

Edited by Kimberley Skelton

Early Modern Spaces in Motion

Design, Experience,
and Rhetoric

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Introduction: Bodies and Buildings in Motion

Kimberley Skelton

Abstract

Since antiquity, motion had been a key means of designing and describing the physical environment. During the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, however, individuals across Europe increasingly designed, experienced, and discussed a new world of motion – one characterized by continuous, rather than segmented, movement. This chapter examines the shift from segmented to continuous motion in order to establish the architectural and cultural historical context for the following eight essays. It considers how architects and other authors stressed ever more putting individuals in motion through new types of built spaces and through new approaches to architectural treatises and guidebooks, while writers in other discourses encompassing science, medicine, and philosophy debated movements at all scales from the heliocentric universe to vibrating atoms.

Keywords: choreography, motion, human body, building, Baroque

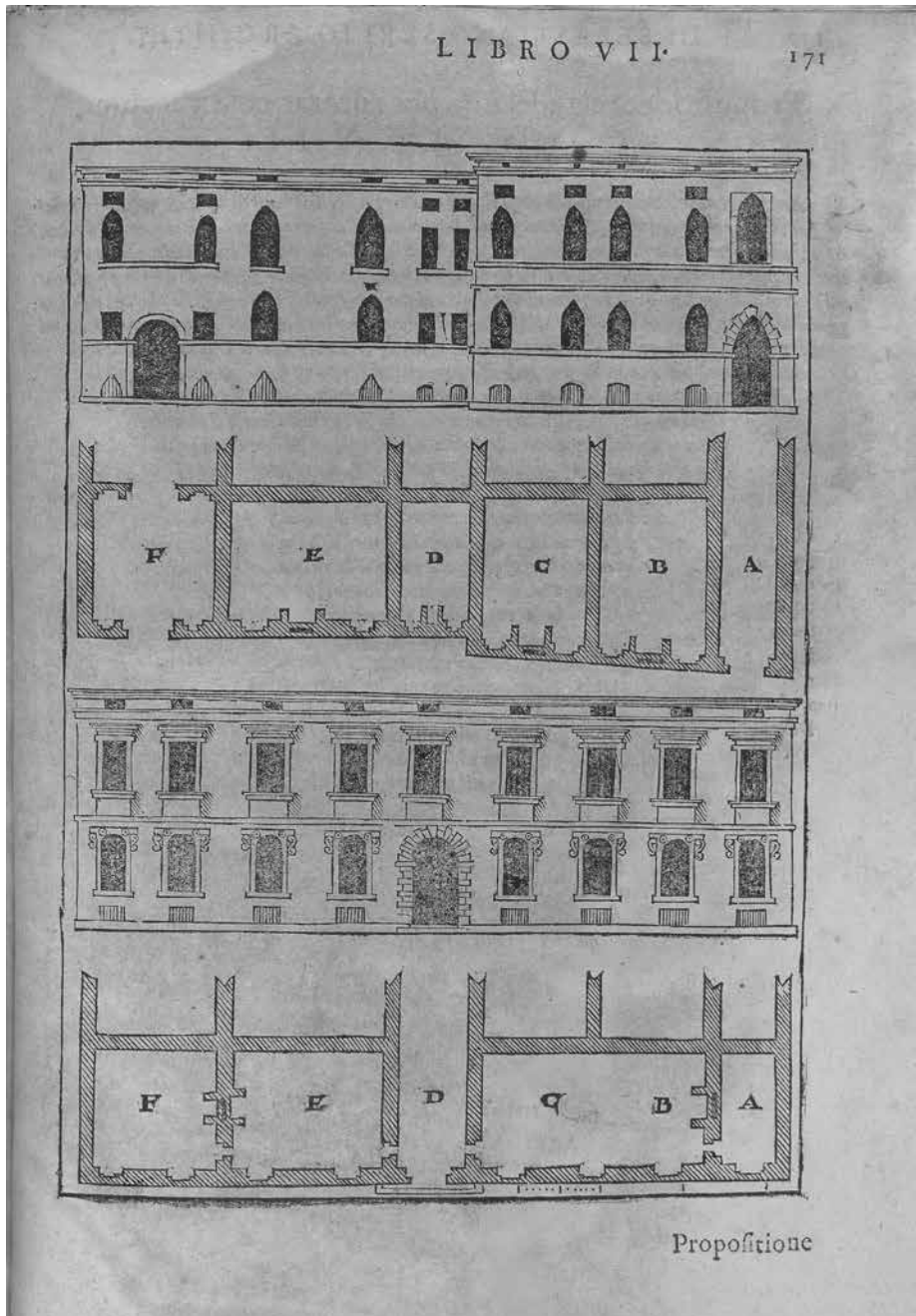
As early eighteenth-century readers perused the first volume of Paul Decker's *Fürstliche Baumeister, oder Architectura civilis*, they encountered an unexpected invitation: they were encouraged to imagine moving through a hypothetical princely palace. From the title of 'Fürstliche Baumeister', or 'Princely Master Builder', they knew that Decker would be offering them advice on good design – advice useful for a 'master builder' – and so would have expected the usual outline of design principles followed by various sample designs. These sequences of sample designs assumed a motionless reader who surveyed an overall structure, for each design was placed on a single page or half-page. On a page from the Italian Sebastiano Serlio's *Tutte l'opere d'architettura, et prospettiva* of 1584, for instance, it is easy to evaluate the overall designs of two palaces since their façades and plans are aligned; one can compare how windows are placed across the exterior and illuminate the

