

## The Theater in the City—An Architectural Mirror Game in Sabbioneta

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Through their instruments the sphere of representation exploded. Its fragments resonate in every future media apparatus...through their instruments a fragile imaginary was brought to light, through their instruments time, sound, reflex, could be seen, through their instruments the world was no longer a paltry given, it was a moving target, a dynamic presence, it was, to put it bluntly, alive.

- Timothy Druckery, Foreword, *Deep Time of the Media*

The technologies of the performance space that accelerate the drama of viewing a representation of our world give us access to how architecture can engage in urban performance. History can show us how such technologies have been adopted and adapted to architecture more generally, and may help us in framing the question of architecture and performance in the city today. Nowadays, the screen is a potent site of performance, and its technology and limitations form an important design consideration for more than just theaters; screens are already part of the life of the street. The geometries of ancient performance space were key to how the audience could view and hear the performance, and theater form and geometry in turn impacted the social spaces of the ancient city. In the Renaissance, perspective projection was developed first in the city, and then adopted for use in performance space. The aim of this paper is to show how the theater at Sabbioneta, built at the end of the Renaissance, is a performance space that engages the urban context by optimizing the technology of perspective projection in new ways, a building that performs as a *camera obscura* at the heart of the city.

The ducal theater at Sabbioneta, a small new town located about halfway between Parma and Mantua

in northern Italy, is well-known as the first building to be constructed as a permanent theater since antiquity. Kurt W. Forster's seminal interpretation of the project<sup>1</sup> focuses on its role in the development of theater design as a distinctive social and spatial type, and he articulates its political and rhetorical message in terms of a symbolically potent location and iconographic program. Hermans and Mazzone<sup>2</sup> update and extend these readings so that we can now fully appreciate the dramatic intentions of its patron, Duke Vespasiano Gonzaga—making the visible gift of a theater to his city just as the Emperor Vespasian, his mythic predecessor, had bequeathed the Colosseum on the Roman population. In so doing, both rulers are giving a to the city what had heretofore been privately held by the ruling class.

Vicenza's Teatro Olimpico, completed about five years before Sabbioneta, was also intended to be permanent, but it shared with the temporary theatrical spaces of the *cinquecento* the restrictions of using an existing building. Therefore, the massing and façades at Sabbioneta carry special significance: the duke's theater is the first to declare through its form and character an intentional relationship to the street and the city. Architect Vincenzo Scamozzi declines the opportunity to directly connect this theater to antiquity with a curvilinear form and the well-rehearsed scheme of stacked orders. Instead, he invents a proper character for the theater in the city according to his own understanding. Equally innovative is his design for the performance space inside, a unification of the illusory space of the perspectival stage set with the architectural elements defining the cavea. He not only eliminates the screen-like stage front of the

geographically and temporally proximate Teatro Olimpico, a feature inspired by antiquity, he also eliminates the framing device of the Serlian tradition that was more clearly his model. I propose that these original design ideas for exterior and interior are linked, and that they serve some of Scamozzi's most fundamental intentions regarding architecture: the understanding of architecture as a science, and the primacy of the city as a "fundamental task of the architect."<sup>3</sup>

Scamozzi's deep investigation into the nature of the city is apparent in the second book of his treatise, *L'Idea dell'Architettura Universale*,<sup>4</sup> devoted to historical determinants of city location and form, the environmental factors of water, air, light, and wind, and the cultural factors, such as population size, relationship to other cities, and defenses. He clearly designates the architect as the one responsible for using this body of knowledge to determine the advantageous location and the best design for cities.<sup>5</sup> While Vitruvius and Alberti clearly share this conviction, 16th century treatises had largely ignored the question of the city. The theoretical stance that emerges from Scamozzi's lengthy treatment is most remarkable because he moves beyond static descriptions of building types and hierarchies typical of Renaissance categories, seeing in the city a what Françoise Choay calls "a dynamic field of desires, the power of invention, and the creativity of humankind,"<sup>6</sup> in short, a place of drama in the conduct of human affairs.

Also fundamental to his definition is the firm belief that architecture is a science with a rational basis.<sup>7</sup> Mathematics and mechanics are the means for discovering the truth of things. When these theories are applied within his persistent analogical mode of finding unity and synthesis<sup>8</sup> at multiple scales, we can see the theater at Sabbioneta as a metaphorical *camera obscura*, an instrument for looking and for reproducing a perfect perspectival image of its setting. If not exactly a *mise-en-abîme*, certainly the suggestion of one: a self-same representation of an ideal city within an ideal city, but one that also projects the world of the stage back onto the street.

