

The Perspectival Stage in Sebastiano Serlio's *Second Book of Architecture* (1545) and its German Reception in the Context of *Wohlstand*

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1. Introduction: The Simultaneous Experience of Space and Time

The present study examines the perceptions of space and time ushered in by the re-interpretation of the *teatro all'antica* in the Italian Renaissance. The designation *all'antica* refers to early modern architects and architectural theorists' attempts at archaeological reconstruction, drawing on the fifth book of Vitruvius's theory of architecture, which deals with the Roman theatre. The focus of this investigation will be on the *Second Book of Architecture* (1545) by the Italian Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1554) and its reception in the German-speaking world of the sixteenth century in the two architectural books (1547/1548) by Walter Hermann Ryff (ca. 1500–1548).

The line of inquiry developed here with respect to the perception of space and time in the Renaissance theatre draws on the findings of the Austrian art historian Dagobert Frey. In his work "Audience and Stage", published in 1946, Frey writes of a fundamental shift in perception in the transition from the late Gothic period to the Renaissance. The new perspectival stage, he argues, led to a "simultaneous experience of space and time for which everything that is present is also regarded and presented as such" (Frey 1946: 180).¹ In this understanding, the spectator's gaze no longer follows shifting action as the players flit between adjacent flat or bay-like *mansiones* on a divided stage [fig. 1: Terences: Comoediae, Strasbourg 1496]. The perspectival stage of the Renaissance reduces these sites to single staggered spatial images. The spectator's

1 Cf. also Jacquot 1964: 474–83; Molinari 1964: 61–72.

gaze thus travels from front to back; its direction remains unchanged. Three aspects will be analyzed in closer detail then: first, the perception of temporal structure enabled by the introduction of staggered stage sets offering a central perspective; second, the specific spatial perception with respect to an enclosed, roofed interior conceived in analogy to the public town square; and third, the combination of the spatial and temporal dimensions regarding how they shaped the experience of the contemporary audience.

2. Harmony Realized at a Single Glance – “in un’ solo sguardo”

When Serlio's *Trattato sopra le Scene* was published in his *Second Book of Architecture*, the first codification of a geometrically constructed linear perspective centered on a single vanishing point was already over a hundred years old. Following Leon Battista Alberti's (1404–1472) *De Pictura* of 1435/1436, Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) continued the development of perspective in painting: the soft transitions in skies, creating gradual spatial depth, increase the complexity of perspectival depictions. Leonardo praises the superior potential of perspective in painting; in an early proposition of ca. 1490–92, he lauds the painter as “Signore d’ogni sorte di gente e di tutte le cose” – “master of all people and all things”: he is able to depict everything in the universe (“ch’è nell’universo per essentia”) in well-proportioned harmony (“una proportionata armonia”), at a single glance – “in un’ solo sguardo” (Vinci 1882: I, 18 (§13)). The introductory passage of Serlio's treatise on the theatre reads like he is paraphrasing Leonardo's hymn to the all-embracing technique of perspective. However, Serlio limits the depicted space of stage perspective to depictions of urban squares and roads.

Here the art of perspective gives us in a little space a view of superb palaces, vast temples, and houses of all kinds, and, both near and far, spacious squares, surrounded by various ornate buildings. There are long vistas of avenues with intersecting streets, triumphal arches, soaring columns, pyramids, obelisks, and a thousand other marvels, all enriched by innumerable lights (large, medium, small according to their position), at times so

skillfully placed that they seem like so many sparkling jewels – diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and other gems (Serlio 1545: 64).²

Serlio mentions Leonardo in his second book: he was clearly acquainted with his studies on perspective (Serlio 1545: 39).³ Leonardo's proposition is part of the *paragone* debate, the rivals' dispute on how to rank the fine arts. The competition between the media of the word and the image drives Leonardo's self-reflection: poets can only show beauty bit by bit ("à parte à parte"), argues his *Che differentia è dalla pittura alla poesia* of ca. 1490–92, "always re-concealing the parts it has just shown"; but if beauty is divided up and "pronounced in separate temporal sections, the memory does not receive any harmony ('non riceve alcuna armonia') (Vinci 1882: I, 38–9 (§ 21). Leonardo's verdict on the inferiority of verbal description is not intended to denigrate the theatre: on one page of the *Codex Atlanticus* of ca. 1485–1495, he sketches a stage with spatial depth with two tapering facades, one of the earliest visualizations of a perspectival stage in the early modern period [fig. 2a/b: Leonardo da Vinci, stage setting, Windsor 12,461 and 12,720, ca. 1485–95]. The sketch anticipates Serlio's system (Flechsig 1894: 76–83; Schöne 1933: 11–13; Kindermann 1959: 97–98; Brauneck 1993: I, 462–65; Kotte 2013: 192; Johnson 2018: 60–67).⁴

Serlio emphatically welcomes the adaption of perspectival painting for the stage: for him, few things bring "greater contentment to the eye and satisfaction to the spirit ('animo') than the unveiling to our view of a stage setting ('apparato di una scena') (Serlio 1545: 64 = Hewitt 1958: 24). His theatrical treatise is thus rooted in the theory of perspective – and not in the third book on ancient architecture of 1540 dealing with the theatre and the amphitheater.

2 The first English translation (Robert Peake, 1611) is based on Coecke's Dutch translation. See Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1606). Here Allardyce Nicoll's modern English translation is used, printed in Hewitt 1958: 24.

3 Cellini (1968 [ca. 1564]: 759) mentions in his contribution to the so-called *Paragone* ('comparison') debates revolving around the priority amongst modes of representation that Serlio planned to publish Leonardo's books on perspective ("Bastiano Serlio, avendo lui volontà di trar fuori questi libri di prospettiva"). Cf. Farago 1992: 26.

4 Serlio's system is also termed *Winkelrahmendekoration*: two horizontal decorated frames are arranged at angles to each other. One frame is positioned parallel to the stage, while the other frame points at an obtuse angle towards an imaginary vanishing point, suggesting spatial depth. In this fashion, the corner of a house is shown; further depiction of staggered corners of buildings creates a perspectivist depiction of a street. This *Winkelrahmendekoration* limits the stage set to its specific genre. It remains unchangeable throughout the performance.

His second book expressly breaks with the rules of the past and hence with the Vitruvian model, portraying a stage “as is the custom in Italy today”, that is, “based on perspective” (Serlio 1545: 64). Despite this intermedia approach, he insists on the distinction between panel painting and stage set.

The general art of perspective we have hitherto considered was concerned with flat planes (*‘le mura piane’*) parallel to the front, while this second perspective method is concerned with plastic scenes in relief (*‘per essere materiale, & di rilievo’*) (Serlio 1545: 64).⁵

This passage could represent Serlio’s contribution to the *paragone* debate. For Leonardo, one of the noblest aspects of painting was *rilievo*, the technique of making an object appear to emerge from the flat surface (Vinci 1882: 394; § 403). The architect Serlio was convinced that the potential for visualization offered by the monumental relief stage with its stable, plastic buildings surpassed the illusionist *rilievo* of painting. In the subsequent period, this distinction between media would be eclipsed: in the semantic evolution that followed Serlio, perspective and scenography became synonymous. Giorgio Vasari’s (1511–1574) description of a Roman perspectival stage in his *Life* of Baldassarre Peruzzi (1481–1536) demonstrates this synonymous usage [fig. 3: Perspective set with Roman buildings, mid sixteenth century]:

But what amazed everyone most was the perspective-view or scenery of a play (*‘la prospecttiva overo scena d’una comedia’*), which was so beautiful that it would be impossible to imagine anything finer, seeing that the variety and beautiful manner of the buildings, the various loggie, the extravagance of the doors and windows, and the other architectural details that were seen in it, were so well conceived and so extraordinary in invention, that one is not able to describe the thousandth part.⁶

Vasari’s wording in the second edition of 1568 poses some problems beyond the issue of terminology. He describes a perspectival stage set purportedly created by Peruzzi in 1513 on Rome’s Capitol. Today’s research claims such a

5 This passage is not translated in the first German edition of Serlio’s work. See Serlio (1608/09).

6 For the Italian edition and the English translation see Vasari 1976: IV, 320 = Vasari 1996: I, 812.

set never existed at the time in question.⁷ Vasari mentions Serlio as Peruzzi's heir and emulator only in passing: in the second edition of the *Lives*, Serlio's third and fourth book are mentioned, as they are in the first edition of 1550, but he omits the *Libro Secondo*. His familiarity with Serlio's book on perspective is demonstrated elsewhere, in the life of Jacobo Sansovino (1486–1570) of 1568.⁸ Comparison of the two texts reveals that Vasari used Serlio's treatise on the theatre as a template.

