Fragmented Impressionism and the Visual *Translatio* of History in the Literary and Artistic Experiments of the Romantic Castle

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Abstract: By adopting a *histoire croisée* perspective that expands the framework of binational trajectories in culture transfer studies, the essay charts the artistic practices and formations irradiating from the new formalization of philological studies in the second half of the eighteenth century. More specifically, it discusses the space of the medieval castle in late eighteenth-century literature (namely Ann Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho*) and nineteenth-century architecture (the palaces of Potsdam and Sintra), to chart the reimagined geography of artistic taste through the artistic projects sponsored by a diasporic, interrelated aristocratic community. The paper argues that the space of the castle constitutes a site of emergence of a new (counter) aesthetics of fragmentation undermining the conventions of figurative representation as well as questioning the painterly, rhetorical construction of vision and representation.

Keywords: Modern philology, *Translatio* of Antiquity, nineteenth-century medieval revival, aristocratic taste, Sintra, Potsdam, Friedrich Schlegel, William Gilpin, Joshua Reynolds, Ann Radcliffe

The word "romantic" is defined by a semantic field that is enmeshed in a complex cluster of etymological roots, critical categories, artistic practices and personal affiliations. The late eighteenth-century use of the term is in itself a medieval-revivalist one, going back to the oral performances of epics composed in what philologists have identified as the neo-Latin *Romanċ* language: they are symptomatic of a history of fragmented remains and recovered antiquities, which are subject to an endless process of translation, quotation, adaptation and contamination. In its disconnection from the present, the word "romantic" speaks of an aspiration to an imagined recovery of the past that is nonetheless condemned to a sense of belatedness, incompleteness, to a "time out of joint" salvaged by a self-conscious irony. The first modern definition of the term "romantic" not only in this sense but as an intellectual movement dates back to the provocative fragmentary statements contained in the periodical *Athaeneum*, written collectively by the coterie of poets, philosophers and free-thinkers that revolved around Friedrich Schlegel in Jena, between 1797 and 1800. Fragment number 116, an early manifesto, states that "romantic poetry" is a "progressive, universal poetry" (31) free from all the constraints of any law. "Romantic poetry," and by extension, "art," is likewise imagined as a project constantly in the making, which can actualize the encyclopedic rigor of the new philology emerging from the University of Göttingen: its early interdisciplinary call demands to link poetry and philosophy, poetry and prose in a modern form: "it tries to and should mix inspiration and criticism, the poetry of art and the poetry of nature; and make poetry lively and sociable, and life and society poetical; poeticize wit and fill and saturate the forms of art with every kind of good, *solid matter* for instruction, and animate them with the pulsations of humor" (emphasis added, ibid).

The modern recovery of the *Atheneum Fragments* harks back to a long tradition of scholarship, which analyzed the genre of the fragment, in the studies of Rauber since 1969, and Rosenblum,

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Neumann, Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy in the following decade. The interest in that movement continued in the following decades through significant studies of both art and literature, often centered on the fragment as aesthetic form (Ueding, Ostermann, Hamburger, Kremer, Fricke and Fromm). Romantic art at large has been the focus of the edited collection by Hartley (and others) *The Romantic Spirit in German Art. 1790-1990*, whereas literary scholars have attempted to provide a distinct definition of the genre of the fragment (Ostermann and Fromm), coupled with an attention to the possible predecessors (Fricke) and later rewritings (Ueding, Hamburger, Sorg and Würffel). In acknowledging this tradition of scholarship, which has often insisted on the dichotomy fragmentation/unity (Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy *in primis*), while providing a contextualization on the history of the genre of the aphorism in German literature (Fricke, Ostermann, Kremer), I want to expand on the metaphorical notion of textuality in fragments. This type of textuality is self-consciously practiced with an implicit understanding that it stands also for the work of art at large, as suggested by Schlegel and echoed in the critical reception outlined above. I am interested in reflecting on the temporality of the reader's reception of these aesthetic suggestions, while situating them in the context in which they appeared. I shall therefore track the threshold of emergence of a new aesthetics of fragmentation in the peripheral sites associated to the romantic interest in the medieval-revival castles, mediated by the literary imagination and architecture. The Southern Italian geography of imposing, isolated castles charted by an author such as Ann Radcliffe in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), without having ever travelled in the region, will be my starting point: Radcliffe refers to the impervious landscape crossed by the protagonists as "romantic," a term which has a latitude that absorbs the contemporary experience of the sublime, while incorporating also an alternative and innovative aesthetic form when exploring the space of the interior of the castle. I shall then discuss nineteenth-century medieval-revival architecture as it appeared on the European continent in two projects, Sans-Souci at Potsdam (Prussia) and the Pena palace at Sintra (Portugal). They signal, I shall argue, the changes in aristocratic taste of the Prussian and Saxa-Gotha dynasties, whose intellectual circles behind these projects were informed by the contemporary renewed interest in the historical method spearheaded by the new philology disseminated from Göttingen to the new universities of continental Europe. I want to argue that the space the castle, associated with two aristocratic family lines which ruled, due to their respective marriage politics, beyond Prussia and Portugal, constitutes a peripheral site for experimenting new aesthetic practices, in proud opposition to the expanding urban centers and the cultural forms they promoted. These visual experiments in medieval romantic revivals are a *translatio* of history, which stages a historical awareness of the past by juxtaposing different styles and forms in the garden of ruins or in the architectonic "quotations" of different styles that animate the renovation projects of the two aristocratic palaces discussed. "Translatio," therefore, takes the notion, besides the literal one of "passing over," and that of "rewriting" with an implied Romantic irony, of "reconstruction" within an ever-evolving and possibly unfinished project, as theorized by the German romantic avant-garde active in the city of Jena. The two isomorphic developments in the history of architecture represented by the additions to the unfinished and constantly evolving architectonic projects of Potsdam and Sintra are discursively tied to the novelty of the new philological method irradiating from the university of Göttingen, which trained some of the supervisors of the projects. A phenomenological attention to the experience of fragmentation when exploring architectural structures allows us to build a parallel narrative to the literary one, the aesthetic experience of the viewer's, which is constantly undermined by its incompleteness, thus providing a visual counterpart to a reading of the *Fragmente*.

