-	10.3m	11.2m	-	-	9.4m
	-	33'9"	36'9"	-	-	30'10"
Brinckman, p. 142	34p	49.2p	73.9p	34.9p	27.9p	22.5p
*	7.6m	11m	16.5m	7.8m	6.24m	5.03m
	24'11"	36'	54'	25'7"	20'6"	16'6"
Rava, p. 4	31.3p	49.2p	58.2p	26.9p	33.6p	-
*	7m	11m	13m	6m	7.5m	-
	23'	36'	42'7"	19'9"	24'7"	-
Warner, p. 45 [A]	47.9p	40.7p	36.1p	40.7p	25.9p	-
	10.7m	9.1m	8.1m	9.1m	5.8m	-
*	35'	30'	26'6"	30'	19'	-
[B]	43.6p	40.3p	49.8p	68.2p	42.3p	-
	9.75m	9.0m	11.1m	15.2m	9.4m	-
*	32'	29'9"	36'6"	50'	31'	-

Continued **Table 3:** Dimensions of Plans for Juvarra's Theater

Reference	Auditorium			Stage		
	height	width	depth	height	width	depth
Schiavo, 1966,p. 187 [A] *	45.5p	57p				
*	10.16m	12.85m				
	33'4"	41'9"				
[B] *	40.5p	68.5p				
*	9.04m	15.07m				
	29'8"	50'1"				
Viale, p. 49	47.9p	36.3p	41p	34.9p	27.9p	22.5p
*	10.7m	8.10m	9.15m	7.8m	6.24m	5.03m
	35'	26'7"	30'	25'7"	20'6"	16'6"
Viale-Ferero,p. 75 [A] *	46p	58p	-	47p	42p	-
*	10.3m	13m	-	10.53m	9.41m	-
	33'8"	42'6"	-	34'5"	30'10"	
[B] *	40p	41p	-	40p	33-36p	-
*	8.96m	9.18m	-	8.96m	7.4-8.0m	-
	29'4"	30'	-	29'4"	24'3"-26'	-

Reference	Stage Opening		Boxes		
	height	width	height	width	depth
Craig, pp. 172, 229 *	34p	26p			
	7.6m	5.8m			
	24'11"	19'			
Warner, p. 45 [A]	32.7p	25.9p	6.1p	5.1p	8.9p
	7.3m	5.8m	1.4m	1.1m	2m
*	24'	19'	4'6"	3'9"	6'6"
[B]	33.4p	27.4p	6.5p	5.1p	8.9p
	7.5m	6.1m	1.4m	1.1m	2m
*	24'6"	20'	4'9"	3'9"	6'6"

Key: Dimensions are given in *palmi*, meters and feet. In cases where dimensions have been reported in only one unit, I have converted them into the other units. Original measurements are indicated by an asterisk*. The standards for conversion used here are:
1 *palmo romano* = 12 *oncie* = 22.34 cm = 8.79 in. 1 in = 2.54 cm
Source: R. Zupko, *Italian Weights and Measures from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1981.

Warner did not find the discrepancies in the dimensions of the two plans significant enough to consider them as different. They impressed him instead as layouts for two prospective theater locations of the same shapes but with slightly different measurements, as Craig had already noted. Warner accepted Juvarra's dimensions as in major Roman *palmi*, but his measurements differed from those of Craig and Brinckman. He seemed to assume that the theater was for human performers, and placed it on the *piano nobile* following Brinckman's lead.[147]

In the same year as Warner's essay, Armando Schiavo in his monograph on the Cancelleria, identified two adjacent chambers (see Figure 3.7, nos 7, 10) on the third floor of the palace which, he maintained had been the location of a theater inserted within the pre-existing wall structure along the via Vittorio Emanuele near the garden.[148] Although this suite of apartments contained no grand hall, the melding of the two rooms created an adequate theater space (Figure 3.8). One of the rooms contains a vaulted ceiling decorated with cupids (Figure 3.9). This had no loges and no true stage according to Schiavo who held that this was the same as the "piccolo teatrino di popazzi," or puppet theater, where Pellegrini displayed *machine* and for which Juvarra made his scenographic drawings.[149] Ottoboni's private theater has been described as a single room, however, and on the *piano nobile*, and as too modest in size to accommodate large stage sets and *machine*.[150] Schiavo did not give the dimensions for the two identified rooms because he believed that Ottoboni's theater for opera was a second, larger construction which had disappeared, but which once occupied two other rooms on the same floor and extended through the floor above.

From his reading of the two groups of theater drawings in Turin, Schiavo pointed out that one set of four drawings was for a theater and stage in one hall, nine by fifteen meters. This contained fifteen boxes on each of four tiers.[151] The second pair of drawings was for a larger stage and auditorium with seventeen boxes per tier which required two adjacent halls and broke into the floor above. Schiavo held that this was the plan executed, overlooking the inventory description cited by Rava of thirteen boxes per level, and that it was placed on the *secondo piano*. Juvarra's plan for seventeen loges per tier could reasonably have been that executed if Juvarra had simply modified his design during the construction to fit the assigned space by eliminating two boxes per side to each tier.

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147 Warner gave no evidence of an awareness of Rava's study or of Craig's suggested placement of the theater.

148 Schiavo, 1964, pp. 181-182.

149 Schiavo, 1964, pp. 183-184.

150 Rossini, p. 68.

151 Schiavo, 1964, p. 187. He had also noted from the drawings that the theater contained 56 boxes in four tiers of fifteen boxes each except for the patron's loge which was triple the size of the others (and thus 58 boxes rather than sixty or Schiavo's erroneous 56). Based on Juvarra's notations, Schiavo gave the dimensions of 45.5 x 57 *palmi* (10.16 x 12.85 m or 33'4" x 41'9") for the auditorium space.

Figure 3.8: Vestibule, Triunale dela Segnatura Apostolica, Cancelleria, Rome.

Figure 3.9: Vestibule ceiling, Tribunale, Cancelleria, Rome.

3.5 The Fate of Ottoboni's Theater

Schiavo also introduced excerpts from another of the Ottoboni inventories.[152] These included entries for 81 pieces of scenery in a "Guardarobba attacca al Teatro" which were valued at 100 *scudi*.[153] Also listed in the inventory, as if a moveable property, was "un teatro contiguo alla sudetta Guardarobba." This theater adjacent to the storage room was appraised at 205 *scudi,* and, Schiavo informs us, was given to members of the Polveroni family to cover part of the cardinal's outstanding debts.