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1. Sebastiano Serlio, Palace façades and plans, from *Tutte l'opere d'architettura, et prospetiva*, 1584. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

interior (Figure 1). Only authors of guidebooks led readers on tours of buildings to point out notable features and objects, and these buildings were built structures, in contrast to Decker's hypothetical palace.

From the very first pages of his book, however, Decker suggests that his invitation to motion through a hypothetical palace is an effective, alternative approach to learning about good design. In his letter to the reader, he explains that his volume is the first of five examining building types from churches to hospitals and so implies a sweeping survey of 'civil architecture' that would be useful to a court architect.¹ Across the following descriptive list of engravings and across the engravings themselves, readers learn that they both perform the overall analysis usually invited by an architectural volume and walk around like admiring tourists. Decker opens his sequence of engravings with plans, an elevation, and sections familiar from architectural volumes but also includes a perspectival bird's-eye view of the palace with strolling visitors.² For the interior, Decker then describes one room after another and offers sequences of engravings showing the walls and ceiling of each room – encouraging readers to imagine walking through the palace, turning around in each room, and bending backwards to look overhead.³ There are still some cues to analysing design principles since a plan of each room precedes the wall elevations and the wall elevations themselves often include a half-plan. Yet these cues seem pushed to the margins – only one engraving for the plan, in contrast to two to five for walls and ceiling, and only a half-plan squeezed into the bottom of the wall elevation (Figure 2). The content of both the text describing each engraving and of the engraving itself, moreover, encourages the attitude of an admiring tourist. In the text describing walls and ceiling, Decker includes information that one might expect from a guidebook, such as the iconography of a ceiling fresco.⁴ In the engravings, wall surfaces are often crowded with details that can be playfully illusionistic and so resist precise analysis. At the centre of the garden wall of the central receiving room, for example, a canopy curves outwards and is twisted into knots at its ends so that it is difficult to understand how far the canopy projects forward relative to the column capitals.

On the one hand, Decker's volume could simply be a playful book to entertain the well-educated readers who would be likely to purchase it and thus a useful tool for advertising his own skill in building design and engraving. The 'Princely Master Builder' of the title could describe Decker himself since he had become court architect for Theodor von Sulzbach of Pfalzgraf in 1708 and, at the time of publishing

1 Decker, 'Vorrede des Inventoris' (n. p.).

2 Ibid., p. 1 of list of engravings, Plates 1-8.

3 Ibid., pp. 1-5 of list of engravings, Plates 9-59.

4 For instance: Ibid., pp. 1-4 of list of engravings, Plates 10, 13, 18, 24, and 41.



2. Paul Decker, Garden wall of the central receiving room in a princely palace, from *Fürstlicher Baumeister, oder Architectura civilis*, 1711. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

this book, was employed as building inspector by Margrave Georg Wilhelm.⁵ That is, *Fürstliche Baumeister* could imply the type of design that Decker might execute were he given a commission; readers could see a completed building, even including interpretations of ceiling frescoes.