I propose to read the transmedial reach of these manifestations of the aesthetics of fragmentation in different, peripheral locations on the map of European "Romantic" culture —romanticism is, originally, an art of the peripheries— within a particular application of *histoire croisée*, adapted to the specific context of the rhizomatic aristocratic cultural ties of nineteenth-century dynasties. While the definition of *histoire croisée* by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann has insisted on the

persistence as object of study of a "national level" (31), I shall apply it to a much broader and transnational conceptualization of space that does not coincide with national boundaries or binational trajectories of culture transfer, as it has often bene the case. Focusing on different locations presents practices and formations that resonate in other non-tangential parts of the redrawn boundaries of the imagined geography of artistic taste in the long nineteenth century. These rhizomatic connections signal the transformation of aristocratic taste after the Baroque dominance, in the iconographic programs designed for aristocratic palaces, of decorative cycles inspired by literary figures such as Ariosto and Tasso, whose epic poems adorned the interiors of countless palaces with scenes drawn from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. As an alternative to these narratives often adumbrating the aristocratic rulers' victories in the geopolitical map of Mediterranean trade vis-á-vis the Westward expansion of the Ottoman empire, the adaptations of a more contemporary classic such as Cervantes' *Don Quixote* were also popular, circulating in the early part of the eighteenth-century by means of more moveable medium, namely the Gobelins or the Beauvais large tapestries by Besnier & Ovdry with episodes from *Don Quixote*. Championing Cervantes' protagonist signalled an ironic disconnection between the temporal plane of the Medieval chivalry ethos and the contemporary one, in an anticipation of a time "out of joint" which represents the sense of belatedness of the early Romantic generation. The space of the medieval revival castle in literature and contemporary architecture, therefore, constitutes a ground-breaking innovation: peripheral to the main sites of cultural and political life that were developing in the urban context, the castle constitutes a site for the elaboration of an alternative aesthetics that incorporates fragmentation on a spectrum going from sheer unmanageable materiality undermining narrative consistency and figurative unity, up to the reintroduction of a notion of provisional order.

While the proximity of painting and rhetoric, which can be found in eighteenth-century treatises on art, such as Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses on Art* and William Gilpin's *Observations Relative to Picturesque Beauty*, enables a rapprochement of literary writing and modern vision, in making both art and literature two art forms guided by the rules of rhetorical composition, I am interested instead in reflecting on a more dispersed history of the discursive forces that shape representation, more specifically the aesthetic modalities of perceiving and representing different degrees of unmanaged fragmentation not contemplated by canonical theories and the cultural institutions that made them dominant. This experimental *cupio dissolvi*, which undermines the traditional modes of figurative representation and narrative structure—on a path leading to dissolution of both form and cogency—gains more ascendency in the romantic age by reappearing insistently as a discursive force in several domains identified by Foucault in *The Archeology of Knowledge*: "intellectual disciplines, social processes, behavioral patterns, systems of norms, techniques, types of classification" (149). I do so in order to identify an important transhistorical filigree trace, which makes art and poetry, to return to Schlegel, "hover at the midpoint between the portrayed and the portrayer" (Fragment 116), through a self-reflexive objectified vision revealing the process that made it possible. These experimentations complicate the identification between sign and referent inherited from the blind trust in the correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm of Medieval theology and Renaissance art theory and practice. The metaliterary dimension of this transhistorical discursive space, furthermore, integrates and complicates more recent theorizations, such as the genealogy of the "autonomy of the principles of production" mapped by Bourdieu in reference to the modern turn he placed in the second half of the nineteenth century. My perspective, therefore, proposes an interpretation that goes beyond the traditional view, advanced for instance by Neumann and others, stemming from a literal interpretation of Schlegel's statements, which distinguishes the individuality of the fragment as opposed to the whole. My analysis shall privilege, in fact, an approach to the materiality of the text in fragments, the "solid matter of instruction" quoted above, both as a sign of philological awareness on the part of the first theories of Romanticism reflecting on the new notion of fragmented textuality deriving from classical philology (before what is referred to as "urban modernity"), and as a working

definition of the boundaries of perception constructed by the viewer themselves. A new form of perception, in fact, developing in the temporality of processing, through a montage effect, several elements, can thus transform the notion of textuality without hinting at a reconstituted unity. Fragmentation, therefore, acquires a performative turn: the visual montage-effect that Schlegel's fragments inspire, when considered within the framework of a history of reading and visuality, imposes the temporality of perception, and of the cognitive process that helps to process it. The experience of fragmentation is constantly in the making, subjective and aleatory, while still enabling a combinatory effect that contributes to a provisional unity, in which the "chemical" —the rapprochement with science is, again, Schlegel's— reactive nature of the fragment and of art at large (Schlegel, 87) becomes a new form without being teleologically projected towards an awaited "synthesis."

