"HUT-AND-TORTOISE": AN "ECOLOGICAL" TOPOS FROM VITRUVIUS IN GEORGE WITHER'S *COLLECTION OF EMBLEMES*

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George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes* was published in London in 1635.*1*- The fourteenth emblem in the fourth book of this handsomely produced compilation, perhaps the most original and important emblematic anthology ever to appear in England, depicts the largely unprecedented emblematic combination of both a hard-shelled tortoise and a rustic hut-having a steeply peaked roof covered with reeds and fronds (fig. 1). A schematic title is written in classical Greek -"*OIKOS PHILOS, OIKO ARISTOS*"- and the essential meaning of the humanist tag was paraphrased in Wither's English motto: "The best, and fairest House, to mee,/ Is that, where best I love to bee." Wither's literally "learned" motto (that is, it was borrowed by him) contains only three Greek words: *oikos*, a "house," that is "loved" *(philos)* because it is literally the "best"- *aristos*. Referring now to a modern etymologilizing dictionary, I find evidence for two different concepts functioning as potential sub-texts, and the somewhat surprising result is that the "aristocracy" is negatively compared to "ecology." Because this conclusion must initially seem a bit far-fetched-after all, ECOLOGY, currently a vastly popular topic in the mass-media, must surely be a strictly modern invention!-I need only quote the appropriate lexical entries (*from Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 5th edition):

> I. ar'is-toc'ra-cy (from the Greek *aristokratia*, from *aristos*, best + *kratein*, to be strong,

Fig. 1. *"OIKOS PHILOS, OIKOS ARISTOS"* (G. Wither, Collection of Emblemes, 1635).

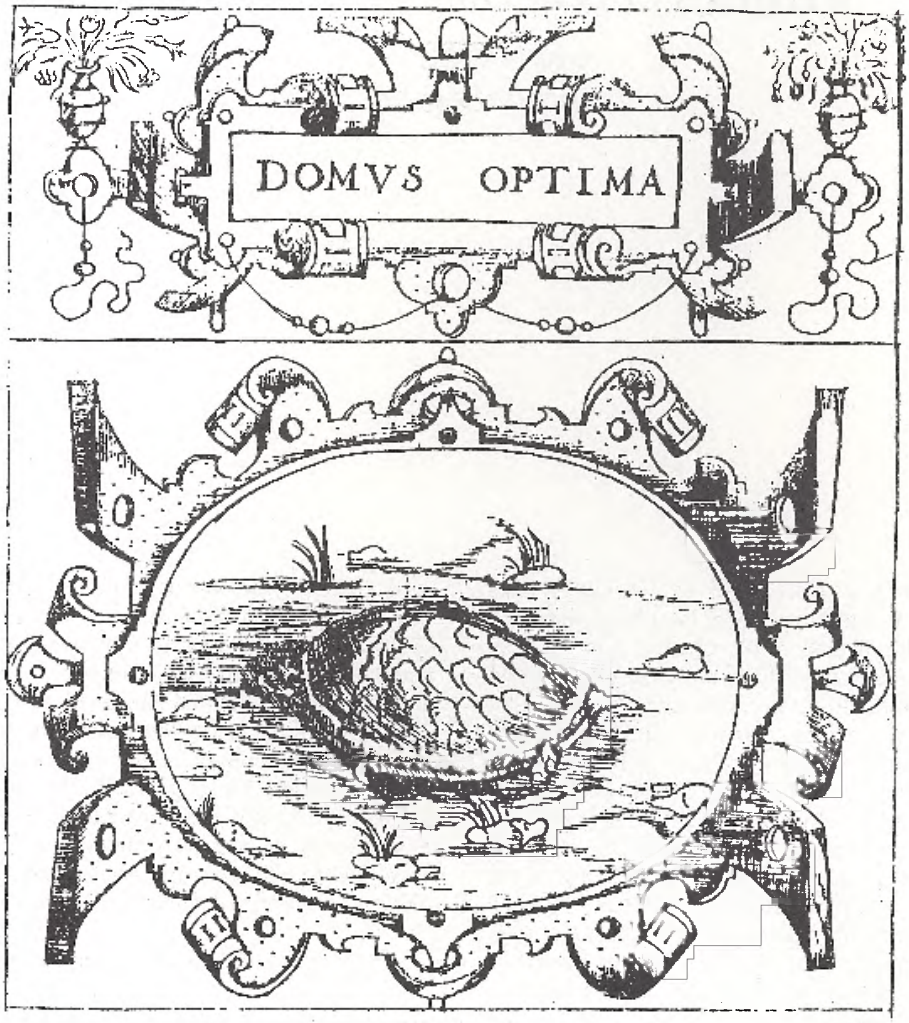

Fig. 2. "DOMUS OPTIMA" (J. de Borja, *Empresas morales*, 1680).

rule): Rule by the best; hence, government by a relatively small privileged class; also, the ruling body of such a government, [etc].