On the other hand, while motion was an unusual strategy for an architectural volume, it could also be an especially effective means of instruction. By putting readers in motion so that they see first one space and then another, Decker firmly controls what readers analyse. In the sequence of engravings for each room, readers confront isolated sets of questions – for instance, considering the symmetrical arrangement of windows and doors in each room plan before examining the articulation of a single wall surface in each elevation. Likewise, because Decker includes only entertaining rooms in his tour and shows household rooms simply in the overall palace plans, readers are forced to focus on the main entertaining rooms, the spaces especially significant for patrons seeking to showcase their wealth and

5 Reuther.

social status to their guests. For Decker's approach to successfully encourage readers to reflect on good design, however, they needed to step back from his beguiling tour to recognize that his invitation to motion was also a carefully choreographed rhetorical technique for conveying design advice. As this volume will reveal, Decker was in fact addressing readers experiencing, and so conscious of, a world ever more characterized by continuous yet controlled motion.

Bounded Motion before the Sixteenth Century

Stretching back to antiquity, there had been clear connections between buildings and motion; until the early sixteenth century, however, there was a guarded ambivalence about motion, which could be both beneficial and risky. The ancient Roman Vitruvius had advised that architects should design green spaces in cities to offer areas for healthy exercise but had also warned that cities should be oriented to block unhealthy winds from entering the pores of human bodies and then disrupting the healthy balance of the humours.⁶ Likewise, the fifteenth-century Italian Leon Battista Alberti recommended that human motion be carefully bounded to assure physical safety. A flight of stairs should be no more than seven or nine steps so that the weak and ill could rest periodically to avoid undue exertion and so that anyone falling could be stopped swiftly.⁷ Human perception and the natural world were likewise characterized by bounded motion. One perceived an object, philosophers argued, because it sent out a likeness, or species, suited to each human sense organ. After a species penetrated the appropriate organ, it traversed the human body and produced a tangible reaction when it reached a destination. For instance, if a species penetrated to the heart, the seat of the passions, it would produce an emotional response.⁸ In his *Physics*, Aristotle explained how the physical world was filled with three types of motion from one point to another: qualitative, quantitative, and spatial change.⁹ An object would move whether it changed colour from red to white or whether it was transported from one town to another along a road.

Across daily experience, individuals could also observe tangibly how their lives were composed of segments of motion. Political and religious processions, occurring on various days throughout the year, moved between points in a city. Inhabitants of French cities could watch as the French monarch stopped outside a city gate to receive a welcome from municipal officials, while citizens of Padua would watch, or

6 Vitruvius, pp. 18-19, 155-157.

7 Alberti, p. 31.

8 Park, pp. 471-472; Panaccio, pp. 347-450.

9 Aristotle, *Physics*, pp. 39, 89-92; Jaynes, p. 219; Trifogli, pp. 268-272; Thijssen, p. 281.

even participate in, an Annunciation Day procession as it moved from the cathedral to the Palazzo della Ragione to the ancient Roman Arena amphitheatre.¹⁰ Audiences too would see participants appear and disappear around street or building corners. Inside houses, at a smaller scale, predictable social interactions relied on bounded motion; owners allowed guests to penetrate into their houses only so far depending on social status. Guests of English country houses, for instance, could range from wandering poor to gentle and noble families, but wandering poor turned left into the buttery immediately beyond the house entrance and penetrated no further, while elite guests often walked through a sequence of entertaining rooms.¹¹

Despite the seeming safety of such contained motion, there were reiterated warnings that movement nevertheless needed to be choreographed in order to assure a comprehensible, harmonious world. Human perception itself required this synchrony. While each moment of perception had a clear beginning and end, from a species being sent out to its reaching a destination inside the human body, one might not later be able to recall that moment of perception without choreographed mental movements. When the human mind remembered, Aristotle explained, one memory would trigger another memory with which it was frequently associated, but the triggered memory might not be what one sought.¹² Trying to recall the bark of a dog, one might instead remember where the dog stood to bark if one had called to mind more often one's memory of the dog's location. So that one could predictably find a memory such as the dog's bark, rhetorical theorists recommended that one imagine moving through an image or a landscape and storing memories at various points; one could re-imagine these movements to reconstruct one's memories in reliable sequences.¹³ At the larger scale of daily life, movements on city streets needed to be synchronized to ensure that pedestrians could walk in safety. When individuals inside houses dumped unwanted objects or liquids out of windows, they could injure pedestrians passing below – including burning pedestrians with scalding water. To avert such injuries, cities legislated that anyone inside a house had to warn anyone below before dumping so that pedestrians could stop walking; otherwise, the person dumping faced a potential court case and substantial compensation if the pedestrian sustained an injury.¹⁴ Until the sixteenth century, in both theory and lived experience, individuals designed and encountered segments of bounded motion and also choreographed that motion to assure the comprehensibility and even safety of their daily environments.