The Aesthetic Practice of Fragmentation

Many of the readers of the *Atheneum Fragments* mentioned above have primarily stressed the tensions between the fragmentary form and a problematic longing for an elusive absolute along a path of transcendence deriving from the increasingly challenged medieval and Renaissance system of correspondences between micro and macrocosm, which built its sense of unity in a projected notion of order. Friedrich Schlegel refers also to the concept of the monad, as a way to further stress the dynamic exchange between part and complete whole, contained unit and overarching system, while revolutionizing philosophical writing, inaugurating a specific tradition leading to Nietzsche and Walter Benjamin well beyond what appears to some critics as a classicist imitation of the aphorism. The metaphorical "solid matter" of textual fragmentation that Schlegel theorizes and practices at the same time with an ironic, "prophetic" insight into the future of a remembered philological past, cannot be simply read within the tradition of aphoristic writing. Other critics have noted the wider-reaching discursive force implied in these formulations: they have insisted on the final result, the pervasive "reticular" desire to achieve a sense of unity, or harmony between discordant parts (McFarland, xi), which echoes the understanding of the modern episteme advanced by Michel Foucault as a relational form of theorizing the new disciplines of biology, philology and the theory of value. Charting as Mc Farland does the intellectual trajectories of romantic authors such as Coleridge (or Goethe) in terms of "polarities" and "opposites" (289), however, while providing an important interpretive key in the study of major authors, essentializes the power of these binary oppositions. This polarization, however, reduces the discussion of fragmentation, from the provocative highlighting operated by Schlegel, particularly on romantic poetry "hover[ing] at the midpoint between the portrayed and the portrayer," to an overdetermined aspiration to a synthesis, which is not always present. Singling out contrasts in constant opposition until they reach an awaited form of unity appears to be in itself entangled within the mere traditional overlapping discourse of transcendental order that runs through the parallel history of a loosely Platonist tradition, whose semantic field migrated from philosophy to religion and culture at large. I am rather interested in highlighting the more radically innovative degree zero of this new aesthetic practice of fragmentation within the materiality of textual and visual practices that resist a figurative and narrative impulse. This fragmentation, which is visually contingent and intellectually provocative in its anti-systematic inspiration, precedes any conceptualization; it also undermines the material textuality of the book/work of art by proposing, instead, a format in fragments that runs against the very possibility of logical sequence, narrative development and rhetorical order mediated by the typography of the book. Schlegel advances this form of writing by referring explicitly to the ancient Roman genre of the satire, the *lanx satura, a culinary dish that is a hodge-podge of disparate ingredients, which preserve their piquant individuality while being mixed together. Rather than recuperating the aphorism, therefore, it might be useful to recognize that Schlegel insisted on the satire, together with the Socratic dialogue as the form of the modern novel to stress the time-bound dialogical nature (Bakhtin will later echo this in his discussion of the Menippean satire) of contrasting parts engaged in dialogic exchange.

In Schlegel's *Fragmente*, more importantly, these partial, contained statements are made to create a new meaning when juxtaposed in a form of what I wish to call an early intellectual montage (Gabriele, 75), a combinatory principle to be studied next to other Romantic forms of visualization such as the arabesque or the hieroglyph investigated by by Hilmar Frank (147-8) or the Crystalline by Regine Prange (155-162). These provocations foregrounding fragmentation herald the emergence of a modernist aesthetics characterized by an insistance on the materiality of the medium and by the ensuing impressions deriving from unmediated fragmentation. From a genealogical perspective, the restructuring of the curriculum of the modern university operated by the third emergence of philology in the second half of the eighteenth century in Germany through the philological seminars taught at the University of Göttingen by Johann Gottfried Heyne needs to be considered, in view of the fact that the seminars were attended, among others, by Alexander von Humboldt, the Schlegels, and Coleridge. Friedrich Schlegel's *Fragmente*, or, in this regard, his own experimental novel *Lucinde* (1799), are a Romantic form of revisiting the past by recreating the materiality of a text, such as the prose narratives of Petronius' *Satyricon*, as it appeared at the time in the format created by the accidental manuscript transmission that left it in fragments. Stendhal [Marie-Henri Beyle] is right in observing that "at the origin [of Romanticism] one finds a strong classical education, the one that the young received around 1790" (Stendhal, 1966, 14). The traditional distinction operated by scholars such as Rauber (213) between Romanticism and classicism becomes, therefore, less tenable, since it is precisely through the historicism emerging from the Göttingen philological seminars that a Romantic appropriation of *certain* classical genres could emerge.