Serlio, Libro Secondo (1545: 64 ^r)	Vasari, Vite, BALDASSARRE PERUCCI SANESE (1550/1568: IV, 322-24; 328)
dove si vede in piccol spacio fatto dall'arte della Prospettiva, superbi pallazzi, am- plissimi Tempii, diversi casamenti , & da presso, & di lontano spaciose piazze or- nate di varii edificii, dirittissime & lunghe strade incrociate da altre vie , archi trion- fali, altissime colonne, piramidi, obelischi , & mille altre cose belle, ornate d'infiniti lumi ...Pure quantunque questo modo di Prospettiva, di che io parlerò, sia diuerso dalle regole passate per essere quelle imag- inate sopra le mura piane, e questa per es- sere materiale, o di rilieuo, è ben ragione è tenere altra strada.	[Ed. 1550:] Fece nel tempo di Leone, in Campidoglio di Roma, per recitare una co- media, uno apparato et una prospettiva; nel qual lavoro si mostrò quanto di perfezzione e di grazia fosse nell'ingegno di Baldas- sarre dal cielo infuso: né mai si può pen- sare di vedere i palazzi, le case et i tempii nelle scene moderne quanto di grandezza mostrasse, nella piccolezza del sito dall'in- gegno di sì gran prospettivo fatto, le strava- ganti bizzarrie di andari in cornici e di vie , che con case parte vere e finite ingannavano gli occhi di tutti, dimostrandosi esser, non una piazza dipinta, ma vera ; e quella sì di lumi e di abiti nelle figure de gli istrioni fece propri et al vero simili, che non le favole recitare parevano in comedia, ma una cosa vera e viva, la quale allora intervenisse. [Ed. 1568:] una piazza piena d'archi, colossi, teatri, obelisci, piramidi, tempii di diverse maniere [...].

7 On the reconstruction of the theatre festival of 1513, cf. Janitschek 1882: 259–70. Contemporary witnesses describe, instead of a perspectival stage, a *scaenae frons*, drawing on the classical Roman theatre. Cf. here Flechsig 1894: 55–56. For all contemporary sources and a commentary, cf.: Cruciani 1969: 80; Lieberman 2005: 149.

8 Vasari 1987: VI, 184 (“simile a quella pianta che Sebastiano Serlio pose nel suo secondo libro di architettura”).

The vocabulary and argumentation are largely the same: both texts praise the potential of the perspectival stage to show a large city in a small space. Both texts emphasize the optical persuasion of a spatial depth that is not painted but achieved through plastic design. It is also remarkable that Vasari employs the technical term *bizzaria*, probably first used by Serlio in his third book to describe Egyptian constructions (“bizzarrie Egittie”) such as an obelisk that we can perceive in the far distance of his “Tragic Scene” (Serlio 1540: 72; Dethlefs 2018c: 85–86).

In Vasari’s narrative, it was Peruzzi who created the new perspectival stage: he “opened the way to those who have since made them in our own day (‘apersono la via a coloro che ne hanno poi fatto a’ tempi nostri’).”⁹ Vasari’s strategy is not difficult to decode: the highly influential, epoch-making instauration of a type of festival *all’antica* thus coincides with Giuliano and Lorenzo de’ Medici’s being awarded Roman citizenship in 1513, at the behest of the newly incumbent pope, Leo X, Giovanni de’ Medici. Vasari’s historical reconstruction is a re-writing of history devised to glorify the Medici. The fact he uses one of Serlio’s own texts to diminish the role he played renders it even more remarkable. In his fourth book on the arrangement of columns, which Vasari knew and used (without acknowledgment), Serlio honored his teacher Peruzzi. He briefly discusses the genesis of the perspectival stage, stating that Peruzzi had his predecessors:

But what should I say on this occasion about the amazing and artificial scenes that were made in Rome by the aforementioned Baldassar? They were all the more laudable because the production costs were lower than the others made before or after.¹⁰

The Italian historiographer and biographer Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), whose *Vitae virorum illustrium* (around 1527) contains the earliest biography on Leonardo, considers him to have been the inventor of Milan’s Court Theatre (“cum elegantiae omnis delitiarumque maxime theatralium mirificus

9 Vasari 1967: IV, 323. For the English translation by Gaston De Vere see Vasari 1996: 814. – His attribution is still adhered to by modern theatre historiographers such as Kindermann 1984: I, 161–62; Brauneck 1993: I, 459–60.

10 Serlio 1540 [1537]: 70^r: “Ma che dirò io in questa occasione delle stupende e artificiose Scene, fatte in Roma dal detto Baldassar? le quai furono tanto piu degne di lode, quanto fu minore la spesa in farle, delle altre fatte prima di quelle, o dopo ancora”. – Cf. Hu-bertus 1988: 228–29.

inventor ac arbiter esset”) (Giovio 2009 [1810]: 20). Whether this meant a perspectival stage in the style of Leonardo’s Windsor sketch remains open to conjecture, however. It has been mooted that it was invented by Donato Bramante (1444–1514); an anonymous engraving of a monumental road bears the inscription “Bramanti. Architecti. Opus” [fig. 4: Anon., A street with various buildings, colonnades and an arch. 1475?–1510?] (Flechs sig 1894: 92–94).

3. *Wohlstand* and Social Order: Ryff’s Rejection of Theatre

Serlio draws on Leonardo’s syntagm “in un’ solo sguardo” in the extended edition of his *Regole Generali di Architettura*, issued in 1540. Here too, he is interested in the potential of perspective to capture many things at a single glance. In the twelfth chapter of the fourth book, which appeared in German translation by Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Jacob Rechlinger as early as 1542, the decisive passage asserts it is precisely the varied arrangement of groups, figures, foliage etc. that provides a manageable overview without “taxing the eyes”; the observer has to be able to have an overview of “the whole work at a single glance (‘mit ayne[m] auge[n]blick das gantz werck’; ‘ad vna sola occhiata si comprenda tutta l’opera’).”¹¹

Serlio’s description of enabling the viewer to effortlessly gain an impression of the whole correlates with a key term in his theory of architecture: *commodità* (and the verb and adjective deriving from it, *accommodare*, *commodo*). The term alludes to one of the main fundamental aesthetic concepts of Vitruvian architecture. For Vitruvius, *commoditas* is part of *ordinatio* in the sense of conveniently proportioned.¹² In Serlio, they gain a new semantic function – utility, comfort, convenience. This is also, indeed especially, related to the modern roofed theatre, which provides comfort insofar as it protects the

11 Serlio, Coecke van Aelst [and Rechlinger] 1542a: 69^r = Serlio 1540 [1537]: 70^v. – Unlike the faithful, literal German translation, Coecke’s French edition – also published in 1542 – deviates from Serlio’s original with respect to this important passage. Puttfarcken (2000: 258) stated that “*occhiata* does not figure in Italian criticism”. He overlooked the early Italian uses of the concept in Leonardo and Serlio. See also Puttfarcken 1994: 296.

12 On Vitruvius’s *commoditas*, cf. Jolles 1906: 10–11; Dethlefs 2011: 102–107; Nagelsmit (2002: 354) is incorrect in his assertion that Serlio’s *commodità* had no equivalent in Vitruvius.

audience from inclement weather. In Ryff's German translation of Serlio's second book of 1547, *commoditas* is translated as *Wohlstand*, good order or appearance. The text describes the procedure of dividing a square in such a way that the chessboard-like floor ("pavimento") conveys distance corresponding with the visual pyramid [fig. 5], a technique Serlio employed in his stage sets [fig. 6]. Various figures can be added to this parallelogram "for enjoyment and better appearance ('wolstand')" (Rivius 1547: 14^r [I, part 4]). This corresponds to Serlio's phrasing "accommodare in qualunque quadro che scortia" (Serlio 1545: 29^r). Ryff further uses *Wohlstand* in the ethical sense, as an antonym for "indecentcy, or impropriety ('unbehörlichkeit / oder nit zimung')".¹³

This implicit moral judgement Ryff attaches to the aesthetic concept of *Wohlstand* comes to the fore in his assessment of the theatre: in the German edition of the Second Book, intended to provide "prosperity for utility, and benefit", he omits Serlio's treatise on the theatre. He explains this omission by simply stating that German artisans and architects are not familiar with the theatre and the "spectacle building for various plays" (Rivius 1547: 52^v).¹⁴ They are only found in Italy at the courts of "powerful lords and princes, in great big cities, with lavish great expense, and less utility", serving displays of splendor, "indulgence and delight".¹⁵ He particularly voices disapproval of the use of theatrical machinery to simulate supernatural events:

Such plays also use various winches and artificial instruments, so that depending on the requirements of the play entire people could be lowered from above, swiftly and without harm, as if the gods were descending from heaven with lightning, thunder and hail, and were whisked back up again in the same fashion [...].¹⁶

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- 13 Rivius 1548: 230^v = Vitruvius VII. v. 6 ("vitium indecentiae").—Cf. Simon Roth 1571: [51]: „Commoditet, Fügsmigkait / Függschickligkait / Wolstand / komligkeit / dienstwilligkeit.“
- 14 The first German translation of Serlio's treatise on theatre can be found in Ludwig König's 1608/09 Basel Serlio Edition of Books I-V. Cf. Günther 2004: 301-02.
- 15 Ryff ignores contemporary theatre activities in the German territories and especially in his native town of Strasbourg. See Kindermann 1986: 30-41.
- 16 Rivius 1547: 52^v: „In solchem schaw spil wurden auch mancherley hebzug und künstliche Instrument gebraucht / damit man zu wegen bringen mocht nach erforderung des spils dz man gantze persone(n) von oben herab lassen mocht / geschwind und on schaden / als ob die Götter von Himel herab stiegen mit Plitz / Donder un(d) Hagel/ und gleicher gestalt widerum verzuckt und ubersich hinauff in die höch gefurt wurden“.