II. e-col'o-gy (from the Greek *oikos*, house + *-logikos*, word, speech, reason): Biology [from *bios*, life, mode of life] dealing with the mutual relations between organisms and their environment: bionomics.

The bionomical particulars of Wither's emblem appear to confirm the initial interpretation. A lengthly poem placed below the nicely engraved *imago* serves to draw a pointedly indivious comparison between two kinds of architectural settings. According to the verses, the costly, decadent and artificial, palatial lodgings of Britain's privileged (*id est*, "aristocratic") ruling-caste are unfavorably contrasted to the humble dwellings of the rural laboring classes. The latter-the "homely cottages" of the peasants-are particularly characterized by their steeply sloping, thatched roofs. With modernized spelling and punctuation, Wither's text reads as follows:

> They are not houses built large and high-sealed all with gold and paved with porphyry, hung round with arras, glazed with crystal glass, and covered over with plates of shining brass-which are [really] the best. But rather [the best are] those where we in safety, health and best content may be, and where, we find, though in a mean estate, that portion which maintains a quiet fate. Here, in a homely cottage, thatched with reeds, the peasant seems as pleasedly to feed as [does] he

Fig. 3. "OMNIA MEA MECUM PORTO" (G. Wither, *Collection of Emblemes*, 1635).

[a nobleman] that in his hall or parlour dines, which [is by] fretwork-roofs of costly cedar lined. And, with the very same affections too, both to and from it he does come and go. The *tortoise*, doubtlessly, does no house-room lack-even though his house will cover only his back-and [likewise] of his tub the Cynic seemed as glad as Alexander was of all he had. When I am settled in a place [that] I love, [then] a shrubby hedgerow seems [to me] a goodly grove. My liking makes palaces [out] of sheds, and [also] of plain couches [makes] carved ivory beds. Yes, every path and pathless walk-which lies condemned as [being] rude or wild in others' eyes-to me is pleasant, not only in show [alone] but truly [as] such, for liking [alone] makes them so [very pleasing]. As pleased in their [shell-houses] the snails and cockles dwell [as does the tortoise], as does the scallop in his pearly-shell. That [which] commends the house, [that] which makes it fit [ting], [is] to serve their turns, [to] who [mever] should have use of it. *2*

These same homely sentiments, opting for unpretentious and natural simplicity as symbolized by the rustic cottage, are enlarged in the appendix to Wither's hut-and-tortoise emblem:

> Your neighbor's house, when you do view [it]-well furnished, pleasant, large or new-[makes] you think [that] good *lares* [must] always dwell in lodgings that are trimmed so well. But, by this emblem, you are shown that (if you [really] loved what is your own) thatched

> roofs [would] as [many] true contentments yield [to you] as [do] those [roofs] that are with cedar sealed. Vain fancies, therefore, from yourself cast, and be content with what you [already] have. *3*

Before proceeding any further, I must announce that I have failed to find any of the ideas expressed by Wither as directly pertaining to the tortoise in any of the typically moralizing commentaries to the medieval "Bestiaries" that I have at hand. *4* Although. I cannot find any exact equivalent to Wither's distinctive conceptual enframement -"tortoise = primitive architectural expression"-in the various emblematic materials contained in my library, it is quite clear that Wither did find some initial inspiration for the commoditous sub-text -"the tortoise happy in his portable home" (as I would call the topos)-in earlier (one or more) emblem-books. 5 Among Wither's apparent emblematic predecesors, the earliest example of the topos known to me will serve to exemplify all the others following it (fig. 2). In Juan de Borja's *Empresas Morales* (Prague, 1581), the uniquely advantaged tortoise appears under the title "DOMUS OPTIMA." The broad meaning of Borja's emblem is that: "El hombre valeroso, adonde quiera que esté, vive en su patria," and, therefore, the most fitting conclusion to be drawn is that: "Esto se da a entender en esta Empresa de la Tortuga, con la letra que dice DOMUS OPTIMA, que quiere decir *No hay cosa mejor que la propia casa.* " *6* One's further conclusions are either that the rest of Wither's conceit was wholly original or, instead, it may be concluded (assuming that, at least in this case, "nihil sub sole novum") that Wither's sources for his "rustic primitive hut"-that is, ANOTHER pre-existant topos connected by him to the turtle's "*domus optima*" -must therefore lie somewhere outside the literary realms of either the medieval Bestiaries or Renaissance era emblem-books.