Fragmentariness, therefore, is an engagement with the past stemming from the emergence of modern historicism—the term was invented by Schlegel, as Robert Leventhal reminds us (1994, 24)— through an experiential mode of perception, which playfully remediates the direct exposure to antiquity made apparent by the very working practice of philology. Experiencing the archeological fragmentation of these texts, however, was not a form of "otherness" as Azade Seyhan proposes (1992, 8), but a very familiar notion provided by the higher education of the early Romantics. Both the satirical tradition appearing in fragmented forms in poetry and prose—together with the socratic dialogue—are, in fact, examples of a non-univocal structure that is crucial for an understanding of Schlegel' s theory of the novel and of fragmentation at large. Although only a provocation confined to the short-lived experiment of collective writing represented by the *Athaeneum Fragmente* (as well as the fragments that appeared in the periodical *Lyceum der Schönen Künste* and as *Ideas* in *The Athaeneum Fragmente* of 1800), this form of visualization through the literary imagination is isomorphic, I want to argue, with other visual experiments from that time, all constituent parts of the emergence of an aesthetic practice that unfolds in the temporality of perception, in which the very materiality of the medium itself structures cognition and the interpretation processes. Alexander Cozens "New Method" issued in 1785, with the painterly exercises of drawing starting with the indistinct mass of an ink blot, is as significant in a counter-history of the dominant discourse of representation rooted in eidetic truthfulness along a vertical path of transcendence seeking to go beyond the given of the senses to achieve the eternal ideal that the formulations of Joshua Reynold's *Discourses* would make canonical.

Reynolds' *Discourses* at the Royal Academy are representative of a fully formalized dominant discourse gaining ascendance through its concurrent appearance in philosophy, religion, painterly and literary practices: it calls for the ability to rise "above all singular forms, local customs, particularities," following an ascendant movement addressing "the mind, not the eyes." (*Third Discourse*). In the distinction between the sublime inspiration of poetry and the vulgar "uncouth" nature of prose, the latter poses a threat to the grand style, since its realism is dangerously close to the despised poetic genres of the "satirist, epigrammatist, sonneteer, writer of pastorals or descriptive poetry" (*Thirteenth Discourse*), the genres significantly advocated by Schlegel in his revisitations of the classical past. Far from simply adopting a classical model, Cozens, too, makes the *process* of imagining the main focus

of a painterly activity. It is a process of empirical induction, rather than of derivation from an abstract model of intuited perfection. This is the aesthetic horizon within which we can place many of the painterly experiences of the Romantic age, which resist the figurative inspiration of academic painting to engage with the materiality of perception that precede any conceptual mediation. I want to mention, among the most known experiments of painters such as Joseph Mallord William Turner, the activity of Victor Hugo as artist, with his use of collage and the expanded, mercurial dynamism of the watercolor in his depictions of the iconic subject of representation for that generation, i.e. the Alps, or of the isle of Jersey during his exile from the repressive regime instated with the coup d'état of Napoleon III of 1851. I do so to point to the ongoing osmotic exchanges between the art of writing and painting, which in eighteenth-century treatises was formalized explicitly by pointing to the rhetorical nature of the "composition" of a painting and by the old adage "ut pictura poesis" within a theory of the correspondence between the sister arts. More specifically, I want to highlight how this interdisciplinary rapprochement empowered modern genres such as the eighteenth-century novel to challenge the canonical abstractions promoted by the grand style advocated by Joshua Reynolds, and to open new possibilities of visualization. Rather than reproducing the intertextuality that would retrace the accepted norms of aesthetic taste that define the cultural field of the age, such as the sublime or the picturesque, I want to underline the counter-discursive aesthetic sensitivity that harbors within the hidden recesses of the history of the novel —and in the peripheral spaces of the two medieval-revival castles. They constitute an important site of emergence of a new aesthetic sensitivity that only the twentieth-century avant-gardes will fully formalize and make canonical.

The aesthetic, peripheral experimentations envisioned by the literary imagination at the margins of the figurative impulse of mimesis represent an important form of visual culture that is rarely acknowledged for its power of discourse-formation. In these liminal places, I want to argue, we can find intuitions of alternative aesthetic modalities that are not contemplated through a process of veridiction, by which a spectacle becomes identified with a certain aesthetic theory reinforcing its value. Novel writing, therefore, becomes an important medium for the dissemination of alternative forms of visuality, particularly Romantic ones. What lies at the margins of painterly writing in Anne Radcliffe's Gothic novel *Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), is a departure from the well-known discourse of the modern sophisticated traveler that mediates outward reality through the theories of the sublime —or the "romantic" as Radcliffe would call it— and the picturesque, in order to entertain alternative aesthetic sensitivities within the space of the interiors of the castle. While dominant aesthetic modalities are filtered by the discourse of refined taste of eighteenth-century treatises and by the unprecedented circulation of print culture, this alternative, peripheral aesthetic is explored in the scenes set inside the medieval castles where the two female characters of Emily and Blanche end up being confined.