The passage paraphrases the section “De’ lumi artificiali delle Scene” in the appendix to Serlio’s theatre treatise, taken up by Ryff only to voice his disapproval. In this piece, Serlio describes with great enthusiasm innovations in stagecraft such as the ascent and descent of planets, divine figures or the production of thunder and lightning.¹⁷ For Ryff, the possibilities offered by this new stagecraft that played “not only with the saints, but also with Christ’s image” were a great evil. Further arguments against the theatre were the cost of construction and upkeep. He condemns the expenses incurred by court theatre lovers in Italy, without naming any names. He was probably referring to the commentary to the first Italian edition of Vitruvius, the *Como Vitruvius* edition of 1521 by the architect and student of Bramante, Cesare Cesariano (1483–1543). The *Como Vitruvius* mentions Duke Ercole I. of Este (1431–1505), who had a theatre built in the courtyard of his palace in Ferrara in 1486, where a Classical comedy was staged – the *Menaechmi* of Plautus (ca. 254–ca.184 B.C.) (Cesariano 1521: 75^r).¹⁸

A year after berating the theatre, Ryff published his *Vitruvius Teutsch* with commentary (1548). The work demanded he adopt a new stance – at least towards the classical theatre. He does not wish to doubt its exemplary status, interpreting Greek theatre as a school of morals and virtue. While the common people were entertained, this was not “without careful clever teaching on virtue, good morals and punishment of vice”.¹⁹ There are many traces of Serlio’s theatrical treatise throughout Ryff’s commentary. Firstly, this applies to the architectural terminology: Vitruvius uses the term *scaenographia* to denote the reproduction of a façade with optically receding side walls by use of shadow and having all lines correspond to what he described as the center of a circle (“circinique centrum omnium linearum responsus”) (Vitruvius I.ii.2) [fig. 7: Ichnographia, orthographia, scaenographia, in: Fra Giovanni Giocondo: Vitruvio, 1511].²⁰ Ryff, on the other hand, defines *scaenographia* as

17 Serlio (1545): 71^v = Hewitt (1958), pp. 35–36: “Thunder, lightning, and thunderbolts will be needed on occasion [...]. Before the thunder has stopped rumbling, the tail of the rocket is discharged, setting fire to the thunderbolt and producing an excellent effect (‘mentre si farà lo tuono, nel finir di quello sia scaricata una coda, et nel medesimo tempo dato il fuoco al folgore, & farà buono effetto’).”

18 Cf. Torello-Hill 2014: 228–29.

19 Rivius 1548: 166^v (“nit on fursichtige kluge unterrichtung der tugent guter sitten un(d) straffung der laster”).

20 Cf. Krause 1985: 50; Tybout 1989: 62–3.

“the display and depiction of the lateral sides in perspectivist fashion” and explicitly interprets Vitruvius’ “center of a circle” in the modern sense of a one-point linear perspective. Hence Ryff too uses perspective and scenography as synonyms:

But there can be no scenography without the perspective of the side walls’ recession and tapering, hence such a building is arranged according to the viewpoint [...].²¹

For further explanations, he refers to the “tractetlein der Geometri vnd Perspectiva” in his *Kunstbuch* of 1547, which contains the treatise on the Albertian geometry-based perspective (Rivius 1548: 24^r).

Scaena versatilis and *periactoi* are key terms used by Vitruvius to describe decorative moveable elements on the classical stage. Ryff misunderstands these terms, as demonstrated by his attempt to explain the *periactoi* (“quae loca Graeci *periactus* dicunt ab eo, quod machinae sunt in his locis versatiles trigonos habentes”) (Vitruvius V.vi.8).²² Vitruvius is referring to three-sided upright prisms that are painted or covered with canvas and can be pivoted [fig. 8]. He recommends transforming decorations via the use of *periactoi* when gods appear accompanied by, as he puts it, thunderclaps (“cum tonitribus”). Ryff assumes that the *periactoi* must be the lifting or winding apparatus for vertical stage entries, as described by Serlio.²³ He repeats the disapproval he

21 Rivius 1548: 28^v („Aber die Scenographia on die Perspectiva nit beschehen mag/ von der verlierung und abstelung der neben seiten / darumb solcher baw nach den puncten des gesichts gerichtet“).

22 Cf. Fiechter 1914: 116–17; Schöne 1933: 17; Little 1936: 407–418; Bieber 1961: 75; Kotte 2013: 193.

23 Rivius 1548: 177^r: “Periactus hat den namen von dem umwenden / dan(n) an solchem ort waren Hebzeug so man Machinas nennet / dardurch [...] mit solchem zug mocht man auch die Götter ab unnd auff lassen”. – This misunderstanding can also be found in Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, who also links the problem of *periakttoi* to the appearance of gods: “Triangulare machina, quale si gira secondo li effetti della comedia, per che in ogni faccia a varij effetti, cioè in una l’aparatione Dei”. Sangallo’s autograph note is printed in Milanese’s edition of Vasari’s *Lives* (1906: V, 519). The same holds for the translation of Vitruvius produced by Fabio Calvo ca. 1513 under the supervision of Raphael (in: Calvo 1975 [ca. 1513]: 218): *periakttoi* are “machine che sostengono trigoni versatile”, each having three decorations (“ornamenti”) that change with the story (“quando se haveva a mutar fibula”). Here too, a change of scene is required when Jupiter enters with his thunderclap. Calvo and Raphael are uncertain regarding the positioning of the *periakttoi*, which are to stand “near” the *aula regia* (the central

voiced in his Serlio translation: thunder should be avoided, since it is evocative of “dark Judas masses (‘finster Judas Metten’)” (Rivius 1548: 177^f). Presumably Ryff had never seen a transformative stage: his image of the classical theatre stage is informed by Serlio’s modern idea of a demarcated, predetermined, unchanging space rooted in the central perspective, the audience having a fixed location and an unchanging view.

Serlio’s third book contains the outline of what Ryff would present as the Colosseum in Rome [fig 9: Rivius: Vitruvius Teutsch, 1548. Fig. 10: Serlio, Il terzo libro, 1540].²⁴ The reason why Ryff – unlike Jean Martin († 1553) in his French Vitruvius translation of 1547 – omits Serlio’s three suggestive stage sets is easy to explain.²⁵ The comedic stage set shows front right the house of *Rufia*, the bawd of a municipal brothel, which is difficult to reconcile with Ryff’s theory of the classical theatre as a school of virtue [fig. 11: Serlio, setting for comedy, Secondo libro 1545] (Krautheimer 1988: 337).

He provides detailed comment on the seating plan in the classical theatre, particularly with respect to the seats of honor for Augustus (“des Keyers Augusti”) and the senators in the orchestra’s half-circle (Rivius 1548: 177^f). Remarkably, Ryff compares them to the choir stalls of Christian churches. He claims the practice was to

put in such places chairs and ornamental seats that were taken away again after such plays were over, although over time they were allocated here permanently, as is the custom in today’s churches, where the choir stalls are built permanently, and everyone has his own set place according to his status [...].²⁶

palace gate) and the hospitalia (the entrances to the guests’ quarters on the left and right) (“apresso a questi spazii siano facti”).

24 Together with Philandrier’s *Les annotations sur le De Architectura de Vitruve* (Rome 1544), Rivius’s Latin Vitruvius edition printed in Strasbourg (1543: 96, 99, 100) is one of the earliest examples in which Serlio’s illustrations are used. Cf. Serlio 1537: 6^f. Cf. Röttinger 1914: 18.

25 Klein / Zerner (1964: 53, n.14) incorrectly state that Ryff used Serlio’s stage sets in his *Vitruvius Teutsch*.

26 Rivius 1548: 174^v: „und pflag man Sessel und zierliche sitz an solche ort zu stellen / die man nach vollendung solcher spil widerum hinweg nam / wie wol mit der zeit auch die selbigen zu ewiger werung hernach auch hieher geordnet wurden / wie dann noch diser zeit in unsern Kirchen der brauch / da man die stül im Chor ewig bleibend bawet / unnd nach ordnung der dignitet ein yeder sein steten platz hat“.

Perhaps this passage contains vestiges of the combination of theatrical performance and Christian service in Cesariano (“como faceno li solemni e Divini officii, con soni e cantici affigurati”), also found in Leonardo’s MS B [fig. 12: Leonardo da Vinci, “teatro da predicare”, ca. 1487-89, Paris] (Cesariano 1521: 75^r).²⁷ It also features in Cesariano’s graphic reconstruction of a classical theatre building, which is reminiscent of a Christian baptistery [fig. 13: Cesare Cesariano, Monopteral temple from *Como Vitruvius* 1521].

4. *Thematismos/Statio* – The Site of the Roman Theatre, its Political and Symbolic Function

The topographical connection between the theatre building and the temple is a characteristic of many Roman theatres [fig. 14: The Theatre of Pompeius with temple of Venus Victrix, Rome, according to the third century C.E. Severan marble plan] (Brauneck 1993: I, p. 213; Kolb 2010: 132). According to Vitruvius, the construction of public and cult buildings strictly observes décor “cum auctoritate et ratione decoris” – “with proper *wolstand*”, in Ryff’s translation.²⁸ Vitruvius uses a threefold definition of *decor(um)* according to the criteria of *thematismos*, *consuetudo* and *natura*. The first of these terms demands closer attention: Greek τὸ θέμα means that which has been set, established, or imposed, a law, a statute, usage, the latter also in the sense of having something at one’s disposal (Passow 1847: 1135). *Thematismos* is a grammatical or rhetorical term denoting a wide range of phenomena related to art, especially in the field of music²⁹ – it was rarely used in Antiquity.³⁰ Vitruvius clearly intended

27 Leonardo shows the fusion of theatre and church: a rectangular building divided into three knaves with an apse on both sides, enclosed by a semi-circular theatre with tiered seating and a pulpit in the middle. To the left of the sketch, Leonardo writes: “teatro da predicare” (‘theatre for prayer’), in: Vinci 1883: II, 52^f. Cf. Marotti 1974: 20, 108.