#### **FROM FESTIVAL SPACE TO THEATER SPACE: THE INVERSION OF ILLUSION**

Theater and festivals were an integral part of Renaissance street life and, in turn, the street and

the urban piazza were at the heart of the Renaissance development of the theater. Public performances mark holidays and significant occasions, entailing elaborate ephemeral architectural settings that temporarily transform the city. However, the city is always still perceptible: "ephemeral architecture derives its power to impose an imagined place and moment upon a merely given one, from the fact that it is incomplete and is seen to be so."<sup>9</sup> The architects that we connect with famous *cinquecento* theater designs, including both Serlio and Scamozzi, were also festival architects for their princely patrons. They experience for themselves the power of ephemeral performance structures to transform the city through a reordering of perceptions of space and also of time<sup>10</sup> within a simultaneous awareness of the illusory and the real.

Festival books provide a record of this temporary architecture that would otherwise be lost to history. Classical architectural forms enhanced the illusion of timelessness and co-opted the myth of Roman longevity. The triumphal arch in particular was an element suited to festival architecture.<sup>11</sup> It was relatively easy to adopt and adapt since it was not a building with functional associations. As a composition, the triumphal arch was flexible in scale, and its elements could be combined in unconventional ways without disrupting the overall figure. Triumphal arches easily accommodated sculptural relief to specify the festival's commemorative purposes, a pictorial narrative to amplify the significance of the event for a broad audience. Furthermore, the use of the arch created associations with medieval street festivals that were staged or commenced at city gates, many of which were formally related to the triumphal arch.

While Renaissance theater tradition evolves from the street festival as a primary source, there are of course distinctions to be drawn. "Festival architects harness the world to their purposes when they impose their architecture upon the space of daily life; theatre architects project the world upon, or telescope it into, their stages and sets."<sup>12</sup> Thus as the development of a theater tradition within the princely courts progresses, interest develops in a stage that could surpass the open loggia and painted scenery as a backdrop. While many theatrical forms persist, the revival of ancient comedic and tragic forms becomes an important focus among humanist patrons and academies.<sup>13</sup> These are studied in the ancient texts, through the the-

ory and commentary of the ancient writers, and through acts of imitation as Renaissance scholars write new plays in the ancient forms. As described by Serlio, a dense assembly of appropriate buildings forming a street or square is the proper setting for these performances.<sup>14</sup> The same architects who transform urban space with ephemeral and fantastic forms for festivals are required to precisely invert their creative vision to develop the stage set as a view in a city in order to “affirm the world of the set as reality, or the theater as the world.”<sup>15</sup> The goal now is to make illusory space seem real, and the primary means to do so, perspective.

### FROM URBAN SPACE TO SCENIC SPACE: THE INVERSION OF PERSPECTIVE VISION

Perspective plays many roles in the dynamics of the Renaissance city and theater. Brunelleschi first articulates and demonstrates the laws of perspective with two painted panels of an urban setting. Martin Kemp recounts the story of how Brunelleschi uses a mirror to compare his painted view to the actual by drilling a hole in the panel,<sup>16</sup> and it is this double transmission that has particular interest for theater—image passing from the actual urban fabric, to the panel, and then to the mirror. David Summers puts it this way: “the inversion of the rationalization of vision as the possibility of creation of new kinds of illusion leads to theater, the *theatron*, the place for seeing, or for seeing illusion as if seen.”<sup>17</sup> Kemp is rather less delicate: “Brunelleschi constructed a form of peepshow to heighten its illusion.”<sup>18</sup>

Thus, Renaissance perspective is extracted from the city, and over time it re-makes the order of the city. Brunelleschi’s innovative architecture is adopted and developed with impacts on buildings and urban space in most Italian cities: “...Brunelleschi designed buildings to be seen perspectively.”<sup>19</sup> This new architecture in turn provokes a new fantasy of urban order, an ideal city, expressed most cogently in three late *quattrocento* paintings.<sup>20</sup> These ideas gain such cultural currency through painting and architecture that we can easily think of Renaissance culture as conditioned by perspective as a *way of looking*. Finally, this tool that allows the development of a newly ordered architecture and the closer simulation of reality in the painted surface is then used to construct illusory spaces—spaces that have the appearance of real-world architectural scale but which are in fact radically compressed.