The interior space of the castle produces an alternative aesthetic that challenges the painterly model of fixed contemplation characterizing figurative representation. Both Emily and Blanche are perceiving subjects whose intuition is left to infer the structure of the castles, and the operations of the villains who oppress them, only by means of sounds, traces, and flickering shadows. Many of the visual impressions they experience are deployed in the temporal extension of a moving spectacle of shadow-play and random sounds that no intellectual category can elaborate into a harmonious whole. Emily, for instance, "… deceived by the long shadows of the pillars and by the catching lights between, often stopped, imagining she saw some person, moving in the distant obscurity of the perspective; and, as she passed these pillars, she feared to turn her eyes towards them, almost expecting to see a figure start out from behind their broad shaft" (343). Vision is reduced to the immediate visible circle projected by candle light, with the human faculties unable to retrieve painterly models to compose a familiar, larger vista. The visual faculties can only absorb a shifting movement of forms, like the sudden appearance of a ghostly figure in a phantasmagoria, which grows out of the long tradition of Asian shadow play entertainment. They are fragments of an opaque vision dotted

with incoherent appearances that resist narrative, meaning and the establishment of esthetic value through a process of veridiction.

The novel form, therefore, is an interesting site where conflicting aesthetic values confront each other in the multifocal composition of the genre as a modern-day *lanx satura, which cannot be seen as multivocal only in terms of the carnivalesque voices that speak through it, but through the conflicting acts of vision it showcases. The fragmented perceptions Emily and the reader experience are not constitutive of a new regime of vision and knowledge, like in Schlegel' s *Atheneum Fragments*, nor are they reinterpreted in a new revolutionary light like in Walter Benjamin's *Arcades Project* and other essays. These altered perceptions exist only in peripheral zones of cultural "dialogic" production, in liminal literary spaces that escape the rational logic of a figurative, narrative representation by indulging in gray areas at the margins of representation. I want to distinguish, therefore, the discursive power of dominant aesthetic theories that monopolize representation according to a figurative model, from the freer experimentations with visuality that the Romantic unfettered imagination of a novelist engages with. In the case of Radcliffe's novel, this empirical registering of fragmentation as an early manifestation of Irigaray's *différence* is a degree-zero of a proto-modernist aesthetics that is opposed to the vistas that open from the castle towards the surrounding landscape along traditional definitions of picturesque and sublime categories.

Instead of speaking of a "polarity" of contrasting forces seeking a form of harmony, I wish to place these aesthetic modalities on a spectrum that articulates various manifestations, from a resistance to fragmentation in the intellectualized flight of fancy towards the transcendental intuition of a harmonious whole, to an increasingly fragmented common language of modernism that jettisons the intellectual apparatus of previous traditions of sense-making. One of these discursive traditions is the loosely platonist one, which had been reinterpreted over the centuries through a Christian angle: it held multiplicity together under the projected metaphysical ordering of reality to be intuited beyond the given of the senses. The space of the interior of the castle becomes, therefore, a counter-discursive site for a new aesthetic sensitivity to expand in an unbridled, impressionistic, and unsystematic system of visual fragmentation. These proto-modernist modalities that resonate with Schlegel's open manifesto are anchored in the culture of sensations and in an empirical foundation of knowledge that science was championing at the time. Rather than interpreting the theme of fragmentation/ruins through the ubiquitous *topos* associated with them, that of melancholia present at least since Lord Kames' *Elements of Criticism* in 1762 (quoted by Macaulay, 25), I read it through the playful witty irony of Schlegel's *Fragments*: I want to contend, however, that the impact of the *Fragments* cannot be tracked through a model of *histoire croisée*, charting the crossing of aesthetic theories and practices across bordering national boundaries, but rather through a more invisible geography of trajectories of the rhizomatic evolution of aristocratic taste over a *longue durée* going from the periphery to the urban centers of cultural power that aligned with these experimentations within the new reality of industrial modernity.

This model of dissemination of artistic motifs along a trajectory going from the freer experiments of the periphery to the centres cultural production that mainstream them has echoed the hypotheses advanced by the Russian formalists, i.e. that marginal areas sometimes offer the most blatant examples of the new norm to come. Some of these innovations paradoxically originate in a programmatic poetics of imitation, for instance of classical antiquity, that is taken to new antithetical formalizations and only later reduced to a mainstream style. The idea of the periphery helps in this case to highlight the institutions, such as the university town of Jena, where new ideas could circulate without the impediment of a strict censorship, but also to retrace the artistic programs behind the construction of kingly palaces that spatialized the *translatio* of history in fragments. I shall discuss, therefore, the latter theme in the palaces of Sans-Souci at Potsdam, built by Frederick of Prussia (and expanded by Frederick Wilhem IV in the 1840s) and the Palace of Pena at Sintra, built by Ferdinando II of Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha, who became king consort of Portugal, between 1836 and 1845.