On the basis of additional archival findings, the ultimate disposition of the theater can now be clarified. The Polveroni were the heirs of Ottoboni's carpenter, Francesco Polveroni, who was one of the creditors at Ottoboni's death, owed 150 *scudi* for unspecified work undertaken on December 8, 1738. Maria Giulia Boncompagni Ottoboni, the second wife of the deceased Duke of Fiano, Marco, had inherited the cardinal's debts.[154] Rosa and Felice Polveroni agreed to forgive the unpaid bill of 150 *scudi* in exchange for the reuse value of the carpentry (Appendix, doc. 4).

3.6 Appearance of the Theater

Another study of Ottoboni's theater analyzed its stage from a consideration of information presented by Juvarra in his drawings for stage sets.[155] John Bielenberg was especially interested in how Juvarra's designs could create diagonal perspectives and curved vistas when converted to props. Juvarra's drawings in the Victoria & Albert Museum, as almost the only eighteenth century stage designs accompanied by floor plans, gave his study added significance. Some drawings contain a plan of the stage at the bottom of the sheet with the placement of sets indicated in rough sketches (Figure 3.10). They give clues to the staggering of wings and shutters.

Although these drawings are terse sketches rather than fully defined plans, and possibly little more than suggestions for the placement of wings, yet they reveal how Juvarra thought his illusionistic scenography could be translated to the stage as overlapping flat surfaces of wings and shutters. For example, in one (Figure 3.11), the central cluster of Solomonic columns and piers is locked into a slot in the stage floor at roughly its center, the ribs ascending into vaults beyond the visible limits of the stage arch. The stage space would expand about this flat insert, illusionistically made to be seen as a massive pier. Vertical wings as other "solid" masses recessed to the left and right would complement the central element to define the visual perimeters of

152 Schiavo, 1964, p. 190.
153 ASV. Arch. Ottob. Vol. 78, pp. 101r-101v.
154 ASV, Arch. Ottob., vol. 119, September 16, 1740.
155 Bielenberg, 6-20.

the stage space as the wings stagger toward the painted backdrop serving as a spatial enclosure (or a limitless extension in the case of a landscape view). Bielenberg might also have noted how Juvarra's scenographic drawings reveal the physical limitations of the stage in Ottoboni's theater and define its parameters. In every case, the stage is shown as wider than deep, which also agrees with Juvarra's drawing in Turin of the plan for the Ottoboni theater (see Figure 3.3).

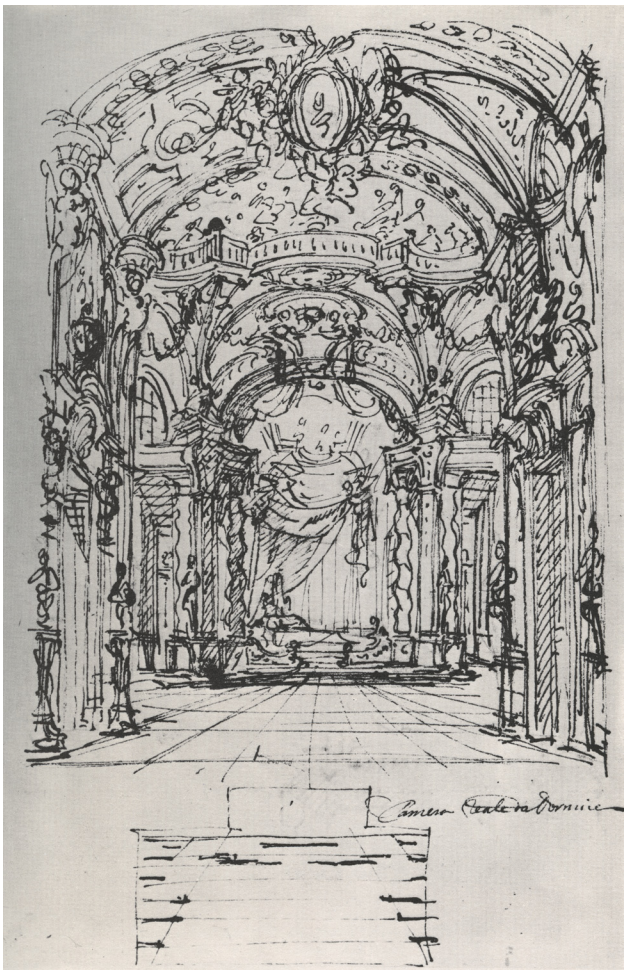

Figure 3.10: Juvarra, *Il Teodosio il Giovane*, Scene II, drawing, 1711.

Figure 3.11: Juvarra, *Stage Design for Teatro Ottoboni*, drawing, f.13.

Bielenberg noted from one of Juvarra's drawings (see Figure 3.4) that the stage was raked, slanting upward as it receded from the audience.[156] He reported six *canale* or fixed channels in the Ottoboni stage to hold sets and shutters. He also observed that wings could be placed at oblique angles.[157]

From the drawings, Bielenberg reconstructed Juvarra's stage sets on a small scale. He assumed that the surface plane in every drawing of stage sets coincided with the plane of the proscenium arch, which complicated his reconstructions of the stage sets, for those which stepped farther back into space had to be enlarged to compensate for their perspectival diminution in real space. It would seem more reasonable to interpret Juvarra's drawings as depicting the far most plane of the back of the stage as the focal limit for the audience, for Juvarra would not want to

156 Bielenberg, 9.
157 Bielenberg, 19.

place limitations on the director and performers by confining the audience's vision to the frontal plane of the stage. This is confirmed by a drawing in which Juvarra has traced the viewer's line of vision from the central, triple loge of honor (see Figure 3.3), and in the sheet depicting a longitudinal section of the theater where lines of sight are extended into the depth of the stage. The ideal perspective view in these drawings would be aligned with the great loge of honor, the cardinal's own box (see Figure 3.5), a space three times the width of the other *palchetti*, and located at the center of the square-U theater floor plan at the second level of the four tiers. Thus, the plane of the drawings was ultimately to coincide with the back plane of the stage, its recession aided by wings and shutters defining the depth to be filled by the actors and singers.

