HENRY WOTTON,

The Elements of Architecture,

London: John Bill, 1624

edited by
CHARLES DAVIS
with an anthology of critical commentary

PART ONE
OF
THE ELEMENTS
OF
ARCHITECTURE.
The 1. 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, Firmenes, and Delight.

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

PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR  3

INTRODUCTION  4

A CRITICAL ANTHOLOGY OF COMMENTARY TO WOTTON’S ELEMENTS  9

THE FULL TEXT OF THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE  24

GLOSSARY OF UNUSUAL WORDS IN THE ELEMENTS  81

A DESCRIPTION OF THE BOOK  86

THE PRINTER  87

EDITIONS  88

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE  90

SIR HENRY WOTTON (1568-1639): A SUMMARY BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH  92

THE WRITINGS OF HENRY WOTTON  94

BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX  96

A NOTE ON BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

SIDNEY LEE, „HENRY WOTTON“, FROM: DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

A NOTE CONCERNING HENRY WOTTON, THE ELEMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE, PART TWO  106
*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 a 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 auenuine 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 iiij-d iiij). Following Vitruvius and Alberi, 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 Logick*, doe usually conclude, with a Chapter touching Methode”, 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 epitome 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, Rivius, 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-sheets: 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 transcursions 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
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.


[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 Elizabethean 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.


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 ‘logicall’ 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 parler [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 affinitie’ 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.

(...) 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.”


HANNO-WALTER KRUFT, 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), conoscitore 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 “secreta 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 ornamentino 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 (eurytmia, 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
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 ironio 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.]


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 Garden 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. [...]“
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 ‘officinator’ 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.

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 (...).


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 ventotto 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.


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 Anderslautend würde auch ziemlich überraschend. Denn, er ist weder Architekt noch Mathematiker, was ihn – eng besche...


[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 sightest 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 conjoined 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 neoclassicism 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 Frizes 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.


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* (...).


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 Tradado de Arquitectura (...).

Cabe explicar este extremo. Wotton no desea pecar de intruso y petulante, escribiendo un tradado 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 ye 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.
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 Examples.

LONDON
Printed by JOHN BILL,
M.DC.XXIV.
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 stuffe, at my best value.

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 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 uncivilized) 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 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 satistfie an Objection or two, which seeme to lie somewhat heavily upon my selfe; It will be said that I handle an Art, no way sueteable 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 compilements, and tractable Materials; then with the Laberynthes 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 Republiques, 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
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 comportable 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.
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, Firmenes, and Delight.*

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

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
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 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 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 Medicinae.
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 (saieth hee) *finely built, but foolishly planted*. And so much touching that, which I termed the *Totall Posture*.

[In margin: *Opidum [= Oppidum] quidem, aedificatum elegant*er 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
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, Butters, 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 Greece, 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 alwayes regarde to the

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 Inconveniences: And therefore a good Parler in Ægypt would perchance make a good Celler in England.

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.
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 downewards are thereby fittest for Posts or Pillars or such upright use; that

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, Officinor lib. 6. cap. ii. and in that Place expressly distinguished, from the Architect, whose glory doth

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 Proportiions. 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.
Philibert de l’Orme the French Architect goes yet somewhat further, and would have the Lyme made of the very same Stone, which we 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. Alwayses 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.

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 maried 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 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 kindely 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 Thirstiness, 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
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 sinks unequally, whereby the Walles growe full of Chinquies, and Crevices; Therefore such pawsings 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 procee 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.

Now the exact Circle is in truth a Figure, which for our purpose hath many fit and eminent properties; as fitnesse, for Commodity and Receit, being the most capable; fitnesse for strength and duration, being the most united in his parts; Fitnesse 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 allother the most chargeable, and much roome lost in the bending of the Walles, 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

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

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 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 shall concerne the outward Aspect, which is now in Discourse.

[The outward Aspect]

In Architecture, there may seem to be two opposite affectations, Uniformite and Varietie, which yet will very well suffer a good reconcilement, as we may see in the great Patern of Nature, to
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 bee correspondent enough, though they be various; Provided always, 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 unseemly: Or againe, when the Face of the Building, is 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.

