



**FONTES**  **Quellen und Dokumente zur Kunst 1350-1750**  
Sources and Documents for the History of Art 1350-1750

**HENRY WOTTON,**

*The Elements of Architecture,*

London: John Bill, 1624

edited by

**CHARLES DAVIS**

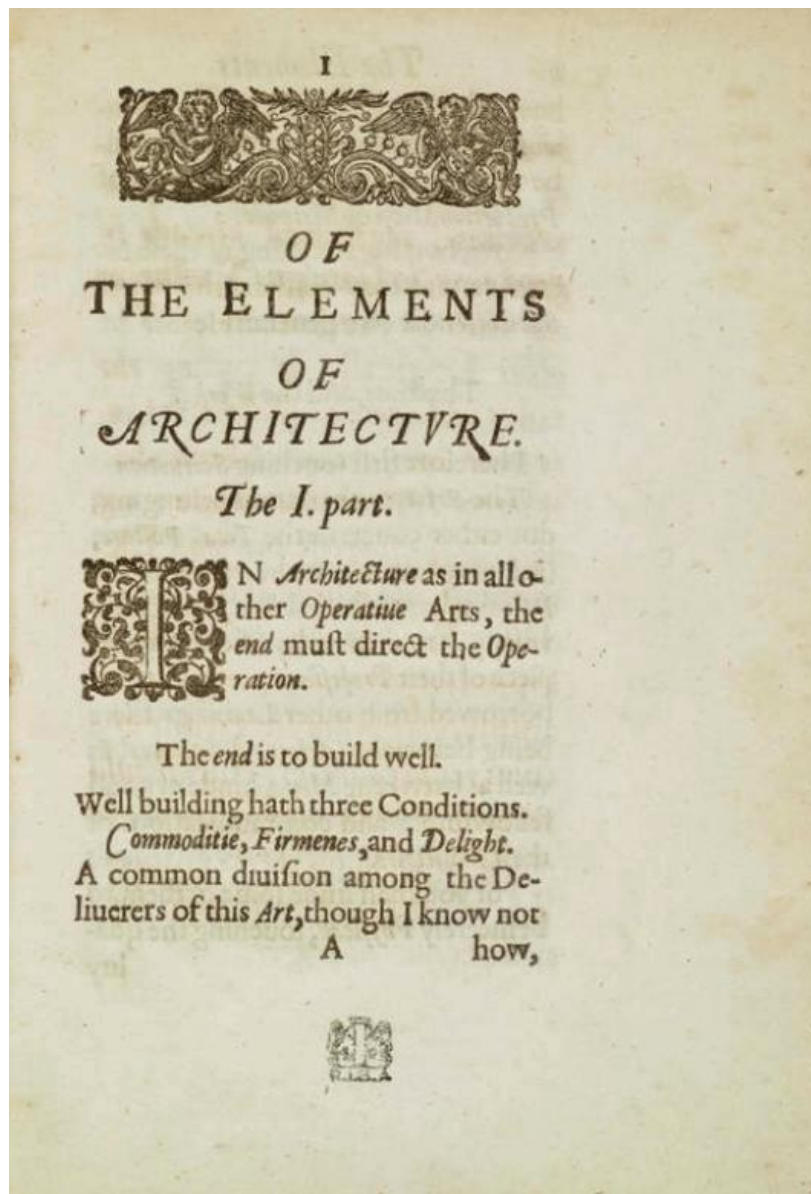
with an anthology of critical commentary

PART ONE

FONTES 68

[8.10.2012]

Zitierfähige URL: <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2012/1870/>  
urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-artdok-18707



First page of the *Elements of Architecture*, 1624  
(following the preface; fol. A 1 recto)

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*Portrait of Henry Wotton*  
National Portrait Gallery, London

## INTRODUCTION

It has often been said that Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* was the first significant British contribution to architectural theory, the first book devoted to this topic written in English and published in England. Nevertheless it was preceded by treatises on measuring (Diggs, 1556 ff.; Bedwell, 1614; Gedde, 1615), by translations of Lomazzo, Blum, and Serlio (1598, 1601, 1611), by two works by Andrew Boorde devoted, in whole or in part, to how a man should build his house (1542, 1550), and, most significantly, by John Shute's *First and Chief Grounds of Architecture* (1563), which was undoubtedly the first English book specifically about architecture. Urban concepts had been expounded in Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), and Wotton was followed almost immediately with an essay "On Building", in the 1625 edition of the *Essays* of Sir Francis Bacon, where Bacon appeared in the unfamiliar rôle of an architectural critic espousing a proto-functionalist position, not without similarities to Wotton (*FONTES* 16; cf. 18). These works anticipated similar ones by Balthazar Gerbier of 1662 and 1663 (*FONTES* 7 and 8). The format of Shute's slender folio volume and its illustrations testify to an intention to join the Italian tradition of architectural treatises. Shute's treatment of the five classical orders, illustrated after Serlio with variations of his own, follows a general essay on architecture. While Shute's work derives to a considerable extent from Vitruvius and Serlio, he writes that he is including his observations and measurements of ancient buildings made in Italy. In the dedication of his book Shute claims he was sent to Italy in 1550 by John Dudley, the first Duke of Northumberland, "to confer with the doings of skilled masters in architecture, and also to view such ancient monuments of architecture as are still extant." For each order he set down a central diagram of the parts and the measurements, flanked on one side by a detailed depiction of a pedestal, column and entablature, and on the other side by an order with an appropriate caryatid or atlas replacing the column shaft. Not a general theory of architecture, Shute's book is simply a handbook of the forms and nomenclature of the five classical column orders, comparable to numerous North European *Säulenbücher*. In contrast, when, six decades later, Henry Wotton came to write his *Elements of Architecture*, apparently in 1624, he had spent many, many years in residence in Italy, and he possessed an intimate familiarity with the Italian tradition of writing on architecture.

In 1570 there was printed at London the first English translation of Euclid's *Elements*, made by Henry Billingsley and bearing the title *The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara* (sic). The translation was preceded by a nearly fifty-page 'mathematical' preface by the famed mathematician, astronomer, navigator, and occultist, John Dee, who brought together the worlds of science and magic: "a very fruitful preface, specifying the chief mathematical sciences, what they are, and whereunto commodius," among them 'Geographie', 'Chorographie', 'Perspective', 'Astronomie', and 'Musike', the less familiar 'Hydrographie', 'Anthropographie', 'Helicosophie', 'Meandrie', and 'Zographie', and, near the end, the science of 'Architecture', amply treated in nearly four pages (fol. d iij-d iiij). Following Vitruvius and Alberti, Dee treats architecture as an intellectual profession and stresses the divide between the architect and the builder. Wotton's choice of title almost certainly reflects the title given to Euclid's work, and he follows Vitruvius and Dee in viewing architecture as a science "garnished with many doctrines and diverse instructions." At this juncture, it might also be noted that near the end of the *Elements of Architecture*, Wotton observes, "Now as almost all those, which have delivered the *Elements of Logicke*, doe usually conclude, with a Chapter touching *Method*", and in the same year of Wotton's book, 1624, there was published in London *The Elements of Logick*, a translation of a work by Peter Du Moulin (*Elementa logica*) by Nathaniel De Lawne.

And, while Wotton's treatise is perhaps not a general theory of architecture in its entirety, the author does propose an orderly, systematic, and comprehensive consideration of architecture and its precepts, and he considers the fundamental means and ends of building. Although Wotton's more restricted topic is the house, he does not mention the 'country house' as such. He speaks instead abstractly of the *Fabrique* (Italian: *Fabbrica*), or building, and not of homes or houses that are lived in, although this idea lies behind many of his observations. Only at the beginning of Part II does the concept of the deep identification of habitation and inhabitant come to the fore as Wotton writes of: "Every man's proper mansion house and home, being the theatre of his hospitality, the seat of self-fruition, the most comfortable part of his own life, the noblest of his son's inheritance, a kind of private principedom; nay, to the possessor's thereof, an epitomie of the whole world (...)."

And, if Wotton's treatise is derivative, it is cast in his own distinct form, language, and style, and it consistently maintains a distinct tone and independence of thought and expression which owe little or nothing to earlier architectural writing. His originality of expression and thought give Wotton an established position in the British tradition of architectural writing. And indeed his treatise extends beyond architecture considered merely as building to embrace both painting and sculpture, especially as regards the furnishings of the house – its ornaments –, as well as the grounds, which are also treated in unusual detail and at length. Under "Garden *Ornaments*", Wotton treats not only of gardens, but also of fountains, groves of trees, and "Conservatories of rare *Beasts, Birds, and Fishes*", and even of *Crypteria*, which were deep concaves in gardens "where the stars might be observed even at noon." Many of Wotton's themes in Part II had received only scarce consideration by most earlier writers. Wotton's conception of the ornaments of architecture embraces the furnishings (*Ausstattung*) inside and outside the edifice in the broadest sense, from interior décor to landscaping infrastructure.

Although the *Elements of Architecture* is much more than merely an anthology of what the author has read about architecture and the buildings he has seen in Italy, he comes close to describing it as that, when he announces, on the title page, the *Elements* as "collected by Henry Wotton Knight from the best Authors and Examples." Among these "best Authors" Wotton assigns the first place to Vitruvius ("the Master") and to Leon Battista Alberti ("the first learned Architect"), while mentioning a number of other authors, as, for example, Palladio, Ruvius, de l'Orme, Barbaro, Vignola, and Baldi. It might be remarked that Wotton's treatise also bears some resemblance to the treatise on architecture by Alvise Cornaro, not only in terms of the professional status of the author, not an architect, but a layman-expert on architecture, but also owing to its intended audience of laymen, its focus on the theme of domestic architecture, its often practical bent, and its emphasis on function and usefulness. Both treatises rely, first of all, on Vitruvius and Alberti.

While Cornaro's treatise remained unpublished until the twentieth century, manuscripts existed in Padua and perhaps in Venice as well, and the well-travelled Wotton possibly knew it. Cornaro and Wotton cite some of the same buildings, among them the rarely mentioned Santa Giustina in Padua, and a few topics and unusual positions are similar. By the same token, there are also notable divergences. Albertian positions regarding proportions find no echo in Cornaro, while they constitute the basis of beauty in Wotton's text; and Part II of Wotton's treatise is devoted explicitly to an extensive treatment of the ornaments of architecture, which – with the exception of the classical orders – play only a minor rôle in earlier architectural texts.

In an example of the *Elements* now in the British Museum, Wotton wrote a dedication to Charles, Prince of Wales (C. 45, c. 6, holograph on fly-sheet: 1624, probably in April):

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I fear I shall much surprise your Highness with a pamphlet of this subject under my poor name, which I undertook since my return, for some diversion of my mind from my infirmity, which I was troubled with, a miserable stopping in my breast, and defluxion from my head.

It was printed sheet by sheet, as fast as it was born, and it was born as soon as it was conceived; so as it must needs have the imperfections and deformities of an immature birth, besides the weakness of the parent. And therefore I durst not allow it so much favour, even from myself, as to think it worthy of any dedication; yet as I have presented the first copy thereof to the King, so is the second due to your Highness. And the rather, because you have taken a view of foreign structure, and have made yourself, besides your civil observations, a good judge of arts. But that which particularly doth make me bold to entertain you therewith, is that I have noted in your gracious eyes some favourable aspect towards me, whereby I stand in hope from your Highness of the more indulgent censure of my little pains. And so I rest,

Your Highness his true and devoted servant,  
HENRY WOTTON

(Logan Pearsall Smith, II, pp. 284-285)

At the time of the publication of the *Elements*, Wotton presented himself as an expert in matters architectural, or had gained repute as such. In a letter of this year, addressed to Sir Albert Morton, then in the employ of the Duke of Buckingham, Wotton forwards a letter to Buckingham and includes plans of the Farnese villa at Caprarola for the Duke:

“You see that in the postscript to the Duke, I mention the design of Caprarola, which I have left out of his letter, that you may not come unto him with empty hands.”

In the postscript, Wotton writes:

“Upon the design you must play the mountebank. And tell the Duke, that the one paper containeth the plant or ground-lines, the other, the reared work, in perspective with all the dimensions so exactly, as if it please him, he may easily have a model made thereof in pasteboard.” (Logan Pearsall Smith, II, pp. 286-287)

Among the many recorded statements attributed to Wotton is the following one:

“Errors like rivers, the further they run, the more they increase.” (Logan Pearsall Smith, II, p. 494)

*The Elements of Architecture* is the only book by Wotton published in his lifetime, and nearly the only work. Estimates of its significance as a contribution to architectural thought vary from ‘slight’ (Summerson, 1983) to ‘highly important’. Sidney Lee writes of “his short and jejune tract on architecture”. How central architecture was to Wotton’s thought and intellectual pursuits remains an open question, but his interests in art and architecture seem to

have been deeper than is sometimes maintained. The self-professed lack of originality of the text (presented as largely borrowed from Vitruvius and Alberti) is in part an off-hand literary pose, assumed by the gallant author, who professes to have assembled the work with breakneck speed, although years of preparation seem to lie behind it. Nevertheless, the author's protestations do seem to contain an element of truth. The impact of Wotton's little book is sometimes held to have been negligible, but it has seen a number of editions and was translated fairly early into Latin and Spanish. Annotations by the great English architect Christopher Wren, or, perhaps, by his father, are found in a surviving example of Wotton's work (published by Laurence Weaver, *Sir Christopher Wren*, London 1923, pp. 139-142).

In the last analysis, one should not lose sight of the title page of the *Elements of Architecture*, where is clearly stated that the book was "Collected by Henry Wotton Knight, from the best Authors and Examples." With the word 'examples' Wotton intends to indicate buildings he has seen or knew about, although the leading rôle is played by the "authors." With his title Wotton identifies himself not as an author, but as a "collector" or compiler, and this identification is confirmed by the impression gained from his many, many explicit references to authorities ("the best authors"). It is noteworthy that for each topic addressed, Wotton relies mainly on a single authority. Most often he does not attempt to synthesize or draw a balance among the several authorities relevant to a specific question. Instead he selects, aiming at brevity. He establishes the framework or structure of his discourse and casts the entire topic so as to include the fitting out of the house and grounds with appropriate furnishings and décor in a way that earlier writers had not attempted. But beyond this there is perhaps not great originality, except in the literary and personal expression of the compiler and in the qualities of his judgement. The basis for the *Elements* may lie in a commonplace book kept by Wotton where he collected and recorded material relevant to the book's topic. The commonplace tradition in which Wotton and his contemporaries were educated was based in the precepts of classical rhetoric. In concluding his *Elements*, Wotton promises a second work which he is preparing – "another Work, which I have long devoted to the service of my *Country*". It was to be namely a "*Philosophical Survey of Education*", based, as Wotton affirms, upon "such Notes as I have taken in my foreign transursions or abodes", that is upon his reading while in the service of his country abroad. He claims, further, that he has published the *Elements* first, in order to test what reception this subsequent work might receive, identifying the *Elements* as "gleanings", that which he has gathered labouriously, bit by bit, as reapers gather grain: "In the meanwhile I have let these other *Gleanings* [= *The Elements*] fly abroad, like the Bird out of the *Ark*, to discover what footing may be, for that which shall follow." When, in this context, Wotton writes of "a second *Building*, or repairing of Nature, and, as I may tearme it, a kind of *Morall Architecture*", he is not promising a second architectural treatise about the ethics of architecture, as some writers have maintained, but simply likening "Education" to a process of moral formation, as in the rebuilding of the imperfect character of the youths whom he hopes may be entrusted to his care.

Although the *Elements* is rarely considered as anything more than an architectural treatise, in his discussion, in Part II, of painting and sculpture, Wotton formulates *in nuce*, before turning to their employment in the 'decoration' of house and grounds, almost self-contained miniature treatises about the arts of painting and sculpture, deftly weaving them into his text and treating the nature and essence of the two arts and their critical evaluation.

His consideration of landscaping is also notable. Moreover, Wotton's view of Italian art and practice is not one of slavish admiration. It often embodies an element of critical distance, that of an Englishman aware of the specific conditions of building in England. His book is to no small extent a book about Italy, reflecting reactions to Italian art and architecture. Thereby



he introduces to England a very considerable body of thought – Italian and Italianate, as well as the traditions of ancient Greece and Rome – expounded with a new sophistication, intelligence, and understanding rarely found in earlier English writers about art. One might wish to describe all this in the terms of “culture transfer”, but this scarcely adds anything to what has already been said. In any event, Wotton’s contribution to English writing about art is not restricted to architecture alone.

PART ONE of FONTES 68 presents a full text version of Wotton’s *Elements* which conforms very closely to the text of the first edition of 1624, together with an anthology of critical commentaries to the work. PART TWO will present a modernized text, together with fuller commentary and analysis.

## A CRITICAL ANTHOLOGY OF COMMENTARY TO WOTTON'S *ELEMENTS*

The anthology of commentaries to Wotton's *Elements* collects a variety of brief texts that present, often in an abridged form, Wotton's book from diverse points of view and which also offer quite divergent and even contradictory estimations of it. The texts begin with one written by Wotton's principal biographer, Logan Pearsall Smith (1907), and continue with others drawn from general reference works and broad treatments of the history of architectural theory (Dobai; Kruft; Evers-Thoenes). Other texts offer more individual perspectives (Rykwert, Burns, Mowl and Earnshaw, Capon). Together the texts represent a choral response to Wotton in which the voices do not sing in unison. This diversity of response provides one indication of the interest that Wotton's book holds for further investigation and analysis.

LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, in Two Volumes, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907, vol. 1, pp. 194-199:

[1624] (...) it will be necessary to say a few words about the book which Wotton was writing, and which appeared in April of this year. Save for the letter to [Marcus] Welser about [Gaspar] Scioppius, this book, *The Elements of Architecture*, was Wotton's first publication. It is a little treatise hurriedly put together, printed as fast as it was written, and modestly offered to the world with a witty preface, in which Wotton apologized for writing on this subject, and confessed that 'he was but a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff at his best value.' The *Elements of Architecture* is, nevertheless, the best written and most interesting of Wotton's works, and deserves more notice than it has received (...). The title suggests an essay on the whole field of architecture; the subject, however, is considerably narrower, being the building of a country house, with directions as to site, materials, gardens, and decorations.

It is of interest, not only as the first book on the subject in the English language, but as an exposition of the taste of the most accomplished connoisseur of the time – a time when there was in England a truer love of beauty, and a juster appreciation of art, than there had been before, or indeed, than there has ever been since (...).

(...)

It is in this little book of Wotton's that the ideals and standards then current among travelled and cultivated Englishmen can best be studied. The standards were those of the late Renaissance in Italy, where, under the influence of Palladio, and the revived interest in Vitruvius, architects had attained to a certain maturity and simplification of taste, and a noble and pure conception of form and proportion. All the buildings which, either in this book or in his letters, Wotton singles out for admiration are the works of architects of the later period – Palladio, Vignola, Ammannati – and his descriptions of the great halls of his ideal palace shine with the marble colonnades and luminous spaces of Paolo Veronese's splendid pictures. Of the works of the earlier Renaissance there is no mention; and he shows, as might be expected, no toleration for Gothic architecture (...).

In his essay on *Building* (first published in 1625), Wotton's friend and somewhat older contemporary, Francis Bacon, wrote of architecture, though in a more cursory manner, and also described an ideal country house. Wotton's book, when compared with Bacon's essay, shows evidence of a severer taste, and of a much more serious conception of the importance

and principles of architecture. Bacon begins by saying that ‘Houses are built to live in, and not to look on’, and he makes comfort rather than uniformity the main object of the builder. His imaginary house is a large and stately mansion with courts and towers, in the later Elizabethan or early Jacobean style, but with no conscious thought as to style or proportion. But to Wotton beauty of proportion was the first object, it being the duty of the architect ‘to make the form, which is the noblest part, as it were triumph over the matter’, and his ‘castle in the air’ is a noble and severe palace, like those seen in Italy, or such as Inigo Jones, had the chance been given him, might have been built in England.

(...)

Wotton’s book is of interest, both as an exposition of the taste of a particular epoch, and because it shows that he had arrived at a curiously just appreciation of the general principles of aesthetics, much in advance of his age. It would be hard to find in subsequent writers a better description of true beauty in architecture than in some of his phrases, as when he defines Vitruvius’s term ‘Eurythmia’ as ‘that agreeable harmony between the breadth, length, and height of all the rooms of the fabric, which suddenly, where it is, taketh every beholder by the secret power of proportion’, or speaks of ‘the graceful and harmonious contentment to the eye’ produced by rightly proportioned doors and windows. Remarkable, too, is his description of Palladio’s ante-porch of brick columns in the cloister of S. Carità in Venice, (now the *Accademia*), and of Riccio’s noble church of S. Giustina at Padua, where the materials being of ordinary stone, unadorned by sculpture, ‘do yet ravish the beholder (and he knows not how) by a secret harmony in the proportions.’ Nor is he content with the description of aesthetic effects. He makes more than one interesting and suggestive attempt to discover the laws of ‘this magnificent art’, to dive in his phrase ‘into causes, and into the mysteries of proportion’ whose magical result he so well describes. He is in particular much occupied by the relation between nature and art. Nature was the ‘simplest mother of art’, and yet he was aware that the artist was by no means a mere imitator of nature. In describing to Bacon the *camera obscura* which Kepler had shown him in 1620, he had remarked that to paint landscapes by this process ‘were illiberal; though surely no painter can do them so precisely.’ And in the second part of his book, where he treats of painting and sculpture, he states as a problem worthy of philosophical examination, ‘how an artificer, whose end is the imitation of nature, can be too natural.’

This effect of too much truth in representation, which Quintilian had ascribed to the works of Demetrius, was, Wotton wrote, ‘either the fault, or (to speak more gently) the too much perfection of Albert Dürer, and perhaps also of Michael Angelo da Buonarroti.’ This collocation of names is curious, but Wotton explains it by quoting with approval the criticism of an ‘ingenious artisan’, ‘that the German did too much express that which was, and the Italian that which should be. Which severe observation of nature,’ he adds, ‘by the one in her commonest, and by the other in her absolutest forms, must needs produce in both a kind of rigidity, and consequently more naturalness than gracefulness.’ It is plain from this sentence that he meant by ‘nature’ both visual appearance and ideal forms; and that in his opinion too much truth to either of these was a fault in art, and resulted in a loss of beauty.

Of this modern and interesting quality were Wotton’s speculations on the nature of beauty; and if, as is often the case, he succeeded better in stating, than in solving the aesthetic problem, the mere fact of stating it is of considerable importance; and he deserves credit moreover for having put it in aesthetic, and not in ethical or historical terms. The problem of beauty in art, and especially in architecture, has, since his time, been strangely identified with questions of personal conduct; and we can dimly imagine our ambassador’s amazement at finding the noble and stately Palladian architecture he had loved in Venice, displayed to the world as a horrid product of the moral decay of that Republic (...).

The curious reader will find much to interest him in what Wotton says about sculpture and gardens, as well as painting and architecture, and will find nowhere else so much information about the taste and ideals of beauty of this remarkable period.

Wotton ends by stating that he did not wish it to be thought that he had spent his ‘poor observation abroad about nothing but stone and timber, and such rubbish’; he therefore announced that he had another work in preparation, a philosophical survey of education, which he called a kind of moral architecture.

The Grove-Macmillan *DICTIONARY OF ART*, London-New York, 1996, vol. 33, p. 387: “Sir Henry Wotton,” by DAVID RODGERS:

In 1624 Wotton published his architectural treatise *The Elements of Architecture*. In the introduction he acknowledged that it was largely borrowed from Vitruvius and Leon Battista Alberti. He rejected the historical approach to his subject, which had already been successfully essayed by Giorgio Vasari, and instead adopted a ‘logically’ position. Like Alberti, he stressed fitness of purpose, taking as his principal thesis that ‘the end must direct the operation’ and ‘the end is to build well’. He identified ‘commodity, firmness and delight’ as the three requirements of a good building. Although he resolved that a square is the best shape for a building, he particularly praised Andrea Palladio among contemporary architects. If *The Elements of Architecture* is self-confessedly derivative, it is written with considerable flair and humour: ‘a good parlor [*parlour*] in Egypt would perchance make a good celler in England’, he noted when discussing climate; and, when defining the Orders of columns, he described the Corinthian as ‘a colume lasciviously decked like a courtesan’.

Part two of the *Elements* covers decoration, with Picture and Sculpture attending on Architecture ‘like two of her principal gentlewomen’. Sculpture is given pre-eminence as being a ‘nearer affinity’ to Architecture and, consequently, more natural. He gives a brief history of art from the ancient Greeks and adopts a standard of beauty between nature and the ideal, writing of Dürer and Michelangelo, ‘the German did too much express that which was, and the Italian that which should be’. There is no evidence to suggest that the book was at all influential, but it has the merit of being the first book devoted to architecture written in English.

RUDOLF WITTKOWER, "English Literature on Architecture", in: Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1974, p. 99:

(...) over half a century later, in 1624, Sir Henry Wotton published his equally remarkable *Elements of Architecture*. One of the most cultured men of his day, Wotton had spent many years abroad and ten of them as English ambassador in Venice. He had an impressive knowledge of a wide range of sources, classical and modern, and handled them with great ability. His critical analytical method probably stems from his early friendship with Francis Bacon; his architectural terms of reference from Vitruvius; his concept of the architect as 'a diver into causes and into the mysteries of proportion' from Alberti, and so forth. All this is, however, subordinated to the guiding thought of the moral influence exercised by architecture. This treatise addresses itself not so much to professionals as to the dilettanti and virtuosi of the refined society of the court of James I and Charles I. Wotton's work was never forgotten: it was reprinted and incorporated into other publications no less than sixteen times until 1750."

JOHANNES DOBAL, *Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus und der Romantik in England*; Band I: 1700-1750, Bern: Benteli, 1974, pp. 367-376:

Die Anregung, die „Elemente“ zu schreiben, stammte möglicherweise von Inigo Jones. Einige der Ideen von Wotton harmonierten mit Vorstellungen von Jones, vor allem mit der klassizistischen Deutung einiger Leitsätze und mit der Abwendung vom – eigentlich doch nicht ganz überwunden – Manierismus. Deutlich zeigt dies sich zum Beispiel in der ambivalenten Haltung der beiden gegenüber dem manieristischen Ornament, wozu in der englischen Kunstliteratur als Korrelat die Bemerkungen von Peacham über die Grottesken dienen. Wotton kannte aber auch Francis Bacon persönlich und teilte in vielem dessen Pragmatizismus. Diese verschiedenen Gedankenströme vereinen sich in einer persönlichen Art und sind ferner mit einer gedankenreichen Auseinandersetzung mit Vitruv und dem Vitruvianismus des 16. Jahrhunderts verbunden. Der Traktat ist so ein spätes Glied in der Kette der Architekturbücher der Renaissance und zur gleichen Zeit etwas Neues: der Versuch eines Dilettanten, die vitruvianische Architekturlehre aus einem zugleich praktischen und auch analytischen Gesichtspunkt neu zu beleben. In dieser Art und Weise hat Wottons Buch in der Geschichte der Kunstliteratur eine bestimmte allgemeine Bedeutung als ein früher Versuch zur Entwicklung von etwas, das nicht so sehr Architekturlehre, sondern eher schon „Architekturkritik“ ist.

Von diesem Gesichtspunkt ist es nicht unwichtig, daß Wotton selbst sagt, er bemühe sich um eine „logische“ und „spekulative“ Darstellung, und zwar nicht einfach der Baukunst, sondern ihrer „Elemente“. Sein „Pamphlet“, wie er sein Büchlein nennt, ist damit in der europäischen Kunstliteratur der erste gedruckte Architekturtraktat eines Dilettanten, der Baukunst nicht aus dem Blickwinkel des Schaffenden oder des Bauherrn, sondern des analysierenden Kritikers sieht. Außerdem sind die „Elemente“ der Baukunst bei Wotton nicht die sozusagen grammatikalischen Grundelemente der „Sprache“ der Architektur der Vitruvianer, nämlich die Ordnungen, sondern sie sind etwas „Intellektuelles“ und nicht „Materielles“: die „Grundsätze“ der Baukunst. Dies allein war für die Neuheit und für den Einfluß dieser Arbeit verantwortlich, die unter anderen auch von Wren kommentiert wurde.

HANNO-WALTER KRUFFT, *Storia delle teorie architettoniche da Vitruvio al Settecento*, Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1988, pp. 310-312:

In Francesco Bacone e in Inigo Jones si possono vedere rispettivamente gli esponenti di un'estetica architettonica relativistica e normativa.

Una posizione intermedia tra le due è sostenuta dal diplomatico Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), conoscente di Bacon e Jones, che in seguito a un lungo viaggio a Venezia come ambasciatore inglese, raggiunse una eccellente conoscenza dell'architettura europea e in particolare palladiana. Wotton scrisse il suo trattato *The Elements of Architecture* da dilettante, desiderando fornire a potenziali committenti aristocratici precisi criteri di giudizio. Un cospicuo gruppo di disegni di Palladio giunse per suo tramite a Inigo Jones e più tardi finì in possesso di Lord Burlington (è oggi conservato nel Royal Institute of British Architects).