Juvarra's staging was solidly based in contemporary conventions for the Baroque stage.[158] William West examined Juvarra's drawings for the opera, *Il Teodosio il Giovane,* performed in 1711, and discovered that the Ottoboni stage was also equipped with machinery to depict clouds and flying chariots (Figure 3.12).[159] William Holmes' analysis of Ottoboni's libretto for *La Statira* indicated that it had called for stage machinery.[160] Although this work was performed in 1689 before Juvarra's theater existed, and initially for the Tor di Nona, it was staged again in del Lino's theater in 1690 and in Juvarra's hall in 1726 (with a new score by Tomaso Albinoni). In his study of the opera, *Carlo Magno*, performed in the Ottoboni theater in 1729, John Pinto observed that Juvarra's stage could accommodate a flying chariot of Apollo (see Figure 3.11).[161] Elaborate machines and multiple settings were the special pleasures of the theater according to Bernini, whose lone surviving play, *The Impresario*, had an ironic intention, namely, to reveal all the malfunctions that can occur with stage machinery.[162]

West found that Juvarra's drawings also contained instructions for machinery and staging techniques. One sheet in particular contained ten ground plans numbered and labeled for scene designations (Figure 3.13). Another sheet associated with *Il Teodosio* contained explicit if elementary directions for staging Act. I, Scene I. West's study revealed that Juvarra's stage floor contained six sets of *canali* with two to four

158 West, 21-23.

159 West, 34; Brinckman, p. 141.

160 Holmes, pp. 17, n. 9, 65.

161 Pinto, 1980, pp. 295-299. Valesio reported a cantata performance in Ottoboni's palace theater with a *machina*, and an Academy in the theater accompanied by a *machina* of clouds; Valesio, IV, p. 890, December 26, 1727; p. 893, January 2, 1728.

162 Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1985). *The Impresario* (pp. 10, 56). D. Beecher & M. Ciavollela (Eds.), Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions.

Figure 3.12: Juvarra, *Il Teodosio il Giovane*, Scene I, 1711, drawing, f.14.

channels in each set, and full shutters at the last two *canali* back stage. Juvarra's scenes generally alternated from deep to shallow (or *lungo* to *corto*) following the conventional practice of the time, with the shallow scenes utilizing different *canali* than the deep scenes to facilitate scene changes.[163] There were also references in the drawings to *caretti motti*, that is "wild" or free carts. These appear to have been smaller stage props, usually on wheels, to be placed outside the confines of the fixed channels. Juvarra has left a drawing of one such (Figure 3.14).

163 West, 31.

Figure 3.13: Juvarra, *Scene with Superimposed Stage Settings, Teodosio il Giovane* , 1711, drawing, f.121.

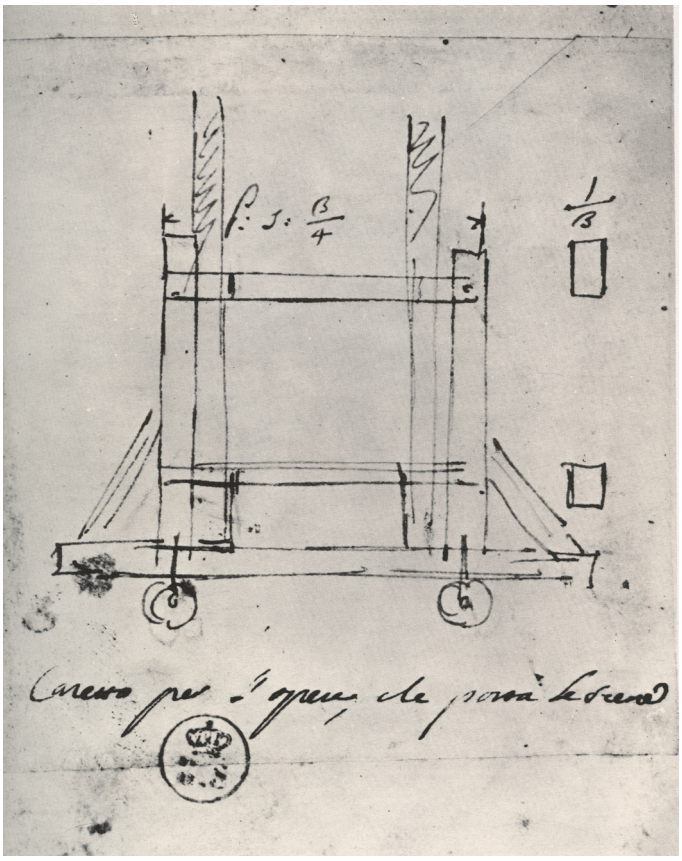

Figure 3.14: Juvarra, *Caretto Motto*, drawing, Ris. 59.4 f.97 (5).

Juvarra occasionally placed flat sets at angles to the frontal plane of the stage, and some flats could be positioned at different angles to the audience. Turning a set out of the frontal plane to create a *scena per angolo* is complicated by a raked stage, and West has suggested that the sets with diagonal bases were lowered into the *canali* when viewed frontally to mask their diagonally cut bottoms (Figure 3.15). His arguments would have benefited here by reference to Juvarra's drawing in Turin (see Figure 3.3) of a cross-section of the Ottoboni theater. This indicates a shallow relief stage like those in the *Il Teodosio* scene sketches, and an area below the stage for manipulating sets in the *canali*, with open space above to accommodate cloud machinery.

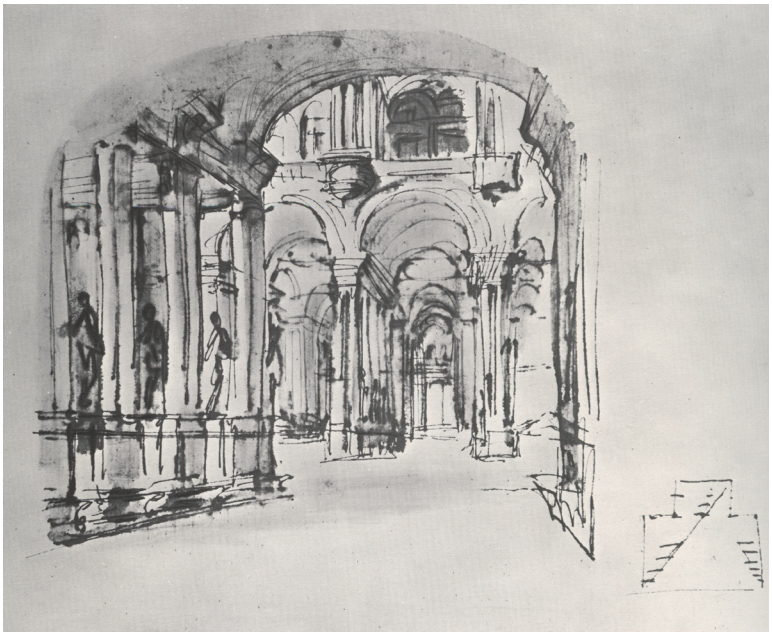

Figure 3.15: Juvarra, *Giunio Bruto*, Scene VI, 1711, drawing, f.95.