Now concerning the Parts in Severalitie. 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.

First then concerning the Foundation, which requireth the exactest care; For
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 Fundationes 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 beeene solid; But how deepe wee should goe

[24] 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, unlesse 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 levell, where the Italians therefore commonly lay a platforme of good Bord; Then that the lowest Ledge or Row be meerely 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

[26] 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
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 conjoined 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 subtil 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 Walles 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

The intermissions (as hath beene sayd) are either by Pillars, or Pylasters. Pillers which we may likewise call Columnnes (for the word among Artificers is almost naturallized) I could

distinguish into a Simple and Compounded. 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

[Wreathed, and Vined, and Figured Columnes, which our Author himselfe condemneth, 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 prescibe by his owne precise measuring of the Ancieut [Ancient] remainders, as the most gracefull Diminution. And here I must take leave to blame a pratice growne (I know not how) in certaine places too familiar, of making Pillars swell in the middle, as if they were sicke of some Tympamy, 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

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.

Alwayes 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 **Columne**, comprehending the **Base** and **Capitall**; and their upper Adjuncts, as **Architrave**, **Frize**, and **Cornice**, a fourth part of the sayd Pillar; which rule of singular use and facility I find setled by **Iacob Baroccio**, and hold him a more credible Author, as a man that most intended this piece, then any that vary from him in those **Dimentions**.

These are their most considerable **Communities** and agreements.

[Properties of the Orders]

Their **Propreties** 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

[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 **Columne** 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 bee 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 **Columne** it selfe being so substantiall. The **Contraction** aloft shall be (according to the most received practice)

[*(See Aristotle, Metaphysics, Bk. x, cap. 1]*)
one fourth part of his thicknesse 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 Hypotraechelion, 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 much as his thicknesse below. The Contraction aloft, one fift of the same measure. To discerne 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
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 *Columne*, 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 *Modiglioni.* 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.*]

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 contended to beleive him: In short, As *Plainenesse* did Charactarize 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.

[39]

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 Columnes, which I will conclude with two or three, not impertiment Cautions:

First, that where more of these Orders then one, shall be set in severall Stories or Contignations, there must bee an exquisite care, to place the Columnes precisely, one over another, that so, the solid may answere 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 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 Columnes 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 always 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

his memorie by these words: Columnae superiores quarta parte minores, quàm inferiores, sunt constitutendaet; 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 Subtilitie, 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

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 whilst 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 errour, 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*,

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 yeelded 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 disco urge 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

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 stuffe, 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. Alwayes, what we meane by the thing it selfe, is plaine 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 *Strength* [*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 bee as broad as the halfe, and now and then as the whole *Vacuitie*: Hee noteth likewise (and others consent with him) that their 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 *Columns* may bee allowed somewhat above their ordinary length, because they leane unto so good *Supporters*. And thus much shall sufice touching *Pilasters*, which is a cheape, and a strong, and a noble kinde of *Structure*. 
Now because they are oftner, both for Beauty and Majesty, found Arched, then otherwise; I am here 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.

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.

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 Doore. Therfore 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 appeare 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 weight, 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 demostrated weake, it is much more 

[50] 

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 gracefulllest, 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 Strength [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

[52]
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, perticularly at *Venice*, where I have observed diverse *Pergoli*, or *Meniana* (as *Vitruvius* seemeth to call them, which are certaine ballised out-standings to satisfie curiousity 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 choiest 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

[54] 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 Four 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 indubitablly 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

[55] commendeth in an Architect, a Philosophical Spirit; that is, he would have him (as I conceave 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 could, In Southerne, too hot: And therefore the

[56] 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 unfouling; 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 nigard 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

[58] foote, nor more then eighteen inches.