Il breve trattato di Wotton di piccolo formato e senza illustrazioni è scritto in una tipica mescolanza inglese di discrezione, umorismo e senso della realtà. Wotton ha una vasta conoscenza della letteratura teorico-architettonica, a cui si avvicina con simpatia critica.

Egli riporta l'architettura a un principio naturale. In questo e nell'affermazione "che la sede di ogni parte è determinata dalla funzione" si manifesta la sua intima vicinanza a Bacon. L'architettura è per lui una mimesi della natura. Wotton sottolinea la necessità di tener conto, nella progettazione architettonica, delle esigenze climatiche, regionali e nazionali. Alberti assume per Wotton una importanza fondamentale quando dichiara che l'ornamento è un'aggiunta secondaria; d'altra parte attribuisce alla "segreta armonia delle proporzioni" un ruolo chiave nell'architettura. Nella teoria delle forme segue la concezione rinascimentale delle figure geometriche basilari; celebra il cerchio come "forma universale", per affermare subito dopo con pragmatismo inglese che esso "è in realtà una figura inadatta agli edifici privati". La sua concezione dell'architettura è organica; l'edificio viene confrontato di continuo con le funzioni del corpo umano. Attraverso una sequenza di teoremi costruttivi, arriva a rifiutare l'arco acuto (gotico) per la sua "naturale imbecillità" e ad auspicare l'esclusione del gotico dall'architettura. Le sue argomentazioni si avvicinano a quelle riscontrabili nel XVIII secolo in Paolo Frisi (1766).

La seconda parte è dedicata alle specifiche esigenze della casa inglese. La casa è definita il "teatro dell'ospitalità" e una "sorta di regno privato". L'ornamento è qui inteso come elemento decorativo della casa insieme alla scultura e alla pittura; il che dà modo a Wotton di occuparsi in breve di queste due arti. Nel suo concetto di ornamento rientrano anche i giardini e a tale proposito egli postula un contrasto fra la casa e il giardino: "Quanto gli edifici devono essere regolari, tanto disordinati devono essere i giardini o almeno uniformarsi a una regolarità molto ribelle".

Nel sottolineare a più riprese l'importanza dell'osservatore per il giardino, Wotton si presenta come un precursore teorico del parco all'inglese inteso in senso figurativo.

Alla fine del libro Wotton critica i sei criteri architettonici di Vitruvio affermando che l'*ordinatio* e la *dispositio* non sono criteri, ma fasi del processo di progettazione. I restanti quattro concetti (*eurhythmia*, *symmetria*, *decor*, *distributio*) vengono definiti con formule brevi e pratiche; ad esempio: "Il *decor* è il rispetto della dovuta corrispondenza fra abitante e abitazione". Nelle ultime frasi sfiora il problema di un arredo degli edifici – da lui definito ornamento – concepito in senso nazionale, per vedere nella propria attività il contributo a "una

sorta di architettura morale”. Con questa formulazione che sconfinava nell’etica Wotton prepara le fondamentali concezioni inglesi sull’architettura del XVIII secolo.

Il trattato di Wotton, più volte ristampato e tradotto in diverse lingue, può essere considerato il primo originale contributo inglese alla teoria dell’architettura. La sua eticità, sorretta da un ironico pragmatismo che caratterizza anche gli *Elements of Architecture*, si manifesta in quella famosa massima pronunciata come ambasciatore che gli è quasi costata la fine precoce della sua carriera: “Un ambasciatore è una persona onesta mandata all’estero per mentire per il bene del suo paese”. [“An ambassador is an honest man sent abroad to lie for the good of his country”, written in Latin.]

HANNO-WALTER KRUF, *Geschichte der Architekturtheorie*, München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1985, p. 259-261, 273, 292, 394, 591, 599; p. 260-261:

Wotton führt Architektur auf ein Naturprinzip zurück. [...] Er betont die Notwendigkeit, klimatische, regionale und nationale Bedürfnisse bei der architektonischen Planung zu berücksichtigen. Alberti spielte für Wotton eine zentrale Rolle, wenn er einmal das Ornament für sekundär erklärt, andererseits aber der „*secret Harmony in the Proportions*“ eine Schlüsselstellung der Architektur sieht. In seiner Formenlehre schließt er an die Renaissance-Vorstellung geometrischer Grundfiguren an, lobt den Kreis als universall Forme, um dann sogleich mit englischem Pragmatismus festzustellen, daß dieser „*is in truth a very unprofitable Figure in private Fabricks*“. Seine Architekturvorstellung ist eine organische; immer wieder wird ein Gebäude mit den Funktionen des menschlichen Körpers verglichen. Über eine Folge baukonstruktiver Theoreme kommt er zu einer Ablehnung des (gotischen) Spitzbogens wegen seiner „*natural imbecility*“, und möchte die Gothik aus der Architektur verbannt wissen. [...]

Der zweite Teil ist den spezifischen Bedürfnissen des englischen Hauses gewidmet. Das Haus wird als „*Theatre of Hospitality*“ und „*kind of private Princedom*“ definiert. Ornament wird hier als Ausstattung des Hauses mit Skulptur und Malerei verstanden, was Wotton zum Anlaß nimmt, sich kurz mit diesen auseinanderzusetzen. Unter seinem Ornament-Begriff kommt er auch auf Gartenanlagen zu sprechen, wobei er einen Kontrast zwischen Wohnhaus und Gartenanlage fordert: „*For as Fabricks should be regular*“, so „*Gardens should be irregular, or at least cast into a very wild Regularity*“. Indem er wiederholt die Rolle des Betrachters für den Garten betont, wird er zum theoretischen Wegbereiter des bildhaft verstandenen englischen Landschaftsgartens.

Am Ende seines Buches geht Wotton mit den sechs vitruvianischen Architekturkriterien ins Gericht, um festzustellen, daß *ordinatio* und *dispositio* keine Kriterien seien, sondern Phasen des Entwurfsprozesses. Die verbleibenden vier Begriffe (*Eurythmia*, *Symmetria*, *Decor*, *Distributio*) definiert er in handlichen Kurzformeln. [...].“

EILEEN HARRIS assisted by Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*, Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 499-503:

The *Elements of Architecture* was Wotton's first publication and the first theoretical work on the subject published in English. Though produced with remarkable speed, it was the result of years of extensive critical reading in classical and Renaissance texts, of first hand observations of buildings abroad, of acquaintance with some of the greatest patrons of Italian architecture, like Marc Antonio Barbaro for whom Palladio built the Villa Maser, and of collecting books and architectural drawings for himself and others.

Among his countrymen at least, Wotton seems to have enjoyed a certain reputation as a connoisseur in this field. Inigo Jones visited him in Venice in 1613-14 and noted some designs for Palladio's *Quattro Libri*.

By his own definition, Wotton's interest in architecture was 'speculative' rather than active. The judging of buildings (country houses in particular), not the making of them, was his concern and it was to like-minded men – whether they were patrons, architects or others of philosophical spirit – that he addressed his book. In his estimation, it was 'almost harder to be a good Censurer, than a good Architect. Because the Working part may be helped with Deliberation but the Judging must flow from an extemporall habite' and has, therefore, to be well cultivated and firmly rooted. To be 'fit' to judge particular examples, it is first necessary to have command of the general rules (...).

(...)

This separation of architect and artificer is part and parcel of the large division of form and matter, thought and action, which he derived from Plato and the neo-Platonists, Ficino and Alberti. The architect's 'glory' is, he wrote, by design and idea to make 'the Form which is the nobler Part triumph over the Matter' (...). While the architect was not expected to choose and handle materials – such practical matters are the duty of those beneath him, a second superintendent or 'officator' and artisans – he cannot be disgraced by that 'which doth so well become a Philosopher, to looke into the properties of Stone and Wood'. Vitruvius is cited as one such philosopher, but Bacon, though unmentioned, is the obvious example (...).

Wotton's hierarchical distinction between architect and artificer is contrary both to the Vitruvian ideal of an *uomo universale*, uniting theory and practice, and to the Serlian aim to enlighten and ultimately elevate artificer to architect, an aim pursued by a long line of authors from Leonard Digges and John Schute to Batty Langley and William Pain.

(...)

He was the foremost exponent of Renaissance architectural theory in England and the expositor, it has been said [Wittkower], of the unpublished ideas of Inigo Jones.

JOSEPH RYKWERT, *The First Moderns*, London-Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980, pp. 127-129:

The only publication which, in his lifetime [*i.e.*, Inigo Jones's], advanced an English theory of architecture was Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture*, a curious book for a seasoned diplomat to open a literary career late in life (...). 'Castles in the air' is what the sort of architecture Wotton was commending may have seemed to his readers, since he sets out to show how to adapt Italian High Renaissance building to the British climate, and to the building of a country house in particular. The book is addressed to the British gentry. There is hardly a word about church building (...).



The continuity of ‘mechanical’ and ‘ideal’ aspects of architecture is broken hieratically. Wotton’s Vitruvian Neoplatonism is quite different from the socially integrative drive which informed Jones, as it did [John] Dee. And there is an interesting parallel: as Jones’s style, so Wotton’s language echoes that of Scamozzi (whom Wotton never mentions), even when he claims to be formulating his own observations: “I had noted, that all Art was then in truest Perfection when it might be reduced to some natural Principle; for what are the most judicious artisans but the Mimicks of Nature? This led me to contemplate the Fabric of our own Bodies, wherein the High Architect of the World had displayed such skill, as did stupify all humane Reason (...) and it plainly appeareth as a Maxim drawn from divine Light, that the Place of every Part is determined by its Use.”

Anyone familiar with modern masonic terminology will instantly recognize Wotton’s “High Architect” as a pre-echo of the title High Architect of the Universe, by which the Diety is always referred to in masonic documents and rituals (...). On the other hand, it is an image which Marsilio Ficino used in his commentary on Plato, and which occupied much of the vast commentary on the book of Ezekiel published by the two Spanish priests, Juan Bautista Villalpanda and Jeronimo Prado (...).

HOWARD BURNS, in: *PALLADIO NEL NORD EUROPA: LIBRI, VIAGGIATORI, ARCHITETTI*, ed. GUIDO BELTRAMINI, exhibition catalogue: Vicenza: CISA Andrea Palladio, 1999; Milano: Skira, 1999, pp. 62-63

Benché si tratti di un libro breve, pubblicato in formato modesto senza illustrazioni, *The Elements of Architecture* di Wotton ebbe un’importanza unica nello stabilire la nuova cultura architettonica in Inghilterra e in Olanda (...).

La ragione dell’importanza e del successo del libro sta nella natura del testo: esso introduceva il lettore istruito, compresi ovviamente molti potenziali costruttori di *country houses*, alla nuova architettura, non tanto in termini di regole proporzionali e di modelli specifici, quanto in termini di principi e considerazioni generali, collegati a questioni letterarie e filosofiche, presentati in maniera chiara e interessante, con frasi memorabili: (...).

*The Elements of Architecture* assomiglia al *De re aedificatoria* dell’Alberti – uno dei testi più utilizzati da Wotton – nel desiderio dell’autore di comunicare l’importanza e l’interesse dell’architettura ai propri contemporanei (...).

Wotton è ben consapevole del carattere particolare del proprio lavoro: non un trattato o un manuale, non un commentario erudito su Vitruvio e gli ordini, e nemmeno un’ampia compilazione di conoscenze e commento architettonico, come l’*Idea* di Scamozzi (...). Wotton vede il proprio libro soprattutto come un’introduzione non alla pratica bensì alla comprensione dell’architettura; alla valutazione degli edifici, non alla loro progettazione (...). In Italia egli aveva conosciuto la discussione critica delle opere d’arte, a cui dedica qui alcune pagine (pp. 85-95), oltre che dell’architettura. Egli avrà sicuramente preso parte a discussioni sull’architettura di visitatori e dilettanti, e inoltre sarà stato a conoscenza delle discussioni su questioni architettoniche dei membri patrizi degli enti preposti all’edilizio pubblica.

Il contributo di Wotton è attentamente calcolato, nel tono e nel carattere: egli, come Alberti, scrive soprattutto per educare coloro i quali hanno i mezzi per commissionare

personalmente gli edifici o per influenzare la progettazione; il suo intento è pertanto quello di avere un impatto culturale nell'area più importante per il rinnovamento architettonico in Inghilterra: il mondo della Corte, dei costruttori di corte, e anche quello dei gentiluomini ricchi e colti. Egli non scrive primariamente per gli architetti (...). Wotton ovviamente non esclude gli architetti fra i suoi potenziali lettori, e in realtà egli deve avere ampliato la cultura di molti capimastri; egli inoltre non esorta in maniera esplicita i gentiluomini appartenenti alla propria classe sociale di prendere in mano penna e compasso e diventare architetti di se stessi, ma non vi è dubbio che egli abbia accelerato la comparsa del colto gentiluomo architetto, del tipo di figura rappresentato da Pratt, North, e perfino Wren e Burlington (...).

Wotton divide il proprio libro in due parti: la prima dedicata a tutte le questioni relative alla progettazione e alla costruzione, la seconda agli “*Ornamenti* interni o esterni all’edificio”. Questa divisione è mutata dal trattato di Alberti che è certamente il testo che maggiormente influenzò Wotton. Anche all’interno della prima parte, Wotton spesso adotta la divisione di argomenti che aveva riscontrato nell’Alberti, da lui riconosciuto come sua fonte (p. 22). Allo stesso tempo si discosta dall’Alberti nel situare la sezione sugli ordini sotto l’edificio e la progettazione, e non sotto gli ornamenti, ed egli introduce argomenti (per esempio sulla critica all’architettura, pp. 114-122) non trattati in maniera esplicita da Alberti.

(...)

Sarebbe un errore tuttavia vedere in questo libro una pura e semplice mossa opportunistica per rafforzare i titoli a una carica molto attraente. Il libro in sé è privo di qualsiasi tentativo di adulazione nei confronti di figure potenti o anche di qualsiasi riferimento ai loro nomi. Nemmeno Jones e la Banqueting House vengono citati: come Alberti, risulta che Wotton, dietro la sua *sprezzatura* e l’enfasi sulla fretta con cui il libro era stato scritto, era estremamente serio nel suo intento e voleva creare, come di fatto fece, un’opera di interesse permanente e universale. La sua serietà emerge dalla quantità di letture, dalla sua comprensione di tutti gli aspetti pratici e teorici dell’argomento, dal fatto che egli cita gli edifici costruiti quali Santa Giustina a Padova, Caprarola, palazzo Bevilacqua a Verona, villa Maser e il Convento della Carità di Palladio. Il suo metodo sistematico di studio appare anche nella copia in suo possesso, accuratamente annotata, del trattato di Delorme, in cui alcune delle ventotte note a margine si riferiscono direttamente a brani che compaiono in *The Elements*. Wotton inoltre possedeva importanti disegni e manoscritti di architettura: i disegni di Palladio a cui Jones fa riferimento nelle annotazioni nella propria copia dei *Quattro Libri*; un manoscritto di Vitruvio che era appartenuto a Bernardo Bembo; e un manoscritto del trattato di Alberti con alcune correzioni di mano dello stesso Alberti.

Nella storia degli scritti sull’architettura, *The Elements of Architecture* occupa un posto speciale: non soltanto esso è uno dei testi più importanti sull’argomento scritto nel diciassettesimo secolo, ma può essere considerato il primo libro che esplicitamente tratta dei problemi e metodi della critica dell’architettura.

WERNER OECHSLIN, “*Philosophemur: zu Henry Wottons Elements of Architecture (1624)*”, in: *Lezioni di metodo: Studi in onore di Lionello Puppi*, ed. Loredana Olivato and Giuseppe Barbieri, Venezia: Terra Ferma, 2002, pp. 251-270 (p. 251):

Henry Wotton sieht sich, so lässt er es in dieser *captatio benevolentiae* vom Beginn der Preface seiner *Elements of Architecture* erkennen, als Vermittler und natürlich nicht als Erfinder einer Lehre von der Architektur. Alles Anderslautende würde auch ziemlich überraschend. Denn, er ist weder Architekt noch Mathematiker, was ihn – eng besehen –

allein als „Architekturtheoretiker“ geeignet erscheinen liesse. Andererseits wird man seinem Zugriff auf die Architektur aber nicht mit dem „modernen“, allzu diffusen und unverbindlichen Begriff des „Dilettanten“ gerecht werden können. Wottons Anspruch ist im Widerspruch zu der zitierten Bescheidenheitsklausel umfassend, grundsätzlich und im eigentlichen Sinne *wissenschaftlich* fundiert, sodass die Denkerpose und das dazu gesetzte «PHILOSOPHEMUR» auf dem Porträt, das Izaak Walton seiner *Life of Sir Henry Wotton* hinzugegeben hat, einen verlässlichen Hinweis auf Art und Zielsetzung der kleinen Schrift zur Architektur geben. Diesem Porträt, das zuerst Pierre Lombart in London stach und das 1670 von William Dolle erscheint, ist das Emblem von Schloss und Schlüssel mit dem Motto «CUI COR ET CLAVEM» hinzugefügt. Es mag vielleicht an das viel bekanntere «Patet Ianua: Cor magis» erinnern, das Wotton über dem Portal des Palazzo Bevilacqua in Verona gelesen hat und das ihm Gelegenheit zu grundsätzlichen Bemerkungen zum Verhältnis von «Decor» und «Generosity» gibt. Auf alle Fälle öffnet dieses Porträt Tür und Herz und gibt Einsicht in das, was Wotton nach Beendigung seiner Diplomatenlaufbahn erstrebt, nachdem er – übrigens in Konkurrenz zu seinem Freund Francis Bacon – am 26. Juli 1624 zum Provost von Eton bestimmt worden ist.

TIMOTHY MOWL AND BRIAN EARNSHAW, *Architecture without Kings: The Rise of Puritan Classicism under Cromwell*, Manchester-New York: Manchester University Press, 1995, pp. 66-71:

[Sir Benjamin] Rudyerd and his kind, John Selden, Archbishop Ussher and John Harington, had grown old along with Inigo Jones, making the same stylistic pilgrimage from the Jacobean excess to this Puritan Minimalism. The interesting question is, who was their English mentor, their philosopher of style, the arbiter of their slightly bloodless good taste?

In a very limited field the only real candidate for that position has to be Sir Henry Wotton, scholar-diplomat, poet, friend of the powerful for two reigns and, for a few serene last years, Provost of Eaton. By its date alone, 1624, his *Elements of Architecture* should be the key work. (...) Wotton was a friend of Francis Bacon, John Donne and Isaac Walton. The young John Milton came to him for advice before leaving for his Italian tour and Wotton was precient enough to praise “a certain Dorique delicacy in your songs and odes, whereunto I must plainly confess I have seen nothing parallel in our language, IPSA MOLLITIES.” So if anyone ever exemplified the *Zeitgeist* of sophisticated Puritanism it was Wotton. Even more significant was his close friendship with Sir Benjamin Rudyerd and Sir Constantine Huygens. Huygens was a Dutch poet and diplomat, knighted by James I in 1621 and the man who presided over the brief flowering (c. 1625-c. 1670) of Dutch classicism. Huygens designed his own house in The Hague (1634-37) with a little help from Jan van Campen (...). Wotton opened his *Elements* with the clear statement that the design of a house should be based upon ‘Commoditie, Firmness and Delight’. On the parapet of Huyygen’s new house were set three symbolic figures. They represented not, as the pious Dutch supposed, Faith, Hope and Charity but FIRMITAS, UNITAS and VENUSTAS, the Wotton qualities only slightly reordered.

It is in Wotton’s *Elements* then that the hunt for the source of Puritan Minimalism comes to an end. What is most striking about the book are the authorities it ignores. Wotton and Inigo Jones were near-contemporaries. Both moved in court circles and certain references in the notes which Jones added to his copy of Palladio prove that Sir Henry had shown him several original drawings by Palladio in the period 1612-13 immediately before Jones left for Italy with Lord Arundel. When the *Elements of Architecture* was published, Jones’s Banqueting House, the most innovative and, one might expect, admired piece of Palladian

classicism in London, was still only two years old. Wotton makes not the slightest reference to either Jones or his Banqueting House. This has to be construed as a sign of disapproval. Nor does he mention Serlio. Wotton had lived for years in Palladio's Venice but he gives Palladio only occasional mention on technical matters as, for instance, his use of bricks (...).

With the same splendid indifference to his major achievements, Wotton ignores Philibert de l'Orme's palaces but praises his chimneys and debates his recipe for lime mortar. Practicalities, not decorative details, attract Wotton. He spends two pages on the moulding of wedge-shaped bricks to support vaults and arches. While not actually using the term 'Flemish Bond', which he would in any case have seen as an Italian method of laying bricks, he debates shrewdly the way in which 'Bricke or squared stones are laid in their lengths with sides and heads together, or their points conjoynd like a Networke (for so Vitruvius doth call it reticulatum opus)'.

It is to Vitruvius, safely distant in the antique past, that Wotton returns again and again for his authority. Vitruvius and the austere Alberti were Wotton's masters. All the columned neo-classicism and disturbingly decorative mannerism of the sixteenth century he mistrusted. He writes nervously about 'certain other licentious inventions, of Wreathed and Vined, and Figured Columnes, which our Author [Vitruvius] himself condemneth, being in his whole Book a professed enemy to Fancies'. In place of these despised 'Fancies' Wotton urged that windows and doors, the functional essentials of a house, should be arranged to respond to 'the fift and the octave' in music, producing 'a graceful and harmonious contentment to the Eye', that will be 'unto vulgar Artizans perhaps too subtile, and too sublime'. So behind the apparent simplicities of his pure classicism was the subtle appeal of elitist form that only the refined and scholarly could appreciate.

(...)

(...) What made Wotton's *Elements* so appealing to like-minded contemporaries was that it was never exactly prescriptive and so left much open to individual interpretation. Then it combined cheese-paring economies of construction with self-righteous piety and the elitism of subliminal subtleties.

After a dutiful analysis of the character and various proportions of the classical orders that had been the prop and mainstay of every other book of architecture he could have read, Wotton ends scornfully:

"I need now say no more concerning Columnes & their Adiuncts, about which Architects make such a noyse in their Bookes, as if the very tearmes of Architraves, and Frides and Cornices, and the like, were enough to graduate a Master of this Art."

This was a shaft aimed at the very heart of Inigo Jones, and by Jones's Late Presentation Designs of the 1630s it seems to have found its mark. Wotton had the same contempt for Mannerism:

"a Practice growne (I know not how) in certain places too familiar, of making Pillars swell in the middle, as if they were sicke of some Tympany, or Dropsie, without any Authentique Patern or Rule, to my knowledge, and unseemly to the very judgement of sight."

(...)

This is indeed the voice of reason, the incipient note even of egalitarianism, republicanism and future rebellion. It is debatable whether Wotton was ever actually able to visualise the severe classical utility that he was proposing. Like so many amateurs he knew what he liked and he knew what he disliked. He gave, therefore, the mood rather than the exact forms for a

new architecture and it is likely that in his last happy years as Provost of Eaton he would have been able to recognise as his own, in concept at least, a number of houses designed and built by other men, Inigo Jones perhaps included, in the counties adjacent to his college.

DAVID SMITH CAPON, *Architectural Theory*, Volume One: *The Vitruvian Fallacy: A History of the Categories in Architecture and Philosophy*, Cichester-New York: John Wiley, 1999, pp. 19-23:

In the Preface to *The Elements of Architecture*, Wotton admitted to being a “gatherer and disposer of other men’s stuffe” and that his principal sources were the works of Alberti and Vitruvius. It should be remembered that the first printing press had been introduced into England a little over one hundred years previously, and that works on architecture were still a novelty. The only serious exception was John Shute’s *First and Chief Grounds of Architecture*, published in 1563, which again was derived from Alberti and was little more than a handbook describing the five Classical Orders.

Wotton’s work is remembered today almost entirely for its opening passage where the three conditions first outlined by Vitruvius, and by which all good architecture should be assessed, were translated into the English of the time as “Commodity, Firmness and Delight”.

“In Architecture as in all other Operative Arts, the End must direct the Operation. The End is to build well. Well building hath three conditions, Commodity Firmness and Delight.”

Apart perhaps from Commodity the three terms would appear to need little further elaboration. A building should work, it should stand up, and, especially if it is to be considered as architecture, it should be pleasing. The chief virtue of Wotton lies in the quaintness of the terminology which has lent an air of authority to a statement that seems little more than a truism. Yet, one suspects that there must be something more. The idea has lasted for two millennia virtually unchanged and remains, as we shall see, the keystone to architectural theory. “All art”, wrote Wotton, “is in truest perfection when it might be reduced to some natural principle”. But is there a natural principle behind these three seemingly arbitrary aspects? Are these the only three conditions for good building? How does Delight relate to Commodity and Firmness? How many kinds of Delight are there and to what natural principles may they be reduced?

Wotton gives no clear answers to these questions, nor does he define the terms he uses. He is a disposer of other men’s stuff and it is to these others that we should turn. However, before we attempt to find the source of these ideas, it will serve as a useful introduction to sift through Wotton’s text to gain what understanding we can of the way the terms are used:

*Commodity*: The term Commodity is mentioned, albeit only in the negative, in two areas relating respectively to the external situation of a building and its internal arrangement. We learn first, of “incommodiuos access”, and second, of the “incommodity” of smoke entering rooms from the open fires used to heat the buildings. Another way to look at the two uses of the term lies in the distinction between the convenience provided by the general arrangement of the building and the comfort afforded by its servicing and heating facilities. He added that the general layout of a house should conform to a preferred orientation, studies and libraries to the east, kitchens to the south, cellars to the north, and noted that “the place of every part is to be determined by its use”. Like the parts of a body it is prudent to have rooms of all sizes to

achieve a “graceful and useful distribution”. Inigo Jones, writing around the same time, spoke of a building as being a “Beautiful and Commodious thing”: “This building has on the sides places to make wine, and stables, porticoes and other Commodities of a villa.” Such commodities may be likened in a sense to merchandise, factors that would be used in buying and selling the property, and we should take into account this second meaning, that of advantage or economic gain, that we see used, for example, by Shakespeare in his play *King John*.

*Firmness:* Under Firmness we might place all Wotton’s references to good foundations and the bearing capacity of the soil. Regarding the superstructure, “firs, cypresses and cedars”, he wrote, “should be used for posts whereas oak and the like are more fit for crosse and traverse work”. Walls should be vertical with their corners firmly bound, and doors and windows should be as few and as small as possible for all openings are weakenings. Ledges should be of more strength for, “like bones”, they tie the building together. Columns should be placed precisely over one another, “as well as for beauty as strength of the fabric”, and we may note in passing this connection between strength and beauty for future reference. It is also interesting to note that “Pillars or Pylasters” may be “considered as ornaments” and not necessarily as the structural members they resemble.

*Delight:* The term Delight occurs as infrequently as the other two. There is a telling reference to “chambers of delight” which for Wotton meant studies and libraries, but it is clear that the proper source of delight in architecture should lie in the proportions “where the materials being but ordinary stone do yet ravish the beholder by a secret harmony in the proportions (...) form should triumph over matter”. He later revealed that the secret was to be found in those mathematical ratios discovered by the school of Pythagoras and evident in simple musical harmony, for example, the fifth (2 : 3) and the octave (1 : 2). Where the length, width and height of a chamber met these proportions then there a similar beauty would be found. In striving for “coherence without distraction, without confusion, gracefulness will be achieved through recognizing a double analogy between the parts and the whole and between the parts themselves. The twin concepts of uniformity and variety should be recognized as in the human body for “Man himself is the prototype of all exact symmetrie”. Art should imitate nature, and the most judicious artisans, he wrote, should be the “Mimiques of nature”.

(...)

*The Elements of Architecture* concluded with a notice of intent by Wotton to embark on a further work entitled *A Philosophical Survey of Education or Moral Architecture*. Its subject, how through education one “could build a man”, recalls the analogy between architecture and man which we noted in our introduction. The idea that there may be a set of categories applicable to both is suggested by a religious poem he wrote towards the end of his life, whose last line reflects the three Vitruvian concepts: “But to me now, on thee I call, / My life, my strength, my joy, my all.”

The proposed work on moral architecture was never completed although some interesting notes regarding it appear in a collection of his miscellaneous writings, *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (...).

CARSTEN RUHL, in: *Architektur-Theorie: von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. BERND EVERS and CHRISTOF THOENES, Köln: Taschen, 2003, pp. 407-408:

Das Werk *The Elements of Architecture* des englischen Diplomaten und Gelehrten Henry Wotton darf in vielerlei Hinsicht als die bedeutendste Architekturschrift des englischen 17. Jahrhunderts gelten. Innerhalb der englischen Geistesgeschichte stellt sie die erste intensive Auseinandersetzung mit der vitruvianischen Architekturlehre dar. Im Kontext des europäischen Schrifttums gehört sie zu der neuen Architekturkritik, die nicht von praktizierenden Architekten, sondern von architekturinteressierten Dilettanten verfasst wurde. Die Architektur wird so zum Gegenstand intellektueller Spekulation. (...) Seine Absicht besteht in der Vermittlung architektonischer Kategorien und Qualitätsstandards, die er für die kritische Urteilskraft eines gelehrten aristokratischen Laienpublikums als notwendig erachtet.