28 See Rivius 1548: 230^v and „Den Hochgelehrten Fürsichtigen Erbar[n] vnd Weisen Herren / Bürgermeister[n]“ [unpag. dedication] = Vitruvius VII. v. 4.

29 For *thematismos* as a term belonging to medieval Byzantine music theory see Wellesz 1961: 296; Amargianakis 1977: 75.

30 In Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria* (4. 2. 28) published around year 95 A.D. *themata* is used in the sense of tasks given to pupils in school. There is clearly another classical use of *thematismos*, in the first book of *Adversus Mathematicos* by Sextus Empiricus from the second century A.D. – David L. Blank’s Sextus commentary in his text edition of *Sextus Empiricus, Against Grammarians* (1998: 149) is pioneering; to my knowledge, Blank provides the first historical-critical explanation of the term. The sections in which Blank

to establish a formal system of classification serving a hard and fast rule regarding formations consisting of words, sounds or images, in contrast to natural formations. The fact that Vitruvius introduces *thematismos* in connection with the three types of temples suggests he was advancing genre theory: in Book I.2 he uses the term to denote the three *genera* of temples and expressly writes of a “corinthio genere” (Vitruvius I. ii. 5; V. iv. 3; V. vi. 9). This genre triad also features twice in the fifth book: first in the chapter on theory of music with respect to the three *genera* of modulation, Harmonia, Chroma and Diatonon (“Genera vero sunt modulationum tria”), and then when he introduces the three dramatic genres, tragedy, comedy, and the satyr play (“Genera autem sunt scaenarum tria: unum quod dicitur tragicum, alterum comicum, tertium satyricum”) (Vitruvius V. iv. 3; V. vi. 9). Vitruvius’s Latin translation of *thematismos* is *statio*. Ryff correctly translates *statio* as *Stellung*, “position” or “standing”, thus including the figurative meaning of dignity and rank.³¹ In contrast to *thematismos*, which denotes having the quality of an artefact, *statio* is a topographical term. It describes places, especially social spaces with specific forms of encounter, experience and acting. As we know from the groundbreaking study by Koestermann (1932: 358–368; 430–444), as *statio principis* it represents a constitutional concept describing the purportedly sacred hegemonic practices of the Augustan Principate.³² The expression is of military derivation, initially referring to army formation and encampment, and was also used more generally to denote a sentry, i.e., someone who keeps his position. *Statio principis* is the place whence a prince keeps watch over the prosperity with which he has been entrusted by his fellow citizens and creates confidence in the stability of the state and trust in its leader. A spatial position, then, is used to refer to conditions of observation implying courses of action and assignments. This space is public; it is a place of assembly distinct from the private *domus*. The diverse *stations* listed by Vitruvius and his contemporaries constitute a topography of sociocultural encounters that primarily refer to buildings and sites of public representation. The connection to the theatre is unequivocally expressed in Juneval’s (late 1st – early 2nd century A.D.) eleventh satire

elaborates on Vitruvius’s wording are less persuasive, not least because he omits *statio*. Cf. also Wehnert 1966: XIII, 282.

31 Vitruvius I. ii.5 = Rivius 1548: 25^r; 31^r.

32 Koestermann’s work has influenced many historical studies. Cf. Béranger 1953: 184–86; Bruun 1989: 127–147; Nelis-Clément 2006: 271; France / Nelis-Clément 2014; Benoist 2007: 266; for Gros (2001: 108) *stationes* are administrative seats (*atrium*, *tabularium*, *praefectura*).

("thermae, stationes, omne theatrum"). The theatre is the place of encounter between the *princeps* and the people, where universal consensus is expressed in the form of acclamation (Bollinger 1969; Zanker 2003: 151–52; Gros 1987: 319–46). In his elegies, Ovid (43 B.C. – 17 A.D.) describes the *statio* of the *princeps* as the place of the highest power, namely Jupiter's throne, whence he casts his worried eye over the world.³³ Under Augustus, whom Ovid addresses as Jupiter, the theatre advances to the privileged site where political opinion is made and expressed, as established in the third *Tristia*: "The stage is full of life, and partisanship ablaze with warring passions, and three theatres roar in the place of three forums."³⁴ Horace (65 – 8 B.C.) strongly disapproves of this development in his Epistle to Augustus; he registers tumult among the audience and asks: "For what voices have ever prevailed to drown the din with which our theatres resound?"³⁵ Horace's recommendation to the audience is that they should first learn to listen.

Vitruvius's lexical correlation *thematismos/statio* merges formal and topographical aspects. *Statio* is primarily used with reference to public buildings constructed "in the open air without a roof" to render visible the appearance and workings of the gods "in open and light-filled space ('horum enim deorum et species et effectus in aperto mundo atque lucenti praesentes vidimus') (Vitruvius I.ii.5). He is referring here to temples, but the passage also provides an explanation for the openness of the classical theatre. In the theory of decorum, the function of *statio* is to reinforce, through the nature of the place, the authority and dignity ("ex natura loci maiores auctasque cum dignitate divinitas excipiat opiniones") of which the gods are deserving (Vitruvius I.ii.7). Further, the topographical *statio* appears as a "guardhouse" in Book 2.8 and as an "anchoring ground" in Book 5.12. In Book 5.11, Ryff uses the Latin term *stationes*. Here it refers to the seats and resting places along a sycamore-lined avenue leading to a gymnasium. Drawing on Plinius, Ryff interprets these sites as places of conversation, meditation or devotion modelled on the sycamore avenues of the Philosophical Academy in Athens ("walkways of the Philosophical

33 Ovid, *Trist.* II. 217–19 ("loui, de te pendente sic dum circumspicis orbem, effugiunt curas inferiora tuas. Scilicet inperii princeps statione relicta [...]") = Ovid 1953: 71 ("Shouldst thou, forsooth, the prince of the world, abandon thy post [...]?").

34 Ovid: *Trist.* III. xii. 23–24 ("Scaena uiget studiisque fauor distantibus ardet, / proque tribus resonant terna theatra foris") = Ovid 1953: 149.

35 Horace, *Epist.* II. i. 200–201 ("Nam quae pervincere voces evaluere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatre") = Horace 1978: 413.

Academy”).³⁶ Of particular significance are the several instances of *stationes* in Book 9.1 – with reference to the topography of the heavens. Here he writes of how the planets appear to stand still.

But Mercury and Venus, their paths wreathing around the sun's rays as their centre, retrograde and delay their movements, and so, from the nature of that circuit wait at stopping-places ('stationibus') within the spaces of the signs.³⁷

The *statio planetarum*, i.e., the apparent slower and quicker periodical forward, backward and arrested motion of the planets, is based on ancient observations, according to which a planet appears to remain at a point of the zodiac for some days when viewed from the Earth, which Ptolemy (ca. 100-ca. 180 AD) was first to represent geometrically (Zedler 1744: XL, 106-107, Hepperger 1921: 217; Balss 1949: 151, 272). This idea of temporary planetary arrest becomes the principal meaning of *statio* in Cesariano's Vitruvius commentary: he interprets all of its uses as brief stations: “Statione si e loco unde si li sta per qualche tempo ma non al continuo” (Cesariano 1521: 17^v).³⁸ This represents something

36 Rivius 1548: 189^f; *Plinius*, *Nat.hist.* 12.2–5. – Tertullian (ca. 155–230 A.D.), who vehemently condemned the theatre for endangering good morals and its proximity to heathen god cults in *De Spectaculis*, written in Carthage around 200, uses *statio* in many positive variants: for military sentries, places of assembly, offices, and the powers of the gods (*Apolog.* II.6; III.6; XI.4). In *De leuius* (X.1), he breaks with the semantic tradition and uses the term in the sense of Lent to begin the history of Roman stationary liturgy, which would soon be followed by many urban architectural measures. On the semantics of *statio* in Christian liturgy, cf. Teeuwen 1926: 112–20; Mohrmann 1953: 221–245; Baldovin 1987: 143–45; Blaaw 1993: 77–86. On *sacre rappresentazioni*, “tableaux vivants”, and the Stations of the Cross as prototypes of the early modern theatre, cf. Pochat 1990: 150–54.

37 Vitruvius IX.i.6 (“Mercuri autem et Veneris stellae circa solis radios uti per centrum eum itineribus coronantes regressus retrorsus et retardatione faciunt, etiam stationibus propter eam circinationem morantur in spatiis signorum”) = Vitruvius 1960 [1918]: 259.