Bramante first takes this step by blending real and illusory space to solve the problem of site restrictions in his design for Santa Maria presso San Satiro: a constructed illusion visually transforms a T-shaped church into an ideal Greek cross. Though the illusion works, its efficacy is restricted by the particularity of the point of view. Bramante later uses “point of view” to advantage in the creation of a private theatrical space at an urban scale, the cortile of the Belvedere. Here the whole multi-level expanse is tuned to the visual angle of the pope in his apartment above, a refinement that will later be used by Scamozzi as well.

Perspective is an invention of the *quattrocento* that has lasting effects and maintains a hold on cultural production even as newer ways of seeing are developed in the sixteenth century. Treatises on perspective, including one by Scamozzi that has not been preserved, continue to be written. Serlio’s famous description of stage sets is integral to a book on perspective. His pictorial views of the three types of scenery are iconic, but it is the plan and section that reveal how perspective can be used to accomplish the illusion of grand structures and expansive space within the limitations of the stage. What is remarkable is that the urban experience is conditioned by the architectural forms of Renaissance design, forms conceived for seeing in perspective. Then perspective theory is applied to those forms to create an illusion by replicating the way of looking that Renaissance urban dwellers were accustomed to. Perspective, a way of looking at the world and a technology for constructing a world, becomes the middle term between city and theater, both conditioning and creating a particular spatial experience.

### THE CITY IN THE THEATER: SEEING INSIDE PERSPECTIVE AT SABBIONETA

Duke Vespasiano Gonzaga somewhat anachronistically conceives and constructs the ideal city of Sabbioneta as a seat of power distinct from the Gonzaga court at Mantua. He chooses Scamozzi to design the theater, which is completed relatively quickly between 1588 and 1590.<sup>21</sup> Scamozzi is likely chosen for his skill in the completion of Palladio’s Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, but he was also experienced in festival architecture.

Scamozzi spends seven days in May of 1588 surveying the site and town. His design response is

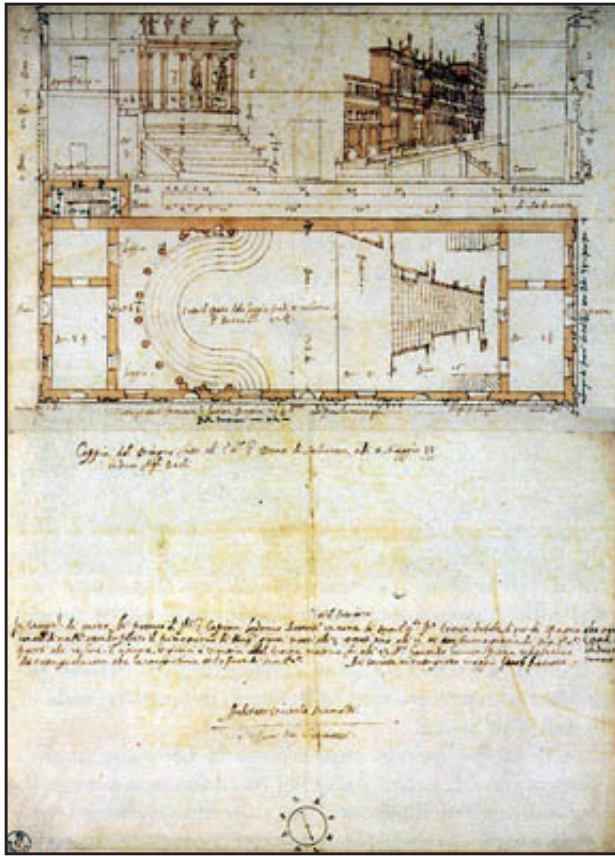


Figure 1: Scamozzi's design drawing

preserved in a single autograph drawing that in plan and section expresses the entire synthesis of his response. The theater fills its available rectangular site, a barn-like box that is about three times as long as wide, and two stories in height. It is engaged in a city block along one of its long walls, but the other three sides face newly made streets of Sabbioneta. Most of the interior is a unified double-story theatrical space that is book-ended by functional necessities on two floors at either end. The longitudinal main space contains the raised stage at one end and stepped tiers of seating topped by a curved loggia at the other end. Rooms adjacent to the stage provide access and accommodations for actors and musicians; rooms behind the *cavea* allow access for privileged audience members.