ANTONIO AGÜERA RUIZ, *Los Elementos de la Arquitectura por Sir Henry Wotton, un texto crítico*, Valladolid 1997, pp. 78-79:

El segundo, y más relevante, el título que da a su obra, denominada como *The Elements of Architecture*, en vez de la tradicional expresión de *El libro de arquitectura* (...), o el normal *Tratado de Arquitectura* (...).

Cabe explicar este extremo. Wotton no desea pecar de intruso y petulante, escribiendo un tratado sobre un arte que le es ajeno, tal como lo manifiesta por escrito en la introducción; conformándose con exponer algunos «principios» que a su entender, y de acuerdo con autores suficientemente avalados, deben estar presentes en una buena obra de arquitectura.

Pero, lo que realmente nos indica el título elegido – como luego veremos – es su afán de escribir un libro científico, en el que más que opiniones o teorías, presenta y deduce – a partir de la experiencia directa – aquellos principios o reglas de índole práctica que deben gobernar este arte. En consecuencia, al elegir por título *The Elements of Architecture*, parece emular a los famosos *Elementos de Euclides*, es decir, aplicar a su estudio sobre la arquitectura el modelo de método y de exposición rigurosa del geómetra griego.

En este sentido, y frente a lo que era tradicional en los escritos sobre arquitectura en el renacimiento italiano – o en el caso español o francés –, Wotton se inclina por la especulación científica basada en el método inductivo que ya ensayara Bacon en sus escritos, y del que participaba nuestro autor por sus relaciones con Kepler, Huygens y otros contemporáneos a los que había conocido en sus viajes por Europa.

*The Encyclopaedic Dictionary in the Eighteenth Century: Architecture, Arts and Crafts*, ed. Terence M. Russell, vol. 1: *John Harris, Lexicon Technicum, incorporating the works of Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Henry Wotton*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997, pp. 21-23:

Wotton produced his text at great speed having the pages printed as rapidly as he could compose them. The entire work was completed within two months of him having returned from Italy, a remarkable tribute to his powers of cultural assimilation, his discerning eye and memory for detail, his knowledge of authors on architecture, and his stylish dexterity in manipulating the English language.

(...)

Sir Henry Wotton's *The Elements of Architecture* deserves its high reputation and the affectionate regard in which it is widely held. Wotton was no mere mechanical editor-compiler and his text shimmers with intelligence and sparkles with witty, informed observation of original source materials including buildings, artefacts and writings about them. His work inspired others to follow his example in the writing of architectural texts the primary purpose of which was to inform and to elevate taste through the inculcation of better and deeper understanding.



THE FULL TEXT OF *THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE*

Page numbers and signatures (when the latter are printed on the page) precede the page texts.

In addition to Wotton's own subtitles, a number of additional ones have been added within square brackets.

Wotton's marginalia, often marked by an asterisk, have been given as near to the relevant text passage as feasible and are set within square brackets. A very few annotations in Greek characters have been omitted, for which see printed texts.

The transcription follows Wotton's printed text very closely; the letters 'u' and 'v' and 'i' and 'j' are given corresponding to modern usage; '&', as '*and*'.

Most errors indicated in the 'Errata' were already corrected in the original printing; a very few printing errors not corrected in the 'Errata' have been here corrected without indication. Further printing errors are indicated within square brackets.

THE  
ELEMENTS  
OF  
ARCHITECTURE,

Collected by  
HENRY WOTTON Knight,  
*from the best Authors*  
and Exam-  
ples.

LONDON  
Printed by IOHN BILL,  
M.DC.XXIV.

¶[3 r]

## *THE* PREFACE.

*I Shall not neede (like the most part of Writers) to celebrate the Subject which I deliver. In that point I am at ease. For Architecture, can want no commendation, where there are Noble Men, or Noble mindes; I will therefore spend this Preface, rather about those, from whom I have gathered my knowledge; For I am but a gatherer and disposer of other mens stufte, at my best value.*

¶[3 v]

*Our principall Master is Vitruvius and so I shall often call him; who had this felicitie, that he wrote when the Roman Empire was neere the pitch; Or at least, when Augustus (who favoured his endeavours) had some meaning (if he were not mistaken) to bound the Monarchie [Tacit. lib. 1. Annal.]: This I say was his good happe; For in growing and enlarging times, Artes are commonly drowned in Action: But on the other side, it was in truth an unhappinesse, to expresse himselfe so ill, especially writing (as he did) in a season of the ablest Pennes; And his obscuritie had this strange fortune; That though he*

¶[4 r]

*were best practised, and best followed by his owne Countrymen; yet after the reviving and repolishing of good Literature, (which the combustions and tumults of the middle Age had uncivillized) he was best, or at least, first understood by strangers: For of the Italians that tooke him in hand, Those that were Gramarians seeme to have wanted Mathematicall knowledge; and the Mathematicians perhaps wanted Gramer: till both were sufficiently conjoined, in Leon-Batista Alberti the Florentine, whom I repute the first learned Architect, beyond the Alpes; But hee studied more indeede to*

¶[4 v]

*make himselfe an Author, then to illustrate his Master. Therefore among his Commenters, I must (for my private conceite) yeild the chiefe praise unto the French, in Philander; and to the high Germans, in Gualterus Rivius: who, besides his notes, hath likewise published the most elaborate translation, that I thinke is extant in any vulgar speech of the world: though not without bewayling, now and then, some defect of Artificiall tearmes in his owne; as I*

*must likewise; For if the Saxon, (our mother tongue) did complaine; as justly (I doubt) in this point may the Daughter: Languages, for the*

[A 1 r]

*most part in tearmes of Art and Erudition, retayning their originall povertie, and rather growing rich and abundant, in complementall phrases and such froth. Touching divers moderne men that have written out of meere practise, I shall give them their due, upon occasion.*

*And now, after this short Censure of others, I would faine satisfie an Objection or two, which seeme to lie somewhat heavily upon my selfe; It will be said that I handle an Art, no way suteable either to my employments, or to my fortune. And so I shall stand charged, both with Intrusion, and with Impertinency.*

[A 1 v]

*To the First I answere, that though by the ever acknowledged goodnesse of my most deare and gracious SOVERAIGNE; and by his long indulgent toleration of my defects. I have borne abroad some part of his civill service; yet when I came home, and was againe resolved into mine owne simplicitie, I found it fitter for my Pen (at least in this first publique adventure) to deale with these plaine complements, and tractable Materials; then with the Laberyntes and Mysteries of Courts and States; And less presumption for mee, who have long contemplated a famous Republique, to write now of*

[A 2 r]

*Architecture; then it was anciently for \*Hippodamus the Milesian, to write of Republicques, who was himselfe but an Architect. [\*Aristot. 2. lib. Politi. cap. 6.]*

*To the Second, I must shrinke up my shoulders, as I have learn'd abroad, and confesse indeed, that my fortune is very unable to exemplifie, and actuate my Speculations in this Art, which yet in trueth, made mee the rather even from my very disabilitie, take encouragement to hope; that my present Labour, would find the more favour with others, since it was undertaken for no mans sake, lesse then mine owne. And with that confidence, I fel into these thoughts; Of which, there were two wayes to*

[A 2 v]

*be delivered; The one Historical, by description of the principall workes, performed already in good part, by Giorgio Vassari in the lives of Architects: The other Logicall, by casting the rules and cautions of this Art, into some comortable Methode: whereof I have made choice; not onely as the shortest and most Elementall; but indeed as the soundest. For though in practicall knowledges, every complete example, may beare the credite of a rule; yet peradventure rules should preceed, that we may by them, be made fit to judge of examples: Therefore to the purpose; for I will preface no longer.*

[1; A]

*OF*  
**THE ELEMENTS**  
*OF*  
**ARCHITECTURE.**

*The I. part.*

In *Architecture* as in all other *Operative Arts*, the *end* must direct the *Operation*.

The *end* is to build well.

Well building hath three Conditions.

*Commoditie, Firmernes, and Delight.*

A common division among the Deliverers of this *Art*, though I know not how,

[2]

some what misplaced by *Vitruvius* himselfe *lib. 1. cap. 3.* whom I shalbe willinger to follow, as a Master of *Proportion*, then of *Methode*.

Now, For the attayning of these *Intentions*, wee may consider the whole *Subject* under two generall Heads.

The *Seate*, and the *Worke*.

Therefore first touching *Scituation*.

The *Precepts* thereunto belonging, doe either concerne the *Totall Posture*, (as I may tearm it) or the *Placing* of the *Parts*: wherof the first sort, howsoever usually set downe by *Architects* as a piece of their *Profession*: yet are in truth borrowed, from other *Learnings*: there being betweene *Arts* and *Sciences*, as well as betweene *Men*, a kind of good fellowship, and communication of their *Principles*.

For you shall finde some of them, to be meerely *Physicall*, touching the

[3; A 2]

quality and temper of the *Aire*: which being a perpetuall ambient, and ingredient, and the defects thereof, incorrigible in single *Habitations* (which I most intend) doth in those respects, require the more exquisite caution; That it be not too *grosse*, nor too *penetrative*; Not subject to any foggy noysomnesse, from *Fenns* or *Marshes* neere adjoining; nor too *Mineral* exhalations, from the Soile it selfe. Not undigested, for want of *Sunne*, Not unexercised, for want of *Winde*: which were to live (as it were) in a *Lake*, or standing *Poole* of *Aire*, as *Alberti*, the *Florentin Architect*, doth ingeniously compare it.

Some doe rather seeme a little *Astrological*, as when they warne us from Places of malign *Influence*: where *Earthquakes*, *Contagions*, *Prodigious Births*, or the like, are frequent without any evident cause: whereof the Consideration is peradventure not altogether

[4]

vaine: Some are plainely *Oeconomical*; As that the *Seate* be well watered, and well fewelled, That it bee not of too steepie and incommodious *Accesse* to the trouble both of friends and *familie*. That it lie not too farre, from some navigable *River* or *Arme* of the *Sea*, for more ease of provision and such other *Domestique* notes.

Some againe may bee said to bee *Optical*? Such I meane as concerne the *Properties* of a well chosen *Prospect*: which I will call the *Royaltie* of *Sight*. For as there is a *Lordship* (as it were) of the *Feete*, wherein the Master doth much joy when he walketh about the *Line* of his owne *Possessions*: So there is a *Lordship* likewise of the *Eye* which being a raunging, and Imperious, and (I might say) an *usurping Sence*; can indure no narrow *circumscription*; but must be fedde, both with extent and varietie. Yet on the other side, I finde vaste and indefinite views which

[5; A 3]

drowne all apprehension of the uttermost *Objects*, condemned, by good Authors, as if thereby some part of the pleasure (whereof I speake) did perish. Lastly, I remember a private *Caution*, which I know not well how to sort, unlesse I should call it *Political*. By no meanes, to build too neere a great *Neighbour*; which were in truth to bee as unfortunately seated on the earth, as *Mercurie* is in the Heavens, for the most part, ever in *combustion*, or *obscuritie*, under brighter beames then his owne.

From these several *Knowledges* as I have said, and perhaps from some other doe *Architects* derive their Doctrine about election of *Seats*[\*][\* *Ioannes Heurnius Institutiones Medicinæ*.

*lib. 7. cap. 2.*]: wherein I have not beene so severe, as a great Scholer of our time, who precisely restrayneth a perfect *Scituation*, at least for the maine point of health, *Ad locum contra quem Sol radios suos fundit cum sub Ariete oritur*, That is, in a word hee

[6]

would have the first *salutation* of the *Spring*. But such *Notes* as these, wheresoever we finde them in grave or slight Authors, are to my conceite rather *wishes* then *Precepts*; and in that qualitie, I will passe them over. Yet I must withall say that in the *seating* of our selves (which is a kinde of *Marriage* to a *Place*) *Builders* should bee as circumspect as *Wooers*; lest when all is done that *Doome* befall us, which our Master doth lay upon *Mitylene: A Towne* in truth (saith hee) *finely built, but foolishly planted*. And so much touching that, which I termed the *Totall Posture*.

[In margin: *Opidum* [= *Oppidum*] *quidem, aedificatum eleganter sed imprudenter positum.* (= *Vitruvius*)]

[The placing of the parts]

The next in Order is the placing of the *Parts*; About which (to leave as little as I may in my present labour, unto *Fancie*, which is wilde and irregular) I will propound a Rule of mine owne Collection, upon which I fell in this maner. I had noted, that all *Arte* was then in truest perfection, when it

[7]

might bee reduced to some naturall *Principle*. For what are the most judicious *Artisans* but the *Mimiques* of *Nature*? This led me to contemplate the *Fabrique* of our owne Bodies, wherein the *High Architect* of the world, had displaied such skill, as did stupifie, all humane reason. There I found the *Hart* as the fountaine of Life placed about the Middle, for the more equall communication of the vitall spirits. The *Eyes* seated aloft, that they might describe the greater Circle within their view. The *Armes* projected on each side, for ease of reaching. Briefly (not to loose our selves in this sweet speculation) it plainly appeareth, as a *Maxime* drawne from the Divine light; That the *Place* of every part, is to be determined by the *Use*.

So then, from naturall *structure*, to proceed to *Artificiall*; and in the rudest things, to preserve some *Image* of the excellentest. Let all the principall



[8]

chambers of *Delight*, All *Studies* and *Libraries*, be towards the *East*: For the Morning is a friend to the Muses. All Offices that require heat, as *Kitchins*, *Stillatories*, *Stoves*, roomes for *Baking*, *Brewing*, *Washing*, or the like, would be *Meridionall*. All that need a coole and fresh temper, as *Cellers*, *Pantries*, *Butteries*, *Granaries*, to the *North*. To the same side likewise, all that are appointed for gentle Motion, as *Galleries*, especially in warme Climes, or that otherwise require a steadie and unvariable light, as *Pinacothecia* (saith *Vitruvius*) by which he intendeth, (if I may guesse at his Greeke, as wee must doe often even at his Latine) certain *Repositories* for workes of rarity in Picture or other Arts, by the Italians called *Studioli*, which at any other Quarter, where the course of the *Sunne* doth diversifie the *Shadowes*, would loose much of their grace. And by this Rule having always regarde to the

[9; B]

*Use*, any other Part may bee fitly accommodated.

I must here not omit to note that the Ancient *Grecians*, and the *Romanes* by their example in their buildings abroad, where the *Seat* was free, did almost Religiously scituate the *Front* of their houses, towards the South; perhaps that the Masters *Eye*, when hee came home, might not be dazeled, or that being illustrated, by the *Sunne*, it might yeeld the more gracefull *Aspect*; or some such reason. But from this, the Moderne Italians doe varie whereof I shall speake more in another place. Let thus much suffice at the present for the *Position* of the severall *Members*, wherein must bee had as our Author doth often insinuate, and especially *lib. 6. cap. 10.* a singular regard, to the nature of the *Region*: Every Nation, being tyed above al Rules whatsoever, to a discretion, of providing against their owne *Inconveniencies*: And

[10]

therefore a good *Parler* in Ægypt would perchance make a good *Celler* in England.

[The Work]

There now followeth the second Branch of the generall *Section* touching the *Worke*.

In the *Worke*, I will first consider the principall parts, and afterwards the Accessorie, or *Ornaments*; And in the Principall, first the Preparation of the *Materials*, and then the Disposition, which is the *Forme*.

## [The materials in the Work]

Now, concerning the *Materiall* part; Although surely, it cannot disgrace an *Architect*, which doth so well become a Philosopher, to looke into the properties of *Stone* and *Wood*: as that Firre Trees, Cypresses, Cedars, and such other *Aereall* aspiring *Plants*, being by a kinde of naturall rigour (which in a man I would call pride) inflexible downwards are thereby fittest for *Posts* or *Pillars* or such upright use; that

[11; B 2]

on the other side, Oake, and the like true hartie Timber being strong in all positions, may bee better trusted in crosse and traverse worke, for *Summers*, or guirding and binding *beames*, as they tearme them. And so likewise to observe of *Stone*, that some, are better within, and other to beare *Weather*: Nay, to descend lower even to examine *Sand* and *Lyme*, and *Clay* (of all which things *Vitruvius* hath discoursed, without any daintines, and the most of new Writers) I say though the *Speculative* part of such knowledge be *liberall*: yet to redeeme this Profession, and my present paynes, from indignitie; I must heere remember that to choose and sort the *materials*, for every part of the *Fabrique*, is a Dutie more proper to a second *Superintendent*, over all the Under Artisans called (as I take it) by our Author, *Officinator lib. 6. cap. II.* and in that Place expressly distinguished, from the *Architect*, whose glory doth

[21 = 12]

more consist, in the Designement and *Idea* of the whole *Worke*, and his truest ambition should be to make the *Forme*, which is the nobler Part (as it were) triumph over the *Matter*: whereof I cannot but mention by the way, a foreigne Paterne, namely the Church of *Santa Giustina* in *Padova*: In truth a sound piece of good Art, where the *Materials* being but ordinarie stone, without any garnishment of sculpture, doe yet ravish the Beholder, (and hee knowes not how) by a secret *Harmony* in the *Proportions*. And this indeede is that end, at which in some degree, we should ayme even in the privatest workes: whereunto though I make haste, yet let me first collect, a few of the least triviall cautions, belonging to the *Materiall Provision*.

*Leon Batista Alberti*, is so curious, as to wish all the *Timber*, cut out of the same *Forrest*, and al the *Stone*, out of the same *Quarrie*.

[13; B 3]

*Philibert de l'Orme* the French Architect goes yet somewhat further, and would have the *Lyme* made of the very same *Stone*, which wee intend to employ in the *Worke*; as belike imagining that they will sympathize and joyne the better, by a kinde of *Originall* kindred. But such conceits as these seeme somewhat too fine among this *Rubbage*, though I doe not produce them in sport. For surely the like agreements of nature, may have oftentimes a discreet application to Art. Alwayes it must be confessed, that to make *Lyme* without any great choyce of refuse stuffe, as we commonly do, is an *English* error, of no small moment in our Buildings. Whereas the *Italians* at this day, and much more the *Ancients* did burne their firmest *stone*, and even fragments of *Marble* where it was copious, which in time became almost *Marble* againe, or at least of indissoluble duritie, as appeareth in the standing *Theaters*.

[14]

I must here not omit, while I am speaking of this part a certain forme of *Bricke* described by *Daniele Barbaro Patriarch* of *Aquileia*, in the largest Edition of his Commentary upon *Vitruvius*. The Figure triangular, every side a foot long, and some inch and a halfe thicke, which he doth commend unto us for many good conditions: As that they are more commodious in the management, of lesse expence, of fayrer show, adding much beautie and strength to the *Murall Angles*, where they fall gracefully into an indented *Worke*: so as I should wonder that wee have not taken them into use, being propounded by a man of good authoritie in this knowledge; but that all Nations doe start at *Novelties*, and are indeed married to their owne *Moulds*. Into this place might aptly fall a doubt, which some have wel moved; whether the ancient *Italians* did burne their *Bricke* or no; which a passage or two in *Vitruvius*

[15; B 4]

hath left ambiguous. Surely where the *Naturall* heat is strong enough, to supply the *Artificiall*, it were but a curious folly to multiply both *Labour* and *Expence*. And it is besides very probable, that those *Materials* with a kindly and temperate heate would prove fairer, smoother, and lesse distorted, then with a violent: Onely, they suffer two exceptions. First, that by such a gentle drying much time will bee lost which might otherwise bee employed in compiling. Next, That they will want a certaine sucking and soaking *Thirstinesse*, or a fiery appetite to drinke in the *Lime*, which must knit the *Fabrique*. But this question may be confined to the *South*, where there is more Sunne and patience. I will therefore not hinder my course, with this incident scruple, but close that part which I have now in hand, about the *Materialls*, with a principall

[16]

caution: That sufficient *Stuffe* and *Money* bee ever ready before we beginne: For when wee build now a piece, and then another by *Fits*, the *Worke* dries and sinkes unequally, whereby the *Wall*es growe full of *Chinques*, and *Crevices*; Therefore such pawings are well reprooved by *Palladio*, *lib. 1. cap. 1.* and by all other. And so having gleaned these few remembrances, touching the preparation of the *Matter*, I may now proceede to the *Disposition* thereof, which must forme the *Worke*. In the *Forme*, as I did in the *Seate*, I will first consider the generall *Figuration*, and then the severall *Members*.

[The Figuration]

*Figures* are either *simple* or *Mixed*. The simple be either *Circular* or *Angular*. And of *Circular*, either *Compleate*, or *Deficient*, as *Ovals*, with which kindes I will bee contented, though the *Distribution* might bee more curious.

[17; C]

Now the exact *Circle* is in truth a *Figure*, which for our purpose hath many fit and eminent properties; as fitnessse, for *Commodity* and *Receit*, being the most capable; fitnessse for strength and duration, being the most united in his parts; Fitnessse for beautie and delight as imitating the celestiall *Orbes*, and the universall *Forme*. And it seemes, besides, to have the approbation of *Nature*, when shee worketh by *Instinct*, which is her secret Schoole: For birds doe build their nests *Spherically*: But notwithstanding these *Attributes*, it is in truth a very unprofitable *Figure* in private *Fabriques*, as being of allover the most chargeable, and much roome lost in the bending of the *Wall*es, when it comes to bee divided: besides an ill distribution of light, except from the *Center* of the *Roofe*. So as anciently it was not usual, save in their *Temples* and *Amphi-Theaters*, which needed no

[18]

*Compactions*. The *Ovals* and other imperfect circular *Formes*, have the same exceptions, and lesse benefite of capacity: So as there remaynes to bee considered in this generall survey of *Figures*, the *Angular*, and the *Mixed* of both. Touching the *Angular*, it may perchance sound somewhat strangely, but it is a true observation, that this *Art* doth neither love many *Angles* nor few. For first, the *Triangle* which hath the fewest sides and corners is of all other the most condemned, as being indeed both incapable and infirme (wherof the reason shall be

afterwards rendred) and likewise unresolvable into any other regular *Forme* then it selfe, in the inward *Partitions*.

As for Figures of five, six, seven, or more *Angles*; They are surely fitter for *Militar* [Military] *Architecture*, where the Bulworks may be layed out at the *Corners*, and the sides serve for *Curtaines*, then for civill use; though I am not

[19; C 2]

ignorant of that famous Piece at *Caprarola*, belonging to the house of *Farnese*, cast by *Baroccio* into the forme of a *Pentagone*, with a *Circle* inscribed, where the *Architect* did ingeniously wrestle with divers inconveniences in disposing of the *Lights*, and in saving the vacuities. But as designes of such nature doe more ayme at *Rarity*, then *Commoditie*: so for my part I had rather admire them, then commend them.

These things considered, we are both by the *Precepts* and by the *Practise* of the best *Builders*, to resolve upon *Rectangular Squares*, as a meane betweene too few, and too many *Angles*; and through the equall inclination of the sides (which make the right *Angle*) stronger then the *Rhombe*, or *Losenge*, or any other irregular *Square*. But whether the exact *Quadrat*, or the long *Square* be the better, I finde not well determined, though in mine

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owne conceit I must preferre the latter; provided that the *Length* doe not exceed the *Latitude* above one third part, which would diminish the beauty of the *Aspect*, as shall appeare when I come to speake of *Symmetry* and *Proportion*.

Of mixed Figures, partly *Circular*, and partly *Angular*, I shall neede to say nothing; because having handled the simple already, the mixed according to their composition, doe participate of the same respects. Onely against these, there is a proper *Objection*, that they offend *Uniformity*: Whereof I am therefore opportunely induced to say somewhat, as farre as shal concerne the outward *Aspect*, which is now in *Discourse*.

[The outward Aspect]

In *Architecture*, there may seem to be two opposite affectations, *Uniformitie* and *Varietie*, which yet will very well suffer a good reconcilment, as we may see in the great *Paterne* of *Nature*, to

[21; C 3]

which I must often resort: For surely there can be no *Structure*, more uniforme, then our *Bodies* in the whole *Figuration*: Each side, agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the qualitie, and in the measure of the Parts: And yet some are round, as the *Armes*, some flat, as the *Hands*, some prominent, and some more retired: So as upon the Mater, wee see that *Diversitie* doth not destroy *Uniformitie*, and that the Limmes of a noble *Fabrique*, may be correspondent enough, though they be various; Provided alwayes, that we doe not runne into certaine extravagant Inventions, whereof I shall speake more largely, when I come to the parting and casting of the whole *Worke*. We ought likewise to avoyde Enormous heights of sixe or seven *Stories*, as well as irregular *Formes*; and the contrary fault of low-distended *Fronts*, is as unseemely: Or againe, when the *Face* of the Building, is

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narrow and the *Flank* deepe; To all which extreames, some particular Nations, or Townes, are subject, whose Names may be civilly spared: And so much for the generall *Figuration*, or *Aspect* of the *Worke*.

[Concerning the Parts]

Now concerning the Parts in Severallitie. All the parts of every *Fabrique*, may be comprised under five Heads, which Division I receive from *Batista Alberti*, to doe him right. And they be these.

The *Foundation*.  
 The *Walles*.  
 The *Appertions or Overtures*.  
 The *Compartition*.  
 And the *Cover*.

About all which I purpose to gather the principall Cautions, and as I passe along, I will touch also the naturall Reasons of *Art*, that my discourse may be the lesse *Mechanicall*.

[The Foundation]

First then concerning the *Foundation*, which requireth the exactest care; For

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if that happen to dance, it will marre all the mirth in the House: Therefore, that wee may found our Habitation firmly, we must first examine the *Bed of Earth* (as I may tearme it,)

upon which we will Build; and then the underfillings, or *Substruction*, as the Auncients did call it: For the former, we have a generall precept in *Vitruvius* twice precisely repeated by him, as a point indeed of mayne consequence, first *lib. 1. cap. 5.* And againe more fitly *lib. 3. cap. 3.* in these words as *Philander* doth well correct the vulgar Copies.

*Substructionis Foundationes fodiantur (saith he) si queant inveniri ad solidum, et in solido.* By which words, I conceive him to commend unto us, not onely, a diligent, but even a jealous examination what the *Soile* will beare: advising us, not to rest upon any appearing *Soliditie*, unlesse the whole *Mould* through which wee cut, have likewise beene *solid*; But how deepe wee should goe

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in this search, hee hath no where to my remembrance determined, as perhaps depending more upon *Discretion*, then *Regularitie*, according to the weight of the *Worke*; yet *Andrea Palladio* hath fairely adventured to reduce it into Rule: Allowing for that *Cavazione* (as he calleth it\*) a sixt part of the *height* of the whole *Fabrique*, unles the Cellers be under ground, in which case hee would have us, (as it should seeme) to found somewhat lower.

[\**Underdigging, or Hollowing of the Earth.*]

Some *Italians* doe prescribe, that when they have chosen the *Floore*, or Plot, and laid out the Limits of the *Worke*, wee should first of all Digge *Wels* and *Cesternes*, and other under-conducts and conveiances, for the *Suillage* of the House, whence may arise a double benefit, for both the Nature of the *Mould* or *Soile*, would thereby be safely searched, and moreover those open vents, will serve to discharge such *Vapours*, as having otherwise no issue

[25; D]

might peradventure shake the Building. This is enough for the naturall *Grounding*, which though it bee not a part of the solid *Fabrique*, yet here was the fittest place to handle it.

#### [The Substruction]

There followeth the *Substruction*, or Ground-worke of the whole *Edifice*, which must sustaine the *Walles*; and this is a kinde of *Artificiall* foundation, as the other was *Natural*. About which these are the chiefe Remembrances. First, that the bottome be precisely leuell, where the *Italians* therefore commonly lay a platforme of good Bord; Then that the lowest *Ledge* or *Row* be meereley of *Stone*, and the broader the better, closely layd without *Morter*,

which is a generall caution for all parts in Building, that are contiguous to *Bord* or *Timber*, because *Lime* and *Wood* are insociable, and if any where unfit confiners, then most especially in the *Foundation*. Thirdly, that the bredth of the *Substruction* bee at least

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double to the *insistent Wall*, and more or lesse, as the weight of the *Fabrique* shall require; for as I must againe repeate, *Discretion* may be freer then *Art*. Lastly, I finde in some a curious precept, that the *Materials* below, be layd as they grew in the *Quarrie*, supposing them belike to have most strength in their *Naturall* and *Habituall* Posture. For as *Philippe de l'Orme* observeth, the breaking or yeelding of a stone in this part, but the bredth of the backe of a knife, will make a *Cleft* of more then half a foot in the *Fabrique* aloft, So important are *Fundamentall errors*. Among which notes I have sayd nothing of *Pallification*, or *Pyling* of the *Ground-plot*, commanded by *Vitruvius*, when we build upon a moist or marshy soile, because that were an error in the first choyce. And therefore all *Seats* that must use such provision below (as *Venice* for an eminent example) would perhaps upon good enquiry, be found

[27; D 2]

to have beene at first chosen by the counsell of *Necessity*.