10 Murphy, pp. 24-61, 73-74, 223; Schwarz, pp. 39-44. For an overview of types of urban processions, see Jackson and Nevola.

11 Skelton, *Paradox of Body*, pp. 26-27.

12 Aristotle, *De sensu and De memoria*, pp. 111-113.

13 Yates; Draaisma, pp. 24-27, 39-41; Bolzoni, pp. 212-259; Carruthers, p. 179.

14 Jütte, pp. 132-138.

Continuous Choreographed Motion from the Sixteenth Century

During the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, the period under consideration in this volume, such segments of motion merged into more continuous and more physical processes of motion. Architectural authors newly advised their readers to adjust building design in order to assure comfortable and harmonious motion by users. The sixteenth-century French Philibert de l'Orme and the seventeenth-century Italian Vincenzo Scamozzi explained how to calibrate proportions of doors for easy movement through them. De l'Orme warned that doors should be tall enough so that one did not bang one's head, while Scamozzi averred that the main door of a house should be wide enough for two people to pass through together without bumping into each other.¹⁵ Even movement along staircases, which Alberti had broken into flights of seven or nine steps, was to be more continuous and comfortable. The sixteenth-century Italian Andrea Palladio specified flights of eleven to thirteen steps, advised that stairs should be broad enough to avoid people colliding, and also recommended that stair risers be low enough to minimize fatigue of one's legs.¹⁶ Half a century later, the seventeenth-century English Sir Henry Wotton reiterated Palladio's advice.¹⁷ Sustained motion through built spaces was even so accepted that it became a sporadic rhetoric for describing house plans. The sixteenth-century Italian Sebastiano Serlio as well as Andrea Palladio and the seventeenth-century German Joseph Furtttenbach scattered verbs of motion across their explanations of plans to evoke transitions between rooms; 'one comes' from one space into another, wrote Furtttenbach frequently.¹⁸

Across the following two centuries, motion became an ever more pervasive rhetoric for presenting both built and hypothetical spaces. Beginning in the early seventeenth century, authors wrote books devoted to single buildings; readers were led on a tour of a building to point out notable features and objects. Imagined motion too became a means of conveying civic or national identity, as authors later in the century started to publish books offering views of cities and key national sites that suggested a curious tourist – from Giovanni Battista Falda's street-level views of Rome to the bird's-eye views of *Britannia illustrata* (Figure 3).¹⁹ In the wake

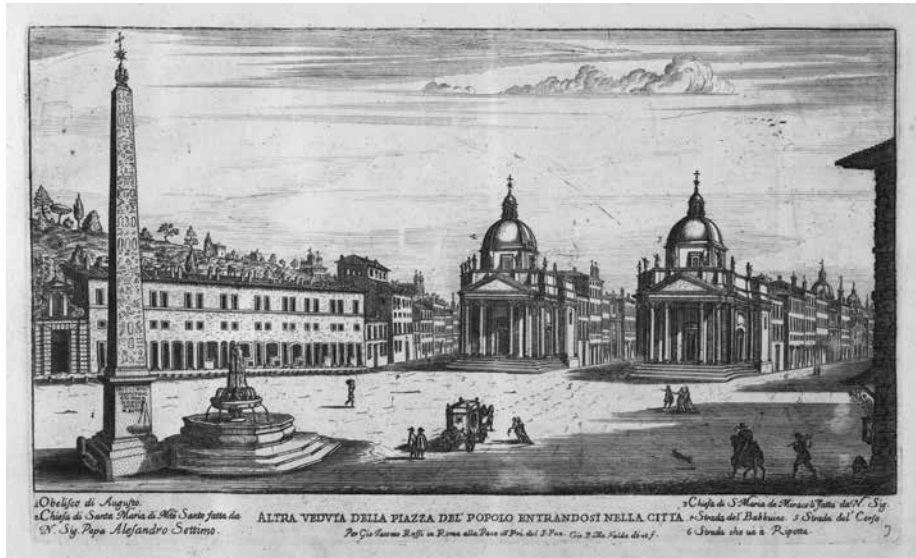
15 L'Orme, p. 248v; Scamozzi, vol. 1, p. 319. For a similar concern over people not colliding as they moved through a house interior, see Serlio, vol. 2, pp. 256, 374.