Stage structure and seating structure face each other across a neutral zone where the space is bounded simply by the building's walls. These surfaces are frescoed to visually link with illusory architectural elements of the stage and the constructed elements of the loggia atop the seating risers. The

painted architectural elements form monumental arches through which an open-air scene is visible. The ornament carefully knits together the language of the loggia and the constructed elements of the scenery so that the painting succeeds in providing a sense of visual continuity to the entire space at the level of the entablature. Above that, a continuous painted balustrade is populated with a less exalted rank of animated theater-goers.

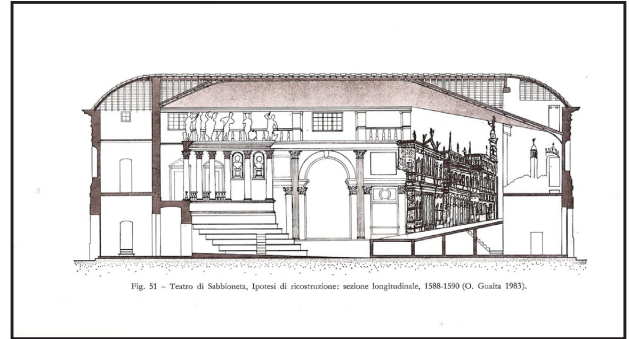


Figure 2: Reconstruction of the section

Though the peristyle surrounding the seating is reminiscent of the Teatro Olimpico, the proportions of Scamozzi's interior are in sharp contrast, and are also much longer than the Serlian model. Scamozzi purposely stretches the axis of viewing. While Forster shows how the perspective of the entire space, including the illusory sets, is constructed to maximize the visual effect for the duke in his place of honor in the loggia, the elongation provides a space from which all audience members will have a view that is within an angle that holds the sense of the illusion. The addition of the painted elements helps the eye to move more easily over apparent inconsistencies—they engage the suspension of disbelief even as the central stage set achieves its full illusion.

The striking innovation is the elimination altogether of a framing device *through* which one views the stage scene. It is not surprising that he rejects Palladio's solution to the scenic structure, as Scamozzi himself had altered its idea substantially before the first production. But he also eliminates the framing of Serlio's downstage scenic flats, which are parallel to the front of the stage and perpendicular to the central axis of vision. This device, while not forming a "proscenium arch" in the modern sense of the term, creates a spatial discontinuity

between the real space of the audience and the illusory space of the set, resolving any discontinuity of scale. Scamozzi's foremost planes are set at an angle so as to join the constructed stage set with the frescos of the side walls. Rather than signaling a break to a separate zone of space, the space of illusion, Scamozzi unifies the audience and actors in a single space while maintaining the illusion. In fact, the loggia in which the Duke's party is seated now has its natural relation to a palace balcony from which the main square of the city is seen.<sup>22</sup> The relationships of the real world are replicated, miniaturized, captured in a box.



Figure 3: View along the longitudinal axis

The whole interior of the theater works like a *camera obscura* without the reversal of the image. Scamozzi, a careful student of both Aristotle and Barbaro, certainly knew of such optical devices and might easily have pondered it, metaphorically, as he used science, mathematics, optics, and perspective to solve an architectural problem and create the illusion of an ideal city in a box located at the center of an ideal city. An even more apt description was available to him in the 1558 *Magia Naturalis* of Giovanni Battista della Porta, who calls his room-sized projection device a *cubiculum obscurum*, and even shows that “by using a lens that reduces the divergence of the light rays entering through the opening, the image can be seen in its natural colors and the right way up if the lens is positioned correctly.”<sup>23</sup> This improved *camera obscura* comes at

the beginning of a new era of scientific instruments as technical aids for looking at the world. Scamozzi is disposed toward the technical innovations of cartographers and surveyors; and while he may not have seized upon della Porta's invention literally, his innovative design at Sabbioneta has the aura of 17th century instruments and mechanical wonders. His whole interior, not just the stage scenery, is a miniature ideal city, realized in a space only 37 feet wide and 120 feet long, in which the audience maintains its physical and social relationships. The painted frescos visible through the triumphal arches suggest that this urban space is at the heart of the ideal city—Rome—further dilating the re-ordering of space, and also of time.