Now the *Foundation* being searched, and the *Substruction* layd, wee must next speake of the *Wals*.

[The Walls]

*Wals* are either entire and continuall, or intermitted; and the *Intermissions* be either *Pillars* or *Pylasters*, for here I had rather handle them, then as some others doe, among *Ornaments*.

The entire *Muring* is by Writers diversly distinguished: By some, according to the quality of the *Materials*, as either Stone or Brick, etc. where, by the way, let me note, that to build *Wals* and greater Workes of *Flint*, whereof wee want not example in our *Iland*, and particularly in the *Province* of *Kent*, was (as I conceive) meerely unknown to the *Ancients*, who observing in that *Materiall*, a kinde or *Metalicall* Nature, or at least a *Fusibility*, seeme to have resolved it into nobler use; an Art now utterly lost, or perchance kept up by a few



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*Chymicks*. Some againe doe not so much consider the quality, as the *Position* of the sayd *Materials*: As when Bricke or squared stones are laid in their lengths with sides and heads together, or their points conjoynd like a *Networke* (for so *Vitruvius* doth call it *reticulatum opus*) of familiar use (as it should seeme) in his Age, though afterwards growne out of request, even perhaps for that subtill speculation which hee himselfe toucheth; because so layd, they are more apt in swagging down, to pierce with their points, then in the jacent Posture, and so to crevice the *Wall*: But to leave such cares to the meaner Artificers, the more essentiall are these.

That the *Wall*es bee most exactly perpendicular to the *Ground-worke*: for the right *Angle* (thereon depending) is the true cause of all *Stability*; both in Artificiall and Naturall positions; A man likewise standing

[29; D 3]

firmest, when he stands uprightest. That the massiest and heaviest *Materials* bee the lowest, as fitter to beare, then to be borne. That the *Worke* as it riseth, diminish in *thicknesse* proportionally, for ease both of weight, and of expence. That certaine courses or *Ledges* of more strength then the rest, be interlayed like *Bones*, to sustaine the *Fabrique* from totall ruine, if the under parts should decay. Lastly, that the *Angles* bee firmly bound, which are the *Nerves* of the whole *Edifice*, and therefore are commonly fortified by the *Italians*, even in their Bricke buildings, on each side of the corners, with well squared stone, yeelding both strength and grace[.] And so much touching the entire or solid *Wall*.

## [The Intermissions]

The intermissions (as hath beene sayd) are either by *Pillars*, or *Pylasters*.

*Pillers* which we may likewise call *Columnes* (for the word among Artificers is almost naturallized) I could

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distinguish into a *Simple* and *Compound*ed. But (to tread the beaten and plainest way) there are five *Orders* of *Pillers*, according to their dignity and perfection, thus marshalled:

- The *Tuscan*.
- The *Dorique*.
- The *Ionique*.

The *Corinthian*.

And the *Compound Order*, or as some call it the *Roman*, others more generally the *Italian*.

In which five *Orders* I will first consider their *Communities*, and then their *Proprieties*.

[The Communities of the Orders]

Their *Communities* (as farre as I observe) are principally three. First, they are all *Round*; for though some conceive *Columna Atticurges* mentioned by *Vitruvius*, *lib. 3. cap. 3.* to have been a squared Pillar, yet wee must passe it over as irregular, never received among these *Orders*, no more then certaine other licentious inventions, of

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*Wreathed*, and *Vined*, and *Figured Columnes*, which our Author himselfe condemneeth, being in his whole Booke a professed enemy to *Fancies*.

Secondly, they are all *Diminished*, or *Contracted* insensibly, more or lesse, according to the proportion of their heights, from one third part of the whole *Shaft* upwards, which *Philander* doth prescribe by his owne precise measuring of the Ancieut [*Ancient*] remainders, as the most gracefull *Diminution*. And here I must take leave to blame a practice growne (I know not how) in certaine places too familiar, of making *Pillars* swell in the middle, as if they were sicke of some *Tympany*, or *Dropsie*, without any Authentique Paterne or Rule, to my knowledge, and unseemly to the very judgement of sight. True it is that in *Vitruvius*, *lib. 3. cap. 2.* wee finde these words, *De adiectione, quae adijcitur in medijs Columnis; quae apud Grecos (...) appellatur, in*

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*extremo libro erit formatio eius*; which passage, seemeth to have given some countenance to this error. But of the promise there made, as of diverse other elsewhere, our Master hath fayled us, either by slip of memory, or injury of time, and so wee are left in the darke. Always sure I am, that besides the authority of example which it wanteth, It is likewise contrary to the Originall and Naturall *Type*, in *Trees*, which at first was imitated in *Pillars*, as *Vitruvius* himselfe observeth, *lib. 5. cap. 1.* For who ever saw any *Cypresse*, or *Pine*, (which are there alledged) small below and above, and tumerous in the middle, unlesse it were some diseased Plant, as Nature (though otherwise the comliest *Mistresse*) hath now and then her deformities and *Irregularities*.

Thirdly, they have all their *Undersettings*, or *Pedistals*, in height a third part of the whole *Columnne*, comprehending the *Base* and *Capitall*; and their

[33; E]

upper Adjuncts, as *Architrave*, *Frize*, and *Cornice*, a fourth part of the sayd Pillar; which rule of singular use and facility I find settled by *Iacobo Baroccio*, and hold him a more credible Author, as a man that most intended this piece, then any that vary from him in those *Dimentiones*.

These are their most considerable *Communities* and agreements.

[Properties of the Orders]

Their *Proprieties* or *Distinctions* will best appeare by some reasonable description of them all, together with their *Architraves*, *Frizes*, and *Cornices*, as they are usually handled.

[The Tuscan Order]

First therefore the *Tuscan* is a plain, massie, rurall Pillar, resembling some sturdy well-limmed Labourer, homely clad, in which kinde of comparisons *Vitruvius* himselfe seemeth to take pleasure, *lib. 4. cap. 1*. The length thereof shall be six *Diameters*, of the grossest of the Pillar below. Of all proportions, in truth, the most naturall; For our

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Author tells us, *lib. 3. cap. 1*. that the foote of a man is the sixt part of his bodie in ordinary measure, and *Man* himselfe, according to the saying of *Protagoras* (which *Aristotle* doth somewhere vouchsafe to celebrate) is (...)\*: as it were the *Prototype* of all exact *Symmetrie*, which we have all other occasion to touch before: This *Columnne* I have by good warrant called *Rurall*, *Vitru. cap. 2. lib. 3*. And therefore we need not consider his rank among the rest. The distance or *Intercolumniation* (which word Artificers doe usually borrow) may be neere foure of his owne *Diameters*, because the *Materials* commonly layd over this Pillar, were rather of wood then stone; through the lightnesse whereof the *Architrave* could not suffer, though thinnely supported, nor the *Columnne* it selfe being so substantiall. The *Contraction* aloft shall be (according to the most received practice)

[\*(See Aristotle, Metaphysics, Bk. x, cap. 1)]

[35; E 2]

one fourth part of his thickness below. To conclude, (for I intend only as much as shall serve for a due Distinguishment, and not to delineate every petty member) the *Tuscan* is of all the rudest Pillar, and his principall Character *Simplicity*.

[The Doric Order]

The *Dorique Order* is the gravest that hath beene received into civill use, preserving, in comparison of those that follow, a more *Masculine Aspect*, and little trimmer then the *Tuscan* that went before, save a sober garnishment now and then of *Lions heads* in the *Cornice*, and of *Triglyphs* and *Metopes* alwayes in the *Frize*. Sometimes likewise, but rarely, chaneled, and a little slight sculpture about the *Hypotrachelion*, or *Necke* under the *Capitall*. The length, seven *Diameters*. His ranke or degree, is the lowest by all *Congruity*, as being more massie then the other three, and consequently abler to support. The *Intercolumniation*, thrice as

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much as his thickness below. The *Contraction* aloft, one fift of the same measure. To discern him, will bee a peece rather of good *Heraldry*, then of *Architecture*: For he is best knowne by his place, when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his *Frize* (before mentioned) when he is alone.

[The Ionic Order]

The *Ionique Order* doth represent a kinde of Feminine slendernesse, yet saith *Vitruvius*, not like a light Housewife, but in a decent dressing, hath much of the *Matrone*. The length eight *Diameters*. In degree as in substantialnesse, next above the *Dorique*, sustayning the third, and adorning the second Story. The *Intercolumniation* two of his owne *Diameters*. The *Contraction* one sixt part. Best knowne by his trimmings, for the bodie of this *Columnne* is perpetually chaneled, like a thicke plighted Gowne. The *Capitall* dressed on each side, not much unlike womens Wires, in a spirall

[37; E 3]

wreathing, which they call the *Ionian Voluta*. The *Cornice* indented. The *Frize* swelling like a pillow; And therefore by *Vitruvius*, not unelegantly tearmed *Pulvinata*. These are his best *Characters*.

[The Corinthian Order]

The *Corinthian*, is a *Columnne*, laciviously decked like a *Curtezane*, and therein much participating (as all Inventions doe) of the place where they were first borne: *Corinthe* having been without controversie one of the wantonest Townes in the world. This *Order* is of nine *Diameters*. His degree, one Stage above the *Ionique*, and alwaies the highest of the simple *Orders*. The *Intercolumniation* two of his *Diameters*, and a fourth part more, which is of all other the comeliest distance. The *Contraction* one seventh Part. In the *Cornice* both *Dentelli* and *Modigliani*.\* The *Frize*, adorned with all kinds of *Figures* and various *Compartments* at Pleasure. The *Capitall*, cut into the

[\*Our Artizans call them *Teeth* and *Cartonzes*.]

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beautifullest leafe, that Nature doth yeeld, which surely next the *Aconitum Pardalianches* (rejected perchance as an ominous *Plant*) is the *Acanthus* or *Branca Ursina* though *Vitruvius* doe impute the choice thereof unto Chance, and wee must be contented to beleieve him: In short, As *Plainnesse* did Characterize the *Tuscan*, so must *Delicacie* and *Varietie* the *Corinthian* Pillar, besides the height of his *Ranke*.

[The Compounded Order]

The last is the *Compounded Order*: His *name* being a briefe of his *Nature*. For this Pillar is nothing in effect, but a *Medlie*, or an *Amasse* of all the precedent *Ornaments*, making a new kinde, by stealth, and though the most richly tricked, yet the poorest in this, that he is a borrower of all his *Beautie*. His length, (that he may have somewhat of his owne) shalbe of ten *Diameters*. His degree should, no doubt, bee the highest by reasons before yeelded.

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But few *Palaces* Auncient or Moderne exceede the third of the *Civill Orders*. The *Intercolumniation*, but a *Diameter* and an halfe, or alwayes somewhat less then two. The

*Contraction* of this Pillar must be one eight Part lesse above then belowe. To know him will be easie by the verie mixture of his *Ornaments*, and *Cloathing*.

[Cautions relating to the Orders]

And so much touching the five *Orders* of *Columnnes*, which I will conclude with two or three, not impertinent Cautions:

First, that where more of these *Orders* then one, shalbe set in severall *Stories* or *Contignations*, there must bee an exquisite care, to place the *Columnnes* precisely, one over another, that so, the *solid* may answeare to the *solid*, and the *vacuities* to the *vacuities*, as well for *Beautie*, as strength of the *Fabrique*: And by this Caution the Consequence is plaine, that when wee speake of the *Intercolumniation* or *distance*, which is

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due to each *Order*, we meane in a *Dorique*, *Ionicall*, *Corinthian Porch*, or *Cloister*, or the like of one *Contignation*, and not in Storied buildings.

Secondly, let the *Columnnes* above be a fourth part lesse then those below, saith *Vitruvius*, *lib. 5. cap. 1*. A strange Precept, in my opinion, and so strange, that peradventure it were more sutable, even to his owne Principles, to make them rather a fourth Part greater, For *lib. 3. cap. 2*. where our master handleth the *Contractions* of Pillars, wee have an *Optique* Rule, that the higher they are, the lesse should be alwayes their diminution aloft, because the *Eye* it selfe, doth naturally contract all *Objects* more or lesse, according to the *Distance*; which consideraton, may, at first sight, seeme to have beene forgotten in the Caution wee have now given; but *Vitruvius* (the best Interpreter of himselfe) hath in the same place of his fift Booke, well acquitted

[41; F]

his memorie by these words: *Columnnae superiores quarta parte minores, quàm inferiores, sunt constituendae; propterea quòd, operi ferendo quae sunt inferiora, firmiora esse debent*; preferring like a wise Mechanick, the *naturall* Reason, before the *Mathematicall*, and sensible conceits before abstracted. And yet *lib. 4. cap. 4*. he seemeth againe, to affect *Subtiltie*, allowing pillars the more they are chaneled, to bee the more slender; because while our *Eye* (saith hee) doth as it were distinctly measure, the eminent and the hollowed Parts, the Totall

Object appeareth the bigger, and so as much as those excavations, doe subtract, is supplied by a *Fallacie* of the *Sight*: But here mee thinks, our Master should likewise have rather considered, that naturall Inconvenience; for though Pillars by chaneling, bee seemingly ingrossed to our Sight, yet they are truely weakened in themselves; and therefore ought perchance

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in sound reason not to bee the more slender, but the more Corpulent, unlesse apparances preponder truths, but *Contra Magistrum, non est disputandum.*

A third Caution shalbe that all the *projected* or *Jutting* Parts (as they are tearmed) be very moderate, especially, the *Cornices* of the lower *Orders*, for whilest some thinke to give them, a beautifull and royall Aspect, by their largenesse, they sometimes hinder both the Light within, (whereof I shall speake more in due place) and likewise detract much from the viewe of the Front without, as well appeareth in one of the principall Fabriques at *Venice*, namely the Palace, of the Duke *Grimani* on the *Canal Grande*, which by this magnificent error, is somewhat disgraced: I neede now say no more concerning *Columnes* and their *Adjuncts*, about which Architects make such a noyse in their Bookes, as if the very tearmes of *Architraves*, and *Frizes*,

[43; F 2]

and *Cornices*, and the like, were enough to graduate a Master of this *Art*, yet let me before I passe to other matter, prevent a familiar Objection; It will perchance bee said, that all this Doctrine touching the five *Orders*, were fitter for the *Quarries* of *Asia* which yeilded 127 *Columnes* of 60 Foote high, to the *Ephesian* Temple, or for *Numidia* where *Marbles* abound; then for the *Spirits* of *England*, who must be contented with more ignoble *Materials*: To which I answere, that this neede not discourage us: For I have often at *Venice* viewed with much pleasure, an *Atrium Graecum* (we may translate it an *Anti porch*, after the Greeke manner) raised by *Andrea Palladio*, upon eight *Columnes* of the *Compounded Order*; the *Bases* of Stone, without *Pedistals*, The *shafts* or Bodies, of meere Brick; three foote and an halfe thick in the *Diameter* below, and consequently thirty five foote high, as

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himselfe hath described them in his second Booke; Then which, mine Eye, hath never yet beheld any *Columnes*, more stately of Stone or Marble; For the Bricks, having first beene

formed in a *Circular Mould*, and then cut before their burning into foure quarters or more, the sides afterwards joyne so closely, and the points concenter so exactly, that the *Pillars* appeare one *entire Peece*; which short description, I could not omit, that thereby may appeare, how in truth wee want rather *Art* then stufte, to satisfie our greatest *Fancies*.

[Pylasters]

After *Pillars*, the next in my distribution, are *Pylasters*, mentioned by *Vitruvius*, *lib. 5. cap. 1.* and scant any where else under the name of *Parastates*, as *Philander* conceiveth, which *Grammaticall* point (though perchance nor very cleere) I am contented to examine no farther. Always, what we meane by the thing it selfe, is plaine

[45; F 3]

enough in our owne vulgar; Touching which, I will briefly collect the most considerable notes.

*Pylasters*, must not bee too tall and slender, least they resemble *Pillars*, nor too *Dwarfish* and grosse, least they imitate the *Piles* or *Peers* of Bridges: Smoothnesse doth not so naturally become them, as a Rusticke *Superficies*, for they ayme more at *State* and *Srength* [Strength], then *Elegancie*. In private Buildings they ought not to be narrower, then one Third, nor broader then two parts of the whole Vacuity, between *Pylaster* and *Pylaster*; but to those that stand at the *Corners*, may be allowed a little more Latitude by discretion, for strength of the *Angles*: In *Theaters* and *Amphi-theaters*, and such weighty Workes, *Palladio* observeth them, to have beene as broad as the halfe, and now and then as the whole *Vacuitie*: Hee noteth likewise (and others consent with him) that their

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true *Proportion*, should bee an *exact Square*; But for lessening of expence, and inlarging of roome, they are commonly narrower in *Flanke*, then in *Front*: Their principall *Grace* doth consist in halfe or whole *Pillars*, applied unto them; in which case it is well noted by Authors, that the *Columnes* may bee allowed somewhat above their ordinary length, because they leane unto so good *Supporters*. And thus much shall suffice touching *Pylasters*, which is a cheape, and a strong, and a noble kinde of *Structure*.



## [Arches]

Now because they are oftner, both for Beauty and Majesty, found *Arched*, then otherwise; I am heere orderly led to speake of *Arches*, and under the same head of *Vaults*: for an *Arch* is nothing indeed but a contracted *Vault*, and a *Vault* is but a dilated *Arch*: Therefore to handle this Piece both compendiously, and fundamentally, I will resolve the whole businesse in to a few *Theoremes*.

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*Theoreme 1.*

All solid *Materials* free from impediment, doe descend *perpendicularly* downewards, because *ponderosity* is a naturall inclination to the *Center* of the World, and *Nature* performeth her motions by the shortest lines.

*Theoreme 2.*

Brickes moulded in their ordinary *Rectangular* Forme, if they shall be layd one by another in a levell row, betweene any Supporters sustayning the two ends, then all the pieces between, will necessarily sinke, even by their owne naturall *Gravity*, and much more if they suffer any depression by other waight above them, because their sides being *parallel*, they have roome to descend *perpendicularly*, without impeachment, according to the former *Theoreme*; Therefore to make them stand, wee must either change their *Posture*, or their *Figure*, or both.

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*Theoreme 3.*

If Brickes moulded, or Stones squared *Cuneatim* (that is, *Wedge wise*, broader above then below) shall be layd in a *Row levell*, with their ends supported, as in the precedent *Theoreme*, pointing all to one Center; then none of the pieces betweene can sinke till the *Supporters* give way, because they want roome in that *Figuration*, to descend *perpendicularly*. But this is yet a weake piece of *Structure*, because the *Supporters* are subject to much impulsion especially if the line be long; for which reason this *Forme* is seldom used, but over *Windowes*, or narrowe *Doores*. Therefore to fortifie the *Work* as in this third *Theoreme* wee have supposed the *Figure* of all the *Materials* different from those in the second: So likewise wee must now change the *Posture*, as will appear in the *Theoreme* following.

*Theoreme 4.*

If the *Materials* figured as before

[49; G]

*Wedge-wise*, shall not be disposed levelly, but in forme of some *Arch*, or portion of a *Circle*, pointing all to the same *Center*: In this case neither the pieces of the sayd *Arch*, can sinke downewards, through want of roome to descend\* [\*By the first *Theor.*] perpendicularly: Nor the *Supporters* or *Butments* (as they are tearmed) of the sayd *Arch* can suffer so much violence, as in the precedent flat Posture, for the roundnesse will alwayes make the Incumbent waight, rather to rest upon the *Supporters*, then to shove them; whence may be drawn an evident *Corolary*; that the safest of all *Arches* is the *Semicircular*, and of all *Vaults* the *Hemisphere*, though not absolutely exempted from some naturall weakenesse,\* [\* which is the sole prerogative of perpendicular lines and right Angles] as *Barnardino Baldi* Abbot of *Guastalla*, in his Commentary upon *Aristotles Mechaniques*, doth very well proove; where let me note by the way, that when any thing is *Mathematically* demonstrated weake, it is much more

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*Mechanically* weake: Errors ever occurring more easily in the management of *Grosse Materials*, then *Lineall Designes*.

*Theoreme 5.*

As *Semicircular Arches*, or *Hemispherical Vaults*, being raised upon the totall *Diameter*, bee of all other the roundest, and consequently the securest, by the precedent *Theoreme*: So those are the gracefullest, which keeping precisely the same height, shall yet bee distended, one fourteenth part longer then the sayd entire *Diameter*; which addition of distent will conferre much to their *Beauty*, and detract but little from their *Srength* [Strength].

This observation I finde in *Leon-Batista Alberti*; But the practice how to preserve the same height, and yet distend the *Armes* or ends of the *Arch*, is in *Albert Durers Geometry*, who taught the *Italians* many an excellent *Line*, of great use in this *Art*.

[51; G 2]

Upon these five *Theoremes*, all the skill of *Arching* and *Vaulting* is grounded: As for those *Arches*, which our *Artizans* call of the third and fourth point; And the *Tuscan* writers *di terzo*,

and *di quarto acuto*, because they alwayes concurre in an acute *Angle*, and doe spring from division of the *Diameter*, into three, foure, or more parts at pleasure; I say, such as these, both for the naturall imbecility of the sharpe *Angle* it selfe, and likewise for their very *Uncomelinesse*, ought to bee exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their first inventors, the *Gothes* or *Lumbards*, amongst other *Reliques* of that barbarous *Age*.

[Apertures]

Thus of my first *Partition* of the parts of every *Fabrique*, into five Heads, having gone through the two former, and been incidently carried into this last doctrine touching *Arches* and *Vaults*. The next now in order are the *Apertions*; under which tearme I

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doe comprehend *Doores*, *Windowes*, *Staire cases*, *Chiminies*, or other *Conducts*. In short, all *Inlets* or *Outlets*; To which belong two generall *Cautions*.

First, That they bee as few in number, and as moderate in Dimension, as may possibly consist with other due respects: for in a word, all *Openings* are *Weaknings*.

Secondly, That they doe not approach too neere the *Angles* of the *Wals*; for it were indeed a most essentiall *Solecisme* to weaken that part, which must strengthen all the rest: A precept well recorded, but ill practised by the *Italians* themselves, peticularly at *Venice*, where I have observed diverse *Pergoli*, or *Meniana* (as *Vitruvius* seemeth to call them, which are certaine ballised out-standings to satisfie curiosity of sight) very dangerously set forth, upon the very point it selfe, of the *Murall Angle*.

[53; G 3]

Now, Albeit I make haste, to the casting and comparting of the whole *Worke*, (being indeede the very Definitive Summe of this *Art*, to distribute usefully and gracefully a well chosen *Plot*) yet I will first under their severall Heads, collect breifly some of the choisest notes, belonging to these particular *Overtures*.

Of *Doores* and *Windowes*.

These *In lets* of *Men* and of *Light*, I couple together, because I find their due Dimensions, brought under one Rule, by *Leone Alberti* (a learned Searcher) who from the Schoole of *Pythagoras* (where it was a fundamentall *Maxime*, that the *Images* of all things are latent in

*Numbers*) doth determine the comeliest Proportion, betweene breadths and heights; Reducing *Symmetrie* to *Symphonie*, and the *harmonie* of *Sounde*, to a kinde of *harmonie* in *Sight*, after this manner: The two

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principall *Consonances*, that most ravish the Eare, are by consent of all Nature, the *fift*, and the *Octave*; whereof the first riseth radically, from the proportion, betweene *two* and *three*. The other from the double *Intervalle*, betweene *One* and *Two*, or betweene *Two* and *Foure* etc. Now if we shall transport these proportions, from Audible to visible *Objects*; and apply them as they shall fall fittest (the nature of the Place considered) Namely in some *Windowes*, and *Doores*, the *Symmetrie* of *Two* to *Three*, in their Breadth and Length; In others the double as aforesaid; There will indubitably result from either, a gracefull and *harmonious* contentment, to the Eye; Which speculation though it may appeare unto vulgar *Artizans*, perhaps too subtile, and too sublime, yet wee must remember, that *Vitruvius* himselfe doth determine many things in his profession; by *Musicall* grounds, and much

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commendeth in an *Architect*, a *Philosophical Spirit*; that is, he would have him (as I conceive it) to be no superficiall, and floating *Artificer*; but a *Diver* into *Causes*, and into the *Mysteries* of *Proportion*; Of the *Ornaments*, belonging both to *Doores* and *Windowes*, I shall speake in other place; But let mee heere adde one observation; That our *Master* (as appeareth by divers passages, and particularly *lib. 6. cap. 9.*) seemes to have beene an extreame Lover of *Luminous Roomes*; And indeede I must confesse that a Franke Light, can misbecome noe *AEdifice* whatsoever, *Temples* onely excepted; which were anciently darke, as they are likewise at this day in some Proportion. *Devotion more requiring collected then defused Spirits*. [In margin: *Lumen est diffusivum sui et alieni.* (Vitruvius)] Yet on the other side we must take heede to make a House (though but for civill use) all *Eyes*, like *Argus*; which in Northerne *Climes* would be too cold, In *Southerne*, too hot: And therefore the

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matter indeede importeth more then a merry comparison. Besides, There is no part of *Structure* either more expencefull, then *Windowes*; or more ruinous; not onely for that vulgar reason, as being exposed to all violence of weather; but because consisting of so different and unsociable pieces, as *Wood*, *Iron*, *Leade*, and *Glasse*, and those small and weake, they are

easily shaken; I must likewise remember one thing, (though it be but a *Grammatical* note) touching *Doores*. Some were *Fores*, and Some were *Valvae*. Those (as the very word may seeme to import) did open *outwards*, These *inwards*; And were commonly of two *Leaves* or *Panes*, (as we call them) thereby requiring indeed, a lesser *Circuit* in their *unfolding*; And therefore much in use among *Italians* at this day; But I must charge them with an Imperfection, for though they let in as well as the former, yet they keepe out worse.

[57; H]

*Of Staire-cases.*

To make a compleate *Staire-case*, is a curious peece of *Architecture*: The vulgar Cautions are these.

That it have a very liberall *Light*, against all Casualtie of *Slippes*, and *Falles*.

That the space above the *Head*, bee large and *Airy*, which the *Italians* use to call *Un bel-sfogolo*, as it were good *Ventilation*, because a man doth spend much breath in mounting.

That the *Halfe-paces* bee well distributed, at competent distances, for reposing on the way.

That to avoyd *Encounters*, and besides to gratifie the beholder, the whole *Staire case* have no niggard *Latitude*, that is, for the principall *Ascent*, at least ten foot in *Royall Buildings*,

That the breadth of every single *Step* or *Staire* bee never lesse then one

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foote, nor more then eighteen inches.

That they exceede by no meanes halfe a foot in their height or thicknesse; for our *Legges* doe labour more in *Elevation*, then in *Distention*: These I say are familiar remembrances, to which let me adde;

That the steps bee layd where they joyne *Con un tantino di scarpa*; we may translate it somewhat *sloaping*, that so the foot may in a sort both ascend and descend together, which though observed by few, is a secret and delicate deception of the paines in mounting.

Lastly, to reduce this doctrine to some *Naturall*, or at least *Mathematicall* ground, (our *Master*, as we see, *lib. 9. cap. 2.*) borroweth those proportions, that make the sides of a *Rectangular Triangle*, which the Ancient Schoole did expresse in lowest tearmes, by the numbers of 3. 4. and 5. That is, *Three* for the *Perpendicular*, from the *Staire-head* to the ground: *Foure* for the

[59; H 2]

*Ground-line* it selfe, or *Recession* from the wall; And *Five* for the whole *Inclination* or slopenesse in the ascent, which proportion, saith he, will make *Temperatas graduum librationes*. Hitherto of *Staire-cases* which are direct: There are likewise *Spirall*, or *Cockle staires*, either *Circular*, or *Ovall*, and sometimes running about a *Pillar*, sometimes vacant, wherein *Palladio*, (A man in this point of singular felicity) was wont to divide the *Diameter*, of the first sort into three parts, yeelding one to the *Pillar*, and two to the *Steps*; Of the second into foure, whereof he gave two to the *Staires*, and two to the *Vacuitie*, which had all their light from above, And this in exact *Ovals*, is a Master-piece.

#### OF CHIMINIES.

In the present businesse, *Italians* (who make very frugall fires, are perchance not the best Counselors.) Therefore

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from them we may better learne, both how to raise faire *Mantels* within the roomes, and how to disguise gracefully the shafts of *Chimnies* abroad (as they use) in sundry formes (which I shall handle in the latter part of my labour) and the rest I well extract from *Philippe de l'Orme*: In this part of his *Worke* more diligent, then in any other, or, to doe him right, then any man else.