16 Palladio, p. 66.

17 Wotton, pp. 57–58.

18 'kompt man'; see, for instance, Furtttenbach, *Architectura civilis*, pp. 4, 53, 55, 64, 66; Furtttenbach, *Architectura privata*, pp. 16, 17, 19. Examples from Serlio and Palladio include: Serlio, vol. 2, pp. 170–228, 282–342, 352–384; Palladio, pp. 84–88, 100–106, 119, 142, 150.

19 Falda; Kip and Knyff; Arnold, pp. 31–33; Clayton; Skelton, *Paradox of Body*, pp. 103–108. As an early example of a guidebook, see Torrigio.



3. Giovanni Battista Falda, Piazza del Popolo, from *Il nuovo teatro delle fabriche, et edifici, in prospettiva di Roma moderna, sotto il felice pontificato di N. S. Papa Alessandro VII*, vol. 1, 1665. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 433833.

of these guidebooks, not only Paul Decker but also subsequent eighteenth-century architects transformed building advice into guided tours. Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières led readers through the main entertaining spaces of a French house, and Claude-Nicolas Ledoux explained his town of Chaux and its site by narrating his own sensory experiences and emotional responses on an imagined visit – for instance, noting his fear inspired by the salt mines.²⁰

In daily life, individuals experienced how built spaces choreographed their movements and corresponding behaviour. Wealthy guests entering the entertaining rooms of elite houses increasingly encountered vistas through doors and windows that invited physical motion of one's body across the interior and imagined motion of one's eye to the horizon. Such seemingly limitless expanses could hold, and so focus, the attention of guests to keep them concentrated on interactions with each other instead of wandering physically or mentally into adjoining spaces. Pioneered in Giuliano da Sangallo's fifteenth-century Poggio a Caiano, these long views became popular in sixteenth-century Italian villas and then in the houses of chillier northern Europe during the seventeenth century.²¹ Architects also designed new types of spaces to guide the movements of users. In the reading rooms of libraries,

20 Le Camus de Mézières, pp. 109–136; Ledoux, pp. 43–82.

21 Middleton; Skelton, *Paradox of Body*.

for instance, bookshelves had once projected perpendicularly from walls to create secluded niches for study, but, during the seventeenth century, these shelves began to line library walls to offer open spaces where movements of readers could be watched to assure correct behaviour.²²

Architects, patrons, and users designed, discussed, and experienced these environments of choreographed motion in a world where continuous motion was increasingly pervasive from the largest scale of the entire universe to the smallest scale of daily objects. Following Nicolaus Copernicus's *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium libri sex* of 1543, well-educated readers knew that the very ground on which they stood was perpetually moving; the Earth was not motionless, as philosophers since antiquity had asserted, but instead orbited around the sun according to specific laws of motion.²³ These laws of motion, subsequent scientists from Galileo to Newton argued, governed even objects of daily life so that the entire world followed the same patterns of motion.²⁴ There was even motion at invisibly small scales, for Robert Hooke and other late seventeenth-century scientists newly explained how atoms vibrated at regular rates inside objects to produce the dimensions with which humans were familiar.²⁵ Alongside these expanded scientific discussions of motion, individuals had repeated evidence of intensified global circulation of information and goods. Books described colonial explorations to reveal formerly unknown plants, animals, and indigenous populations.²⁶ In addition, new products appeared from these colonial territories as well as from Asia, including tobacco, cotton textiles, tea, and coffee. During the sixteenth century, these products were available primarily to elite consumers, but by the seventeenth century, cheaper prices assured accessibility to a wide group of purchasers.²⁷