### THE THEATER IN THE CITY: MAKING PERFORMANCE SPACE VISIBLE

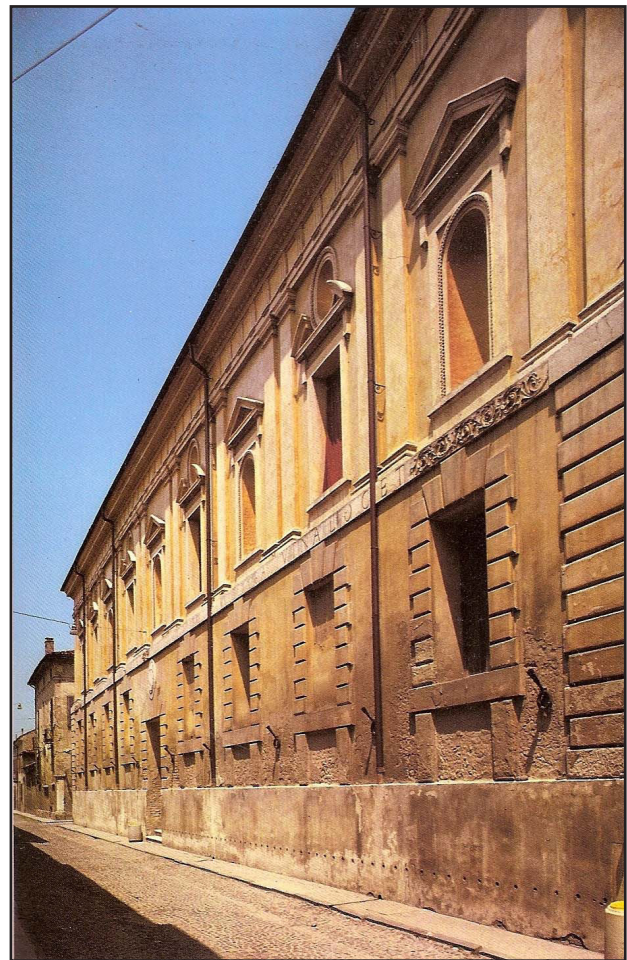


Figure 4: Principal façade

If we now see Scamozzi's interior as having both political acumen, as in Forster's interpretation, and spatial innovation, we must still consider the form and articulation of the exterior. The basic articulation of the box is a palazzo scheme: a base that consists of a plain podium, with rustication at the edges of openings and corners; and a *piano nobile* with paired pilasters flanking alternating framed niches and windows, mostly blind. The long edge of the theater fronts on Via Giulia, the *decumanus* of Sabbioneta, and consists of 9 bays, while the short sides are three bays wide. Each of the three sides is punctuated by a central portal; all three are equally sized and ornamented, though the one facing Via Giulia (south facing) has a Gonzaga coat of arms above.

The ground floor ornament is relatively subdued—the rustication is in low relief with a smooth surface. The ornament of the *piano nobile* has greater variety and higher relief but the overall effect is still fairly flat. Double pilasters sit on a barely projecting string course. Their minimal Doric capitals support a canonic triglyph frieze, but the architrave is eliminated for all intents and purposes, and the cornice above subdued. Such a minimal articulation suggests that the job of the orders in this façade is to provide rhythm and framing without any substantial sculptural or expressive effect of their own.

Attention is thereby focused on the elements that occupy each bay. These alternate between framed round-headed niches topped by a projecting triangular pediment and similarly framed rectangular windows topped by broken segmental arches with inserted oval medallions. The pediments, and the plain sills below them, are the boldest elements of the composition. The curved perimeters of the niches and medallions in alternating bays are traced by a rope-like ornamental motif that shows the highest degree of refinement in the palette.

Though the overall effect as we see it today is not dramatic, it is clearly noble in the context of Sabbioneta. Scamozzi aims at a certain grandeur, but he carefully maintains decorum with respect to other important buildings, in particular the ducal palace and the church, both of which front on the main piazza a few blocks to the north. The two-story articulation, not called for by the interior disposition of space, fits the overall fabric of the city. In stage design work, Scamozzi is accustomed to design-

ing entire streetscapes, tuning each structure so that it works with the whole. It is easy to imagine him thinking the same way in designing the façade of any urban building. In the case of the theater, he might be thinking as much about Via Giulia as about the interior space and function.