Eccentric Castles and the Embodied *Translatio* of History in Fragments

As a liminal place, the castle in Anne Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho* enables both a comprehensive view of the landscape guided by the conventions of the "romantic" and the picturesque, and, at the same time, the shattering of any preconceived intellectualized order when the gaze is turned inwards to the shifting forms of the phantasmagoria-effect that animate the fleeting shadows on the walls, which cannot be managed and mapped. The relatively marginal location of an aristocratic castle in relation to the new urban centers of economic and civic power makes its architectonic space a site that enables the possible creation of alternative, peripheral views, which are amplified by the proud isolation of its rulers over the underdeveloped, surrounding territory that sustains their position of apparent dominance that was being challenged by urban expansion. The architecture of a castle that stages the visual celebration of the current rulers' genealogy projects visual narratives that often integrate the past by reactivating it in a new *translatio* of history, while evading the accelerated speed of innovation that characterizes urban culture and its infrastructure. In this sense, castles appear as doubly peripheral and, thus, an object of interest for some Romantic writers.

I am going to discuss here the presence of what I call philological fragments in the two castles mentioned above: the castle of Sans-souci, which was originally built, with the collaboration of Innocente Bellavite, by Goerg Wenceslau von Knobelsdorff at Potsdam in 1748 for Frederick of Prussia, and the expansion of the Pena Palace at Sintra, carried out in several phases in the course of the nineteenth century over the former monastery visited by Lord Byron. The expansion and new wings of the Pena palace were sponsored first by Ferdinand II of Saxe-Cobourg and Gotha (near Jena in Thuringia), the "artist king" as he was called by Castilho in 1841, who became the consort king of Portugal, and was also the cousin of Prince Albert married to Queen Victoria. The later reworkings at Sintra were the work of Leopold of Belgium. In contextualizing the style of the Pena palace by tracing an isomorphous development present also at Potsdam I propose to implement the international approach adopted in the essays by José-Augusto França, Maria Neto, and by Antonio Pereira with Mariana Schedel. The trajectories of dissemination of the new German taste mediated by philology and the new *translatio* of history chart the imagined geography of aristocratic family ties, irradiating from the Thuringia of Coburg and Jena up to Potsdam and Sintra. They are the geographical confines of an aesthetic discursive field that cannot be visualized through a simple, direct lineage, typical of transfer studies, but rather through the more dispersed and entangled history of new aesthetic sensitivities mediated by print culture, international family ties and the restructuring of the discipline of history spearheaded by the third emergence of philology at Göttingen university.

The castle of Sans-souci sits on an elevated position allowing a visual mastery over the surrounding landscape. The dominant position that the sovereign entertains from the upper floor of the castle, which at Versailles famously aligns the gaze of the king with the vanishing point of the perspectival vista opening up to the gardens of the castle (Weiss, 45), presents instead at Potsdam, when turning the gaze of the sovereign to the back of the castle, an alternative view that sets the complex of Potsdam apart from a simple imitation of the model of Versailles. A veritable "mountain of ruins," Ruinenberg, erected between 1748 and 1845, faces the viewer from the back of the castle, which amasses a Monopteros (rotunda), a pyramid, an architrave of Ionic columns, with the later addition by Ludwig Persius of a Norman castle around 1845, built for Frederick Wilhelm IV. This space is a heterotopic, condensed point of gravity in the spatial economy of the architectonic complex. The history of landscape architecture presents countless examples of fake ruins, the *follies* discussed by Zimmermann in 1989, as well as by Sigmund and Brodey in 2008. These examples stage in a natural setting the motif of the mixed ruins that can be found in the tradition of Renaissance painting epitomized for instance in Vittore Carpaccio's *The Dead Christ* (1505) held at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, with scatters architectonic fragments to spell the impermanence of the human plane when seen through a transcendental Christian view of history. The more imaginary vistas of architecture structures dotting landscape painting derive also from the painterly tradition of the Italian *capricci*,

the invented compositions of styles which circulated widely through prints. The case of the castle of Sans-Souci, however, departs from these preceding models, including the monumentalizing programs of funeral architecture, as represented by the first and second tomb erected for Jean-Jacques after his death in 1778 in the gardens of Ermenonville in Genève (Scherf, 158), which juxtaposed different architectonic structures set in a harmonious dialogue within a natural setting. Sans-Souci interestingly integrates fragmented ruins in the overall spatial choreography of the whole complex of the castle staging its view of past history. The semi-circular colonnade separating the courtyard at the back of the castle from the gardens leading up to Ruinenberg resists its expected function of enclosing the space within it to create an open-air self-contained antechamber to the castle itself [Fig. 1-2]. The series of columns supporting the architrave that designs and delimits this curvilinear courtyard at the back of the castle are, in fact, interrupted in order to allow the view of the distant landscape of ruins, which include, as mentioned above, an Egyptian pyramid, a ruined roman temple, a fragmented Greek architrave and, beyond the fountain, a medieval castle in ruins.

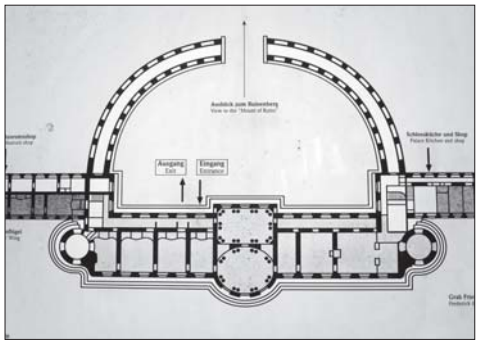

Fig. 1: Plan of Potsdam Palace (architect: Goerg Wenceslau von Knobelsdorff and Innocente Bellavite). Modern reproduction.