That they exceede by no meane halfe a foot in their height or thickeenesse; 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

[60]

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 *Windes* 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 procede 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 *Shafte*, 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. 1. 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

[62]

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 rarifaction 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 intertainement 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

[63]

common *Furnace*; I am ready to baptize them *Caliducts*, as well as they are tearmed *Venti-ducts*, 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 proove that himselfe was not blinde, as some would laie to his charge.

[Conduits for the Suillage]

Touching *Conducts* 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
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 severalitie 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 omited 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 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.
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 *Country* 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 anatomiize 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 broade, by the double of their *Latitude*, *Vitruvius* lib. 6. cap. 5. And the *Height* 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

[68]

*Height* 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 *Usefulness*, 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 cheerfull 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 *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.

[70]

[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*: raying 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*. 
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 Raunge, 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 Inconveniences, perhaps 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.

Now touching the distribution of Lodging chambers; I must here take leave to reproove 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 necessarily 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 meerely

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 devour 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.

[74]
and reserved, then the Italian, and on the other side, in no Habitations lesse privacie; so as there is a kinde of Conflict, betwenee 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 scarsitie 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 stanzè 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
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 betwene these halfe *Columns* 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

Head of the *Columns* with *Tarrace* and *Pavement*, *Sub dio* (saith our Master) and so indeed hee might safely determine the matter in *Egypt*, where they feare no *Clowds*: 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

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* betwenee the halfe *Pillars* above: So as this *Roome* had abundant and advantageous *Light*; and besides other garnishing, must needs receive much *State* by the very heighth of the *Roofe*, that lay over two orders of *Columns*:
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 bee 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 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, containeth a more secret inconvenience; for the Cover is not onely a bare defence, but likewise a

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.
These are the usefullest 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.
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 Princedome; 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

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 preheminence, 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 Mechanically) 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.

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, lest 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 deciper 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 (perticularly 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 procede *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,
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 taglienti; 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 Darknessse, there is a kinde of Deepenesse, But as in the Arte of perswasion, one of the most Fundamentall Precepts is; the concealement of Arte, Soe here likewise, the Sight must be sweetly deceaved, by an insensible passage, from brighter colours, to dimmer, which Italian Artizans calle the middle Tinctures; That is, Not as the whites, and yolkes of Eggs 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 extremes [89: extremes],

[* Cf. ‘Errata’: Pag. 88, lin. 19. omitted in the Margin the verses following, touching the coincidence of extreme affections; represented by Homer in the person of Hectors wife; as Painters and Poets have alwaies had a kind of congeniality. IAIAΔ (...) She took her sonne into her armes, weeping laughing.]
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 beeue before touched) a kinde of *Tendernesse*, 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

[90]
an *English Barbarisme*.

Now in these fower *Requisites* already rehearsed, it is strange to note, that no *Artizan*, having ever beeue 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 yeelded some one or two *Artificers*, so *prodigiously* exquisite, that they have beeue 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, Polygnitos 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 beeue *Polygnitos*, 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 addde much to this Arte. Of which the first is said, to have invented the due disposition of Lights and Shadowes;

[92]
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 habilitities; for Protogenes, did excell in Diligence; Pamphilus and Melanthius in due Proportion; Antilphilus 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 solemnesse; 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
Polyclitus [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 bee ne 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 Philosophical examination; How an Artificer, whose end is the imitation of Nature, can bee too natural; which

[95]
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 gracefulnesse: This is the clearest 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

[96]
doubt, which hath bee ne passed over too slightly, not onely by some Men, but by some Nations; namely, whether this Ornament can wel become the Outside of houses, wherin 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]
Columns, 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

[98] 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
there are the fewest lights; therefore not onely Roomes windowed on both ends, which we call through-lighted; but with two or more Windowes on the same side, are enemies to this Art; and sure it is, that no Painting can be scene 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 Banquetting Roomes; Graver Stories in Galleries, Landschips, and

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 discerne 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 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 bee 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 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 bee 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 bee handled before.