38 Modern literature on Vitruvius tends to omit the topographical element that was still evident in Vitruvius commentaries of the sixteenth century: in the German-speaking world, *statio* is usually translated as “Satzung” (statute): Jolles 1906: 34; Schlikker 1940: 96; Fensterbusch 1976: 39. Horn-Oncken (1967: 30) uses “Festsetzung” in the sense of “following the habitual, adaptation to nature”. Here, *statio*, *consuetudo*, *natura* are all interpreted in a similar sense of strict adherence to rules. The French translations are similar here: Fleury, in his translation of the first book (Paris 2003), uses “règle” as in Fleury / Calibat 1995: 63: “règle, principe”. A semantic overlap can be found between *statio* and *consuetudo* in the Anglo-Saxon literature: Granger (1931: I, 29) uses “conven-

of a shift in the semantic perspective. Vitruvius opens all ten books of the work with eulogies to Augustus, suggesting he interprets the topographical *statio* against the background of the constitutional *statio principis*. Such an interpretation would have consequences: it is not just the nature of the place that defines the decorum; rather it is the *princeps* who makes demands and by virtue of his position watches over decorum, order, and compliance with rules. This possible interpretation is supported by the fact that the predicate *autoritas* Augustus claims for himself in his account of his deeds *Res gestae* (“*mea auctoritate deductas*”) is also the predicate of Vitruvius’s *statio*.³⁹ Cesariano, on the other hand, ignores the function of politico-cultural depictions of hegemony in favour of a cosmological meaning. His interpretation was not without its impact: he was echoed by later Italian Vitruvius commentators of the early Cinquecento as well as by the German commentator Ryff.⁴⁰

Cesariano illustrates these cosmological references in his drawing of the Vitruvian theatre’s floor plan: the circular plan is inscribed with four equilateral triangles, the points of which meet the circular line in twelve equal intervals. In a paragraph modern Vitruvius scholars consider to be later textual interpolation,⁴¹ the twelve equal sections of the circle are said to symbolise the twelve signs of the zodiac (“von den Astrologis in der bezeichnung

tion” for *statio*. This interpretation is also adopted by Payne 1999: 37–38. Watzinger (1909: 216), who understands *statio* as a concept in its own right, connected to “certain immutable demands” made by the inhabitant of a building and corresponding to his ethical profile, anticipates Koestermann’s findings.

39 Augustus, *Res Gestae* 28. – A further argument is that *thematismos* and *statio* can only be equivalent if we have *princeps*. Again, we must draw on Blank’s commentary on *thematismos* in Sextus. Blank (1998: 182) identifies two uses of the conjugation *thematizō* – in Sextus and in the epicurean philosopher Philodemus (110–ca. 40–35 B.C.). Both use it in the sense of to “set up in a primary position”. Dictionaries define *princeps* as “One who, or that which, is first, foremost”. Derivations include prince, principal, and principle. Hence once might speak of a hidden equivalence of *thematismos* and *statio (principis)* in Vitruvius.

40 Calvo (1975 [ca. 1513]: 10^f) uses *statio* in connection with the topography of the heavens: “se fa con stazione e firmamento, lo quale in greco se dice *thematismos*”. Caporali (1536: 21^f) relies heavily on Cesariano: “Statione, è luochio dove per qualche tempo altri dimora, ma non per lo continueo come sono anchora le navi in alchun porto: ponsi anchora questo nome STATIO per lo costituito ordine de li di, & anchora per molte altre significationi, come per quei luochi dove le guardie de la notte si pongono”.

41 Fensterbusch 1964: 551 (n. 278). See also Saliou’s commentary (Vitruve 2009: 223–26).

der zwelfff Hymlichen zeichen auß der vergleichung des gestirns mit der Musica“).⁴² Ryff adopted Cesariano's focus on a cosmological organising principle [fig. 15: Ryff: Vitruvius Teutsch, Cesariano Vitruvius-Como: design scheme of a theater ground plan]. He writes of the distribution that stems “from the astrologers’ denoting the twelve celestial signs by comparing the constellation to music”. Music functions as a copula uniting the topography of the theatre with the topography of the heavens. Numerical architectural proportions are like musical intervals corresponding to a harmonic cosmic law. What, Ryff asks in his commentary, is musical harmony other than “an earthly-heavenly spirit (‘ein Elementischer hymlicher Geyst’) that moves harmoniously in the same order and proportion heaven, earth and all creatures?”⁴³ This passage echoes the *Como Vitruvius*. Cesariano calls this correspondence *concinnità* (“con la concinnare & per interualli”) – an expression one will not find in Vitruvius’s vocabulary (Cesariano 1521: 76^r). The term denotes the accord between the upper and lower world (“spirito elementale & celeste”) (Cesariano 1521: 76^r). Cesariano may have borrowed the expression from Marsilio Ficino’s commentary on the Platonic *Convivium*: here *concinnitas* and *inconcinnitas* denote a hidden natural harmony or disharmony: when the shape of an object agrees with its representation in the mind, attraction, or fondness results. The *concinnitas* produces in the lines and colours of the physical world, in education and behaviour, a certain splendour and sparkle (*splendor, fulgor*) which for Ficino are only perceptible to the eye.⁴⁴

Ryff was familiar with the term *concinnitas* from translating Alberti’s *De pictura*. With respect to the new perspectives in history painting, Ryff translates *concinnitas* as *Wohlstand*.⁴⁵ Ryff’s translation, informed by connotations

42 Rivius 1548: 174^r = Vitruvius V.vii.6 (“quibus etiam in duodecim signorum caelestium astrologia ex musica convenientia astrorum ratiocinantur”).

43 Rivius 1548: 169^r (“dann was mag das lieblich gethön und süß zusammen stymmung oder Concent Musicalischer Harmoni anders geschetzt werden / dann ein Elementischer hymlicher Geyst / so in gleicher ordnung und proportion / wie Hymel / Erden / und alle Geschöpff mit maß und zal in gebürlicher mensur getriben und bewegt / solchen lieblichen Concent die wunderwerck Gottes anzeigen”).

44 Ficino, *De amore*, 5. 5; 2. 9 (“Nempe corporis pulchritudo nihil aliud est quam splendor ipse in colorum linearumque decore. Animi quoque pulchritudo, fulgor in doctrine et morum concinnitate”).

45 Rivius 1547: 24^v (“Accord of mood and pleasantness [...] in equal harmony” (“enharmonicum concentum in musicis instrumentis”). – Dethlefs 2007: 143–155; Dethlefs, 2011: 130–35; Dethlefs 2018a: 131–37; Dethlefs 2018b: 240–45.

from Vitruvius, Alberti and Serlio, implies a comprehensive system of order and salvation. He holds that this system is perceptible to the naked eye via the new perspective. He compares the central perspective's perceptual process with Jupiter's thunderbolt, which suddenly bursts from the clouds "as if golden rain were scattering golden hail drops all around ('als ob der Guldin rege[n] mit guldenen hagel tröpfflin die gantze gegnet vberspreite') (Rivius 1547: 37^r).

5. Audience Behavior: The Theatre's Role in Forging Identity and Community

The seventh chapter of Alberti's eighth book on architecture, first printed in 1485, is entitled "On the furnishings of play and theatres houses, and their utility". For Alberti, their utility, indeed their indispensability lies in their ability to forge a harmonious, supportive community among the residents of a city. He thereby foregrounds their socio-political function: the community should assemble on feasts with the aim to calm "the tempers via these meetings and communal meals" and promote friendship between fellow citizens ("ad amicitiae fructum paratiores redder") (Alberti 1966 [1485]: 724).

While Ryff sees no social benefit in contemporary theatre, he recognises that civil society encounters serve to forge identity and community, helping members of related professions share their views: musicians, doctors and astrologists enjoy "communion" with one another; the "liberal arts" come into contact with "geometry", geometry with *perspektiva*, "which Vitruvius called optice ('die Geometri mit der Perspectiva / welche von Vitruvio Optice genant wirt') (Rivius 1548: 24^r).⁴⁶ Debate within these communities is held in relation to one's profession, with a cosmological orientation, an "astronomical comparison of viewpoints ('Astronomische vergleichung der Aspect') (Rivius 1548: 23^r). Ryff makes these remarks in his commentary on Vitruvius' catalogue of disciplines of architectural training. Here he develops an idea that could have been productive, namely freeing *comparison*, *vergleichung* or *paragone* from the context of competition and rivalry that dominated the Italian debate in favor

46 Vitruvius does not equate perspective (or *scaenographia*) and optics. As an early example of expressions such as "Optica sive Perspectiva" in medieval optics, Ineinchen (1985: 21) cites the late 12th-century translation of the Ptolemaic optics from Arabic into Latin.

of a collegial pooling of knowledge and knowledge networking.⁴⁷ Ryff misses the opportunity to advance this argument, since he cannot offer a place of assembly and encounter for interdisciplinary dialogues. With respect to the perception of professional groups in the public sphere, he overlooks an interesting transitional phenomenon in the history of the theatre, to which I would like to draw further attention in my closing remarks.