In 1966 the question of puppet performances was revisited, once more stimulated by Maffei's remark.[164] Maria Signorelli added an historical note to the discussion by emphasizing that such performances were not uncommon, and had been popular in the Renaissance.[165] Sebastiano Serlio, in Book II of his treatise on architecture in 1551, had described stick puppets (*burattini*) which were usually used for musical performances. These would have suited Ottoboni's tastes perfectly, and the use of puppets provided the cardinal with a means of avoiding papal strictures against theater performances. In the seventeenth century such puppet performances were popularized by Benedetto Neri in sacred works and cantatas, and the cleric G.D. Ottonelli, in his treatise on Christian moderation in the theater, had recommended puppets as appropriate for sacred narratives and scenes from the Old Testament.[166] The Duke of Fiano's theater on the ground floor of his palace was for marionettes and rod puppets.[167]

164 Signorelli, 550-559.

165 Signorelli, 555.

166 Padre Gian Domenico Ottonelli (1652). *Della Christiana moderatione del teatro* (pp. 462, 465). Florence: G. A. Bonardi, as cited in Signorelli, p. 550.

167 Signorelli, 559, n. 40. See BAV, Cod. Ottob. 3279, March 1692, p. 193v for a reference to the theater at San Lorenzo in Lucina. Moroni claimed that in 1737 Marco's wife had a puppet theater on the Palazzo Fiano's ground floor for marionettes and rod puppets; "Nei pianterreni del palazzo de molti

Françoise Deseine had alluded in 1713 to a "l'Antichambre" in the Cancelleria, "où Mr. le Cardinal Ottobon: à present Vice Chancelier, a coutume de faire les Oratoires en musique...".[168] Schiavo also referred to an "anticamera" with its gilded balconies for musicians, which would seem to describe a hall such as the Sala Riario on the *piano nobile* which had musician balconies, and served as the audience hall of the palace.[169] Signorelli has suggested that this "anti-Chambre," which she distinguished from Juvarra's theater, could have been the setting for puppet performances, which was well suited to accommodate a small stage and limited audience. Signorelli mooted the previous discussions, however, by pointing out that Ottoboni's large theater could also have been used for puppet performances with some modifications of the stage.[170] She accepted its existence and accepted Schiavo's dimensions of 45.5 x 57 *palmi* (or 10.16 x 12.85 m) for the theater.[171]

Viale Ferrero made a number of perceptive observations about Juvarra's theater in her comprehensive study of his scenographic drawings in 1970. She disagreed with Craig who, in his reading of Maffei in 1926, held that Juvarra had built only a puppet theater, overlooking Maffei's references to singers and musicians.[172] Maffei also stated that the puppet theater was located in a "certa sala" or single room and not the double space identified by Schiavo, and that in this room was assembled "un piccolo Teatrino" built by Pellegrini.[173] This must have been a modest space indeed if Maffei's redundancy in his usage of the double diminutive, "piccolo Teatrino" is any indication. He further informs us that Pellegrini and Juvarra worked together in the theater ("Al teatro" and not "Al piccolo Teatrino"), and that the operas *Il Teodosio* and *Ciro* were performed there, thus distinguishing it from the puppet theater. The *Anonimo* adds that this theater was built by a priest from Messina, namely Juvarra. Viale Ferrero is skeptical of Maffei's linkage of Pellegrini and Juvarra, observing that no document records Pellegrini assisting him.[174]

Viale Ferrero claimed that Juvarra did not build a new theater, but rather a renovated one (*rifacimento*). Based on a passage in an archival document, she

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anni venne stabilito il *teatro Fiano* (ora non più esistente), rinomato pei graziosi spettacoli e rappresentanze di commediole e balli, di burattini o marionette,..." and "sui diversi teatrini de' burattini; che il famoso Filippo Juvarra (morto nel 1735) intaglio delle scene assai belle, nel celebre teatrino de' burattini del cardinal Pietro Ottoboni de' duchi di Fiano," but Moroni was writing in 1851, more than one hundred years after the fact; Moroni, "Ottoboni e Otthobon Famiglia," vol. L, pp. 72-73. See also, Gross, p. 298. *Guide rionali*, III, Parte I, 1977, p. 86 dates a theater here to the 1800s.

168 Deseine, F. (1713). *Rome Moderne* (I, p. 363). Leiden.

169 Schiavo, 1964, p. 102. See also Rossini, p. 68.

170 Signorelli, p. 557.

171 Signorelli, pp. 554-555.

172 Craig, 174; Viale Ferrero, p. 74.

173 Cited by Viale Ferrero, p. 20.

174 Viale Ferrero, p. 22.

referred to a theater in place before June 1707.[175] This is a reference to work done in the rooms occupied by Corelli "su di sopra nel Teatrino," but this should be taken as referring either to the old space of del Lino's dismantled theater of which Viale Ferreo did not know, or more likely to the puppet theater because the diminutive "Teatrino" is again used, and because del Lino's structure had been on the ground floor. Viale Ferrero maintained that Ottoboni wanted to renovate this space, but del Lino's theater had already been dismantled by Innocent XII's order in 1692. For additional evidence in support of her position, Viale Ferrero cited work on the roof "delle Stanze verso il Giardino accanto il Teatrino." Again she used the Italian diminutive, whereas other documents referring to work on the roof of Ottoboni's theater refer to "il teatro." For example, Viale Ferrero noted the addition of a lantern to the auditorium, "entrava il vento nel Teatro."[176] She cited documents showing all work on the theater completed before August 1710.

Viale Ferrero credited Schiavo for his exacting measurements in locating a puppet theater on the third floor of the Cancelleria in a space now serving as the vestibule for the Tribunale della Segnatura Apostolica (see Figures 3.8, 3.9), but also noted that this observation was irrelevant to the issue of Juvarra because his scenes were for a theater with a large stage. The major operas performed from 1709 to 1712, such as *Costantino Pio*, *Ciro*, *Il Teodosio*, *L'Eraclio*, were flesh and blood performances. The staging of *Costantio Pio* lasted five hours according to the president of the French Academy in Rome (but the musical performances of the *burrattini* could also be lengthy). Juvarra's anonymous biographer states that Ottoboni had the theater erected specifically for *Costantino Pio*, which may be true because Ottoboni had written the libretto.[177]

Viale Ferrero considered Juvarra's Turin drawings directly relevant to Ottoboni's theater. She acknowledged the research of Bielenberg, Rava, West, and Warner in deriving the dimensions for the two theaters represented in the Turin drawings, and found Schiavo's studies precise although not decisive.[178] She also observed that it was not possible to determine from the wall structure of the Cancelleria which of the two theaters in the Turin drawings had been built, but was agreeable to the suggestion that the smaller of the plans had been carried out. She came to this conclusion as a result of similarities noted between Juvarra's drawings for the smaller theater, and the description of Juvarra's theater in the Ottoboni inventory of 1740.