The suggestion of a palazzo is consistent with the development of performance spaces within the private *palazzi* of Renaissance princes. However, Vespasiano clearly wanted his theater to have a more public presence, and the location on the main street suggests another reference: the city gate where the street begins. Such a reference serves the theater in two ways. One is to recognize the street itself as an important site of performance and spectacle—imagine processions coming through the gate and heading westward along Via Giulia. The other way that this association works is to set an appropriate sensation for entering the theater for a dramatic performance: passing through a “city gate” and entering into an ideal city within. In fact, when entering the portal on the main façade, a theater patron would be coming “through” the painted arch on the interior, giving even more depth to the sensation of a city gate.

To truly appreciate Scamozzi's intention for the theater's character, however, it is necessary to repopulate the *piano nobile* with the statues that would have occupied the niches and the busts in the medallions. This lively ensemble would have been the defining feature marking this building as a unique institution in Sabbioneta, signaling on the exterior something of the character of the interior space. The general motif connects Scamozzi's façades to a theatrical precedent: Falconetto's 1524 loggia for Alvise Cornaro establishes some of the norms for courtly theater and displays similarities of composition. The upper story is composed of alternating openings with triangular pediments and segmental arches, with the central and two outermost bays inhabited by statues. The statues with their gestures animate the facades, advertising the drama of performances within, and projecting some of that drama to the daily performance of civic life on the street.

A much closer and far more direct comparison can be made with Palladio's design for the stage screen of the Teatro Olimpico. Once again the lowest level is completely different, but the upper register



Figure 5: Central triumphal arch at Teatro Olimpico

bears comparison: alternating *aediculae* framed by an engaged order and occupied by statues. It is important to remember what the function of this element was in the Palladian scheme, and to recall Scamozzi's connection to it.

Palladio's design intentions for Teatro Olimpico are singular in the context of sixteenth century developments.<sup>24</sup> Designing for a scholarly academy committed to a revival of classical culture, his aim is to recreate the theater of Roman antiquity as closely as possible. The antique stage, as interpreted from texts and archaeological evidence, was backed by a planar element that was mostly opaque; it was to be ornamented so as to represent the façade of a royal or noble household. Although not stated explicitly, this implies that the stage space in front of it is analogous to a street, and this was where the dramatic action takes place. Therefore in the ancient model and in Palladio's project, the stage *space* is essentially a street running perpendicular to the audience's centerline. Scamozzi's transformation of the façade enlarged greatly the central portal, essentially transforming it into a triumphal arch. By constructing perspectives of streets behind the screen, he implies that the façade we are facing is in fact a city gate rather than a palazzo. This was more in keeping with the norm for the *cinquecento* stage space, which is still a street, but one rotated such that its direction is collinear with the audience centerline.

Though Scamozzi works with the Palladian proposition as a given in Vicenza, we have already noted

that the Serlian stage had no such screening device, and that Scamozzi rejects even a slight suggestion of a spatial break at Sabbioneta. However, we might imagine that the Palladian stage front, meant to represent a façade on a street, in fact provides a model for the theater façade itself. In Vicenza, Palladio's screen with its enlarged openings forms a boundary between the actual space of the *cavea* and stage and the illusory space of the scenery. Since Scamozzi unifies the entire theater space at Sabbioneta within a continuous space of illusion, that same screen can be used to once again form the boundary between the actual space of the street and the illusory space of the theater interior. In turn, this dramatic stage set transforms the street into a space of performance.

### CONCLUSION: ROMA QUANTA FUIT IPSA RUINA DOCET

As a festival architect, Scamozzi creates ephemeral architecture that re-orders time through the re-ordering of space. He is also an architect for whom all building is a "question of location in history"<sup>25</sup> as well as location in space. The Latin inscription featured prominently on the façade and also repeated within, shows Scamozzi using the perspective paradigm with respect to time as well as space. "Rome teaches us how great she was by her ruins"—the phrase, though interpreted by some to be nostalgic, in fact acknowledges our chronological perspective and its limitations. He reminds us that even Rome, however great, passes to ruin; he provokes the pretenders to antique forms of ruling, of building, and of performing to realize both the greatness and the fragility.