In 1543, Andreas Vesalius's ground-breaking anatomical work *De humani corporis fabrica* appeared. Ryff made extensive use of this work in his medical writings.⁴⁸ The book's frontispiece shows an anatomical theatre designed by Jan Stephan van Calcar (1499–1546), a pupil of Titian.⁴⁹ This is a rare early modern illustration of a theatre in which the audience's behavior is fixed. Here, anatomical necropsy is a social event and stimulus for debate among the assembled spectators [fig. 16: Andreas Vesalius: *De humani corporis fabrica* (frontispiece). 1543]. Calcar's template derives from an early edition of the comedies of the Roman playwright Terence (ca. 195/185– ca. 159 B.C.) which Soardi printed in Venice in 1497 and re-used in an edition of Plautus in 1511 [fig. 17: Plautus, *Comedies*, 1511]. From the unusual perspective of an actor on the stage of a theatre based on the Roman Colosseum, we see spectators in lively discussion. These early modern spectators are not entertained or passive recipients. They are alert, focused participants involved in passionate exchange – they are, then, *in statione*, in *position* or taking a *stance*. This stance is stronger than modern 'engagement' since it is oriented around duties and professional actions.

47 Community building depends on a professional elite for Ryff. On participation in public life see Schalk 1955: 23; Martines 1963: 39–50.

48 On this point see my forthcoming paper on Ryff's Pliny commentary (Dethlefs, forthcoming).

49 In his writings on anatomy, Ryff had already borrowed illustrations from Andreas Vesalius's *Tabulae Sex* (1538); cf. Rivius 1541: 104^v. – In 1551, a Nuremberg surgeon translated Vesal's work under the title *Anatomia zu deudsch – ein kurtzer Aufzug der beschreibung aller glider menschlichs Leybs*. The first anatomical theatres were built in Basel in 1588, Padua in 1594 and Leiden in 1597.

Appendix

Uses of <i>statio</i> in Vitruvius, Ovid and other Latin authors		
Ruler's residence, ruler's position, hegemonic practice	<i>Vitr. I.2: Statione, cum Iovi Fulguri ... aedificia ... constituentur</i> ----- <i>Ovid, Tristia: Inperii princeps statione relicta</i>	<i>Augustus, Epist. ad Gaium, id salvis nobis traducere liceat in statu reipublicae felicissimo ... stationem meam.</i> <i>Tacitus, Dial. 17, adice ... sextam iam felicitis huius principatus stationem, qua Vespasianus rem publicam fovet:</i> <i>Plinius Sec., Panegyricus VII, Assumptus es in laborum curarumque consortium, nec te laeta et prospera stationis istius, sed aspera et dura ad capessendam eam compulerunt.</i> <i>Velleius, Hist. Rom. II.124: pugnantis cum Caesare senatus populi que Romani, ut stationi paternae succederet; II.131: hunc principem, eique functo longissima statione mortali destinate successores quam serissimos,</i> <i>Helius I.1: Diocletiane Auguste, tot principum maxime, non solum eos, qui principum locum in hac statione, quam temperas,</i> <i>Lampr. Comm. 1.8: iam in his artifex (sc. Commodus) quae stationis imperatoriae non erant, ut calices fingeret, saltaret, cantaret [...].</i> <i>Sueton, Claudius 38.3: ad susceptam stationem non fuerit</i>

Uses of <i>statio</i> in Vitruvius, Ovid and other Latin authors		
Guardhouse, sentry, "lifetime post" Office	<i>Vitr. II.8: circa eum locum aedificium struxerunt et id erecta Graia statione texerunt</i> ----- <i>Ovid, Fasti V: Martis opus iuvenes animosaeque bella gerebant, et pro dis aderant in statione suis;</i> <i>Fasti II: qua positus fueris in statione, mane</i>	<i>Seneca, Ep. CXX 18, Magnus animus dat operam, ut in hac statione, qua positus est, honeste se atque industrie gret,</i> <i>Livius, Urb. Cond. VIII.8: praeterquam quod custodiae vigiliaeque et ordo stationum intentionis ubique curae errant</i> <i>Sueton, Aug.: Centuriones statione deserta,</i> <i>Tacitus, Hist. I: Stationem in castris agebat [...] quae in Palatio stationem agebat,</i>
Seat, place of public assembly for conversation, observation, reading, consultation etc.	<i>Vitr. V.11: in his perficiantur inter arbores ambulationes ibique ex opere signino stationes</i> ----- <i>Ovid, Trist. III.1: Caesar, ades voto, maxime diue, meo. Interea, quoniam statio mihi publica clausa est, privato liceat delituisse loco.</i>	<i>Plin., Hist. Nat. 16: stationes municipiorum</i> <i>Plin. Sec., Epist. I.13: Plerique in stationibus sedent tempusque audiendi fabulis conterunt.</i> <i>Plin. Sec., Epist. II: presso amicos, supplico, ambio, domos stationesque</i> <i>Juvenal, Satirae XI: omnis convictus, thermae, stationes, omne theatrum.</i> <i>Tertullian, Apol. III.6: Etiam a locis conventiculorum et stationum suarum Stoici, Academici?</i>
Anchor ground, mooring, harbour; refuge	<i>Vitr. V.12: si nullum flumen in his locis inpedierit sed erit ex una parte statio</i> <i>Ovid, Met. VII: fluctibus eiectum tuta statione recepi</i>	<i>Virgil, Aeneid II.23: Nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis; Huc se provecti deserto in litore condunt.</i> <i>Sueton, Tiberius: statione per ripas Tiberis</i> <i>Velleius, Hist. Rom. II.72: tempestatem fugientibus statio pro portu foret.</i>

Planetary standstill	<i>Vitr. IX.6: stationibus propter eam circinationem morantur in spatiis signorum.</i> ----- <i>Ovid, Fasti V.720: alterna fratrem statione redemit: utile sollicitae sidus utrumque rati</i> <i>Ovid, Met. II: diffugiunt stellae, quarum agmina cogit Lucifer et caeli statione novissimus exit.</i>	<i>Plinius, Hist. Nat. II.15: Veneris stella et stationes duas, matutinam verspertinamque, ab utroque exortu facit a longissimis distantiae suae finibus, Mercurii stationum breviori momento quam ut deprehendi possint.</i> <i>Lukrez, De rerum nat. IV: solque par ratione manere et luna videtur in statione,</i> <i>Manilius, Astronomicon III, 76: in aeterna coeli statione manerent</i>
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Figures

Fig. 1: Engraving illustration by an unknown artist of the Terence comedies; edition Terentius: Comoediae, Strasbourg 1496

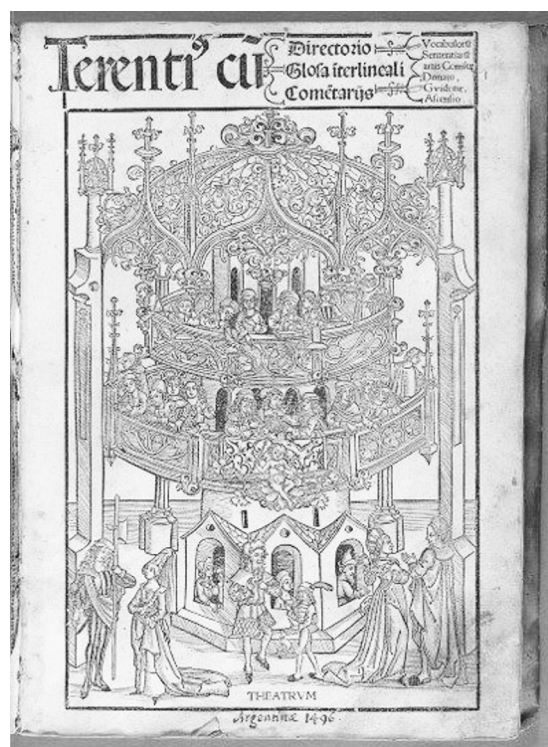


Fig. 2a: Leonardo da Vinci, stage setting, *Codex Atlanticus*, fol. 358^{v-b}, Windsor 12,461 and 12,720, ca. 1485-95

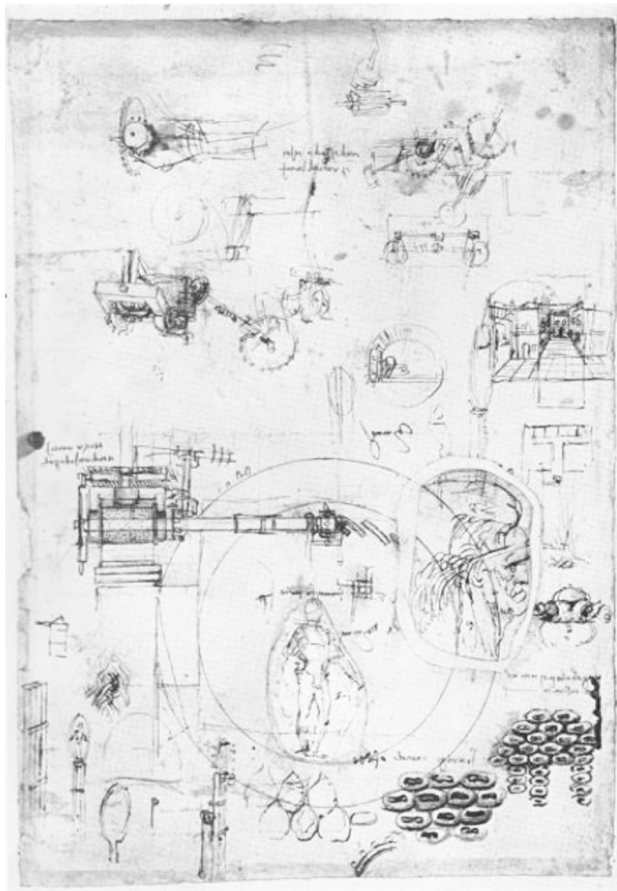


Plate 26. *Codex Atlanticus* fol. 358 v-b : Windsor 12,461 and 12,720

Fig. 2b: Leonardo da Vinci, stage setting, Codex Atlanticus, fol. 358^{v-b}, Windsor, ca. 1485-95