The inventory places the theater next to a "Guardarobba," and mentions an orchestra, and four tiers of boxes, the latter decorated with globes. They are referred to as "palle" ("dette palchette colle sue palle sopra a medisimi palchi"), interpreted as vases ("vasi") by Schiavo, but Viale Ferrero correctly recognized them as "globi

175 Viale Ferrero, p. 77.
176 Viale Ferrero, pp. 77-78.
177 Viale Ferrero, p. 20.
178 Viale Ferrero, pp. 75-76.

aradici," or the Ottoboni family's heraldic devices.[179] The inventory also states that there were thirteen loges per tier which Viale Ferrero found in agreement with the Turin drawings, although other scholars counted fifteen. Either she had miscounted or she read the boxes adjacent to the orchestra in Juvarra's longitudinal section (see Figure 3.2) as false boxes, cropped with the terminiations of the balustrades at each level to offer decorative harmony and completeness, but not intended to be occupied because of their more limited space and severe viewing angle (although the frontispiece for *Carlo Magno*, [see Figure 2.11] shows these awkward boxes as occupied).

Two other elements in the inventory are worthy of attention. The stage space is indicated as wider than deep which conforms with Juvarra's drawings. The audience hall also appears to be wider than deep, which would make sense for a space with five boxes at the back and four along each side (totaling thirteen, Figure 3.16). Warner's dimensions, taken from the scale in Juvarra's drawings based on the auditorium ringed with fifteen boxes to form a square letter "U" (5 x 5 x 5), are for an almost square space, 9.18 x 8.96 m, only slightly deeper than wide. Drawings and inventory both indicate an open area within the rim of stacked loges. The inventory informs us that this space was filled by twenty benches with small tables and iron railings. These would have been placed in the open space five across and four deep to fit the truncated square of the auditorium. Warner had measured the width of Juvarra's loges as 4'6" which would accommodate two people standing side by side, as shown in the frontispiece of the libretto to Ottoboni's opera, *Carlo Magno* (see Figure 2.11). They were 4'6" wide, 3'9" deep and 6'6" high. Thus, the benches aligned with the loges at the back of the hall in four rows of five across would hold at least forty occupants.

An approximate capacity for the theater can be determined from Chracas's description of an Arcadian Christmas celebration honoring the Grand Princess of Tuscany with fifty Roman ladies in the second tier of loges forming a crown to the official box (Appendix, doc. 5).[180] The evening consisted of a learned discourse, the reading of compositions, a concerto, then the appearance on stage of clouds with a *machina* supporting a celestial Genius accompanied by nine personages (presumably Apollo and the Muses, see Figure 3.11). Finally, a cantata with three voices was performed with verses by the renowned librettist, Pietro Metastasio (the adopted son of G.V. Gravina [d. 1718], apologist for the Arcadians), and music by Giovanni Costanzi, who was Ottoboni's court composer and conductor of his orchestra.[181] He is shown in the orchestra pit of Ottoboni's theater in the engraved frontispiece of *Carlo Magno* (see Fig. 1.11).

179 Schiavo, 1964, p. 187; Viale Ferrero, p. 75.

180 See also Valesio, IV, p. 893, January 2, 1728.

181 For Metastasio, see Robinson, M. Trapassi, Pietro Antonio (Rome 1698 – Vienna 1782), in Sadie, vol. 12, pp. 215-219; for Costanzi, see Marx, H. Costanzi, Giovanni Battista (1704-1778), in Sadie, vol. 4, pp. 822-823. Costanzi was *aiuto da camera* in 1721, *maestro di cappella* at San Lorenzo in 1731, and *capo d'istromenti* in 1737.

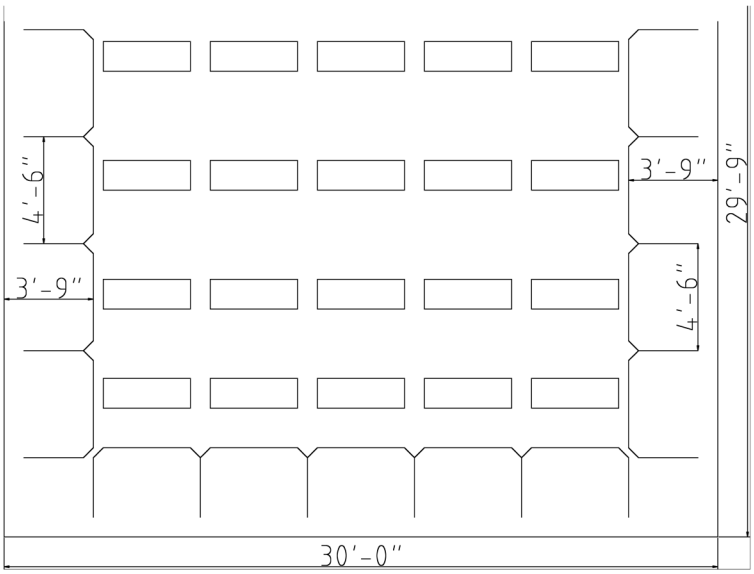

Figure 3.16: Ottoboni Theater, plan (reconstructed).

From the inventory count, Ottoboni's theater contained thirteen loges on each level (except for the second where the official box was triple the size of the others). With each box able to accommodate two people side by side, the thirteen boxes could hold twenty-six people. If a second pair of individuals could fit into a second row of each box, the count for each tier would approach fifty which would conform with Chracas's description. The boxes alone at full capacity could hold 200 spectators, and depending on the arrangement of benches and tables, the floor of the small auditorium could probably accommodate forty or more people. The inventory description also refers to stage sets as well as stage machinery of various kinds, some of which were used to pull the *machine*, and others to move the stage sets: "necessarii per tirar le machine, e tirar le scene esistenti sotto il palco di d.o Teatro." The latter statement also agrees with Juvarra's longitudinal section in confirming the presence of a space beneath the stage for effecting scene changes.

Either Juvarra's longitudinal section (see Figure 3.3) shows a theater four boxes deep, or one of the original plans for seventeen or fifteen boxes per tier was used with the number of boxes reduced to thirteen by constraints of space. The inventory entry for the dismantled theater reports the dimensions of the stage, and it can be shown that these correspond with the space first identified by Schiavo on the *secondo piano*, but which he considered to be Ottoboni's *teatrino domestico* or puppet theater.