At the same time, human perception became itself described more in terms of continuous physical processes. From the sixteenth century, the well-established species theory of perception stood alongside growing familiarity with Aristotle's argument that perception was grounded in sensory vibrations.²⁸ *De anima*, where Aristotle set out his theory, became required reading for most university undergraduates during the sixteenth century, and at least seven new translations appeared – three times as many as in the previous century.²⁹ According to Aristotle,

22 Skelton, 'Malleable Early Modern Reader'; see also the essay by James Campbell in this volume.

23 Copernicus; Shapin, pp. 20–30.

24 Galilei; Newton; Shapin, pp. 15–19, 61–64; Westfall, pp. 3–24, 139–159.

25 Hooke, pp. 7–9; Kargon.

26 Fuller; Armstrong; Hamann, pp. 20–24.

27 Vries, pp. 712–715, 722.

28 On the continuing importance of species theory until the early seventeenth century, see Park, p. 481; Black, p. 345. On the rising sixteenth-century interest in Aristotle, see Vasoli, pp. 69–70.

29 Copenhagen, pp. 79–80; Park and Kessler, pp. 456, 458.

humans perceived objects and events because particles in air or another medium produced vibrations in the corresponding sense organ; one heard, for instance, when objects collided to agitate particles that then changed the movements of particles in one's ears.³⁰ Sixteenth-century commentators on *De anima* even intensified Aristotle's emphasis on physical motion by adding details of anatomical processes to their commentaries.³¹ Across the seventeenth century, René Descartes and other mechanistic philosophers extended Aristotle's theory throughout the entire human body; particle vibrations produced in a sense organ travelled via the nerves to the human brain, which was then pulled towards the object or event that had caused the vibrations.³² By the turn of the eighteenth century, philosophers were discussing how motion was innate to the human mind and so how synchronized motion was essential to comprehending the world. John Locke and then others averred that humans could perceive only events or objects that moved at the same speed as the sequence of thoughts perpetually coursing through their minds. If an event occurred too quickly, one would not notice it, and if it occurred too slowly, one might observe the first part of the event but have turned to new thoughts and observations by the time that the event had concluded.³³

As the human body and the world became thus conceived so wholly in terms of motion, authors across discourses increasingly considered choreographed movements the most reliable means of assuring a predictable and even physically safe environment. Before mechanistic theories of perception, philosophers and authors of etiquette manuals had assumed that individuals would use reason to rein in their emotions. The senses might spark specific emotions, but humans could reflect on different possible actions and then decide how to respond to an event.³⁴ Descartes and other mechanistic philosophers, however, transformed emotional response into biological processes that humans could not interrupt. The same sensory and neural vibrations that conveyed information to the brain also sparked one emotion or another, Descartes argued, by sending spirits in the brain through specific sequences of pores.³⁵ Consequently, the only way to assure that social interactions did not dissolve into chaotic unpredictability as individuals reacted impulsively to their emotions was to choreograph the movements of these spirits in the brain.³⁶

30 Aristotle, *De anima*, pp. 169-178.

31 Park, pp. 481-482.

32 Descartes, *Treatise of Man*, pp. 33-34, 59-65; Descartes, 'Optics', pp. 67-68, 87-91. For discussion by subsequent philosophers, see Locke, p. 47; Fournier, p. 114.

33 Locke, pp. 84-86; Thiel, p. 301.

34 Wright; Skelton, *Paradox of Body*, pp. 34-35.

35 Descartes, *Passions*, pp. 40, 44, 50; James, pp. 1358-1396. For a similar, slightly later account, see Tesauro, pp. 528-529, 535-536.

36 Tully, pp. 23, 55; James, pp. 1379-1380.

Descartes explained that one could accustom the spirits in one's brain to moving through a particular sequence of pores in response to an object by associating that object repeatedly with other activities producing the desired emotion.³⁷ For instance, repeatedly experiencing a dinner food in the context of happy gatherings would ensure that spirits in one's brain would move through the pores prompting happiness; one would then feel happy whenever one saw that food.