First, hee observeth very soberly, that who in the disposition of any Building will consider the nature of the *Region*, and the *Wendes* that ordinarily blow, from this, or that *Quarter*; might so cast the roomes, which shall most need fire; that hee should little feare the incommodity of *Smoake*, and therefore hee thinkes, that inconvenience, for the most part to proceede from some inconsiderate beginning. Or if the error lay not in the *Disposition* but in the *Structure* it selfe; then hee

[61; H 3]

makes a *Logicall* enquiry; That either the *Winde* is too much let in above, at the mouth of the *Shaft*, or the *Smoke* stifeled below; If none of these, Then there is a repulsion of the *Fume*, by some higher *Hill* or *Fabrique*, that shall overtoppe the *Chimney* and worke the former effect: If likewise not this, Then he concludes, that the Roome which is infested, must bee

necessarily both little and close, so as the smoke cannot issue by a naturall *Principle*, wanting a succession and supply of new *Ayre*.

Now, In these cases he suggesteth divers Artificall remedies; of which I will allow one, a little *Description*, because it savoureth of *Philosophie*, and was touched by *Vitruvius* himselfe, *lib. I. cap. 6.* but by this man ingeniously applied to the present use: Hee will have us provide to the present use: Hee will have us provide two hollow *brasse Balles* of reasonable capacitie, with little holes open in both, for reception of

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Water, when the Aire shalbe first sucked out; One of these wee must place with the hole upwards, upon an yron Wire, that shall traverse the *Chimney*, a little above the *Mantell*, at the ordinary height of the sharpest heate or flames, whereof the water within being rarified, and by rarification resolved into *Winde*, will breake out, and so force up the smoke, which otherwise might linger in the *Tunnell*, by the way, and oftentimes revert; With the other, (saith he) wee may supply the place of the former, when it is exhausted, or for a neede blow the *Fire* in the meane while; Which Invention I have interposed for some little intertainment of the Reader; I will conclude with a note from *Palladio*, who observeth that the Ancients did warme their Roomes, with certaine secret *Pipes* that came through the Walles, transporting heate (as I conceive it) to sundry parts of the House, from one

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common *Furnace*; I am ready to baptize them *Caliducts*, as well as they are tearmed *Ventiducts*, and *Aquae-ducts* that convey *Winde* and *Water*; which whether it were a custome or a delicacie, was surely both for thrift, and for use, far beyond the German *Stoves*; And I should preferre it likewise before our owne fashion, if the very sight of a fire did not adde to the Roome a kinde of *Reputation*,\* [*Hom. Epig.(...)*] as *old Homer* doth teach us in a verse, sufficient to prove that himselfe was not blinde, as some would laie to his charge.

#### [Conduits for the Suillage]

Touching *Conduits* for the *Suillage* and other necessities of the House, (which how base soever in use, yet for health of the Inhabitants, are as considerable, and perhaps more then the rest) I finde in our Authors, this Counsell; That *Art* should imitate *Nature*, in those ignoble conveyances; and separate them from Sight, (where there wants a running *Water*) into the

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most remote, and lowest, and thickest part of the *Foundation*: with secret vents passing up through the Walles like a *Tunnell* to the wilde Aire aloft: which all Italian Artizans commend for the discharge of noysome vapours, though else-where to my knowledge little practiced.

[Compartition: general Precautions]

Thus having considered the precedent *Appertions*, or *Overtures*, in severallie according to their particular Requisites, I am now come to the casting and *Contexture* of the whole *Worke*, comprehended under the tearme of *Compartition*: Into which (being the mainest piece) I cannot enter without a few generall Precautions, as I have done in other Parts.

First therefore, Let no man that intendeth to build, setle his Fancie upon a draught of the *Worke* in *paper*, how exactly soever measured, or neatly set off in *perspective*; And much lesse upon a bare *Plant* thereof, as they call

[65; I]

the *Schiographia* or *Ground lines*; without a *Modell* or *Type* of the whole *Structure*, and of every parcell and Partition in *Pastboord* or *Wood*.

Next that the said *Modell* bee as plaine as may be, without colours or other beautifying, lest the pleasure of the *Eye* preoccupate the *Judgement*, which advise omitted by the *Italian Architects*, I finde in *Philippe de l'Orme*, and therefore (though *France* bee not the *Theater* of best Buildings) it did merit some mention of his name.

Lastly, the bigger that this *Type* be, it is still the better, not that I will perswade a man to such an enormity, as that *Modell* made by *Antonio Labaco*, of Saint *Peters* Church in *Rome*, containing 22. foot in length, 16. in breadth, and 13. in heighth, and costing 4184. crownes: The price in truth of a reasonable *Chappell*: Yet in a *Fabrique* of some 40. or 50. thousand pounds charge, I wish 30. pounds at least layd

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out before hand in an exact *Modell*; for a little misery in the *Premises*, may easily breed some absurdity of greater charge, in the *Conclusion*.



## [The Compartition]

Now, after these premonishments, I will come to the *Compartition* it selfe; By which, the Authors of this *Art* (as hath beene touched before) doe understand, a *gracefull* and *usefull* distribution, of the whole *Ground plot* both for roomes of *Office*, and of *Reception* or *Entertainment*, as farre as the *Capacity* thereof, and the nature of the *Countrey* will comport. Which circumstances in the present *Subject*, are all of maine consideration, and might yeeld more discourse then an *Elementall Rapsodie* will premit. Therefore (to anatomize briefly this Definition) the *Gracefulnesse* (whereof wee speake) will consist in double *Analogie*, or correspondence. First, between the *Parts* and the *Whole*, whereby a *great Fabrique* should have *great partitions*, *great*

[67; I 2]

*Lights*, *great Entrances*, *great Pillars* or *Pylasters*; In summe, all the *Members great*. The next betweene the *Parts* themselves, not only, considering their *Breadths*, and *Lengths*, as before, when wee spake of *Doores* and *Windowes*; but here likewise enters a third respect of *Height*, a point (I must confesse) hardly reduceable to any generall precept.

True it is, that the *Ancients* did determine the *Longitude* of all *Roomes*, which were longer then broad, by the double of their *Latitude*, *Vitruvius lib. 6. cap. 5*. And the *Heighth* by the halfe of the breadth and length summed together[.] But when the Roome was precisely square they made the *Height* half as much more as the *Latitude*; which Dimensions the moderne *Architects* have taken leave to varie upon discretion: Sometimes squaring the *Latitude*, and then making the *Diagoniall* or overthwart Line, from *Angle* to *Angle*, of the said *Square*, the measure of the

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*Heighth* sometimes more, but seldome lower then the full breadth it selfe; which boldnesse of quitting the old *Proportions*, some attribute first to *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, perchance upon the credite he had before gotten, in two other *Arts*.

## [Usefulness]

The second point is *Usefulnesse*, which will consist in a sufficient *Number* of *Roomes*, of all sorts, and in their apt *Coherence*, without *distraction*, without *confusion*; so as the beholder

may not onely call it, *Una Fabrica ben raccolta*: as *Italians* use to speake of well united Workes, but likewise that it may appeare *airie* and *spiritous*, and fit for the welcome of cheerefull Guests; about which the principall difficultie will bee in contriving the *Lightes*, and *Staire-cases*, whereof I will touch a note or two: For the first, I observe that the ancient *Archietects* [Architects] were at much ease. For both the *Greekes* and *Romanes* (of whose private dwellings

[69; I 3]

*Vitruvius* hath left us some description) had commonly two *Cloystered* open Courts, one serving for the *Womens* side, and the other for the *Men*: who yet perchance nowadayes would take so much seperation unkindly. Howsoever, by this meanes, the reception of *light* into the Bodie of the building, was very prompt, both from without and from within: which we must now supplie either by some open *Forme* of the *Fabrique*, or among gracefull refuges, by *Tarrasing* any *Storie*, which is in danger of darkenesse; or lastly, by *perpendicular lights*, from the *Roofe*: of all other the most naturall, as shalbe shewed anon. For the second difficultie: which is casting of the *Stayre-cases*; That being in it selfe no hard point, but onely as they are incombrances of roome for other use: (which lights were not) I am therefore aptly moved heere to speake of them. And first of Offices.

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[The Offices]

I have marked a willingnesse, in the *Italian* Artisans, to destribute the *Kychin*, *Pantrie*, *Bakehouse*, *washing Roomes*: and even the *Buttrie* likewise, under ground; next above the *Foundation*, and sometimes Level with the plaine, or *Floore* of the *Cellar*: raysing the first *Ascent* into the house *Fifteene Foote* or more for that Ende, which besides the benefit of removing such *Annoyes* out of sight, and the gayning of so much more roome above, doth also by elevation of the *Front*, adde *Majestie* to the whole *Aspect*. And with such a disposition of the principall *Stayre-case*, which commonly doth deliver us, into the *Plaine* of the second *Storie*, there may bee wonders done, with a little roome, whereof I could alleadge brave *Examples* abroad; and none more Artificiall, and Delicious, then a House built by *Daniele Barbaro Patriarche* of *Aquileia* before mentioned, among the memorable *Commenters* upon *Vitruvius*.

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But the *Definition* (above determined) doth call us to some consideration of our owne Countrie, where though all the other pettie *Offices* (before rehearsed) may well enough bee so remote, yet by the naturall *Hospitalitie* of *England*, the *Buttrie* must be more visible, and wee neede perchance for our *Raunges*, a more spacious and luminous *Kitchin*, then the foresaid *Compartition* will beare; with a more competent neerenesse likewise to the *Dyning Roome*[.] Or else besides other Inconveniencies, perhapes some of the Dishes may straggle by the way; Heere let me note a common defect, that wee have of a very usefull *Roome*, called by the *Italians Il Tinello*; and familliar, nay almost essentiall, in all their great *Families*. It is a Place properly appointed, to conserve the meate that is taken from the Table, till the *Waiters* eate, which with us by an olde fashion, is more unseemely set by, in the meane while.

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[Lodging chambers]

Now touching the distribution of *Lodging* chambers; I must here take leave to reprove a fashion, which I know not how hath prevailed through *Italie*, though without ancient examples, as farre as I can perceive by *Vitruvius*. The thing I meane, is, that they so cast their *partitions* as when all *Doors* are open a man may see through the whole *House*; which doth necessariely put an intollerable servitude upon all the *Chambers* save the *Inmost*, where none can arrive, but through the rest; or else the *Walles* must be extreame thicke for secret passages[.] And yet this also will not serve the turne, without at least *Three* doores to every *Roome*: A thing most insufferable, in cold and windie Regions, and every where noe small weakening to the whole *Worke*; Therefore with us that want no cooling, I cannot commend the direct opposition of such *Overtures*, being indeede meereley

[73; K]

grounded upon the fond ambition of displaying to a *Stranger* all our *Furniture* at one *Sight*, which therefore is most maintained by them that meane to harbour but a few; whereby they make onely advantage of the *vanitie*, and seldome prove the *Inconvenience*. There is likewise another defect (as absurdities are seldome solitarie) which will necessarily follow, upon such a servile disposing of inward Chambers. That they must bee forced to make as many common great *Roomes*, as there shalbe severall *Stories*; which (besides that they are usually darke, a point hardly avoided, running as they doe, through the middle of the whole *House*) doe

likewise devoure so much Place, that thereby they want other *Galleries*, and *Roomes* of *Retreate*, which I have often considered among them (I must confesse) with no small wonder; for I observe no *Nation* in the World, by *Nature* more *private*

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and *reserved*, then the *Italian*, and on the other side, in no *Habitations* lesse *privacie*; so as there is a kinde of Conflict, betweene their *Dwelling*, and their *Being*: It might heere perchance bee expected, that I should at least describe (which others have done in *draughts* and *designes*) divers *Formes* of *Plants* and *Partitions*, and varieties of *Inventions*; But speculative *Writers* (as I am) are not bound, to comprise all particular Cases, within the Latitude of the *Subject*, which they handle; Generall Lights, and *Directions*, and pointings at some faults, is sufficient. The rest must be committed to the sagacitie of the *Architect*, who will bee often put to divers ingenious shifts, when hee is to wrestle with scarcitie of *Ground*. As sometimes\* to damme one Roome (though of speciall use) for the benefit and beautie of all the rest; Another while, to make those fairest, which are most in *Sight*, and to leave the other

[\*The *Italians* call it *une stanze damnata*, as when a Buttrie is cast under a stayre-Case, or the like.]

[75; K 2]

(like a cunning Painter) in shadow, *cum multis alijs*, which it were infinite to pursue.

[Description of Egyptian Room for Feasts]

I will therefore close this Part touching *Compartition*, as cheerefully as I can with a short description of a *Feasting* or *entertaying Roome*, after the *Ægyptian* manner, who seeme (at least till the time of *Vitruvius*) from the auncient *Hebrewes* and *Phenicians* (whence all knowledge did flow) to have retayned, with other *Sciences*, in a high degree, also the *Principles*, and *practise* of this magnificent *Art*. For as farre as I may conjecture by our Masters Text, *lib. 6. cap. 5.* (where as in many other Places he hath tortured his *Interpreters*) there could no *Forme*, for such a Royall use, bee comparably imagined, like that of the foresaide *Nation*, which I shall adventure to explaine.

Let us conceive a *Floore* or *Area* of goodly length, (For example, at least of 120 foote) with the *breadth* somewhat

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more then halfe of the *Longitude*, whereof the reason shalbe afterwards rendred. About the two longest *sides*, and *Head* of the said *Roome*, shall runne an Order of *Pillars*, which *Palladio* doth suppose *Corinthian* (as I see by his designe) supplying that point out of *Greece*, because we know no *Order*, proper to *Ægypt*. The fourth *side* I wil leave free for the *Entrance*: On the foresaid *Pillars* was laid an *Architrave*, which *Vitruvius* mentioneth alone: *Palladio* addes thereunto (and with reason) both *Freeze* and *Cornice*, over which went up a continued *Wall*, and therein, halfe or three quarter *Pillars*, answering directly, to the Order below, but a fourth Part lesse; and betweene these halfe *Columnnes* above, the whole *Roome* was windowed round about.

Now, from the lowest *Pillars* there was layd over a *Contignation* of Floore, borne upon the outward *Wall*, and the

[77; K 3]

*Head* of the *Columnnes* with *Tarrace* and *Pavement*, *Sub dio* (saith our Master) and so indeed hee might safely determine the matter in *Egypt*, where they feare no *Clouds*: Therefore *Palladio* (who leaveth this *Tarrace* uncovered in the middle, and *ballised* about) did perchance construe him rightly, though therein discording from others: Alwayes we must understand a sufficient breadth of *Pavement*, left between the open part and the *Windowes*, for some delight of *Spectators*, that might looke downe into the *Roome*: The *Latitude* I have supposed contrary to some former Positions, a little more then the halfe of the length; because the *Pillars* standing at a competent distance from the outmost *Wall*, will by interception of the *Sight*, somewhat in appearance diminish the breadth; In which cases, (as I have touched once or twice before) *Discretion* may bee more licentious then *Art*. This is the

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description of an *Egyptian* roome, for *Feastes* and other *Jollities*. About the *Walles* whereof wee must imagine entire *Satues* [Statues], placed below, and illuminated by the descending Light, from the *Tarrace*, as likewise from the *Windowes* betweene the halfe *Pillars* above: So as this *Roome* had abundant and advantageous *Light*; and besides other garnishing, must needes receive much *State* by the very heighth of the *Roofe*, that lay over two orders of *Columnnes*:

## [Cover or Roof]

And so having runne through the foure parts of my first generall *Division*, namely, *Foundation*, *Walles*, *Appertions*, and *Compartition*; the *House* may now have leave to put on his *Hatte*: having hitherto beene uncovered it selfe, and consequently unfit to cover others. Which point though it be the last of this *Art* in execution, yet it is alwayes in *Intention* the first, For who would build but for *Shelter*? Therefore obtayning both the *Place*, and the

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dignity of a *Finall cause*, it hath beene diligently handled by diverse, but by none more learnedly then *Bernardino Baldi* Abbot of *Guastalla* (before cited upon other occasion) who doth fundamentally, and *Mathematically* demonstrate the firmest *Knittings* of the upper *Timbers*, which make the *Roofe*. But it hath beene rather my *Scope*, in these *Elements* to fetch the ground of all, from *Nature* her selfe, which indeed is the simplest mother of *Art*. Therefore I will now onely deliver a few of the properest, and (as I may say) of the naturalest considerations, that belong to this remaining *Piece*.

There are two extremities to be avoyded in the *Cover*, or *Roofe*: That it be not too *heavy*, nor too *light*. The first, will suffer a vulgar objection of pressing too much the under-worke. The other, contayneth a more secret inconvenience; for the *Cover* is not onely a bare defence, but likewise a

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kinde of *Band* or *Ligature*, to the whole *Fabrique*, and therefore would require some reasonable weight. But of the two extreames, a House *Top-heavie* is the worst. Next there must bee a care of *Equality*, that the *Edifice* be not pressed on the one side more then on the other; and here *Palladio* doth wish (like a cautelous *Artizan*) that the inward *Walles* might beare some good share in the burthen, and the outward be the lesse charged.

Thirdly, the *Italians* are very precise in giving the *Cover* a gracefull *pendence* or *slopenesse*, dividing the whole breadth into *Nine* parts; whereof two shal serve for the elevation of the highest *Toppe* or *Ridge*, from the lowest. But in this point the quality of the *Region* is considerable: For (as our *Vitruvius* insinuateth) those *Climes* that feare the falling and lying of much *Snow*, ought to provide more inclining *Pentices*: And *Comelinesse* must yeeld to *Necessity*.

[81; L]

These are the usefulest Cautions which I finde in *Authors*, touching the last *Head* of our Division, wherewith I will conclude the first *Part* of my present *Travaile*. The second remayneth, concerning *Ornaments* within, or without the *Fabrique*: A Piece not so dry as the meere Contemplation of proportions. And therefore I hope therein, somewhat to refresh both the *Reader*, and my selfe.

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*OF*  
**THE ELEMENTS**  
*OF*  
**ARCHITECTURE.**

*The II. part.*

[Ornaments both within and without the Fabric]

EVERY Mans proper *Mansion House* and Home, being the *Theater* of his *Hospitality*, the *Seate* of *Selfe-fruition*, the *Comfortablest part* of his owne *Life*, the *Noblest* of his *Sonnes Inheritance*, a kinde of private *Princedom*; Nay, to the *Possessors* thereof, an *Epitomie* of the whole *World*: may well deserve by these *Attributes*, according to the degree of the *Master*, to be *decently* and *delightfully* adorned. For which ende, there are two *Arts* attending on *Architecture*, like

[83; L 2]

two of her principall *Gentlewomen*, to *dresse* and *trimme* their *Mistresse*; PICTURE and SCULPTURE: Between whom, before I proceed any further, I wil venture to determine an ancient quarrell about their *Precedency*, with this *Distinction*; that in the garnishing of *Fabriques*, *Sculpture* no doubt must have the *preheminnence*, as being indeede of neerer affinity to *Architecture* it selfe, and consequently the more naturall, and more sutable *Ornament*. But on the other side, (to consider these two *Arts* as I shall doe *Philosophically*, and not *Mechanichally*) An excellent Piece of *Painting*, is to my judgement the more admirable *Object*, because it comes neere an *Artificiall Miracle*; to make diverse distinct *Eminences* appeare upon a *Flat*, by force of *Shadowes*, and yet the *Shadowes* themselves not to appeare: which I conceive to be the uttermost value and vertue of a *Painter*, and to which very few have arrived in all *Ages*.

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In these two *Arts* (as they are appliable to the *Subject* which I handle) it shall bee fit first to consider how to *choose* them; and next, how to *dispose* them. To guide us in the *choyce*, wee



have a *Rule* somewhere (I well remember) in *Pliny*, and it is a prettie observation: That they doe mutually helpe to censure one another. For *Picture* is best when it standeth off, as if it were carved; and *Sculpture* is best when it appeareth so *tender*, as if it were *painted*, I meane, when there is such a seeming softnesse in the *Limbes*, as if not a *Chissell* had hewed them out of *Stone*, or other *Materiall*, but a *Pensill* had drawne and stroaked them in *Oyle*, which the judicious *Poet* tooke well to his Fancy [Virgil, Aen. VI].

*Excudent alij spirantia mollius aera.*

But this generalitie, is not sufficient to make a good *chooser*, without a more particular contraction of his Judgement. Therefore when a Piece of

[85; L 3]

*Art*, is set before us, let the first Caution be, not to aske who made it, least the *Fame* of the *Author* doe Captivate the *Fancie* of the *Buyer*. For, that excellent *Men* doe alwaies *excellently*, is a false Conclusion; whereupon I observe among *Italian* Artizans three notable *Phrases*, which well decipher the degrees of their *Workes*.

They will tell you, that a thing was done *Con diligenza*, *Con studio*, and *Con Amore*; The first, is but a bare and *ordinary diligence*, The second, is a *learned diligence*; The third is much more, even a *loving diligence*; They meane not with love to the *Bespeaker* of the *Worke*, but with a love and delight in the *Worke* it selfe, upon some speciall *Fancie* to this, or that *Storie*; And when all these concurre (peticularly the last) in an eminent *Author*, Then perchance *Titianus Fecit*, or [(...): (*Phidias wrought this*)] will serve the *Turne*, without farther *Inquisition*; Otherwise Artizans have not

[78 sic]

onely their *growthes* and *Perfections*, but likewise their *Vaines* and *Tymes*.

The next Caution must be (to proceede *Logically*) that in Judging of the *Worke* it selfe, wee bee not distracted with too many things at once; Therefore first (to beginne with *Picture*) we are to observe whether it bee well *drawne*, (or as more elegant *Artizans* tearme it) well *Design'd*; Then whether it be well *Coloured*, which bee the two generall *Heads*; And each of them hath two principall *Requisites*; For in well *Designing*, there must bee *Truth* and *Grace*, In well *Colouring*, *Force*, and *Affection*; All other *Praises*, are but Consequences of these.

*Truth* (as we Metaphorically take it in this *Art*) is a *Just* and *Naturall Proportion*, in every Part of the determined *Figure*. *Grace* is a certaine *free disposition*, in the whole *Draught*, answerable to that unaffected franknes of *Fashion*, in a living *Bodie*, Man or Woman,

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which doth *animate Beautie* where it is, and *supplie* it, where it is not,

*Force* consisteth, in the *Roundings* and *Raisings* of the *Worke*, according as the *Limbes* doe more or lesse require it; So as the *Beholder*, shall spie no *sharpenesse* in the bordering *Lines*; As when Taylors cut out a Sute, which *Italians* doe aptly tearme according to that comparison, *Contorni taglianti*; Nor any *flatnesse* within the *Bodie* of the *Figure*, which how it is done, we must fetch from a higher *Discipline*; For the *Opticques* teach us. That a *plaine*, will appeare *prominent*, and (as it were) *embossed*, if the Parts farthest from the *Axel-tree* or middle *Beame* of the *Eye*, shalbe the most *shadowed*. Because in all *Darknesse*, there is a kinde of *Deepenesse*, But as in the *Arte* of *perswasion*, one of the most *Fundamentall Precepts* is; the *concealment of Arte*, Soe here likewise, the *Sight* must be sweetly deceived, by an insensible passage, from *brighter*

[(87-) 88]

colours, to *dimmer*, which *Italian Artizans* calle the *middle Tinctures*; That is, Not as the *whites*, and *yolkes* of *Egges* lie in the *Shell*, with visible distinction; But as when they are *beaten*, and *blended*, in a *Dish*: which is the neerest comparison, that I can suddenly conceive.

Lastly, *Affection* is the *Lively Representment*, of any *passion* whatsoever, as if the *Figures* stood not upon a *Cloth* or *Boorde*, but as if they were *acting* upon a *Stage*; And heere, I must remember, in truth with much marveile, a note, which I have received, from excellent *Artizans*, that though *Gladnesse*, and *Griefe*, be opposites in *Nature*; yet they are such *Neighbours* and *Confiners* in *Arte*, that the least touch of a *Pensill*, will translate a *Crying*, into a *Laughing Face*;[\*] which *Instance*, besides divers other, doth often reduce unto my memorie, that Ingenious *Speculation*, of the *Cardinall Cusanus* extant in his *Workes*, touching the *Coincidence of extreames* [89: *extremes*],

[\* Cf. 'Errata': Pag. 88, lin. 19. omitted in the Margin the verses following, touching the coincidence of extreame affections; represented by *Homer* in the person of Hectors wife; as Painters and Poets have alwaies had a kind of congeniality. ΙΑΙΑΔ (...) She took her sonne into her armes, weeping laughing.]

[89; M]

And thus much of the foure *Requisites*, and *Perfections* in *Picture*.

## [Sculpture]

In *Sculpture* likewise, the Two first are absolutely necessarie; The *third* impertinent; For *Solide* Figures neede no elevation, by force of *Lights*, or *shadowes*; Therefore in the Roome of this, wee may put (as hath beene before touched) a kinde of *Tenderness*, by the *Italians* tearmed *Morbidezza*, wherein the *Chissell*, I must confesse, hath more glory then the *Pensill*; that being so hard an *Instrument*, and working upon so unpliant stuffe, can yet leave *Strokes* of so gentle *appearance*.

The *Fourth*, which is the expressing of *Affection* (as farre as it doth depend upon the *Activity*, and *Gesture* of the *Figure*) is as proper to the *Carver*, as to the *Painter*; though *Colours*, no doubt, have therein the greatest *Power*; whereupon, perchance, did first grow with us the *Fashion* of *colouring*, even *Regall Statues*, which I must take leave to call

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an *English Barbarisme*.

Now in these fower *Requisites* already rehearsed, it is strange to note, that no *Artizan*, having ever beene blamed for excesse in any of the three last; onely *Truth* (which should seeme the most *Innocent*) hath suffered some Objection, and all *Ages*, have yeilded some one or two *Artificers*, so *prodigiously* exquisite, that they have beene reputed too *Naturall*, in their *Draughts*; which will well appeare, by a famous Passage in *Quintilian*, touching the *Characters* of the ancient *Artizans*, falling now so aptly into my memory, that I must needes translate it, as in truth it may well deserve.

The Place which I intend, is extant in the last *Chapter* save one of his whole *Worke*, beginning thus in *Latine*.

*Primi, quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratia visenda sunt clari Pictores fuisse dicuntur, Polygnotus atque Aglaophon etc.* [Quintilian, 12.10.3]

[91; M 2]

The whole Passage, in *English* standeth thus:

THE first *Painters* of name, whose *Workes* bee considerable for any thing more then onely *Antiquitie*, are said to have beene *Polygnotus*, and *Aglaophon*; whose bare *Colourings* (hee meanes I thinke in *white* and *blacke*) hath even yet so many followers, that those rude and

first *Elements*, as it were of that, which within a while, became an *Arte*, are preferred, before the greatest *Painters* that have beene extant after them, out of a certaine *Competition* (as I conceive it) in point of *Judgement*. After these, *Zeuxes* and *Parasius* not farre distant in *age*, both about the time of the *Peloponesian Warre*, (for in *Xenophon* wee have a Dialogue betweene *Parasius* and *Socrates*) did adde much to this *Arte*. Of which the *first* is said, to have invented the due disposition of *Lights* and *Shadowes*;

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The *second*, to have more subtilly examined, the *truth* of *Lines* in the Draught; for *Zeuxes* did make *Limbes*, bigger then the *life*; deeming his *Figures*, thereby the more *stately* and *Majesticall*; and therein (as some thinke) imitating *Homer*, whom the *stoutest* forme doth please, even in *Women*. On the other side, *Parasius* did exactly limit al the *Proportions* so, as they call him the *Law giver*, because in the *Images* of the *Gods* and of *Heroicall Personages*, others have followed his *Paternes* like a *Decree*; But *Picture* did most flourish, about the daies of *Phillip* and even to the Successours of *Alexander*; yet by sundry *habilities*; for *Protogenes*, did excell in *Diligence*; *Pamphilus* and *Melanthius* in due *Proportion*; *Antiphilus* in a *Franke Facilitie*; *Theon* of *Samos*, in *strength* of *Fantasie* and conceiving of *Passions*; *Apelles*, in *Invention*, and *Grace*, whereof hee doth himselfe most vaunte; *Euphranor*, deserves

[93; M 3]

admiration, that being in other excellent *studies*, a principall Man, he was likewise a wondrous Artizan, both in *Painting* and *Sculpture*. The like difference we may observe among the *Statuaries*; for the workes of *Calon* and *Fgesias* were somewhat *stiffe*, like the *Tuscan* manner; Those of *Calamis* not done with so *cold* stroakes; And *Myron* more *tender* then the former; a diligent *Decency* in *Polycletus* above others, to whom though the highest prayse bee attributed by the most, yet lest he should goe free from exception, some thinke hee wanted *solemnnesse*; for as he may perchance be sayd to have added a *comely dimension* to humane shape, somewhat above the *truth*; so on the other side, hee seemed not to have fully expressed the *Majesty* of the *Gods*: Moreover, hee is sayd not to have medled willingly with the *graver age*, as not adventuring beyond *smooth cheekes*: But these vertues that were wanting in

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*Polycletus* [93: *Policletus*], were supplied by *Phidias* and *Alcmenes*, yet *Phidias* was a better Artizan in the representing of *Gods*, then of *Men*; and in his workes of *Ivorie*, beyond all emulation, even though hee had left nothing behinde him, but his *Minerva* at *Athens*, or the *Olympian Jupiter* in *Elis*, whose *Beautie* seemes to have added somewhat, even to the received *Religion*; the *Majestie* of the *Worke*, as it were equalling the *Deity*. To *Truth*, they affirme *Lysippus* and *Praxiteles*, to have made the neerest approach: for *Demetrius* is therein reprehended, as rather exceeding then deficient; having beene a greater aymer at *Likenes*, then at *Lovelines*.