In a subsequent article on Ottoboni's palace in 1972, architect Schiavo distinguished this *teatrino domestico* from the larger *teatro di rappresentanza* for which he could find no evidence from an examination of the walls and ceiling in various rooms of the Cancelleria, but which he thought might logically have been associated with the cardinal's private apartments along the Corso Vittorio Emanuele near the garden.[182] Schiavo presented new archival data in his attempt to locate the rooms once occupied by the theater. These included identifying the *capomastro muratore* or chief mason, Carlo Santi Prioli, who perforated the roof of the audience hall to install the lantern.[183] His charges were for work between April 1709 and July 1710, and included uncovering and inverting the roof toward the garden along the via del Pellegrino for a span of 198 x 45 *palmi* (a distance of almost 150 feet). In the process, Primoli helped to locate the studio of the sculptor Rossi, as the roof extended "sopra lo studio del S. Angelo Scultore."[184] That work persisted as late as July of 1710 indicates that the theater Juvarra prepared for performances in 1708 continued to be worked on during his early years in the court. Most likely this phase represented Juvarra's addition of three tiers of boxes which would have required "inverting" the roof. Also of interest is Schiavo's report that the *conti* or bills were submitted by the architect Lodovico Rusconi Sassi which is the only time Sassi is ever mentioned in the context of Juvarra's theater. Sassi's involvement with Ottoboni is discussed below.

Schiavo indicated that there were as many as four performance locations within the confines of Ottoboni's palace; the nave of San Lorenzo in Damaso (see Figure 2.9),[185] the Sala Riaria or public audience hall on the *piano nobile* (Figure 3.17),[186] Juvarra's theater (see Figure 3.5), and the small oratorio in the anti-chamber of Ottoboni's private apartments (Figure 3.18).[187] He might also have mentioned the *cortile* (see Figure 2.10) where temporary stages were erected for various performances.[188]

182 Schiavo, 1972, 345.

183 Schiavo, 1972, 345.

184 Schiavo, 1972, 346; BAV, Comp. Ottob., vol. 59, 1709-1710.

185 For example, Valesio reports Pope Clement XI in attendance to view the fine *machina* displayed in San Lorenzo depicting Saint Giacinto; IV, pp. 434-436, February 13, 1711.

186 Viale Ferrero notes that the dimensions of the display for the Holy Week Oratorio in the drawing fit the end wall of Ottoboni's Sala Riaria; p. 71.

187 Rossini, p. 68. Rossini reports an oratorio performed in the *anticamera* of Ottoboni's apartment on the *primo piano*. This observation with the mentioned drawing would seem to locate Ottoboni's *anticamera* as the Sala Riaria which is also on the *piano nobile*.

188 Valesio tells of an oratorio performed in Ottoboni's *cortile*; III, p. 432, August 23, 1705; p. 441, August 24, 1705.

Figure 3.17: Sala Riario, Cancelleria, Rome.

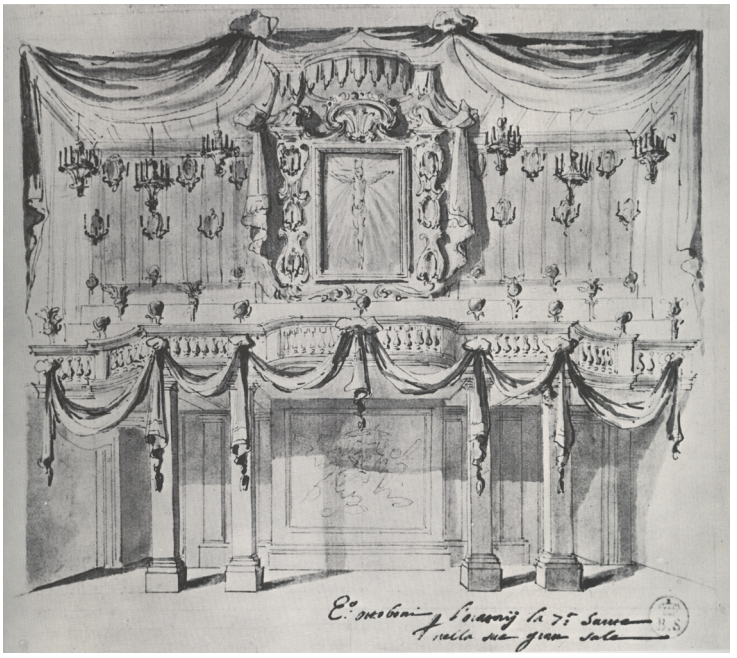

Figure 3.18: Juvarra, *Machina for Holy Week*, drawing, Ris. 59.4 f.81 (1).

When Salvatore Boscarino published his monograph on Juvarra in 1973, he had the benefit of these numerous reports.[189] He located Ottoboni's puppet theater in what is today the vestibule of the Segnatura which he mistakenly placed on the *piano nobile*. He observed that the hall was not suitable for loges, and that it did not correspond with the space in Juvarra's drawings. Furthermore, he stated that none of Juvarra's drawings of stage sets was to be associated with puppet performances, because Juvarra did not do scenography for this type of theater.[190] Boscarino noted that Ottoboni's theater for opera was on the *piano secondo*, distinguishing it from the puppet theater with Ottoboni's private chamber on the *piano nobile*. He observed that Juvarra's Turin drawings of theater plans were not innovative spaces, but seemed instead to accept the limits of the walls of the palace. He further stated that Vittorio Viale's documents showed "unequivocally" that the smaller theater plan was realized, thus correcting Schiavo.[191]

Boscarino also observed (repeating Rava) that the right angle U-plan for the auditorium was eventually abandoned for its poor visibility.[192] Juvarra's use of the raked stage was also the last such as the combination of canted floor, *canali* and *caretti motti* forced the performers into the frontal plane of the proscenium arch. The central axis of the perspective line in seventeenth-century scenery served to unify the stage space with that of the auditorium. Late Italian Renaissance and Baroque scenographers increased the size of the stage illusionistically with the adaptation of the *scena per angolo* with a façade or hall viewed at an angle. As opera developed in the eighteenth century with an increasing reliance on choruses and mob scenes, and the addition of dancers, the *scena per angolo* forced performers into the proscenium arch which led to rejection of the canted stage floor.

Brinckman had puzzled that Juvarra never again became involved with Ottoboni after departing his court in 1715, but Stought has ventured that the theater was rebuilt

189 Boscarino cited the naïve researches of Rava, West, Bielenberg, Warner and Spaeight without comment, and slighted the work of Schiavo. He did not expand on contradictory findings in the literature, and failed to defend or explain his own conclusions in most instances.