[102]

[The placing of Sculpture]

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

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 bee 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

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 Foote, 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 selve: 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

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 entertainement 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

[107; O 2]

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

[108]

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.
Now there are *Ornaments* also without, as *Gardens, Fountains, Groves*,

*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 *Plot* 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 *valings*, to various entertainements of his *sent*, and *sight*: which I shall not neede to describe (for that were poetical) 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 *Countreys* 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* ot 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 alwayses 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 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]

Fountains 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 Fountaine; 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

[112]
both sides with an Aquaeduct of white stone, breast-high, which had a hollow channell on the top, where ranne a pretty 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 errour; 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

[114]
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 Methode; 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 alreadie 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. Therfore, (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 himselfe precisely, of the Age of the Worke upon which hee must passe his Doome. 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 backewardes, (for the Methode of censuring is contrary to the Methode 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.

[116]

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 bee of a beautifull Sature, 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 leisure.
The second way, is in Vitruvius himselfe, lib. 1. cap. 2. where hee summarily determineth six Considerations, which accomplish this whole Art.

[118]

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

[119]

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 excessse 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 always be excused with some noble Embleme, or

[120]

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 Basilius (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 incommmodious Figure.

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

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

[121; Q]
hee passe any determinate Censure, upon the Works that he shall 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 Assassinate, 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
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.

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 extreme affections; represented by Homer in the person of Hectors wife; as Painters and Poets have alwaisies had a kind of congeniality.

[^\[
[...] 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.) obscurcation 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

COMPORTABLE (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
FLOWER (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
IMPERTITENT (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 brakets
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
PATEI ANUA: 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)
PLEIGHTED (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
REMAINERS (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
SEMPPLICITIE (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 ARCHITECTURE, Collected by HENRY WOTTON Knight, from the best Authors and Examples. LONDON Printed by IOHN BILL, M.DC.XXIV.

Size: Small 4to; vertical measurement: 18.2 cm; 7 3/16 inches

Signatures: ¶1 ¶3, A², A-P⁴, Q². 67 leaves. Numbering of pages: [i-x], 1-123 [124] p. Woodcut initials.


In some examples leaf B⁴ (pp. 15-16) is in the original uncancelled state. The cancelled leaf was reset with minor variations in the text and may be identified as follows:

p. 15, uncancelled: 24 lines; line 5, “And it is besides very pro-” | p. 15, cancelled: 23 lines; line 5, “And it is besides very” | [As the Hard and Gregg facsimilies]

p. 16, uncancelled: 24 lines; line 1, “the Materials, with this princi-pall cau-” | p. 16, cancelled: 23 lines; line 1, “caution: That sufficient Stuffe and Mo-” [As the Hard and Gregg facsimilies]

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.

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 Wottoño 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.


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.


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. lxxv; at Google Books).


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).


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)


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.)


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)


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 1695, 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 Villers, 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 Aphorisims 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)*
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 Republiciam 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 Michaelem Lingelsheimium in quo De nupero quodam Scoii 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 Plasus 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*


See also: *EEBO* / Early English Books Online
Sir Henry Wotton (Wikipedia)
London, National Portrait Gallery
BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

A NOTE ON BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES:


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”)


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 ‘Tancredio,’ 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 Aleyne. Aleyne 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 ‘Eclesiasticus.’ 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 (Eclesiasticus, 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 100l. with board, lodging, and allowances. On one occasion he was arrested for debt. In 1627 the king granted him a pension of 200l. 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 deanship that shall be vacant by death or remove’ (Reliquiae, pp. 562 sqq.) In 1630 Wotton’s pension was raised to 500l. 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 LYTE, 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,
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 sententiae primus author disputandi pruritus, ecclesiæarum scabies. Nomen alias quære’ (cf. Reliquie 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’ papers, which Sir Nicholas’ 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 è Scotia reducem Henrici Wottonij Plavsvs et Vota. Londini excusum typis Augusti Mathusii Anno CICICCXXXIII’ [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’ Henry Wotton, K’., 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’., Provost of Eton Colledg;’ ‘A Meditation upon the XXIth 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 ‘Reliquiae’ (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 Republique 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 Roxburgh 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 1624 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. xi). 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 Histories 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.
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.