The perspective paradigm, a "visual model that defines and positions the spectator in relation to the picture"<sup>26</sup> or view, governs the spatial sense of the Renaissance ideal city. In the theater at Sabbioneta, Scamozzi uses the perspective paradigm but he also surpasses its limitations to weave a more complex possibility for the role of the theater in the city. As if in a *camera obscura*, the spectators enter into a room in which the ideal city outside is projected onto the stage, while elements of the theatrical space are projected outside onto the façades. The ambiguities between urban space and performance space are allowed to echo. Scamozzi's theater as a *camera obscura* projects the ideal city of Sabbioneta directly into the theater, a city within

a city, with a consequential perception of performance space amplified outward from stage, to theater, to street and city.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Kurt W. Forster, "Stagecraft as Statecraft: The Architectural Integration of Public Life and Theatrical Spectacle in Scamozzi's Theater at Sabbioneta," *Oppositions*, no. 9 (1977): 63-87.
- 2 Lex Hermans, "The Performing Venue: The Visual Play of Italian Courtly Theaters in the Sixteenth Century," *Art History* 33:2 (April, 2010): 292-303. Stefano Mazzoni, "Vincenzo Scamozzi Architetto-Scenografo," in *Vincenzo Scamozzi 1548-1616*. (Venice: Marsilio, 2003), 71-86.
- 3 Françoise Choay, *The Rule and the Model: On the Theory of Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997), 196.
- 4 Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'Idea dell'Architettura Universale* (Ridgewood, NJ: The Gregg Press, 1964). Originally self-published in Venice, 1615.
- 5 "Whoever will want to judge honestly can not doubt that the treatment of shapes and sizes of cities, and fortresses, and on, properly awaits the Architect ..." Scamozzi, *L'Idea* 1:152.
- 6 Choay, 198.
- 7 "On the basis of the authority of Vitruvius, Plato, Aristotle, Pappus, and many others that I do not mention, one sees that architecture, undoubtedly, is a speculative science, excellent in doctrine and erudition and extremely noble and singular in the way it investigates the causes and reason of things that are related to it." Scamozzi, *L'Idea* 1:3. Translation by Liane Lefaivre and Alexander Tzonis, *The Emergence of Modern Architecture: A Documentary History from 1000 to 1810* (London: Routledge, 2004), 170.
- 8 Martin Kemp, *Seen | Unseen: Art, Science, and Intuition from Leonardo to the Hubble Telescope* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 89.
- 9 William Alexander McClung, "A Place for a Time: The Architecture of Festivals and Theaters," in *Architecture and Its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation*, ed. Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman. (Montreal: Canadian Center for Architecture, 1989), 87.
- 10 McClung, 98.
- 11 McClung, 88.
- 12 McClung, 103.
- 13 Louise George Clubb, "Italian Renaissance Theater," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Theatre*, ed. John Russell Brown. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 116.
- 14 Sebastiano Serlio, *On Architecture* Vol. 1, Bk 2, trans. by Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 65v-68r, 83-88. Book 2 originally published Paris, 1545.
- 15 McClung, 103.
- 16 Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 11-14.
- 17 David Summers, "The heritage of Agatharcus: on naturalism and theatre in European painting," in *The Beholder: the Experience of Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Frangenberg and Robert Williams. (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 13.
- 18 Kemp, *The Science of Art*, 12.
- 19 Kemp, *Seen | Unseen*, 19.
- 20 The association of the paintings generally attributed to Piero della Francesca with the body of theory on urban form is widely discussed in Renaissance scholarship. A detailed analysis with respect to perspective construction is provided by: Hubert Damisch, *The Origin of Perspective*, trans. by John Goodman. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994), 279-375.
- 21 The historical details of the commission have been recounted in a number of different publications. The most complete account in English is: David Michael Breiner, "Vincenzo Scamozzi, A Catalogue Raisonné" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1992), 717-725. See also: Stefano Mazzoni and Ovidio Guaita, *Il Teatro di Sabbioneta* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1985.)
- 22 Forster, 74.
- 23 Siegfried Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media: Toward an Archaeology of Hearing and Seeing by Technical Means*, trans. by Gloria Custance (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2006), 89.
- 24 Forster, 76.
- 25 Choay, 197.
- 26 Renee van de Vall, *At the Edges of Vision: a Phenomenological Aesthetics of Contemporary Spectatorship* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 40.