During the eighteenth century, choreographed motion became the primary means of avoiding disease. Since antiquity, physicians had ascribed disease to local environmental factors – especially miasmas that would arise from marshes or from cadavers and that would then enter one's body via respiration or the winds passing through a city.³⁸ As a result, there were sustained attempts to manipulate human motion in order to preserve health primarily in extreme cases such as outbreaks of plague. To prevent ongoing spread of a plague, cities legislated to restrict the movement of residents, including stipulating that inhabitants of a house where an individual had fallen ill could not open their house door and could receive necessary food only through the narrower opening of a window.³⁹ Eighteenth-century doctors, however, argued that the cause of any disease – even the common influenza – was unrestrained motion rather than localized factors; they explained that the small particles of germs passed from an ill individual to a healthy individual so that the healthy individual too fell ill. Simply to maintain one's health on a daily basis, then, regulation of motion was important; if one were to stay healthy, one needed to consider consistently movements of other people even beyond a specific city.⁴⁰ From the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, individuals across Europe were designing, experiencing, and learning about designed spaces via choreographed motion as controlled motion more broadly – from their own bodies to the universe itself – became the foundation of a predictable and even safe environment.

Early Modern Motion in Historiographical Perspective

By exploring such sixteenth- through eighteenth-century intersections of architectural, scientific, philosophical, and social choreography of motion, *Early Modern Spaces in Motion* highlights and examines the often tacit yet widespread scholarly acknowledgment of intensifying early modern connections among buildings, bodies and motion.

37 Descartes, *Passions*, pp. 47-49.

38 DeLacy, pp. 81-83; Jouanna, pp. 126-128.

39 Slack, pp. 441-443.

40 DeLacy, p. 84.

A few studies have discussed, as does *Early Modern Spaces in Motion*, the cultural historical assumptions underpinning these connections. Robin Evans's 'Figures, Doors, Passages' essay sets planning of circulation through the domestic interior in the context of notions of privacy and physical intimacy.⁴¹ My own *Paradox of Body, Building and Motion in Seventeenth-Century England* considers the long vista and its invitation to physical and imagined motion in English houses alongside contemporaneous social, philosophical, and scientific regrounding of human experience in motion.⁴²

More frequently, however, the intensifying early modern emphasis on buildings and bodies in motion appears tacitly and separately in art, architectural, and cultural history. Across their studies, historians have evoked the two aspects of motion key to *Early Modern Spaces in Motion*: bodies in motion and movement of the environment itself. The art historian Michael Baxandall, for instance, has evoked the increasing emphasis on a viewer's moving body by shifting his terms for describing the viewer. He used the notion of the 'period eye', which evoked a motionless viewer looking at an object, for fifteenth-century Italy and fifteenth- as well as early sixteenth-century Germany.⁴³ To describe the experience of Giambattista Tiepolo's eighteenth-century frescoes, in contrast, Baxandall and Svetlana Alpers turned to the phrase 'mobile viewer'.⁴⁴ David Ganz and Stefan Neuner have made explicit the historical basis for Baxandall's shift in terminology, noting a new emphasis on motion in sixteenth-century art and architectural writings as they surveyed mobile viewing from medieval to early modern Europe.⁴⁵ Architectural historians likewise have put viewers more in motion when they study buildings designed after, rather than before, the seventeenth century. The hypothetical viewer of Marvin Trachtenberg's fourteenth-century Florentine piazza, for instance, walks through the city but stops to observe the piazza from its entrance, while the users of the seventeenth-century state apartments and Roman palaces explored by Hugh Murray Baillie and Patricia Waddy walk through sequences of interior rooms.⁴⁶ Sociologists and cultural historians, in their turn, have examined how choreographing human gestures was increasingly key to regulating early modern behaviour. Michel Foucault traced his theory of the 'docile body', the notion that humans can be trained to move in specific sequences of actions, to the seventeenth

41 Evans.

42 Skelton, *Paradox of Body*.

43 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, pp. 29-108; Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors*, pp. 143-163.