190 Boscarino repeats Brinckman and contradicts Craig and West as well as the *Anonimo* who reported Juvarra as designing puppet scenery which seems reasonable, although none of his drawings has been associated with puppet performances; p. 141. Juvarra's title for his collection of scenographic drawings indicates that they are exclusively for opera scenes.

191 Boscarino, p. 160. A major exhibition of Juvarra's drawings was held in 1966 in Messina with a catalogue that reprinted much that was contained in the 1937 monograph including the architect's two *vite* and Sacchetti's list of drawings. A catalogue of drawings by collection, and an up to date bibliography comprised the major contribution of this study; *Mostra di Filippo Juvarra,* ed., Vittorio Viale, Messina: Palazzo dell'Università, 1966, p. 149.

192 Even Juvarra quickly changed his ideas about auditorium space as evidenced by the spread-U plan he devised for his theater in Genoa in 1712; reproduced in Viale Ferrero, p. 306, fig. 188; Rava, p. 8.

in 1727 by Juvarra himself.[193] This might have been possible, although it seems unlikely. Pinto has cited changes in the stage opening as represented in the engraved frontispiece of the libretto for *Carlo Magno* of 1729 (see Figure 2.11).[194] These involved the addition of Solomonic columns in place of pilasters, the breaking open of the arch, and a cartouche with the French *fleur-de-lis*. Rava is probably correct in considering such changes ephemeral, because the French arms could be displayed only in the context of the opera and not permanently, because the Cancelleria was the official property of the Vatican State.[195] In any case, Pinto has shown that the scenary for *Carlo Magno* had been designed by Nicola Michetti whose designs may also have included embellishment of the proscenium arch.[196] This could have been when Michetti added the opening to the theater lantern for which he was still unpaid at Ottoboni's death. Michetti's embellishments can be distinguished by a comparison of the frontispiece of the libretto for *Carlo Magno* with that for the libretto of *L'Eraclio* of 1712 (Figure 3.19).

Juvarra's theater of 1708-1710 which Schiavo has argued once occupied the third floor (see Figure 3.6), can now be seen as congruent with the two large rooms used today as vestibules for the offices of the Segnatura Apostolica (see Figure 3.8). One of these (8.8 x 7.2 m), its vaulted ceiling embellished with frescoed putti and stucco reliefs, could have served as the audience hall for Juvarra's theater, with the other chamber as the stage area (Figure 3.20). The view into the vestibule of the Segnatura is that looking east from the auditorium into the stage area. Although the theater with its boxes, orchestra and stage no longer exists, its reconstruction can be surmised from the combination of written descriptions, surviving drawings and engraved frontispieces just undertaken. Begun in 1708 just before Juvarra's official entry in the cardinal's household, it would have had 47 boxes on four levels arranged in the shape of a truncated horseshoe, with the loge of honor given a triple space (see Figure 3.4), and three ground level loges at the back and sides used for entry to the auditorium floor (see Figure 3.3), thus reducing the number from 52 (13 x 2 + 11 + 10 = 47). The theater was confined by the pre-existing walls of the palace but extended through the floor above with its corresponding space, and into the inverted roof. Schiavo mentioned vestiges of the stage arch in the wall separating the two spaces, and found remains of painted decorations in the staircase and of the lantern above the ceiling and under the roof at the northwest corner.[197]

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193 Brinckman, p. 140; Stought, 4.

194 Pinto, 1980, p. 296.

195 Rava, p. 6. Pinto has also suggested that they were probably temporary; 1980, pp. 295-296.

196 "Inventore delle scene. Il Cavalier Nicolò Romano Ingegniere del Signor Cardinale Ottoboni." *Carlo Magno. Festa Teatrale in Occasione della nascita del Delfino...,* Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1729. An earlier Christmas performance in 1728 had sets designed by Domenico Vellani; Rava, p. 5; "opera fatta con ogni buon gusto dal Domenico Vellani, Ingegnere, e Pittore delle medesime scene;" Chracas, vol. 48, no. 1777, p. 4, December 25, 1728.

197 Schiavo, 1964, p. 188.

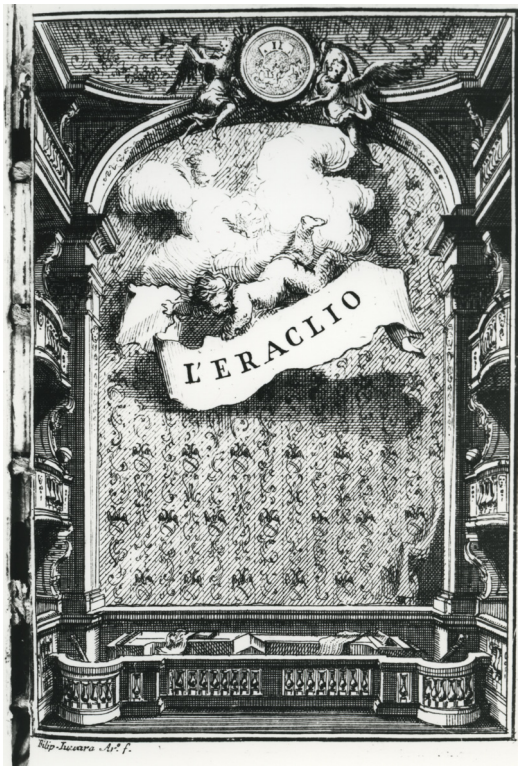

Figure 3.19: *L'Eraclio*, frontispiece, 1711, engraving.

Schiavo identified these rooms as the location of a theater, but did not dwell on them because he considered the site to be that of the puppet theater and not the grand theater for opera. It is true that the dimensions of the two rooms are too small to incorporate the theaters in either set of Juvarra's plans in Turin, but they are adequate to accommodate the theater described in the Ottoboni inventory (see Figures 3.16, 3.20), which Maffei indicated was placed in a small space, "in cosi piccolo situ." The stage area is approximately 8.12 m wide by 8.53 m deep. This converts to 36.4 x 38.2 *palmi* which can be compared with the 40 x 33 *palmi* given in the inventory, except that the present space is deeper than wide.[198] The size is a favorable match to Bernini's preference for stages no more than 33 *palmi* (or 7.4 m) deep.[199]

198 I am indebted to Mrs. Marjorie Weeke of the Pontificio Consiglio delle Comunicazione Sociali and Zenon Grocholewski, Secretary of the Supremum Signaturae Apostolicae Tribunal for assistance in obtaining measurements for the two northwest corner rooms under discussion.