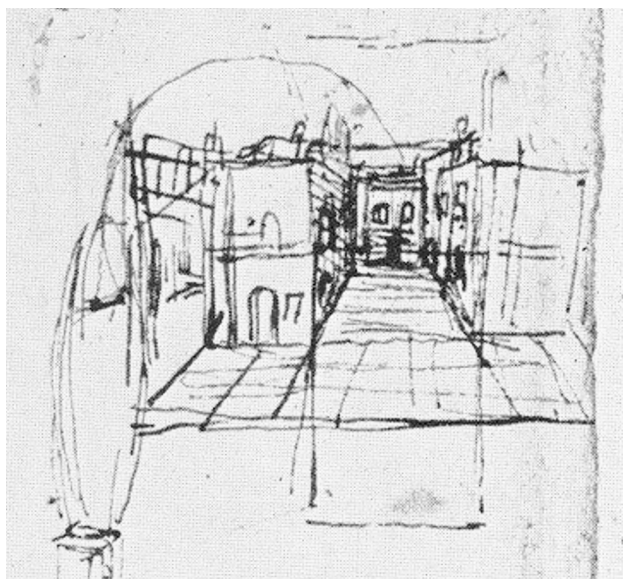


Fig. 3: Unknown Italian draftsman (formerly attributed to Baldassarre Peruzzi), perspective set with Roman buildings, mid sixteenth century (Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence UA291^r)



Fig. 4: After Bramante? Cesariano? A street with various buildings, colonnades and an arch. 1475?-1510? Engraving

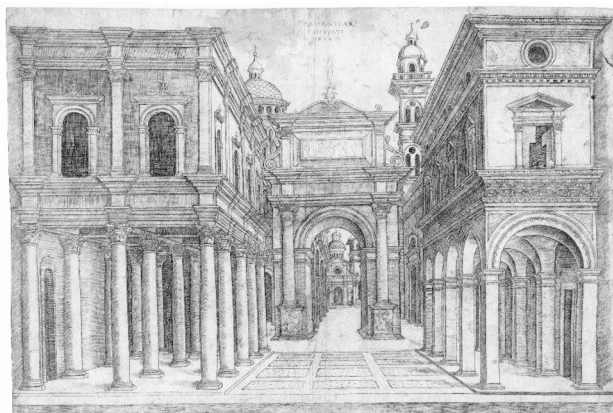


Fig. 5: Sebastiano Serlio, Il secondo libro di prospettiva mis en langue Francoyse, par Ieahn Martin, Paris, 1545, ff. 35^v, 51^v

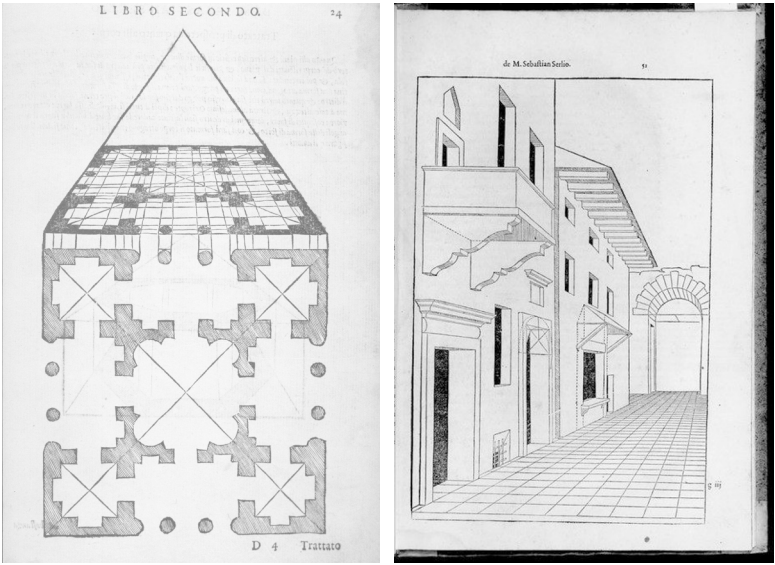


Fig. 6: Serlio, *The Tragic Scene*, *Il secondo libro*, fol. 69^v

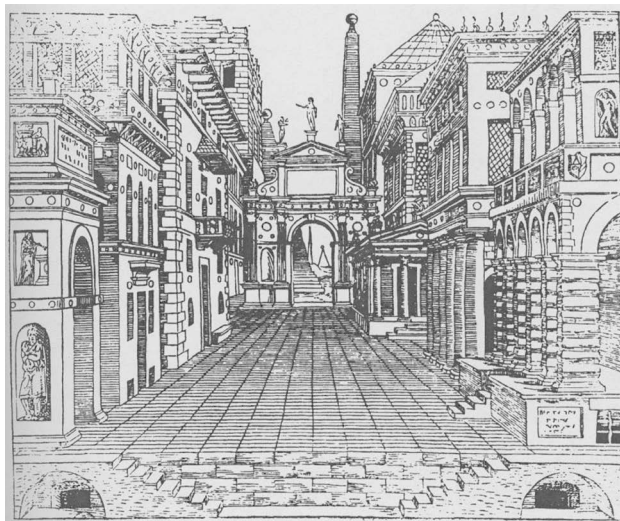


Fig. 7: *Ichnographia, orthographia, scaenographia*, in Fra Giovanni Giocondo/Vitruvius, *M. Vitruvius per Jocundum solito castigatior factus cum figuris et tabula...* Venezia, G. da Tridentino, 1511, ff. 4^{r-v}

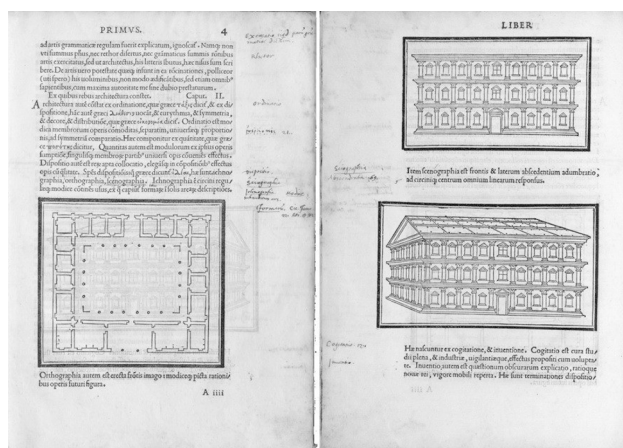


Fig. 8a: Periactoi in Iacomo Barozzi da Vignola / Ignazio Danti, *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica*, Bologna 1582, 91

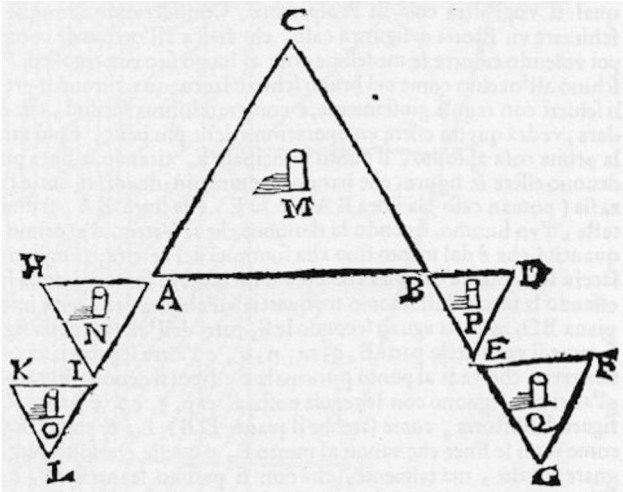
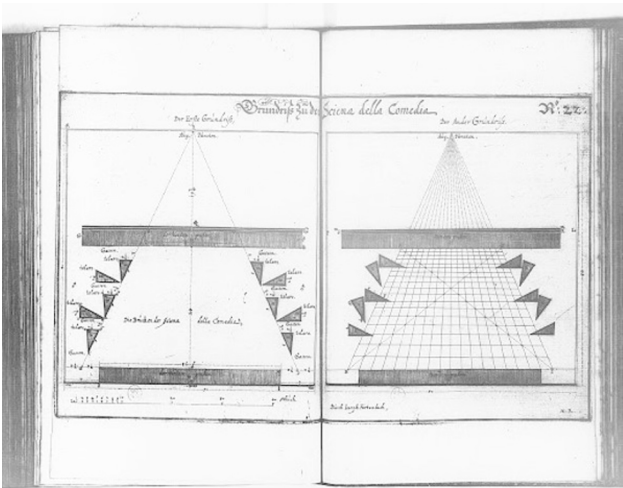


Fig. 8b: Joseph Furtttenbach, *Architectura Recreationis*, Augsburg 1640, (134-35), Repr. Berlin 1988



Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 9: Gualtherus Hermenius Rivius (Ryff), *Vitruvius Teutsch. Zehn Bücher von der Architectur und künstlichem Bauen*, Nürnberg 1548, fol. 177^v, 178^v, 179^r