This is that witty Censure of the ancient Artizans, which *Quintilian* hath left us, where the last *Charactar* of *Demetrius* doth require a little *Philosophicall* examination; How an *Artificer*, whose end is the *imitation* of *Nature*, can bee too *naturall*; which

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likewise in our dayes was either the fault, or (to speake more gently) the too much perfection of *Albert Durer*, and perhaps also of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, betweene whom I have heard noted by an ingenious *Artizan*, a pretty nice difference, that the *German* did too much expresse *that which was*; and the *Italian*, *that which should be*: Which severe observation of *Nature*, by the one in her *commonest*, and by the other in her *absolutest* *Formes*, must needs produce in both a kinde of *Rigidity*, and consequently more *naturalnesse* then *gracefulness*: This is the cleerest reason, why some exact *Symmetrists* have been blamed, for being too true, as neere as I can deliver my conceit. And so much touching the choyce of *Picture* and *Sculpture*: The next is, the *application* of both, to the *beautifying* of *Fabriques*.

[Picture and Sculpture applied to beautifying Fabrics]

First therefore touching *Picture*, there doth occurre a very pertinent

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doubt, which hath beene passed over too slightly, not onely by some *Men*, but by some *Nations*; namely, whether this *Ornament* can wel become the *Outside* of *houses*, wherein the *Germanes* have made so little scruple, that their best *Townes* are the most painted, as *Augusta* and *NoreMBERGH*. To determine this question in a word: It is true, that a *Story* well set out with a good *Hand*, will every where take a *Judicious* eye: But yet withal it is as true, that various colours on the *Out-walles* of *Buildings*, have alwayes in them more *Delight* then

*Dignity*: Therefore I would there admit no *Paintings* but in *Blacke* and *White*, nor even in that kinde any *Figures* (if the roome be capable) under *Nine* or *Ten* foot high, which will require no ordinary *Artizan*; because the faults are more *visible* then in small *Designes*. In unfigured *paintings* the noblest is, the imitation of *Marbles*, and of *Architecture* it selfe, as *Arches*, *Treezes* [Freezes],

[97; N]

*Columnes*, and the like.

Now for the *Inside*, heere growes another doubt, whether *Grotesca* (as the *Italians*) or *Antique* worke (as wee call it) should be received, against the expresse authoritie of *Vitruvius* himselfe, *lib. 7. cap. 5.* where *Pictura* (saith hee) *Fit eius, quod est, seu potest esse*, excluding by this severe definition, all *Figures* composed of different *Natures* or *Sexes*; so as a *Syrene* or a *Centaure* had beene intolerable in his eye: But in this wee must take leave to depart from our *Master*, and the rather because he spake out of his owne *profession*, allowing *Painters* (who have ever bin as little limited as *Poets*) a lesse scope in their imaginations, even then the gravest *Philosophers*, who sometimes doe serve themselves of *Instances*, that have no *Existence* in *Nature*; as wee see in *Platoes Amphisboena*, and *Aristotles Hirco-Cervus*. And (to settle this point) what was indeede more common and

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familiar among the *Romanes* themselves, then the *Picture* and *Statue* of *Terminus*, even one of their *Deities*? which yet if we well consider, is but a piece of *Grotesca*; I am for these reasons unwilling to impoverish that *Art*, though I could wish such *medlie* and *motlie* *Designes*, confined onely to the *Ornament* of *Freezes*, and *Borders*, their properest place. As for other *Storied* Workes upon *Walles*, I doubt our *Clime* bee too *yeelding* and *moist*, for such *Garnishment*; therefore leaving it to the *Dwellers* discretion, according to the qualitie of his *Seat*; I will onely adde a caution or two, about the disposing of *Pictures* within.

[The disposing of Pictures within]

First, that no *Roome* bee furnished with too many, which in truth were a *Surfet* of *Ornament*, unlesse they bee *Galleries*, or some peculiar *Repository* for *Rarities* of *Art*.

Next, that the best *Pieces* be placed not where there is the *least*, but where

[99; N 2]

there are the *fewest lights*; therefore not onely *Roomes* windowed on both ends, which we call through-lighted; but with two or mo[r]e *Windowes* on the same side, are enemies to this *Art*; and sure it is, that no *Painting* can be seene in full *Perfection* but (as all *Nature* is illuminated) by a *single Light*.

Thirdly, that in the *placing* there be some care also taken, how the *Painter* did stand in the *Working*, which an intelligent *Eye*, will easily discover, and that *Posture* is the most naturall; so as *Italian* pieces will appeare best in a *Roome* where the *Windowes* are high; because they are commonly made to a descending *Light*, which of all other doth set off mens *Faces* in their truest *Spirit*.

Lastly, that they bee as *properly* bestowed for their *quality*, as *fitly* for their *grace*: that is, *chearefull* *Paintings* in *Feasting* and *Banqueting* *Roomes*; *Graver* *Stories* in *Galleries*, *Landships*, and

[110 = 100]

*Boscage*, and such *wilde* workes in open *Tarraces*, or in *Summer houses* (as we call them) and the like.

And thus much of *Picture*, which let mee close with this Note; that though my former Discourse may serve perchance for some reasonable *leading* in the choyce of such delights; yet let no man hope by such a *speculative* erudition, to discern the *Masterly* and *Mysterious* touches of *Art*, but an Artizan himselfe; to whom therefore we must leave the *prerogative*, to censure the manner and handling, as hee himselfe must likewise leave some points, perchance of no lesse value to others; as for example, whether the *Story* be rightly *represented*, the *Figures* in true *action*, the *Persons* *suted* to their severall qualities, the *affections* *proper* and *strong*, and such like observations.

#### [Sculpture]

Now for *Sculpture*, I must likewise begin with a *Controversie*, as before (falling into this Place) or let mee

[101; N 3]

rather call it a very meere *Fancie*, strangely taken by *Palladio*, who having noted in an old *Arch* or two at *Verona*, some part of the *Materials* already cut in fine *Formes*, and some *unpolished*, doth conclude (according to his *Logicke*) upon this particular, that the *Auncients*

did leave the outward *Face*, of their *Marbles* or *Free-stone*, without any *Sculpture*, till they were laid, and *Cimented* in the bodie of the *Building*; For which likewise hee findeth a reason (as many doe now and then very wittily, even before the thing it selfe be true) that the Materialls being left *rough* were more managable in the *Masons* hand, then if they had beene *smooth*; And that so the *sides* might bee laide together the more exactly; Which Conceit, once taken hee seemes to have farther imprinted, by marking in certaine Storied *Sculptures*, of oulde time how preciesly the parts and *Lines* of the *Figures* that passe from one Stone

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to another, doe meete; which hee thinkes could hardly fall out so right, (forgetting while he speakes of *ancient* things, the auncient *Diligence*) unlesse they had beene cut, after the joyning of the *Materials*, But all these *Inducements*, cannot countervaile the sole *Inconvenience* of *shaking*, and *Disjoynting* the *Commissures* with so many Strokes of the *Chissell*, besides an *Incommodious* Working on *Scaffolds*; especially having no testimonie, to confirme it, that I have yet seene among the records of *Art*; Nay, it is indeede rather true, that they did *square*, and *Carve*, and *Polish*, their *Stone* and *Marble* Workes, even in the very *Cave* of the *Quarrie*, before it was hardened by open Aire; But (to leave disputation) I will set downe a few *Positive* notes, for the placing of *Sculpture*; because the chusing hath beene handled before.

[The placing of Sculpture]

That first of all, it bee not too *generall* and *abundant*, which would make

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a *House*, looke like a *Cabbinet*, and in this point, *morall Philosophie* which tempereth *Fancies*, is the *Superintendent* of *Art*.

That especially, There bee a due moderation of this *Ornament* in the first approach; where our Authors doe more commend (I meane about the Principall *Entrance*) a *Dorique*, then a *Corinthian* garnishment; So as if the great *Doore*, be *Arched*, with some brave *Head*, cut in fine *Stone* or *Marble* for the *Key* of the *Arch*, and two *Incumbent* Figures gracefully leaning upon it, towards one another, as if they meant to conferre; I should thinke this a sufficient entertainment, for the first *Reception*, of any *Judicious* Sight, which I could wish seconded, with two great standing *Statues* on each side of a paved way that shall leade up into the *Fabrique*, So as the *Beholder* at the first entrance, may passe his *Eye* betweene them.



That the *Nices*, if they containe

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*Figures* of *white Stone* or *Marble*, bee not coloured in their *Concavitie* too *blacke*, For though *Contraria iuxta se posita magis illucescunt* (by an olde Rule) yet it hath beene subtilly, and indeede truely noted that our *Sight*, is not well contented, with those sudden departments, from one extreame, to another; Therefore let them have, rather a *Dusky* Tincture, then an absolute *blacke*.

That *fine* and delicate *Sculptures*, be helped with *Neerenes*, and *Grosse* with *distance*; which was well seene in the olde controversie, betweene *Phidias* and *Alcmenes* about the *Statue* of *Venus*: wherein the First did shew discretion, and save labour, because the *Worke* was to bee viewed at good *Height*, which did drowne the sweete and diligent strokes of his *Adversarie*: A famous emulation of two principall *Artizans*, celebrated even by the *Greeke Poets*.

That in the placing of standing

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*Figures* aloft, wee must set them in a *Posture* somewhat bowing forward; because (saith our Master, *lib. 3. cap. 3.* out of a better *Art* then his owne) the *visuall beame* of our eye, extended to the *Head* of the said *Figures*, being longer then to the *Foot*, must necessarily make that *part* appeare *farther*; so as to reduce it to an erect or upright *position*, there must be allowed a due advantage of *stooping* towards us; which *Albert Durer* hath exactly taught, in his fore mentioned *Geometry*. Our *Vitruvius* calleth this affection in the *Eye*, a *resupination* of the *Figure*: For which word (being in truth his owne, for ought I know) wee are almost as much beholding to him, as for the observation it selfe: And let thus much summarily suffice, touching the choice and use of these adorning *Arts*. For to speake of garnishing the *Fabrique* with a *Row* of erected *Statues*, about the *Cornice* of every *Contignation*

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or *Story*, were discourse more proper for *Athens* or *Rome*, in the time of their true greatnesse, when (as *Plinie* recordeth of his own *Age*) there were neere as many carved *Images*, as living *Men*, like a noble contention, even in point of *Fertility*, betweene *Art* and *Nature*, which passage doth not onely argue an infinite abundance, both of *Artizans* and *Materials*; but likewise of *Magnificent* and *Majesticall* desires, in every common person of those times;

more or lesse according to their *Fortunes*. And true it is indeed that the marble *Monuments* and *Memories* of well deserving Men, wherewith the very high wayes were *strewed* on each side, was not a bare and transitory entertainment of the *Eye*, or onely a gentle deception of *Time*, to the *Travailer*: But had also a secret and strong *Influence*, even into the advancement of the *Monarchie*, by continuall representation of vertuous examples; so as in

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that point *ART* became a piece of *State*.

[Mosaique and Plastique]

Now as I have before subordinated *Picture*, and *Sculpture* to *Architecture*, as their *Mistresse*; so there are certaine inferiour ARTS likewise subordinate to them: As under *Picture*, *Mosaique*; under *Sculpture*, *Plastique*; which two, I onely nominate, as the fittest to garnish *Fabriques*.

*Mosaique* is a kinde of *Painting* in small *Pebbles*, *Cockles* and *Shells* of sundry colours; and of late dayes likewise with pieces of *Glasse*, figured at pleasure; an *Ornament* in trueth, of much beauty, and long life, but of most use in *pavements* and *Floorings*.

*Plastique* is not onely under *Sculpture*, but in deed very *Sculpture* it selfe: but with this difference; that the *Plasterer* doth make his *Figures* by *Addition*, and the *Carver* by *Substraction*, whereupon *Michael Angelo* was wont to say somewhat pleasantly: That

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*Sculpture* was nothing but *A purgation of superfluities*. For take away from a piece of wood, or stone, all that is *superfluous*, and the remainder is the intended *Figure*. Of this *Plastique Art*, the chiefe use with us is in the gracefull *fretting* of roofes: but the *Italians* applie it, to the *manteling* of *Chimneys*, with great *Figures*. A cheape piece of *Magnificence*, and as durable almost within doores, as harder *Forms* in the weather. And here though it bee a little excursion, I cannot passe unremembred againe, their manner of disguising the shaftes of *Chimneys* in various fashions, whereof the noblest is the *Pyramidall*: beeing in trueth a piece of polite and civill discretion, to convert even the *conduits* of soote and smoake, into *Ornaments*; whereof I have hitherto spoken as farre as may concerne the *Bodie* of the *Building*.

## [Garden Ornaments]

Now there are *Ornaments* also without, as *Gardens, Fountaines, Groves,*

[109; O 3]

*Conservatories* of rare *Beasts, Birds, and Fishes*. Of which ignobler kind of Creatures, *Wee ought not* (saith our greatest \*Master among the sonnes of Nature) *childishly to despise the Contemplation; for in all things that are naturall, there is ever something, that is admirable.* Of these externall delights, a word or two.

[\**Arist. lib. 1 cap. 5. de part. Anim. (...)*]

First, I must note a certaine contrarietie betweene *building* and *gardening*: For as *Fabriques* should bee *regular*, so *Gardens* should bee *irregular*, or at least cast into a very wilde *Regularitie*. To exemplifie my conceit; I have seene a *Garden* (for the maner perchance incomparable) into which the first *Accesse* was a high walke like a *Tarrace*, from whence might bee taken a generall view of the whole *Plott* below but rather in a delightfull confusion, then with any plaine distinction of the pieces. From this the *Beholder* descending many steps, was afterwards conveyed againe, by severall *mountings* and

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*valings*, to various entertainements of his *sent*, and *sight*: which I shall not neede to describe (for that were poetically) let me onely note this, that every one of these diversities, was as if hee had beene *Magically* transported into a new *Garden*.

But though other *Coutreys* have more benefite of Sunne then wee, and thereby more properly tyed to contemplate this delight; yet have I seene in our *owne*, a delicate and diligent *curiositie*, surely without *parallel* among foreigne *Nations*: Namely, in the *Garden* of Sir *Henry Fanshaw*, at his seat in *Ware-Parke*, where I wel remember, hee did so precisely examine the *tinctures*, and *seasons* of his *flowres*, that in their *setting*, the *inwardest* of those which were to come up at the same time, should be alwayes a little *darker* then the *outmost*, and so serve them for a kinde of gentle *shadow*, like a piece not *of Nature*, but *of Arte*: which

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mention (incident to this place) I have willingly made of his *Name*, for the deare *friendship* that was long betweene us: though I must confesse, with much wrong to his other *vertues*;

which deserve a more solide *memoriall*, then among these vacant observations. So much of *Gardens*.

[Fountains]

*Fountaines* are *figured*, or only plaine *Water'd-workes*: Of either of which, I will describe a matchless patterne.

The first, done by the famous hand of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, in the figure of a sturdie *woman*, *washing* and *winding* of linnen clothes; in which Acte shee *wrings* out the water that made the *Fountain*; which was a gracefull and naturall conceit in the Artificer, implying this rule; That all *designes* of this kind, should be *proper*.

The other doth merite some larger expression; There went a long, straight, mossie walke of competent breadth, greene, and soft under foot, lifted on

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both sides with an *Aquaeduct* of white stone, breast-high, which had a hollow *channell* on the top, where ranne a pretie trickling streame; on the *edge* whereof, were couched very thicke all along, certaine small *pipes* of lead, in little holes; so neatly, that they could not be well perceived, till by the turning of a cocke, they did sprout over interchangeably from side to side, above mans height, in forme of *Arches*, without any intersection or meeting aloft, because the pipes were not exactly opposite, so as the *Beholder*, besides that, which was fluent in the *Aquaeducts* on both hands in his view, did walke as it were, under a continuall *bowre* or *Hemisphere* of water, without any drop falling on him. An *invention* for refreshment, surely farre excelling all the *Alexandrian* delicacies, and *Pneumatiques* of *Hero*.

[Groves]

*Groves*, and artificall devices under ground, are of great expence, and little

[113; P]

dignitie; which for my part I could wish converted here into those *Crypteria*, whereof mention is made among the curious provisions of *Ticho Braghe* the *Danish Ptolemie*, as I may well call him: which were deepe *concaves* in gardens, where the *starres* might be observed even at *noone*. For (by the way) to thinke that the brightnesse of the Sunnes body above, doth drowne our discerning of the lesser lights, is a popular error; the sole impediment being that lustre,

which by *reflection*, doth spread about us, from the face of the Earth; so as the *caves* before touched, may well conduce, not to a delicious, but to a learned pleasure.

[Aviaries]

In *Aviaries* of wire, to keepe Birdes of all sorts, the *Italians* (though no wastfull Nation) doe in some places bestow vast expence; including great scope of *ground*, varietie of *bushes*, *trees* of good height, running *waters*, and sometimes a *Stove* annexed, to

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contemper the *Aire* in Winter. So as those *Chanteresses*, unlesse they be such as perhaps delight as much in their wing, as in their voice, may live long, among so good provisions and roome, before they know that they are *prisoners*; reducing often to my memory, that conceit of the *Romane Stoicke*, who in comparison of his owne free *contemplations*, did thinke divers great and splendent fortunes of his time, little more then *commodious captivities*.

[Ponds]

Concerning *Ponds* of pleasure neere the habitation; I will referre my selfe to a grave *Author* of our owne (though more illustrious by his other\* worke) namely *Sarisburiensis de Piscinâ*. [\* *De Nugis Curial. etc.* (Walter Map)]

And here I will end the second part touching *Ornaments*, both *within*, and *without* the *Fabrique*.

[How to censure fabrics: Commodious, Firm, and Delightful]

Now as almost all those, which have delivered the *Elements* of *Logicke*, doe usually conclude, with a Chapter touching *Method*; so I am heere seized

[115; P 2]

with a kind of critical spirit, and desirous to shut up these building *Elements*, with some *Methodical* direction how to *censure* *Fabriques* already raised: for indeed without some way to contract our *Judgement*, which among so many particulars would bee lost by diffusion; I should thinke it almost harder to be a good *Censurer*, then a good *Architect*: Because the

*working* part may be helped with *Deliberation*, but the *Judging* must flow from an *extemporall habite*. Therefore, (not to leave this last *Piece* without some *Light*) I could wish him that commeth to examine any noble *Work*, first of all to examine himselfe, whether perchance the *sight* of many brave things before (which remaine like impressed formes) have not made him apt to thinke nothing *good*, but that which is the *best*; for this *humour* were too sowre. Next, before hee come to settle any imaginable opinion, let him by all meanes seeke to informe

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himselfe precisely, of the *Age* of the *Worke* upon which hee must passe his *Doom*. And if hee shall finde the apparent *decayes* to exceed the proportion of *Time*; then let him conclude without farther inquisition, as an absolute Decree, that either the *Materials* were too *slight*, or the *Seate* is nought. Now, after these premisses, if the *House* be found to beare his *yeares* well, (which is alwayes a token of sound *constitution*) Then let him suddenly runne backwardes, (for the *Method* of *censuring* is contrary to the *Method* of *composing*) from the *Ornaments* (which first allure the *Eye*) to the more essentiall *Members*, till at last hee be able to forme this *Conclusion*, that the *Worke* is *Commodious*, *Firme*, and *Delightfull*; which (as I said in the beginning) are the three capitall *Conditions* required in good *Buildings*, by all *Authors* both Ancient and Moderne. And this is, as I may tearme it the most *Scientificall* way of *Censuring*.

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There are two other which I must not forget. The first in *Georgio Vassari*, before his labourious *Worke* of the lives of *Architects*, which is to passe a running examination over the whole *Edifice*, according to the properties of a *well shapen Man*. As whether the *Wals* stand upright upon cleane footing and *Foundation*; whether the *Fabrique* be of a beautifull *Stature*, whether for the *breadth* it appeare well *burnished*, whether the principall *Entrance* be on the middle Line of the *Front* or Face, like our *Mouthes*, whether the *Windowes*, as our *Eyes*, be set in equall number and distance on both sides, whether the *Offices* like the *Veines* in our Bodies, be usefully distributed, and so forth. For this *Allegoricall* review may be driven as farre as any *Wit* will, that is at leasure.

The second way, is in *Vitruvius* himselfe, *lib. I. cap. 2.* where hee summarily determineth six *Considerations*, which accomplish this whole *Art*.

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*Ordinatio.*  
*Dispositio.*  
*Eurythmia.*  
*Symmetria.*  
*Decor,* and  
*Distributio.*

Whereof (in my conceit) wee may spare him the first two; for as farre as I can perceive, either by his *Interpreters*, or by his own *Text* (which in that very place, where perchance he should be *clearest*, is of all other the *Clowdiest*) hee meaneth nothing by *Ordination*, but a well setting of the *Modell* or *Scale* of the whole *Worke*. Nor by *Disposition*, more then a neate and full expression of the first *Idea* or *Designement* thereof; which perchance doe more belong to the *Artificer*, then to the *Censurer*. The other foure are enough to condemne, or absolve any *Fabrique* whatsoever. Whereof *Eurythmia* is that agreeable *Harmony*, betweene the breadth, length, and height of all the

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Roomes of the *Fabrique*, which suddenly where it is taketh every *Beholder*, by the secret power of *Proportion*: wherein let mee onely note this, That though the least error or offence that can be committed against *sight*, is excesse of height; yet that fault is no where of small importance, because it is the greatest offence against the *Purse*.

*Symmetria* is the *conveniencie* that runneth betweene the *Parts* and the *Whole*, whereof I have formerly spoken.

*Decor* is the keeping of a due *Respect* betweene the *Inhabitant*, and the *Habitation*. Whence *Palladius* did conclude, that the principall *Entrance* was never to be regulated by any certaine *Dimensions*; but by the dignity of the *Master*; yet to exceede rather, in the *more*, then in the *lesse*, is a marke of *Generosity*, and may alwayes be excused with some noble *Embleme*, or

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*Inscription*, as that of the *Conte di Bevilacqua*, over his large *Gate* at *Verona*, where perchance had beene committed a little *Disproportion*.

*Patet Ianua: Cor magis.*

And heere likewise I must remember our ever memorable Sir *Philip Sidney*, (whose *Wit* was in truth the very rule of *Congruity*) who well knowing that *Basilus* (as hee had painted the *State* of his *Minde*) did rather want some extraordinary *Formes* to entertaine his *Fancie*, then *roome* for *Courtiers*; was contented to place him in a *Star-like Lodge*; which otherwise in severe *Judgement of Art* had beene an incommodious *Figure*.

*Distributio* is that usefull *Casting* of all *Roomes* for *Office*, *Entertainment*, or *Pleasure*, which I have handled before at more length, then any other *Piece*.

These are the *Foure Heads* which every man should runne over, before

[121; Q]

hee passe any determinate *Censure*, upon the *Works* that he shal view, wherewith I will close this last part, touching *Ornaments*. Against which (mee thinkes) I heare an *Objection*, even from some well-meaning man; That these delightfull *Craftes*, may be divers wayes ill applied in a *Land*. I must confesse indeede, there may bee a *Lascivious*, and there may be likewise a *superstitious* use, both of *Picture* and of *Sculpture*: To which possibility of misapplication, not onely these *Semi-liberall Arts* are subject; but even the highest perfections, and *endowments* of *Nature*. As *Beautie* in a light woman, *Eloquence* in a mutinous Man, *Resolution* in an Assasinate, *Prudent observation* of houres and humours, in a corrupt *Courtier*, *Sharpenesse* of wit and argument in a seducing Scholler; and the like. Nay, finally let mee aske, what *ART* can be more pernicious, then even *RELIGION* it selfe, if it selfe be

[122]

converted into an *Instrument of ART*: Therefore, *Ab abuti ad non uti, negatur consequentia*.

Thus having stiched in some sort together, these *Animadversions*, touching *Architecture*, and the *Ornaments* thereof; I now feele that *contemplative* spirits are as restlesse as *active*; for doubting with my selfe, (as all weakenesse is jealous) that I may be thought to have spent my poore observation abroad, about nothing but *Stone* and *Timber*, and such *Rubbage*; I am thereby led into an immodestie of proclaiming another *Worke*, which I have long devoted to the service of my *Countrey*: Namely, A *Philosophicall Survey of Education*, which is indeed, a second *Building*, or repairing of *Nature*, and, as I may tearme it, a kinde of *Morall Architecture*; whereof such *Notes* as I have taken in my foreigne



[123]

transcursions or abodes, I hope to utter without publike offence, though still with the freedome of a plaine *Kentish* man. In the meane while I have let these other *Gleanings* flie abroad, like the Bird out of the *Arke*, to discover what footing may bee, for that which shall follow.

FINIS.

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Errata.

*Pag. 6 lin. 8. for as, reade is. Pag. 48. lin.2. for cuncatim, reade cuneatim. Pag. 77. lin. 6. for (wo, reade (who. Pag. 80. lin. 9. for wisely, reade wish. Pag. 88. lin. 19. omitted in the Margin the verses following, touching the coincidence of extreame affections; represented by Homer in the person of Hectors wife; as Painters and Poets have alwaies had a kind of congeniality.*

IAIAΔ

[...] That is,

Shee tooke her sonne into her armes, weepingly laughing.

GLOSSARY OF UNUSUAL WORDS IN THE *ELEMENTS*

The meanings and definitions of words and phrases provided in this glossary apply principally to Wotton's *Elements* and are based mainly on those given in *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd edition, Oxford, 1932/1962, and, especially, in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1989, 20 vol. (hereafter: *OED*). A few entries follow the notes in Hard's edition of the *Elements* (1968, pp. 125-139). Wotton's vocabulary is, to an extent, lexically idiosyncratic: many words do not correspond to current usage in meaning or in form. The status of his words may often be characterized as archaic, historical, rare, or obsolete, and his vocabulary also includes words of other limited use, including rare derivatives of alien words from foreign languages, especially from Italian. Wotton's *Elements* numbers among the many works used as authoritative sources for the *OED*. Not infrequently Wotton is the only authority for a usage found in the *OED*. His very many variant obsolete or archaic spellings (e.g., 'sowre', 'sunne', 'fayrer', 'limmed', 'fower') may sometimes impede the immediate recognition and comprehension of words. Sometimes speaking the word aloud aids recognition. Most such words are not treated in this glossary, but they will be taken into account in a modernized version of the text of the *Elements* to be provided in part II. The page numbers, such as '(52)' are only partial indications of the occurrences of words in Wotton's text. These may be completely located by searching the full text of the *Elements* electronically.