199 Bernini, p. 10.

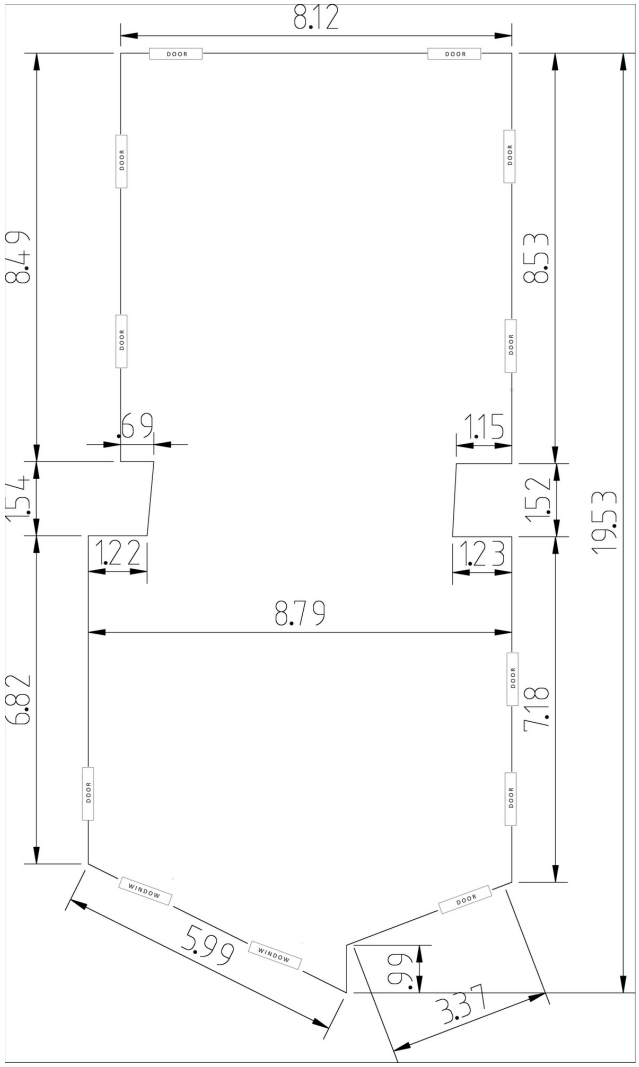

Figure 3.20: *Plan and dimensions for suggested Location of Ottoboni Theater*, Segnatura (third floor).

Reconstruction of the audience hall is a bit more complicated. If one accepts the inventory description of thirteen loges, and the size of each loge as calculated by Warner from the scale given by Juvarra in his Turin plans (see Figure 3.3), it is possible to reconstruct Ottoboni's theater within the measured dimensions of the room associated with the audience hall. The latter measures 8.79 m wide by 7.18 m deep (or 39.35 x 32 *palmi*). This is closer to the 40 x 33 *palmi* given in the inventory, suggesting that the inventory measure might have been for the auditorium instead of the stage, which would make more sense because the value of the carpentry would stem from

the decorative loges. In any case, the pertinent figures from Warner's calculations are: width of each loge (for the smaller of the two plans) = 4'6", depth of each loge = 3'9". For four boxes along a side wall each 4'6" in width plus a depth of 3'9" for the boxes at the back, a span of 21'9" results which falls within the measured 23' of the Segnatura vestibule.

The width of the auditorium can be calculated from those of the five boxes placed side by side at the back wall, again at 4'6" each, plus a depth of 3'9" for the boxes at each of the two sides to give a total width of 30' against the measured width of 28'9". These calculations do not take into account the width of spaces between boxes, perhaps 3 to 6", nor the space necessary for the narrow entry halls to the boxes, although hallways were omitted from some of the Turin designs. As all scholars agreed that the theater in the plans was carried out only in diminished size, the area of the boxes may have been reduced from those of the drawings. In the end, Juvarra's theater was neither placed completely against an outer wall nor on the *piano nobile* along the Corso Vittorio Emanuele.

Whoever has enjoyed a performance in the reconstructed Asolo Theater of 1799 at the Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, Florida, can appreciate the intimate scale, the poor angle of vision in some boxes against the favored location of others, and the dichotomy between visually elegant surroundings and severity of accommodations. In the end, Juvarra's theater was one of the most gracious and ornate of private theaters. Charged with family symbols and richly encrusted decoration, it was intimate in its scale yet grand in aspiration. It was especially in the pretensions of the theater's scenography that Juvarra kept alive the spirit of Borromini and Bibiena, and from which he extrapolated his own interests in his large scale works after his departure from Rome. And to this end, the old fashioned raking stage with its vertical format and *scene per angolo* offered Juvarra an opportunity of which he took full advantage. In the process, he flattered the humble accommodations of his patron.

On completion of the theater and stage sets for Ottoboni, Juvarra's success brought him other projects. In 1710-1711, he constructed a small theater as well as designs for scenography for the widowed queen of Poland who occupied the Palazzo Zuccari on the Pincio.[200] A second royal commission in 1711 involved finished designs for scenography for a performance of *Giunio Bruto* at the court of Joseph I, Emperor of Austria. Unfortunately for both patron and artist, the Emperor died before the drawings were delivered, and they remained in the possession of Cardinal Albani.[201] Another theater project took Juvarra to Genoa and the Piazza Sant'Agostino (1712-

200 Körte, W. (1935). *Der Palazzo Zuccari in Rom* (pp. 48-52). Leipzig. Maria Casimira's arrival in Rome in July of 1697 is recorded by Marescotti. She departed the Holy City on June 16, 1714; BNC, 789, Mss. Vitt. Eman., vol. III, Marescotti, p. 204v, July 20, 1697; Viale Ferrero, pp. 19, 56, n. 3. See also Re, E. (1926/27). La dimora Romana di Maria Casimira Regina di Polonia. *Capitolium*, II, 160-167.

201 Viale Ferrero, p. 39.

1713). Juvarra probably realized that the Cancelleria's modest theater was the most that he could expect from Ottoboni in terms of grand projects, and it was likely that the cardinal was gratified to have his resident architect so widely patronized. Clearly, Juvarra's theater for Ottoboni led to the Palazzo Zuccari commission and to court patronage from Vienna as well as projects in Genoa and Lucca.

Juvarra spent some time in Lucca consulting on villa and fountain projects for various patrons. He was off to Sicily and his native Messina in 1714 to redesign a palace for Vittorio Amadeo II, then went to Turin in September. Juvarra was soon back in Rome to participate in a competition for a sacristy at St. Peter which was never undertaken. After Ottoboni's series of expensive opera commissions in the early years of the century's second decade, Juvarra's departure from the cardinal's court at the end of 1714, however much regretted, also offered the cardinal financial relief.