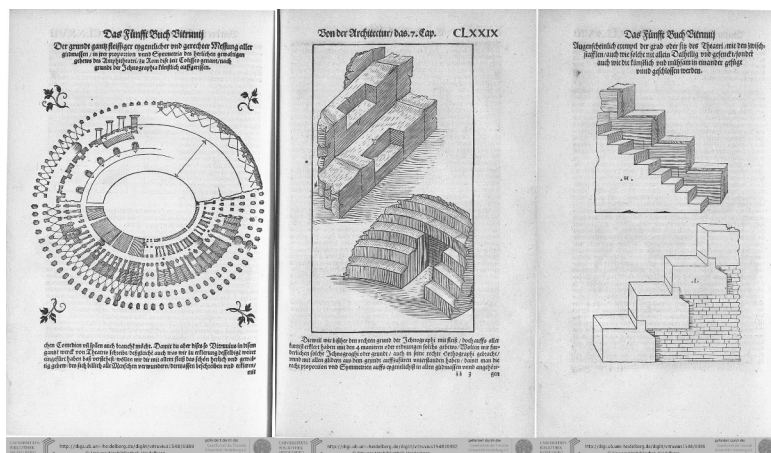


Fig. 10: Serlio, *l terzo libro di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese, nel qual si figurano: e descrivono le Antiquità*, Venice 1540, ff. 64-65

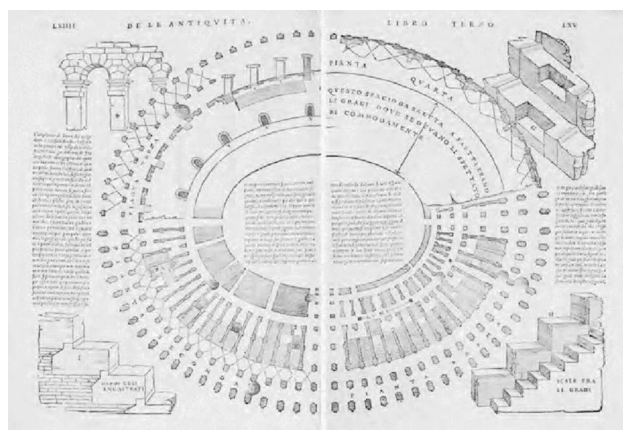


Fig. 11: Serlio, setting for comedy, in Secondo Libro, f. 71

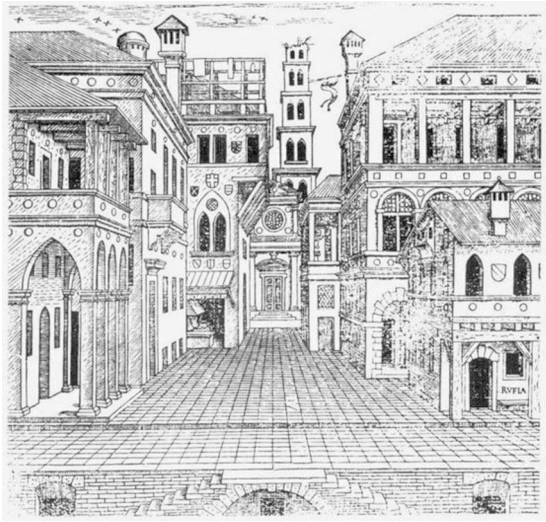


Fig. 12: Leonardo da Vinci, “teatro da predicare”, 1487-89 ca Paris, Institut de France, Ms. B, fol. 52^r

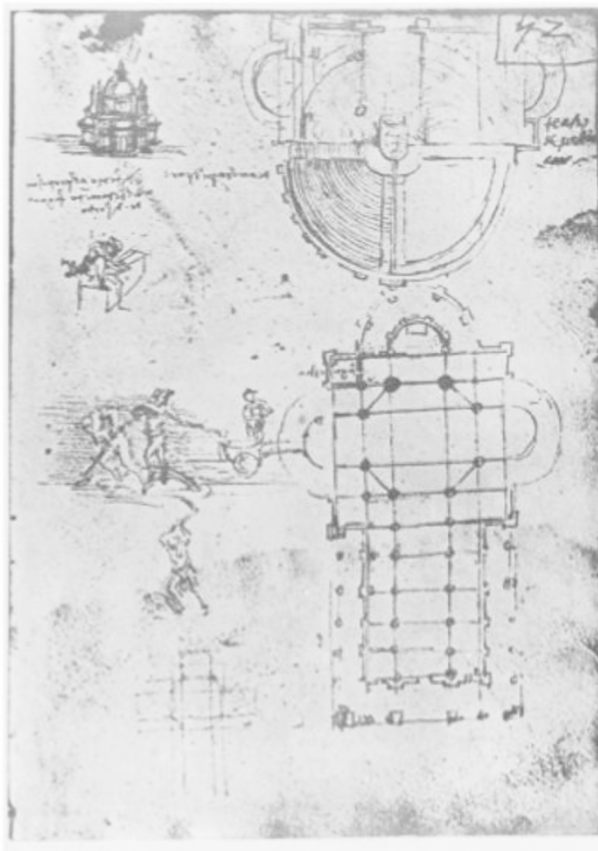


Fig. 13: Cesare Cesariano, Monopteral temple and architectural elements of the Roman theatre, engraving from a drawing from *De Architectura libri dece traducti de latino in vulgare*, Como 1521, fol. 81^v

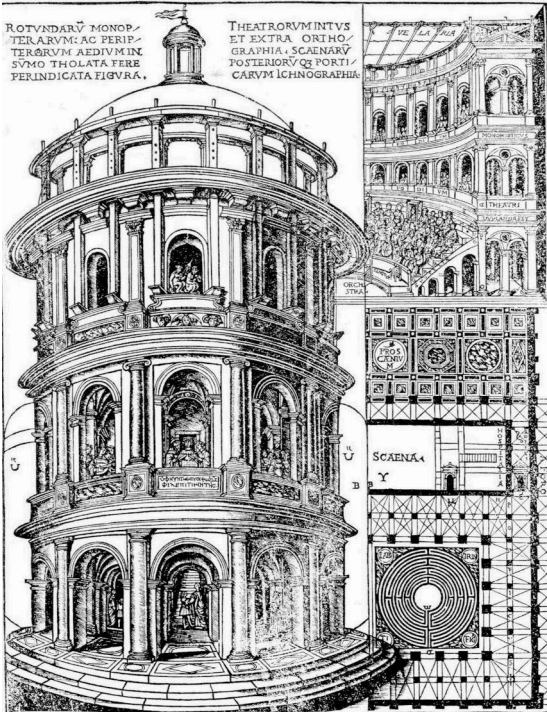


Fig. 14: The Theatre of Pompeius with temple of Venus Victrix, Rome, built around 55 BC according to the third century C.E. Severan marble plan (Forma Urbis Romae)

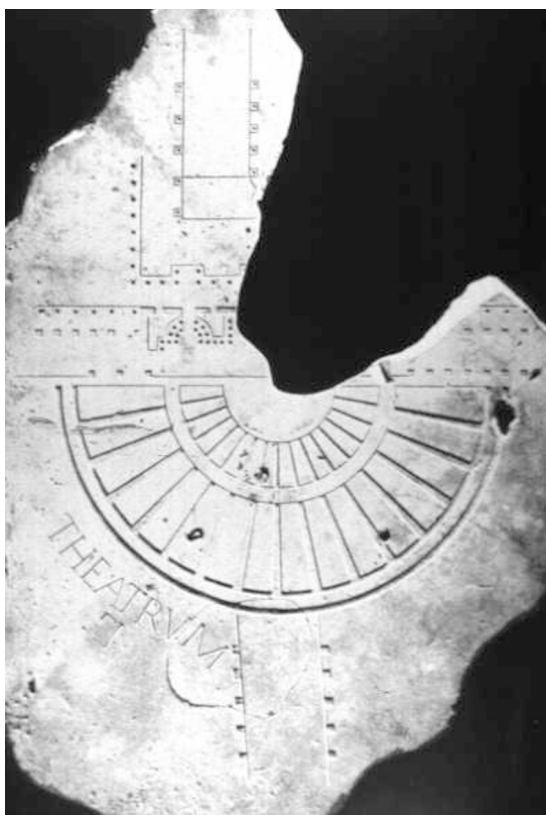


Fig. 15: Como Vitruvius, f. 75^v, 81^v; Ryff, Vitruvius Teutsch, f. 167^r

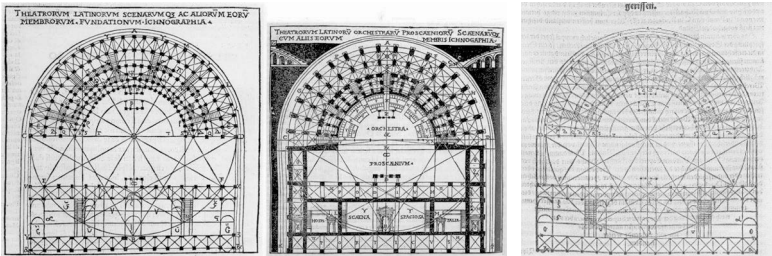


Fig. 16: Jan Stephan van Calcar: Frontispice from Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica*, Basel 1543



Fig. 17: Titus Maccius Plautus (c.254-184 BC), *Comedies*, edited by Bernard Saraceni, and Giovanni Pietro Valla. (Venice: Lazzaro de' Soardi) 1511