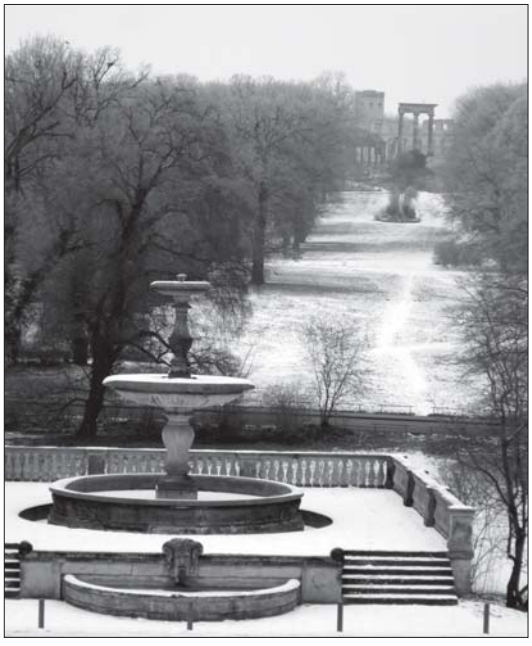

Fig. 2: Potsdam Palace. Colonnade opening towards the Ruinenberg. Goerg Wenceslau von Knobelsdorff, Innocente Bellavite, Ludwig Persius, 1748-1845.

These fragmented remains are not therefore a simple addition to the castle, nor are they a curious collection of wonders and archeological remains to be stored, when indoors, in the *Wunderkammer* of the castle, but an essential integration to the very spatial identity of the site. The encompassing gaze of the monarch, when looking towards Ruinenberg, can entertain an instantaneous visual mastery of past history without the accompanying poetic melancholy of the fragments identified in the landscape of countless eighteenth-century gardens. King Friedrich's project of representing his rise to power in a long history of classical monarchs, whose busts adorn the pillars in the semicircle next to the main façade of the castle, has the counterpoint, when contemplating the garden of ruins, of a different view of history. The ruins that complete, while interrupting it, the overall architectural design of the castle do not constitute a reminder of the episodes and figures in past history that may become a model of conduct for the king, like the Baroque frescoes with scenes from Renaissance epic poems. The historical past alluded to by the ruins themselves is not even meant to be organized according to a teleological narrative leading from antiquity to contemporary Prussia, as the theory of Roman statues might suggest. No linear narrative can unfold and disentangle the condensed symbolic space of the ruins seen from afar, to arrange them in a consequential narrative. The Romantic historical imagination in the *Atheneum* operates in a similar fashion: it reproduces the appearance of history exemplified by the material, fragmented manuscript tradition, by juxtaposing and condensing a similar fragmented assembly of different temporal planes. The resulting work is unfinished and self-contained in each fragment, looking back ironically on the past as a prophet facing the undisclosed future of its own past. At Sans-Souci fragmentation joins in the architectonic program of the modern rococo construction while undermining its sense of completion and of spatial continuity: these ruins fragment the organization of the colonnade while allowing the past to paradoxically coexist as fragmented remain in a newly imagined spatial unity [Fig 3].

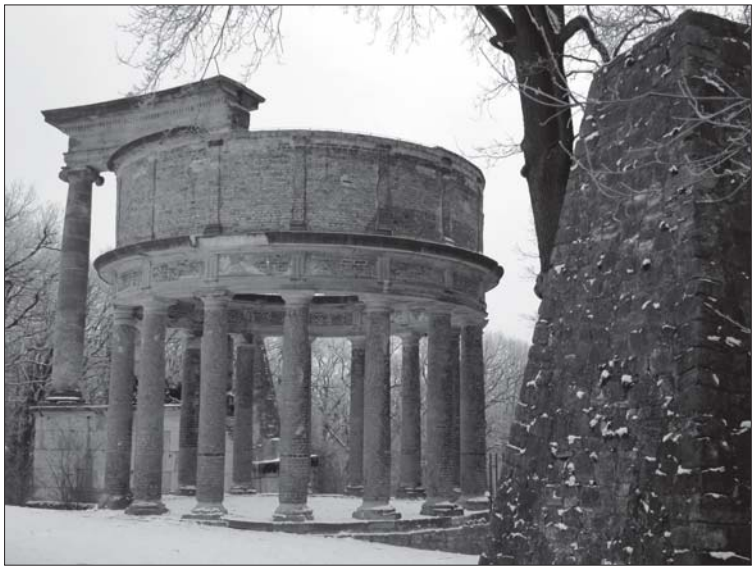

Fig. 3: Potsdam Palace. Ruinenberg [detail].