44 Alpers and Baxandall.

45 Ganz and Neuner, pp. 14-15.

46 Trachtenberg, p. 20; Baillie; Waddy. For a similar pre-sixteenth-century study of staccato motion through built spaces, see Georges Didi-Huberman's discussion of approaching Fra Angelico's fifteenth-century *Annunciation* fresco at the Florentine S. Marco. Didi-Huberman, pp. 11-26. For similar seventeenth- and eighteenth-century studies, see Girouard, pp. 194-212; Upton, pp. 199-218.

century.⁴⁷ Subsequently, cultural historians have expanded the 'docile body' to encompass the sixteenth century and to explore a range of behaviour patterns, including theatrical performances.⁴⁸

Less frequently, though in a wide range of contexts from stylistic to economic analysis, scholars have put the environment itself in motion. The very term of the 'Baroque' has long presumed an environment in motion. The nineteenth-century Heinrich Wölfflin defined the 'Baroque' as characterized by imperfection evocative of change and incipient motion, in contrast to perfect Renaissance permanence. And the philosopher Gilles Deleuze has since defined the 'Baroque' as a perpetual process of folding and unfolding.⁴⁹ More recently, art and cultural historians have examined how the literal motion of objects circulating through international trading routes can be used to frame political and artistic identities – from the Spanish Philip IV to the American artist John Singleton Copley.⁵⁰

Early Modern Spaces in Motion merges these various disciplinary approaches to considering mobile bodies and mobile environments by reconstructing a cultural historical portrait of the assumptions underlying the rising links among bodies, buildings, and motion. The volume begins in the early sixteenth century to reveal the roots of changes that became especially marked by the seventeenth century, and it extends throughout Europe (Britain, France, German-speaking lands, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands) to evoke shared international attitudes towards motion as well as regional variations. In addition, the essays gathered here consider motion in a range of contexts: across disciplines from art and architectural history to Classics and English, across building types encompassing houses, prisons, religious complexes, and libraries, and across printed sources including guidebooks and magazines.

The first seven essays offer case studies that set the roles of motion in shaping behaviour, attitudes, or identities alongside contemporaneous assumptions about motion in other discourses. Chriscinda Henry considers first how palace decoration at the early sixteenth-century Castello del Buonconsiglio created a route to guide visitors through shifting types of behaviour across interior and exterior entertaining spaces. Nicole Bensoussan then examines how such choreographed courtly motion and behaviour became the means of fashioning political identity and diplomatic negotiation from the very threshold of Francis I's sixteenth-century Fontainebleau. In the third essay, Gašper Jakovac argues that choreographed motion also provided social defence as late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Catholic families

47 Foucault, pp. 135-169.

48 Roodenburg; Ravelhofer.

49 Wölfflin, pp. 38, 58; Deleuze; Hills, esp. pp. 11-38, 203-217.

50 Roberts; Hamann.

in England manipulated motion to defend their homes and themselves against the violent movements of house searches. My essay then considers how choreographed motion became even a means of social reform from the mid-seventeenth century; I examine Roman prison design that manipulated physical and sensory motions of juvenile delinquents, culminating in Carlo Fontana's early eighteenth-century Casa di Correzione. Freek Schmidt explores how this connection of choreographed motion and social behaviour was so accepted by the mid-eighteenth century that rooms devoted entirely to processional staircases were inserted into Amsterdam canal houses. The essays of Edmund Thomas and Jocelyn Anderson turn to larger-scale international motions across the eighteenth century as motion became ever more established and desirable. Edmund Thomas reveals that imagined motion – virtual tours offered by printed French guidebooks – offered a rhetorical technique for conveying information about a little known and far distant site, the ancient Roman complex at Baalbek. Discussing tours of London in the late eighteenth-century *Royal Magazine*, Jocelyn Anderson transfers the tour to a new medium – the magazine – and correspondingly showcases how this rhetorical technique of imagined motion could strategically craft, even recast, civic identity for a broad socioeconomic and global audience.

As the concluding chapter of this volume, James Campbell's study of libraries turns to broader chronological, geographical, and thematic frameworks that tie together the various strands of inquiry from the seven case studies. Campbell examines libraries across the fifteenth- to eighteenth-centuries, across Europe from Portugal to German-speaking lands, and across the themes of people moving through buildings and buildings themselves being in motion. Together, these eight essays thus chart the shifting attitudes and techniques by which motion became an increasingly established means for constructing, describing, experiencing, and regulating the social and physical environment from the early sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries.

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Kimberley Skelton is an independent scholar and has held research and teaching posts in the UK and the US. Her research explores intersections of architectural, intellectual, and cultural history, especially involving notions of sensory perception. She has recently published *The Paradox of Body, Building and Motion in Seventeenth-Century England*.



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