ADVENTURED (24): dared, hazarded

AEREALL ASPIRING plants (10): upward growing

AFFECTATIONS (20): aims; fondness for things liked or loved

AMASSE (38): 'amass'; gathering, accumulation, collection

ANIMADVERSIONS (122): the utterance of criticism or reproof; a criticism, one implying censure

ANNOYES (70): annoyances

APPEARING soliditie (23): apparent, visible, conspicuous

APPERTIONS (22, 51): openings, as apertures

ARTIFICIAL TERMS (*pref.* 4): technical vocabulary

AXEL-TREE (86): 'axle-tree'; the central line the axis of vision

BALLISED (52, 77): enclosed with a railing or balustrade

BEATEN (30): (well) trodden, well-worn; used adjectivally in many senses

BELIKE (13, 26): *adj.* like, likely; *adv.* to appearance, probably, possibly

BOSCAGE (110): wooded landscape pictures

BOWRE (112): 'bower'; as an arbour; a place closed in or overarched with branches of trees, shrubs or other plants

BRIEF (38): abridgement, epitome

BUTTERIE: 'buttery'; a storeroom for liquor and provisions generally; where ale and bread, butter etc. are kept

CASUALTIE (57): 'casualty'; chance, accident, mishap

CAUTELOUS (80): *here*: cautious, circumspect; *also*: crafty, deceitful, artful

CAUTION(S) (22, *passim*): caveat(s), words of warning; monition, advice to anyone to take heed

CENSURE (*pref.* 5, 84, 94, 110, 115): an adverse judgement, criticism; to judge, criticize  
 CHARGEABLE (17): burdensome, troublesome, costly  
 CHINQUES (16): ‘chinks’; fissure, cleft, rift, crack, gap  
 COCKE (112): ‘cock’; a spout with appliance for controlling the flow of liquids through it; a tap  
 COLLECTION (‘a rule of my own collection’; 6): inference, deduction, conclusion  
 COMBUSTION (in) (5): (*astrol.*) obscuration of a planet or star by proximity to the sun  
 COMMISURES (102): seams, joinings  
 COMMUNITIES (30): qualities or things in common; commonalities, common character  
 COMPARTING (53): dividing; division, compartmentalization; distribution and disposition of parts (*arch.*)  
 COMPARTITION (18, 66, *passim*): the act of dividing into parts or compartments; the division; not in *OED*  
 COMPENDIOUSLY (46): briefly, concisely, summarily, comprehensively  
 COMPETENT (57, 77, 111): suitable, fit, proper  
 COMPILING (15): heaping or building up  
 COMPILMENTS (*pref.* 6): the compiling of a literary work; a collection, accumulation; the action of constructing or building up a structure  
 COMPLEMENTALL phrases (*pref.* 5): completing, of the nature of a complement  
 COMFORTABLE (*pref.* 8): “? accordant, consistent” (*OED*)  
 COMPREND (52): understand  
 CONCEITE (*pref.* 4, 20, *passim*): ‘conceit’; opinion, idea, conception, estimation  
 CONCENTER (44): fit to a common centre; converge or meet in a common centre  
 CONDUCT(S) (52): conduit(s); conveyance of liquid through a channel  
 CONFINERS (25): borderer, neighbour (*OED*: Wotton)  
 CONTIGNATION(S) (39, 40, 76, 105): floor, story; a framework or fabric of beams or boards; the process of framing together, or uniting, as beams or boards in a fabric  
 COUNTERVAILE (102): ‘countervail’; counterbalance  
 COVER (22): roof  
 CURIOUS (16, 57, *passim*): fastidious (11; Hard), elaborate (14; Hard); ‘curious’ may convey a wide variety of meanings: interesting, careful, ingenious, artful, skillful, subtle, choice, fine, recondite  
  
 DEFECT (71): lack or absence of something necessary to completeness  
 DEFINITIVE SUMME (of this art) (53): that which a statement, discourse, etc. amounts to, or is in essence  
 DELIVERERS (1): ones who set forth, utter, etc.  
 DENTELLI (37): dentils (*arch.*); from *dentello* (*Ital.*)  
 DEPARTMENTS (104): departures  
 DISCORDING (77): disagree, dissent  
 DISTENT (50): extent; also: extend, extended; stretched out at full length or breadth  
 DISTENTION (58): extension (lateral)  
 DRAUGHT(S) (90, *passim*): drawing; also: draft, plan  
 DROPSIE (31): ‘dropsy’; a morbid accumulation of watery fluid in the serous cavities or the connective tissue of the body  
 DURITIE (13): ‘durity’; hardness  
  
 EMULATION (104): rivalry

EXAMPLES (best) (title page): exemplars of the elements of architecture as models; objects of imitation to learn from

EXTEMPORALL HABITE (115): of faculty or habit, pertaining to, or concerned with, extempore speech or action (*obs.*)

FENNS (3): low land covered with shallow water or frequently inundated; wetlands, as marshes; mud, clay, mire

FLINT (27): a kind of hardstone

POWER (90): four

FRANKE (a Franke Light) (55): here, good, generous, ample, candid, unimpeded; also: free, liberal, bounteous

FREE (9): here, free-standing, unobstructed

FUSABILITY (27): 'fusebility'; susceptible to melting, fusible

GRAMER (*pref.*, 3): grammar

GRAVE (authors) (6): weighty, authoritative

GROSSE (of air) (3): dense; also: thick, massive, large (cf. 23, 50)

HAPPE (*pref.*, 2): 'hap', chance or fortune (good or bad) that falls to anyone; luck, lot

HARTIE TIMBER (11): hardwoods

JACENT (29): lying, recumbent (*giacente*; *obs.*)

JEALOUS (23): jealous, as zealous, vigilant

IMBECILITY (51): weakness; feebleness

IMPEACHMENT (47): hindrance, obstruction, impediment

IMPERTINENT (89): not pertinent, irrelevant

IMPULSION (48): the condition of being thrust or pushed; stressed, strained

INSENSIBLY (31); INSENSIBLE PASSAGE (86): imperceptible

INSISTENT WALL (26): standing or resting on something (rare; Wotton *OED*)

INSOCIABLE (25): see UNSOCIABLE

INTERMITTED (27): interrupted

INWARD (73): interior

LIGHT(S) (general) (115): elucidations, suggestions

LODGING CHAMBERS (72): dwelling, esp. temporary, for sleeping

MINERAL EXHALATIONS (3): as from the bowels of the earth

MERIDIONALL (8): south, southern, meridional

MURALL ANGLES (14, 52): corners of the walls

MOULD (23; cf. 24): earth, ground

MURING (27): wall-building; walls (Wotton *OED*)

MEANER (28): more humble, middling; inferior in rank and quality

MASSIE (33, *passim*): full of substance or mass; solid and weighty (now: massive)

MODIGLIONI (37; *Ital.*): modillions, as brackets

MEDLIE AND MOTLIE DESIGNS (98): 'medley' (mixed) and variegated; composed of elements of diverse or varied character

NICES (103): niches

NOYSOME (64): 'noisome' (*obs.*); harmful, injurious, noxious, disagreeable; *here*: offensive to the sense of smell; ill-smelling

OFFICE (rooms of), OFFICES (66, 69, 70): rooms specially devoted to household work or service

OFFICINATOR (11): building superintendent (supervisor of artisans); clerk-of-the-works

OVERTHWART line (67): transverse

OVERTURES (22, 53): openings, apertures

PARLER (10): 'parlour'; sitting room

PATET IANUA: COR MAGIS. (120): The Gate is open; the heart more so (Hard)

PENTICES (80): sloping roofs; penthouses

PERADVENTURE (*passim*): by chance or accident; as it happened; *per avventura* (*Ital.*)

PERCHANCE (41): peradventure (see)

PITCH (*pref.* 2): apex, summit, vertex; highest point

PLANTS (74): plans; the 'ground-plant' or plan of a building (*obs.*; *OED* Wotton)

PLIGHTED (36): pleated

POSTURE (2, *passim*): position; relative disposition of the parts

PREMISES (66): *here*, outset, beginning; beforehand

PREMONISHMENTS (66): forewarnings; advisements

RAUNGES (71): 'ranges'; a form of fire-grate, fire-place, or cooking apparatus, specially a fire place having one or more ovens at the sides and closed above with iron plates, for cooking

RAUNGING (4): from the verb *raung* ('range'); here a ranging 'Sence' (sense), that of the eye, as in the act of ranging or moving about, as in casting an expansive, outward stretching, extending, roving view

RECEIT (17): reception; receptiveness

REDUCING (114): bringing back; recalling (*OED*: Wotton)

REGULARITIE (24): 'regularity'; following a rule or principle

REMAINDERS (31): remains, remaining part or parts; fragments of ancient buildings

REMEMBRANCES (25): reminders; things to remember, to keep in mind and follow

REQUEST (out of) (28): no longer in demand, being asked for or sought after; *hence*: out of fashion

RESUPINATION (of the figure) (105): the effect of height upon the proportions of a standing figure; 'resupine': lying on back; inclined backwards; 'resupinate': turned or twisted upwards

RETIRED (21): drawn back, receding

RUBBAGE (13, 122): rubbish; insignificant matter; *OED*: worthless, ridiculous, nonsensical ideas, discourse, or writing (Wotton)

RUDEST (7): most unrefined, barbarous, imperfect or primitive

SCANT (44): scarcely, rarely

SCHIOGRAPHIA (65): 'sciographia'; Wotton understands this word (*Vitr.*), as does Barbaro, to mean plan; other contemporary writer diverge in their interpretations; cf. Serlio, etc.

SCOPE (79): purpose, aim, intention, goal

SEARCHED (27): scrutinized, examined, investigated

SEMPLICITIE (*pref.* 6): 'simplicity'; a reference to Wotton's natural status as a former ambassador returned to England as a private man; straight-forwardness

SERVILE (73): deferent, obsequious, ignoble, submissive  
 SEVERALTIE (22): separately, apart from the others, particularly  
 SORT (5): to dispose, order, classify, arrange  
 SOWRE (115): sorry  
 START (14): feel or be startled; flinch, recoil from something in alarm or repugnance  
 STILLATORIES (8): stillatory; still-room, still-house, distillery  
 STORIED (101): historiated; with scenes from history or legend  
 STRANGERS (*pref.* 3): foreigners  
 SUILLAGE (24, 63): obs. form of 'sullage': filth, refuse, esp. as is carried off by drains from a house, farmyard, etc.; sewage  
 SUMMERS (11): a main beam in a structure; a horizontal bearing beam  
 SUNDRY (60): several, various, diverse  
 SUPERFICIES (45): the outermost part of the body; the surface layer

TRANSCURSIONS (122): journeys; passage through a country

UNSOCIABLE (56): incompatible; *also*: 'insociable'

VAINES and tymes (times) (78 = 86): inclinations, personal character or disposition, natural tendency or particular strain of talent or genius

VALINGS (109): 'vailings'; descents

VALUE (*pref.* 1): worth

VOUCHSAFE (34): deign

WITHAL (96, *passim*): along with the rest, in addition, moreover, as well

WOMENS WIRES (36): a frame of wire to support the hair

## A DESCRIPTION OF THE BOOK

The following description of the first edition of the *Elements of Architecture*, 1624 is, in part, based on the catalogue of the Fowler Collection of architectural books (Baltimore).

THE | ELEMENTS | OF | ARCHITECTVRE, | Collected by |  
H E N R Y W O T T O N Knight, | *from the best Authors* | and Exam- | ples. |  
| LONDON | Printed by IOHN BILL, | M.DC.XXIV.

*Size:* Small 4<sup>to</sup>; vertical measurement: 18,2 cm; 7 3/16 inches

*Signatures:* [¶<sub>1</sub>] ¶<sup>3</sup>, A<sup>2</sup>, A-P<sup>4</sup>, Q<sup>2</sup>. 67 leaves. *Numbering of pages:* [i-x], 1-123 [124] p.  
Woodcut initials.

*Contents:* p. [i]: title page; p. [ii]: blank; pp. [iii-x]: preface; pp. 1-123: text, Part I-II, ending with errata; p. [124]: blank.

In some examples leaf B<sup>4</sup> (pp. 15-16) is in the original uncanceled state. The canceled leaf was reset with minor variations in the text and may be identified as follows:

p. 15, uncanceled: 24 lines; line 5, “And it is besides very pro-” |

p. 15, canceled: 23 lines; line 5, “And it is besides very” | [As the Hard and Gregg facsimilies]

p. 16, uncanceled: 24 lines; line 1, “the *Materials*, with this princi-  
pall cau-” |

p. 16, canceled: 23 lines; line 1, “caution: That sufficient *Stuffe* and *Mo-*” [As the Hard and Gregg facsimilies]

Cf. Laurence Hall Fowler and Elizabeth Baer, *The Fowler Architectural Collection of the Johns Hopkins University, Catalogue*, Baltimore: Evergreen House Foundation, 1961, page 346; see further: *La raccolta palladiana Guglielmo Cappelletti del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio di Vicenza*, ed. Giovanni Maria Fara and Daniela Tovo, Vicenza: CISA Andrea Palladio, 2001, pp. 350, 353, no. 223.

## THE PRINTER

The printer of the *Elements* named on the title page is John Bill (1576-1630), a leading figure in the book trade in the Jacobean period, who held the office of the King's Printer either alone, or together in various partnerships from 1603 until 1645. Bill may have met Wotton in Italy between 1596 and 1602, when he was sent abroad by Sir Thomas Bodley to acquire books for Bodley's library. See Ronald Brunlees McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*, London 1910; Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers*, 1990, p. 499.

Much and increasing information about John Bill is found at "The King's Printer Project" of Queen Mary College, University of London:  
[www.english.qmul.ac.uk/kingsprinter/index.html](http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/kingsprinter/index.html).

On January 24, 1624, two months after Wotton's return from Italy, the *Elements* was entered in the Register of the Stationers's company. It was entered by Thomas Harper, who conducted a printing business with his brother, William, who had been apprenticed to John Bill, 1604-1612 (Harris, p. 502; see Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of The Register of The Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640*, 3 vols., London 1875-1894, vol. 4, p. 111).



## EDITIONS

London: John Bill, 1624; online at *EEBO*: Early English Books Online; subscription; in Deutschland zugänglich über *www.nationallizenzen.de* (DFG-geforderten Lizenzen für elektronische Medien) bei vielen Bibliotheken und für Privatpersonen mit Wohnsitz in Deutschland nach Anmeldung (kostenfrei).

Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem*. (...). A Ioanne De Laet Antwerpiano. [Amstelodami, Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, Anno M DC XLIX (1649)]

(...) p. [1]: half title to Wotton's *Elementa Architecturae*; p. [2]: note about Wotton (not present in all examples); pp. 3-4: preface; pp. 5-30: text of Wotton's *Elements* in Latin (...). (Fowler, no. 417). Title page: (...) *Elementa Architecturae collecta ab Illustri Viro Henrico Wottono Equite Anglo*. (...). Online: Heidelberg.

Reprinted in the *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, ed. Izaak Walton, in 1651 (also contained in subsequent editions of this work: 1654, 1672, 1785). Online at *EEBO*: Early English Books Online; subscription.

*Elementos de Arquitectura, recogidos de los Autores, y exemplares mas aprobados* (...) Traducidos a Latina por Jan de Laet, natural de Amberes, en el de 1649. Y aora a la Castellana en el de [1]698 [Madrid 1698] (Florentino Zamora Lucas and Eduardo Ponce de León Freyre, *Bibliografía Espanola de Arquitectura, 1526-1850*, Madrid 1947, p. 1698, no. 75) (1 hoy a y 139 páginas; "Elogio del autor. – Preámbolo. – Texto."

Roland Fréart, Sieur de Chambry, *A Parallel of the Antient Architecture with the Modern* (...), translated by John Evelyn, first edition: London 1664. The edition of London 1733 (also of 1723) contains Wotton's *Elements of Architecture: A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern* (...), translated by John Evelyn; The Fourth Edition, with the Addition of The Elements of Architecture: Collected by Sir Henry Wotton, Knt. from the best Authors and Examples; and also other large Additions (*Elements*, placed at the beginning, at pp. [C 3- C 4] + I-XXXVIII).

Reprinted in *Somers Tracts*, 2nd collection, I, 262 (1750); 2nd ed., III, 601 (1809) (*Somers Tracts: A Collection of scarce and valuable tracts* (...): online at Hathi Trust Digital Library; Google Books.

Reprinted in 1825 from the Latin text of 1649 in the Vitruvius edition of Giovanni Poleni and Simone Stratico (Udine 1825), I, pp. 203-236 (Vitruvius, *Architectura* (...), Udine: Mattiuzzi, 1825-1830).

A reprint in facsimile of the text of the *Reliquiae Wottoniae* of 1651; printed for Guy Kirkham, Springfield, Massachusetts, undated, but printed in 1901 (Hard, p. lxxxv; at Google Books).

Chiswick Press, London, Longmans, 1903 (Logan Pearsall Smith, vol. 1, p. 194, note 2: "A beautiful edition of this book, with ornamental designs by Mr. Herbert Horne, was printed in 1903 at the Chiswick Press for Miss S. T. Prideaux, and published by Longmans, Green & Co.").

Wotton, *Elements*: A Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition (London, 1624) With Introduction and Notes by Frederick Hard, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1968 (Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.).

Gregg International Publishers, Farnborough, Hants; 1969: A facsimile reprint of: Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, London: John Bull, 1624 (no introduction or commentary; from RIBA, London, example of the book; without 'Errata').

A number of printings of abridged versions of Wotton's text were made from 1670 into the last century; see Hard, p. lxxxv, and, especially; the *Ground Rules of Architecture (...) by that Learned and Ingenious Gentleman Sir Henry Wotton, now contracted for Public Benefit*, London 1670, and 1671, 1676: *The Mirror of Architecture*, ed. William Fisher [Abstract of Scamozzi], 2nd ed., London 1671 (with a 'contracted' version of Wotton's *Elements of Architecture*); also in 3rd ed., London 1676 (online at *EEBO*: Early English Books Online; subscription).

See further: Google Books and [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org).



Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639)  
*Studio of Michiel Jansz van Mierevelt*  
 oil on panel; 1620; 63 x 50,2 cm  
 (SOTHEBY'S)

## A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR *THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE*

See also: CRITICAL ANTHOLOGY OF COMMENTARY TO WOTTON'S *ELEMENTS* (*supra*)

John Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste*, London 1963 (especially the chapter on architecture)

Fredrick Hard, editor, *The Elements of Architecture by Sir Henry Wotton*, Charlottesville, 1968

Marilyn Perry (Marilyn Perry Caldwell), *Sir Henry Wotton: Aspects of English Taste in the Early Seventeenth Century*, M. Phil. Thesis, London University (Warburg Institute), 1968: WARBURG Theses CIC 245 (Valuable for Wotton's sources, the thesis may be read only at this library; not consulted.)

*Architectural Theory and Practice from Alberti to Ledoux*, ed. Dora Wiebenson, Charlottesville, Architectural Publications, 1982

Jeffrey M. Muller, "Con diligenza, con studio and con amore: Terms of Quality in the Seventeenth Century," in: *Rubens and his World*, ed. Frans Baudouin *et al.*, Antwerp 1985, pp. 273-278

Eileen Harris assisted by Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785*, Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 499-503 (Temporally overlapping Harris, and extending more than an additional half-century, is: John Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture 1715-1842*, Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1985, 1104 pp., which also includes general architectural treatises and ones on the classical orders; Wotton: pp. xvi, 26, 82, 134 n. 46, nos. 5, 40, 184, 191 n. 287)

Herbert Mitchell, "An unrecorded issue of Philibert Delorme's *Le premier tome de l'architecture*, annotated by Sir Henry Wotton," in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 53, 1994, pp. 20-29

*The Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection*, vol. 2, *British Books, Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Robin Middleton, Gerald Beasley, Nicholas Savage, National Gallery of Art, Washington, New York: George Braziller, 1998, pp. 366-368, no. 95 (Beasley)

Antonio Becchi, "Taccia dunque la turba de gli Architetti pratici (...): Henry Wotton und der Abt von Guastalla," in: *Wissensformen*, ed. Zoe Arnold and Philipp Tscholl, Zurich 2008, pp. 100-107



Michiel van Mierevelt  
*Portrait of Henry Wotton*  
Picture Gallery at the Bodleian Library, Oxford  
(Sometimes described as by Cornelius Janssen)

## Sir HENRY WOTTON (1568-1639): A Summary Biographical Sketch

Henry Wotton was born on 30 March 1568 at Boughton Hall (Bocton Hall), the ancient estate of his family in the parish of Boughton Malherbe, in Kent, as the fourth son of Thomas Wotton (1521-1587) and of his second wife, the widow Eleonora Morton.

Wotton was educated first by his mother and a tutor, and sent for his formal studies to Winchester College, and then Oxford University (1584). There Wotton graduated MA, giving three lectures on optics. At Oxford, Wotton began a lifelong friendship with the poet John Donne (1572-1631). Henry Wotton's father died in 1587, leaving him a small annuity, not sufficient for his needs. In the summer of 1588, he supplicated for the degree of BA and then soon left England for a very extended tour of the continent, travelling first to the University of Altdorf bei Nürnberg, and then to Linz, Ingolstadt, and Vienna. In Heidelberg he met Franciscus Junius the Elder. In 1592, Wotton went to Rome, and then to Naples, Genoa, Venice, and Florence. In June 1593, he found himself in Geneva, where he lodged with the scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), whose hospitality Wotton repaid by leaving debts behind, travelling to France, where he spent some time, and at which time began his services to Robert Devereux, the second Earl of Essex (1593). During 1594 Wotton wrote his longest prose work, *The State of Christendom*, published posthumously in 1657. His travels in continental Europe between 1589 and 1594 allowed Wotton to acquire languages, so that "his command of German and Italian was such that he could pass as either" (writes Walton, although this seems intrinsically unlikely).

Returning after seven years abroad to England in 1605, Wotton soon entered the service, as a secretary and agent, of Devereux (1566-1601), a favourite of Queen Elizabeth. The next year Wotton became the responsibility for the Earl's intelligence network in Transylvania, Poland, Italy, and Germany. His service to the Earl of Essex extended over nearly a decade, taking him to places such as Baden and Paris. While in London, Wotton came to know many men of letters, probably through the agency of his friend, John Donne. Following the failure of the Earl of Essex to suppress the Irish Rebellion (1599), the Earl fell from favour. He was tried for treason and executed in 1601. At this time Wotton went into exile in Italy, passing through France and staying first at Venice, and then going to the court of Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, at Florence.

Returning again to England on the accession of James I to the English throne in 1603, Wotton was knighted and offered the ambassadorship to Paris, Madrid, or Venice. Wotton chose Venice, leaving London in July 1604, and remaining in Venice, with interruptions, for the next twenty-years. The first of his three terms as ambassador extended from 1604 to 1612; the second, from 1616 to 1619; the third, from 1621 to 1624. In Venice, he became acquainted with Paolo Sarpi, the Servite Friar, known as Fra Paolo, and had a portrait painted of Sarpi, which he sent to the Provost of King's College, Cambridge. Also during his residence in Venice, Wotton received English scholars and travelers, in Padua as well as Venice, among them James Howell and Thomas Coryat (or Coryate), the English traveler and writer, author of the *Coryat's Crudities hastily gobbled up in Five Months Travels in France, Italy, &c.* (1611), a work credited with beginning the craze of the Grand Tour of continental Europe among the English.

During his time in Venice, Wotton formed a notable collection of pictures, partly his own, but mostly acquired for his patrons, and he followed his interest in new developments in the sciences. At Linz he saw Kepler's demonstration of the camera obscura; at Venice he acquired Galileo's *Sidereus Nuncius* as it was published. Also during his ambassadorship

Wotton was instrumental in acquiring, in Venice, works of art for the royal collection of James I, as well as for many noble English collectors, among them, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, to whom he sent a *Madonna and Child* by Titian, a *King David* by Palma Giovane, and a still-life with grapes. Wotton's own collection included works by Titian, by Jacopo Bassano, by Odoardo Fialetti, and by Gerrit van Honthorst.

By 1623, approaching his mid-sixties and wanting to return to England, Wotton sought permission for a leave of absence, which was granted in July 1623. By the end of 1623, he was again in England, nearly penniless and in urgent need of a secure appointment to maintain himself, his servants, and the several German and Italian artists he had brought with him. The Provostship of Eaton College had become vacant on the death of the incumbent Thomas Murray in April of 1623. This position carried an income, accommodation and a position of high social standing suitable to the King's former ambassador in Venice. How coveted the post was, and how prestigious, is suggested by the fact that, among the aspiring candidates, numbered the philosopher, statesman, and essayist, Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626). Wotton expended a very considerable effort to gain to office of Provost of Eaton College (Windsor), and to his laid-back blitz-campaign seems to belong the rapid writing and publication of our text, *The Elements of Architecture*. The extent to which the *Elements of Architecture* was nothing more than an application paper perhaps deserves reconsideration, for in recent years evidence has begun to emerge about Wotton's readings in architectural books, about his own architectural library, and about his preparations for the *Elements*.

Provost of Eaton College (1624-1639): Wotton assumed the office of Provost on 26 July 1624. He apparently took his duties as a educator seriously, and as an administrator he managed Eaton College well. His Survey of Education, promised at the end of the *Elements of Architecture* did not appear in Wotton's lifetime. It was never finished, and survives only in a fragmentary form (printed in his *Reliquiae*, ed. 1672, pp. 73-79; see: *A Philosophical Survey of Education; or Moral Architecture, and the Aphorisms of Education*, by Sir Henry Wotton, ed. H. S. Kermode, London 1938). Wotton died on 5 December 1639. His life was described by his loyal friend, Izaak Walton, and this biography will be quoted in its entirety in Part Two).

(Biography based mainly on Hard, 1968, and Lee, in: DNB, 1900, see infra)

## THE WRITINGS OF HENRY WOTTON

In his lifetime Wotton published only one book, *The Elements of Architecture* (1624).

His only earlier publication was his Latin letter to Marcus Walser in Augsburg, written against the claims of Gaspar Scoppius and printed in a broadsheet or pamphlet (1612; apparently lost). Another printing of this *apologia* was issued in Amberg in 1613 (Hard). A copy is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Another copy is found in the Bibliotheca Marciana, Venezia (26.D.181, opus. 4): *Henrici Wottoni Regis Magnae Britannie ad Venetam Republicam olim Legati Epistola de Casp. Scioppio cui propter argumenti similitudinem alia adjecta*, Ambergae Apud Johan. Schönfeldium, MDCXIII. The pagination of this brief text continues in the following *Isaaci Casauboni, Epistola ad Georgium Michaellem Lingelsheimium in quo De nupero quodam Scoiii libello agitur*.

Nine years after the *Elements*, Wotton published a brief laudatory booklet upon the occasion of the return of King Charles I from Scotland: *Ad Regem è Scotia reducem Henrici Wottonij Plusus et Vota*, London, 1633 (English translation, 1649: *A Panegyrick of King Charles*).

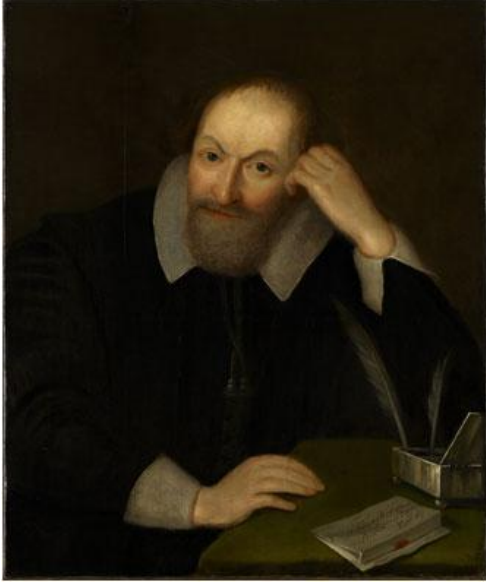
Posthumous publications include:

1641: *A Parallel between Robert, late Earl of Essex, and George, late Duke of Buckingham*

1642: *A Short View of the Life and Death of George Villers, Duke of Buckingham*

1651: *Reliquiae Wottonianae, or a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of Sundry Personages and other Incomprable Pieces of Language and Art. By the Curious Pensil of the Ever Memorable Sir Henry Wotton, Kt., late Provost of Eton College*, ed. Izaak Walton (reditions: 1654, 1672, 1685)

See also: *EEBO* / Early English Books Online



*Sir Henry Wotton* (Wikipedia)  
London, National Portrait Gallery



## BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

## A NOTE ON BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES:

Izaak Walton's biography of Wotton will be included in a full text version in Part Two. There follow here: the biography by Sidney Lee, from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 63, ed. Sidney Lee, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1900, pp. 51–57; and The Grove-Macmillan *Dictionary of Art*, London-New York, 1996, vol. 33, pp. 386-387: "Sir Henry Wotton," by David Rodgers. Other biographical sources include: Terrence M. Russell, "Sir Henry Wotton: biographical note", in: Terrence M. Russell, *The Encyclopaedic Dictionary in the Eighteenth Century: Architecture, Arts and Crafts*, 5 vol., Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997, vol. 1, pp. 11-20 (largely adapted from Isaac Walton) and Logan Pearsall Smith, 1907 (*supra*).

*Further biographical literature:*

Adolphus Ward, *Sir Henry Wotton, a biographical Sketch*, Westminster 1898

Arthur W. Fox, *A Book of Bachelors*, Westminster 1899

Paul Elmer More, *Scheldurne Essays*, 5th series, New York 1908 (essay on Wotton)

Anna Maria Crinò, *Fatti e figure del Seicento anglo-toscano*, Firenze 1957

A. Lytton Sells, *The Paradise of Travellers*, London and Bloomington, Indiana 1964 (pp. 52-76: "Sir Henry Wotton and the Venetian Embassy")

Fredrick Hard, "Biographical Sketch," in: Wotton, *Elements*, ed. Hard, 1986, pp. xxiv-lv

Robert Hill, "Art and Patronage: Sir Henry Wotton and the Venetian Embassy, 1604-1624", in: *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Maria Keblusek *et al.*, Leiden: Brill, 2011, pp. 27-58.

"Henry Wotton", an article by SIDNEY LEE from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 63, ed. Sidney Lee, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1900, pp. 51–57:

WOTTON, SIR HENRY (1568–1639), diplomatist and poet, was born in 1568 at Boughton Hall, in the parish of Boughton Malherbe, in Kent. He was grandson of Sir Edward Wotton (1489-1551), and fourth son of Thomas Wotton (1521-1587), being only son of his father's second marriage with Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Finch, and widow of Robert Morton of Kent. Edward Wotton, first baron Wotton, was his eldest half-brother. After receiving some instruction at home from his mother and a tutor, Henry was sent to Winchester school, and at the age of sixteen proceeded as a commoner to New College, Oxford, matriculating on 5 June 1584. Two years later he migrated to Queen's College, and while an undergraduate there he wrote a play called 'Tancredo,' which was apparently based on Tasso's recently published 'Gerusalemme Liberata.' Wotton's effort is lost. Science also attracted him, and he is said

when in his twentieth year to have ‘read in Latin three lectures “de oculo,” wherein he described the form, the motion, and the curious composure of the eye” (WALTON). At Oxford, despite Wotton’s five years’ seniority, he began a friendship with John Donne, which was only terminated by the latter’s death. Alberico Gentili, professor of civil law, also became warmly attached to him. Wotton’s father died in 1587, leaving him a beggarly annuity of a hundred marks. He supplicated for the degree of B.A. on 8 June 1588, and then left the country for a long tour on the continent of Europe, which seems to have occupied him nearly seven years.