The palace of Pena built next to the Renaissance palace of Sintra, which had already integrated Moorish style within a model of Renaissance classicism with no apparent solution of continuity, presents an even more jarring philological juxtaposition of historical elements and artistic styles. It was completed in the years following Ferdinando II's arrival in Portugal in 1836 as the consort king married to the young widow Maria II of Portugal, as França reminds us (189). It was built by Baron

of Eschwege, under close supervision of Ferdinand II, between 1838 and 1849, when the baron-natural scientist and captain of the Portuguese army (Neto, 388), who had originally studied law in Göttingen (Sommer, 17) and worked in Brazil, had returned to Portugal for a prolonged stay after having toured Europe and reported on his activities while interacting with European scientists, including Alexander von Humboldt in Paris and Goethe at Weimar (Sommer, 91). The first, purely neo-Gothic project proposed by the baron was refused by the young king himself, in order to develop, on his own terms, an alternative view that was more in line with the ruins of the monastery that preceded it, as stated by França (294). It is the episodic addition of the various elements over the years in which the project was executed —or, rather, constantly modified— that makes the integration of each element a key independent component.

Fig. 4: Pena Palace. Baron of Eschwege and Ferdinando II of Portugal (of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, 1838-1849).

The diverse architectonic elements appear next to one another while preserving their individual traits: the French Gothic rose-window surmounts the base of the wall animated by the colors of Moorish tiles; a turret protruding from the façade of the palace engages in a dialogue of vertical volumes with the entangled "manuelino" decorations of the façade itself [Fig. 4]; a monstrous figure of Gothicized antiquity mediated by the national epos of Camões' *Lusiads* dominates the entrance. Each element is individually extrapolated from the building, as a philological fragment of historical accuracy that is *translated*, passed on from a distant past in its independent uniqueness. When seen together, however, these styles, while suggesting at first "irregularity in the composition" to use Anacleto's formula (85), or what the Count Athanase Raczynski called at the time the challenge of harmonizing the old and the new (405), are actually made to coexist on a historical plane that essentializes an encyclopedic desire to complete an exhaustive survey of several modes of Portuguese architecture. This anthological display of recognizable units highlights national heritage, in dialogue with continental Europe, rather than the universal history of past civilizations condensed in the first construction of Ruinenberg at Potsdam.

The most recent addition to the "mountain of ruins" at Potsdam, the Norman castle, built in 1845 by the Prussian king Frederick Wilhelm IV, resonate with the pan-European forms of medieval revivalism that the king was interested in. The Baron von Eschweg, together with Alexander von Humboldt, were personal guests of honor of Frederick Wilhelm IV at a reception in 1847 in Berlin, as Sommer reminds us (97), a year after Count Athanase Raczynski had expressed reservations on the progress of works at Pena in his letters addressed to the Academy of Arts and Science in Berlin, and published as *Les Arts en Portugal* in 1846. The encyclopedic drive that structures the palace of Pena, like the one at Potsdam's Sans-Souci, does not privilege a linear development of history but makes the *translatio* of the past paradoxically present in all its independent fragmented historicity, to the point of giving the impression, to the first commentators—among them Raczynski (332)— of elements clustering the space. Both castles are examples, therefore, not so much of a nostalgia in the face of the fragmented ruin, which can be found in countless examples of landscape architecture, nor do they speak of an aspiration to a communion on a transcendental plane with a lost absolute. I want to point to the *translatio* strategies that enable to pass on the past by inscribing a present temporality in the random reappearance of the past in fragments. These strategies can thus be seen to articulate a specific type of what Maria Regina Anacleto calls "historicism" (86), within the context I highlighted above. These are veritable philological ruins of the past recreated in line with the impulse championed by Schlegel in his broad, interdisciplinary and inter-medial definition of "Romantic poetry" discussed at the opening of the essay, which grows out of the new philology emanating from German universities. These fragments reactivate the past with a wit that abolishes temporal linearity; they do not participate in the poetic melancholy musing that according to Starobinski precedes the emergence of a more marked historical consciousness in relation to artistic heritage (180). They rather reflect the playful Romantic engagement with material presence that the dislocated temporality of the modern age can imagine as both contingently present in its "original" non-interpolated form and at the same time incongruous. The disapproving report on the construction of the Pena palace by Count Raczynsky in his letters addressed to the Academy of Arts and Science in Berlin indirectly reproduces the paradoxes of Romantic temporality when imagining "the archeologists of the year 2245" (505n) trying to make sense of the subsequent additions to the palace that intertwine different temporal planes of history. These fragments are both contained within a distant past from which they have been trans-lated and reanimated by the modernist logic of *montage* that vivifies them on the horizontal plane of a composite vision resisting the vertical path of transcendence usually ascribed to the project of Romanticism. The disciplinary rigor brought by historicism and the new philology emerging from seminars of Heyne in Göttingen dispels the more ambiguous mixture of temporal planes —the pagan and the Christian—that had accompanied in the Medieval period the emergence of a Christian iconography, particularly through the language of typology, with the implied teleological narrative of completing the providential course of history foreshadowed in figures from the biblical past. The modern "Romantic" sense of historicity deriving from the philological method is deeply rooted in the notion of historical specificity, while allowing, in Schlegel's provocative formulations, the past and the future to paradoxically coexist in the present of the *translatio* of history in fragments, as the use of architectonic ruins in Potsdam and Sintra can exemplify. As Schlegel's fragment number 64 from *Ideas* (100) states: "Artists make mankind an individual by connecting the past with the future in the present." The work of art itself is an unfinished series of additions that engage, through the ironic, metaliterary and intermedial process of composition, the process of perception itself.

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