He first proceeded to the university of Altdorf, where he met Edward lord Zouche, a regular correspondent of his in later years. From Altdorf Wotton passed to Linz, where he witnessed some experiments carried out by Kepler. He also visited Ingolstadt and Vienna, and early in 1592 pushed on to Rome, where he was introduced to Cardinals Bellarmine and Allen. After a few months, which he divided among Naples, Genoa, Venice, and Florence, he arrived at Geneva on 22 June 1593; he lodged with the scholar Casaubon, and left owing his host much money, which Casaubon recovered with difficulty after inconvenient delay (PATTISON, *Casaubon*, pp. 44-6). Subsequently Wotton spent some time in France. He was ambitious of diplomatic employment, and while on the continent he seems to have forwarded foreign news to Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, who appreciated his services. Returning to England in 1595, he was admitted a student to the Middle Temple, but he never was called to the bar. Towards the close of the year he became one of Essex’s agents and secretaries.

By October 1595 he was fully in his master’s confidence, and visited the margrave of Baden at the earl’s instance to win his friendship for Queen Elizabeth (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 3rd Rep. Hatfield Mss.). In December 1595 he was sent by Essex to Paris to warn Essex’s Portuguese protégé, Antonio Perez, of the treachery of his English attendant Aleyn. Aleyn returned with Wotton and was arrested (BIRCH, *Queen Elizabeth*, i. 346). Essex, who made it his object to collect foreign intelligence from all parts of Europe, entrusted Wotton in 1596 with the department dealing with the affairs of Transylvania, Poland, Italy, and Germany (*ibid.* ii. 243). Although Wotton was an active correspondent, his judgment and fidelity to his master were questioned by a fellow secretary, Anthony Bacon, and continual bickerings between Wotton and Bacon disturbed the harmony of Essex’s household. While in London in Essex’s employment, Wotton made the acquaintance of many men of letters to whom probably his friend Donne introduced him. As soon as Essex fell out of favour with his sovereign, Wotton hastily left England on a second visit to Italy. Unlike his fellow secretary, Henry Cuffe, he seems to have been in no way involved in Essex’s futile conspiracy, but he was not free from a suspicion of complicity, and, so long as Queen Elizabeth lived, England was closed to him. He appears to have settled at Venice, where he occupied himself in literary work. There he wrote his longest and most important prose work, ‘The State of Christendom,’ an outspoken survey of current politics, displaying both information and insight; it remained unpublished till 1657, eighteen years after its author’s death. At the opening of the work he meditates the possibility of securing a safe return home by ‘murdering some notable traitor to his prince and country,’ but he thought better of the plan owing to ‘the great difficulty to remain unpunished’ and to ‘the continual terror that such an offence might breed into his conscience.’ From Venice he passed to Florence, where he obtained an introduction to the court of Ferdinand, the great duke of Tuscany. In 1602 the duke’s ministers intercepted letters disclosing a design against the life of James, the Scottish king. At the suggestion of his secretary Vietta, the duke sent Wotton to warn James of the conspiracy, entrusting him not merely ‘with letters to the king’ but with ‘such Italian antidotes against poison as the Scots till then had been strangers to.’ Travelling as an Italian under the assumed name of Octavio Baldi,

Wotton reached Sweden, whence he crossed to Scotland and was received by King James at Stirling. After three months' stay in Scotland he returned to Florence, and was there at the time of Queen Elizabeth's death.

Wotton at once returned to England and was accorded a kindly reception by the new sovereign, James I. He received the honour of knighthood and a choice of posts as ambassador at the courts of Spain, France, or Venice. Wotton's means were small, and he accepted the post at Venice as pecuniarily the least onerous of the three. He left London in July 1604. His half-nephew (son of a half-brother), Sir Albertus Morton, went with him as secretary, and William Bedell joined him as chaplain in 1607 (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. vii. 281). His friend Donne sent him a letter in verse on his departure (DONNE, *Poems*, ed. Chambers, ii. 7-9, 41-2 ; cf. WALTON, *Life*, ed. Bullen, p.119).

Wotton was engaged in diplomatic duties at Venice for nearly twenty years, but he did not hold office continuously. His first term covered eight years, 1604 to 1612; his second four years, 1616 to 1619, and his third four years, 1621 to 1624.

During Wotton's first period he was chiefly occupied in supporting the republic in its long resistance to the authority of the pope. By his exertions, too, many English soldiers who had been brought over to serve the Venetian republic against the Turks were relieved from extreme poverty and sent back to England. He made the acquaintance of Paolo Sarpi, and caused a portrait to be painted of him, which he sent to Dr. Collins, provost of King's College, Cambridge (BURNET, *Life of Bedell*, p. 194; *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. vii. 350-1), and he showed attention to James Howell, Thomas Coryate, and other English travellers (cf. CORYATE, *Crudities*, 1776, ii. 7). Donne, writing in 1607, complained that Wotton, 'under the oppression of business or the necessity of seeming so,' was an infrequent correspondent (GOSSE, *Donne*, i. 170). Wotton contrived to offend Gasper Scioppius, a Roman catholic controversialist who had been a fellow student at Altdorf. Scioppius visited Venice in 1607, and was then preparing a confutation of James I's theology. In 1611 he issued a volume of scurrilous abuse of the king, entitled 'Ecclesiasticus.' Incidentally he alluded to an anecdote respecting Wotton which involved the English envoy in disaster. It appears that on his journey to Italy in 1604 Wotton stayed at Augsburg, where Christopher Flecamore or Fleckmore, a merchant, invited him to inscribe his name in his album. Wotton complied by writing the sentence 'Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ,' 'which he would have been content should have been thus englished: An ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country' (WALTON). Scioppius, in noticing this episode, charged James I in his printed diatribe with sending a confessed liar to represent him abroad (*Ecclesiasticus*, cap. iv.)

About the same date as Scioppius's attack on James I was published (1611), Wotton obtained leave to revisit England. He desired a change of employment. He had already received a grant of the second vacancy among the six clerks (18 March 1610-11; *Cal. State Papers*, 1617-18, p. 17). While at home at leisure in the following autumn, he paid much court to Prince Henry and to the Princess Elizabeth; the princess inspired him with an enthusiastic esteem, and he celebrated her charms in beautiful verse. Early in 1612 he went to France on diplomatic business and wrote to Donne from Amiens. On Lord Salisbury's death on 24 May 1612 he was a candidate for the vacant post of secretary to the king. The queen and Prince Henry encouraged his pretensions; but Wotton had at court many enemies who doubted his sincerity. Chamberlain, who usually called him in his correspondence 'Signor Fabritio,' declared in October 1612 'my good old friend Fabritio will never leave his old trade of being fabler, or, as the devil is, father of lies.'

Finally, Wotton's chances of preferment were ruined by the king's discovery of the contemptuous definition of an ambassador's function which was assigned him in Scioppius's book. James invited explanations of the indiscreet jest. Wotton told the king that the affair was 'a merriment,' but he was warned to take it seriously (cf. NICHOLS, *Progresses*, ii. 468-70; *Cal. State Papers*, 1611-18, pp. 154, 157, 162), and he deemed it prudent to prepare two apologies. One, privately addressed to the king, is not extant, but James admitted that it 'sufficiently commuted for a greater offence.' The other in Latin was inscribed to Marcus Walser, a burgomaster of Augsburg and patron of Scioppius; it was dated from London 1612, and is said to have been published then, although it is now only accessible in the 'Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.' It was a vituperative assault on Scioppius, who retorted in a tract which was entitled 'Legatus Latro' (published under the pseudonym of Oporinus Gravinius at Ingolstadt in 1615). A burlesque trial of Scioppius for his insolence was introduced into the prologue of Ruggles's 'Ignoramus,' when that piece was performed in the king's presence at Cambridge on 6 May 1616.

Through 1613 Wotton persistently sought official employment in vain, and his obsequious bearing diminished his reputation (cf. NICHOLS, *Progresses*, ii. 66; cf. WINWOOD, *Memoirs*, iii. 468). In the spring of 1614, still disappointed of office, he entered the House of Commons as M.P. for Appleby. He stoutly supported the king's claim to lay impositions on merchandise without appeal to parliament. The right belonged, he argued, to hereditary, although not to elective, monarchs. In the autumn his subservience was rewarded by an invitation to resume diplomatic work abroad. In August 1614 he was sent to The Hague to negotiate with the French ambassador in the Netherlands concerning the inheritance of the duchies of Juliers, Cleves, and Berg, which was disputed by Wolfgang William, count palatine of Neuberg, and the elector of Brandenburg. By November 1614 the envoys contrived to bring about an arrangement on paper (the treaty of Xanten) between the claimants, whereby the disputed territories were provisionally divided between them; but the question was not settled, and the dispute contributed largely to the outbreak of the thirty years' war. Wotton also superintended the resumption of negotiations for the amalgamation of the Dutch and English East India companies, and for the settlement of disputes with Holland in regard to the Greenland fisheries; but the discussion on these points also proved abortive, and was broken off in April 1615. In the following autumn Wotton was at home, but he was sent again to Venice early next year, and he completed there a second uneventful term of three years' service. He mainly occupied himself in purchasing pictures and works of art for the king and Buckingham. Wotton travelled home slowly through Germany in the spring of 1619. At Munich in May he learned much of the designs of the continental catholics against England. In June he visited at Heilbronn the elector palatine, who had been elected king of Bohemia, and was attending in the city a congress of the princes of the union. Distressed by the misfortunes threatening the electress palatine and her husband, Wotton deemed it the bounden duty of James I to intervene effectually in continental politics in the elector's behalf. In August 1619 he had an audience of James at Woodstock, but seems to have been coldly received. In June 1620 he was ordered to Vienna to sound the emperor as to the possibility of staying the war which was overwhelming the new king and queen of Bohemia. Wotton was unable to reach any common basis for negotiation. But although the discussions proved ineffectual the emperor gave Wotton 'a jewel of diamonds as a testimony of his good opinion of him.' Wotton at once handed the gift to 'the Countess of Sabrina,' an Italian whose house had been appointed by the emperor for his accommodation. He was indisposed, he said, 'to be the better of any gift that came from an enemy to his royal mistress, the Queen of Bohemia.' Unable to render her assistance, he returned to his post at Venice in 1621, and remained there until the early months of 1624. Then he came home for good.

Absolutely penniless, Wotton bent all his energies anew to the task of obtaining lucrative employment. In the spring he published his short and jejune tract on architecture, a paraphrase of Vitruvius, which Chamberlain described as ‘well spoken of, though his own castles have been in the air’ (*Cal. State Papers*, 10 April 1624). James I suggested that he might in course of time succeed Sir Julius Caesar as master of the rolls, and gave him the reversion. Happily a more suitable office was found for him. In April 1623 Thomas Murray’s death had vacated the provostship of Eton. Many candidates had entered the field, among them Wotton’s friend Bacon, the disgraced chancellor, and his nephew, Sir Albertus Morton; but Wotton’s importunate appeals to secretary Conway were well received and he was duly instituted to the provostship on 26 July 1624. He had to borrow money to provide for his settlement at Eton. In 1625 he carried a banneret at James I’s funeral, and was elected to Charles I’s first parliament as member for Sandwich. James I had granted him a dispensation to enable him to hold the Eton provostship without entering holy orders, but Wotton on his own initiative received deacon’s orders in 1627, doubtless with a view to preferment in the church. He was still embarrassed pecuniarily. The income of the provostship was no more than 100*l.* with board, lodging, and allowances. On one occasion he was arrested for debt. In 1627 the king granted him a pension of 200*l.* In 1628 he laid his continued difficulties before Charles I; he applied for a small allowance reserved from the income of the master of the rolls, the reversion to which he had resigned, and ‘for the next good deanery that shall be vacant by death or remove’ (*Reliquiae*, pp. 562 sqq.) In 1630 Wotton’s pension was raised to 500*l.* in order to enable him to write a history of England and to obtain the requisite clerical assistance. In 1637 he applied for the mastership of the Savoy, should its present holder be promoted to the deanery of Durham (*ibid.* pp. 340-2).

Wotton was an amiable dilettante or literary amateur, with a growing inclination to idleness in his later years. He did not neglect his educational duties, and wrote, after long years of cogitation, a suggestive ‘survey of education’ or ‘moral architecture,’ as he termed it, which he dedicated to the king (it was printed posthumously in his ‘*Reliquiae*’ ed. 1672, pp. 73-99); but he found the boys more interesting than their work. ‘He was a constant cherisher,’ says Walton, ‘of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence or a genius that prompted them to learning’ – ‘one or more hopeful youths’ being ‘taken and boarded in his own house.’ The provost was a familiar figure in the schoolroom, and he gave practical trial of the dictum that learning can be taught through the eye as well as through the ear, ‘for he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators.’ These he fixed to wooden pillars in the schoolroom (lower school) which seem to have been erected about this time. In the Election Hall he placed a picture of Venice which still hangs there. ‘He could never leave the school,’ adds Walton, ‘without dropping some choyce Greek or Latin apophthegme or sentence such as were worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar’ (cf. MAXWELL LYTHE, *History of Eton*, 1889, pp. 208 sqq.; CUST, *History of Eton*, p. 81).

Wotton’s literary occupations at Eton led to little practical result. His history of England did not progress beyond the accumulation of a few notes on the characters of William I and Henry VI (*Reliquiae*, pp. 100-110). He contemplated a life of Martin Luther, but never began it, and he promised, shortly after Donne’s death in 1631, to write a life of the dean as introduction to ‘*Eighty Sermons*’ by Donne. The publication was delayed until Wotton’s life should be ready. Wotton applied to Izaak Walton, whose acquaintance he had made through Donne, to collect materials, and Walton says that he ‘did but prepare them in a readiness to be augmented, and rectified by Wotton’s powerful pen’ (1640), but Wotton never worked upon Walton’s draft, and Walton’s biography of Donne alone survives (GOSSE, *Life of John Donne*,

ii. 315). Wotton was one of the few close friends to whom Donne gave one of his bloodstone seals a few months before he died.

Science also engaged some of Wotton's attention at Eton. He had never ceased to interest himself in it since he had been an undergraduate at Oxford. In 1620 he sent Bacon, who was then working at his 'Novum Organon,' an account of experiments witnessed by him in Kepler's house at Linz (*Reliquiae*, pp.298 sq.) In 1622 he had written from Venice to Charles, prince of Wales, promising to communicate such philosophical experiments as might come in his way; 'for mere speculations have ever seemed to my conceit.' At Eton he was consulted by Walton on the ingredients of certain strong-smelling oils which proved seductive to fish (*Compleat Angler*, reprint of 1653 edit. p. 98), and he discussed with Sir Edmund Bacon, who married a half-niece, certain distillings from vegetables for medical purposes (*Reliquiae*, pp. 454-5). He also experimented on the measurement of small divisions of time by the descent of drops of water through a filter (*ibid.* p. 475).

Wotton maintained to the end a highly valuable correspondence. Among his most interesting letters was one to the great Francis Bacon, thanking him for a gift of three copies of his 'Organum,' and promising to send one of them to Kepler. Wotton wrote the epitaph on Bacon's monument at St. Michael's Church, St. Albans (AUBREY, *Lives*, i, 493). Milton came over from Horton to visit him, and on 10 April 1638 Wotton acknowledged a gift of 'Comus' from a friend, John Rouse, in a very complimentary letter to the poet, which was printed with Milton's 'Poems' in 1643. With this letter Wotton sent the poet, who was leaving England to travel on the continent, an introduction to Michael Branthwait, formerly British agent in Venice. Branthwait was at the moment in Paris, 'attending the young Lord S[cudamore] as his governor.' Milton gratefully mentions Wotton's 'elegant epistle' to him in his account of his visit to Paris ('Defensio Secunda,' *Works*, vi. 287).

Wotton practised at Eton a lavish hospitality, and delighted in the society of his friends, chief among whom in his last years were Izaak Walton and John Hales, a fellow of Eton. Wotton was almost as enthusiastic an angler as Walton. Angling occupied, he said, 'his idle time not idly spent,' and he designed an account of the sport in anticipation of Walton. Wotton and Walton were at seasons accustomed to angle in company close to the college at a bend in the Thames known as 'Black Pots.' 'When he was beyond seventy years of age,' Walton tells us, 'he described in a poem a part of the pleasure of angling as he sat quietly in a summer's evening on a bank a-fishing.' Walton quotes in his 'Compleat Angler' Wotton's verses, which begin:

This day Dame Nature seemed to love;

they reappear with some verbal changes in the 'Reliquiae.'

Once a year Wotton left Eton to visit his native place, Boughton Hall, and Oxford. In the summer of 1638 he revisited his old school at Winchester; but on his return to Eton he was seized with 'feverish distemper,' which proved incurable. He died at the beginning of December 1639, and was buried in the college chapel. He wrote the epitaph for his grave: 'Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus autor disputandi pruritus, ecclesiarum scabies. Nomen alias quære' (cf. *Reliquiae Wotton*. 1672, p. 124). The tombstone is now one of the stones leading into the choir.

In 1637 he made a will, his executors being his grand-nephews Albert Morton and Thomas Bargrave, and the supervisors Dean Isaac Bargrave, Nicholas Pey, and John

Harrison, fellow of Eton (cf. WALTON, who prints the will in full). Several pictures and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's papers, which Sir Nicholas's son, Sir Arthur, had bequeathed to him, were left to the king; the Throckmorton papers are now in the Public Record Office. To the library of Eton College he left 'all manuscripts not before disposed,' and to each fellow a plain gold ring, enamelled black, with the motto 'Amor vincit omnia' engraved inside.

There is an interesting half-length portrait in oils in the provost's lodge at Eton; this is reproduced in Cust's 'History of Eton.' Another portrait, by Cornelius Janssen, is in the picture gallery at the Bodleian Library; it is reproduced in Lodge's 'Portraits,' vol. iv. 27. Wotton had published in his lifetime two slender volumes. The first was 'The Elements of Architecture, collected by Henry Wotton, Knight, from the best Authors and Examples,' London (printed by John Bill, 1624, 4to); a copy in the British Museum Library has the dedication to Prince Charles inserted in Wotton's autograph (C.45, c.6). The second volume, a panegyrical congratulation in Latin prose to the king on his return from Scotland in 1633, was entitled 'Ad Regem à Scotia reducem Henrici Wottonij Plavsvs et Vota. Londini excusum typis Augusti Mathusii Anno CICICCCXXXIII' [1633]. The dedication was addressed to Prince Charles; a copy of this rare volume is in the Grenville Library at the British Museum (cf. KNOWLER, *Strafford Papers*, i. 167). The work reappeared in an English translation in 1649.

Immediately after Wotton's death there were issued 'A Parallell betweene Robert, late Earle of Essex, and George, late Duke of Buckingham, written by Sir Henry Wotton, Knight,' London, 1641; and 'A Short View of the Life and Death of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, written by Sir Henry Wotton, Knight, late Provost of Eaton Colledge' (London, printed for William Sheares, no date; another edition, 1642). In 1651 there appeared the main collection of Wotton's works, 'Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.' This was prefaced by an elegy by Abraham Cowley and by a memoir from the pen of Izaak Walton, who apparently had a chief hand in preparing the whole work for the press. The title ran: 'Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, or a Collection of Lives, Letters, Poems, with Characters of Sundry Personages and other Incomparable Pieces of Language and Art. By the Curious Pensil of the Ever Memorable S<sup>t</sup> Henry Wotton, K<sup>t</sup>., late Provost of Eton Colledg,' London (printed by Thomas Maxey for R. Marriot, G. Bedel, and T. Garthwait), 1651; other editions are dated 1654, 1672, 1685. The volume includes Lord Clarendon's 'Difference and Disparity between the Estates and Conditions of George, Duke of Buckingham, and Robert, Earl of Essex, in reply to Wotton's "Parallell." Wotton's chief contributions are (besides the 'Parallel,' the 'Life of the Duke of Buckingham,' the 'Elements of Architecture,' and an English translation of the already published Latin 'Panegyrick to King Charles') the following previously unpublished essays: 'A Philosophicall Surveigh of Education or Moral Architecture, by Henry Wotton, K<sup>t</sup>., Provost of Eton Colledg;' 'A Meditation upon the XXIIth Chapter of Genesis, by H. W.:' letters to several persons, including James I, Charles I, Buckingham, Bacon, Lord Keeper Williams, Lord Treasurer Weston Laud, Izaak Walton, and Dr. Edmund Castle; and a number of poems.

In 1661 some further letters were issued as 'Letters of Sir Henry Wotton to Sir Edmund Bacon,' London, printed by R. W. for F. T. at the Three Daggers in Fleet Street, 1661; these cover the period 1611-1638.

A third and enlarged edition of the 'Reliquiæ' (1672) contains a few new historical essays on Italian topics, the letters to Sir Edmund Bacon, and others 'to and from several persons,' mainly on foreign politics. A fourth edition appeared in 1685 with an important appendix of Wotton's letters to Edward, lord Zouche.

Finally there appeared 'The State of Christendom, or A most Exact and Curious Discovery of many Secret Passages and Hidden Mysteries of the Times. Written by the Renowned Sr Henry Wotton, Kt., Ambassadour in Ordinary to the Most Serene Republicque of Venice, and late Provost of Eaton College,' London, printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1657, with portrait (another edit. 1679, fol.). 'Letters and Despatches from Sir Henry Wotton to James I and his Ministers in the years 1617-20,' were printed from the originals in the library of Eton College for the Roxburghe Club in 1850. The letters dated from Venice begin on 1 Aug. 1617; the last letter of Wotton, dated 15 Nov. 1620, is addressed to Sir Robert Naunton. Many are in Italian and bear Wotton's pseudonym of Gregorio de' Monti.

Wotton's poems are the most valuable of his literary remains. Of the twenty-five poems included in the 'Reliquiae' only fifteen are attributed to Wotton. The ten which are assigned to other pens include the well-known poem, beginning 'The World is a bubble,' which is assigned in the 'Reliquiae' to Francis Bacon; in some contemporary manuscripts it is associated with the names of other writers, including Wotton himself. Wotton's fully authenticated verse includes an elegy on the death of his nephew, Sir Albertus Morton (November 1625), and a very happy epigram on Lady Morton's death. 'An Elegy of a Woman's Heart' was first printed in Davison's 'Poetical Rhapsody,' 1602. A short hymn upon the birth of Prince Charles was clearly written in the spring of 1630, and the ode to the king on Charles I's return from Scotland in 1633. Two of Wotton's poems rank with the finest in the language. These are entitled respectively 'The Character of a Happy Life,' and verses 'On his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia;' both are justly included in Palgrave's 'Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics.' The poem on the queen of Bohemia was probably written at the end of 1619. It was first printed (with music) in Est's sixth set of books, and again in 'Wit's Recreations,' 1640, in 'Wit's Interpreter,' 1671, and with the second part of 'Cantus Songs and Fancies,' 1682. It has been constantly imitated and new stanzas have been written to it. It appears with some variations among Montrose's poems (NAPIER, *Life of Montrose*, 1858, Appendix, p. xl). The 'Character of a Happy Life' is said to have been printed in 1614 with Overbury's 'Wife,' but no example has been found to contain it. At Dulwich a manuscript copy in the hand of Ben Jonson may be dated 1616; this was printed somewhat inaccurately by Collier in his 'Memoirs of Alleyn,' p.53 (WARNER, *Dulwich Manuscripts*, pp.59-60). According to the poet Drummond, Jonson had by heart Wotton's 'Verses of a Happie Lyfe' (JONSON, *Conversations*, p.8). The resemblance between this poem of Wotton and a similar poem in 'Geistliche und weltliche Geschichte' by a German resident in England, Georg Rudolph Weckerlin, does not justify a charge of plagiarism against Wotton, whose poem seems to have been in circulation before Weckerlin wrote (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. ix. 420). 'A Dialogue' in verse on a topic of love 'between Sir Henry Wotton and Mr. Donne' is given in Donne's 'Poems' (1635), but the poem is ascribed to other pens in other collections of the period (cf. DONNE, *Poems*, ed. Chambers, i. 79, 232). Dyce edited Wotton's poems for the Percy Society in 1843, and they were included in Hannah's 'Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh and other Courtly Poets,' 1870, new ed. 1885, pp. 87 seq.

Sir Henry Wotton should be distinguished from Henry Wotton, son of Edward Wotton, and also from Henry Wotton or Wooton, son of John Wooton of North Tudenham, and brother of one Wooton of Tudenham, Norfolk, whose second wife was Mary or Anne, daughter of George Nevill, lord Bergavenny, and widow of Thomas Fiennes, lord Dacre of the South (BLOMFIELD, *Norfolk*, i. 205). This Henry Wotton was responsible for the collection of stories from Italian romances, interspersed with verse, entitled: 'A Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels containing five Tragicall Historyes by three Gentlemen and two Gentlewomen, translated out of French by Hen. Wotton,' London, 1578, 4to. It was dedicated



to the translator's sister-in-law, the Lady Dacre of the South. Two copies, both imperfect, are known – one is in the Bodleian Library, and the other, formerly belonging successively to George Steevens and to Corser, is now in the British Museum (cf. BRYDGES, *Censura Lit.* i. 158).

The main authority is Izaak Walton's Life, which was originally prefixed to *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 1651, and was included in Walton's collected 'Lives,' 1670, and all subsequent editions. The antiquary, William Fulman, prepared a sketch of Wotton's life, which is now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, with some of Wotton's letters. Bliss seems to have used Fulman's work in his edition of Wood's *Athenae Oxon.* ii. 644. See also Dr. A. W. Ward's *Biographical Sketch of the Life of Wotton*, 1899; *Donne's Letters*, 1651; Gosse's *Life of Donne*, 1899; Masson's *Milton*; Harwood's *Alumni Etonienses*, pp. 14 seq.; Maxwell Lyte's *History of Eton*; A. W. Fox's *Book of Bachelors*, 1899; Cust's *History of Eton*, 1899; Spedding's *Bacon's Life and Letters*, iii. 10; *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1603-1639.

The Grove-Macmillan *Dictionary of Art*, London-New York, 1996, vol. 33, pp. 386-387: "Sir Henry Wotton," by David Rodgers:

Wotton, Sir Henry (born Boughton Malherbe, Kent, 1568; died Eton, Berks, December 1639). English diplomat, collector and writer. He spent much of his life as an English ambassador in Venice, where he helped many important collectors associated with the Stuart court to buy works of art. He later published the first book devoted to the theory of architecture to be written in English.

*Diplomacy and Collection:* He was the fourth son of Thomas Wotton, a landed gentleman, and was educated at Winchester and at New and Queens Colleges, Oxford. In 1587 his father died, leaving him a miserly annuity that was to have adverse financial repercussions for the rest of his life. In the following year he left England and travelled abroad for seven years, latterly acting as an intelligence agent for Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex. In 1595 he returned to England, where he was admitted to the Inner Temple and became a secretary to Essex. The following year he took over responsibility for the Earl's intelligence network in Transylvania, Poland, Italy and Germany.

Following Essex's downfall in 1601, Wotton, who was closely associated with his master, went into exile in Italy, residing first in Venice and later in Florence, where he attended the court of Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany. In 1602 he was instrumental in revealing a plot against the life of James VI of Scotland, and he returned to England on the latter's accession to the English throne as James I in 1603. He was kindly received, knighted and offered a choice of ambassadorships. Wotton, partly because of his knowledge and love of the city and partly for financial reasons, chose to become ambassador to the Republic of Venice, where he remained, though not continuously, for the next twenty years. In 1604, while staying in Augsburg, he committed the indiscretion of inscribing in Latin, his notorious definition of an ambassador as 'an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country', which put his career in serious jeopardy when it became known to James I in 1611. By August 1614 he was sufficiently in the King's favour to serve his second term in Venice, returning to England in 1619 before his final Venetian residence from 1621 to 1624.

Throughout his ambassadorship Wotton assisted a number of English noblemen to acquire Venetian works of art (...).

Wotton's own collection was modest and acquired more from association than from connoisseurship (...).

A NOTE concerning Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, PART TWO:

Part two will contain a modernized text, with some words and terms explained, in addition to commentary to the text and a more detailed analysis of its structure. Sources will be examined, including authors, works, and buildings mentioned in the text, as well as other pertinent questions raised in the anthology of critical commentary to Wotton's *Elements of Architecture*. A full text of Izaak Walton's biography of Wotton will be included.