Considered narrowly as poetry, Wither's verses are embarrassingly awkward and, worse, the sentiments they express are commonplace, even banal: "Be content with your lot." But this kind of haughty (and extremely superficial) textual criticism only serves to bury the larger point presented by Wither's sub-text, devolving upon an emblematic architectural metaphor of great originality. This emblem-once it becomes situated firmly within the context of architectural history and (especially) taste -now becomes considerably more important than has been previously acknowledged (fig. 3). The basic idea-"the tortoise happy in his portable house"- is that which Wither was to reprise in the 23rd Emblem in Book II that depicts a similar land-turtle, although one without the explicit architectural setting (and significance), as had appeared in the 14th Emblem in Book IV of Wither's *Collection* (fig. 1). In this case, the picture represents the idea that "I [the tortoise] beare, about mee, all my store; / And, yet, a KING enjoyes not more," that is, "OMNIA MEA MECUM PORTO." Wither's further explanations (again modernized in both spelling and punctuation) clearly echo the sentiments expressed by Juan de Borja in 1581, and read as follows:

> This emblem is a *Tortoise*, whose own shell becomes that house where he does rent-free dwell, and, in whatsoever place he resides, his arched dwelling upon his back abides. ...The tortoise represents that man who, in himself, has full content [ment]s and (by the virtues lodging in his mind) can all things needful in all places find. ...When [you see] him unclothed or unhoused, you see [that] his resolutions are [metaphorical] clothes and houses that keep him safer, and far warmer too, than palaces and princely robes can do.*7*

Historically viewed, the emblematic motif of the architecturally self-sufficient tortoise, the "homely" meaning of which is made quite explicit by Wither´s accompanying verses in the *Collection* of *Emblemes*, represents a precocious announcement of a central tenet of modern architectural theory, namely the "functionalist ethic."*8* The strictly ethical validation of the "art" of building now holds that the best kinds of architecture strictly conform to "Nature." Since this is such a widely held premise in progressive schools of modernist architecture, it seems perhaps churlish to reveal how that this represents as much of a "pathetic fallacy" as do the supposedly "un-natural" forms that comprise the classical vocabulary of architecture. As we shall shortly learn from Vitruvius, due to its putative material origins "classical" architecture was itself always thought to be inherently expressive of "natural" values. Be that as it may, nearly every progressive critic of modern architecture now holds that it is to structural design itself, rather than to the "content" or "function" of a building, that we must look for an ethical validation of buildings; as it were, *"Gestalt über alles!"* As Wither´s emblematic tortoise precociously shows us, mimetic architectural structures adhere to the ethical principle of *decorum*: they are "suitable" or "fitting," therefore, ethical inasmuch as they are identifiable with nature -which they "imitate" (or conform to) by a primal act. In this most "fitting" (in both senses of the word) exemplar- the land-turtle´s "*domus optima*"- there is no ecological disjunction between form and content, or between comfortably living contents and protectively enclosing domical shell.

To characterize the currently all-pervasive theoretical rigors of modernist architectural attitudes, I need cite only one representative example-a surprisingly early one. In a highly influential book called *The Stones of Venice* (1853) -composed a century and a half ago!- John Ruskin chose to denounce Palladio´s influential classicist architecture as being as quite devoid of "moral content."*9* If this is the "bad" kind of architectura, then what is the "good" kind? According to Ruskin (and innumerable critics after him), it is "irregular," "living," "naturalistic," architecture:

> The demand for perfection is always a sign of the end of art. Imperfection [to the contrary]

> is in some sort essential to all that we know of life. It is the sign of life. ... All things are literally better, lovelier, and more beloved for the imperfection [with] which they have been divinely ["naturally"] appointed. ...Accept this then for a universal law, that neither architecture nor any other noble work of man can be good unless it be imperfect. ... In the Gothic heart, with the rude love of decorative accumulation [there was] a magnificent enthusiasm... and, finally, a profound sympathy with the fulnesss and wealth of the material universe, rising out of that *Naturalism* whose operation we have endeavoured to define. *10*

In short, the theoretical polemics of much of specifically "modern" architecture were born out of such quasi-ecological discriminations as were precociously presented in a strictly emblematic form by Wither's rustic turtle way back in 1635. Nevertheless, the underlying idea long antedated the rise of emblematics in the Renaissance. In this case, Wither's seemingly unprecedented "proto-architectural tortoise" motif, besides representing a precocious "ecological" concern, turns out to be expressive of a certain, decidedly "pre-modernist," theoretical issue that has been scarcely considered as representative of a very long-standing historical tradition. This concept-a highly significant sub-text in art historical literature, which initially dates from classical period and then continues more or less directly into modern times- I have recently called "architectural primitivism." *11* The term "Primitivism" simply refers to the life-style and material products attributed to a mythical, pre-historical and prelapsarian, "Golden Age." *12* In the strictly architectural context examined here, the specific reference is to the pre-literate (and, therefore, wholly hypothetical), "pre-architectural" historical origins of the arts of building.

Clear traces of the architectural-primitivist concept can, however, be found in many authors writing before Ruskin. In 1772, for example, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe defined Gothic (meaning "German") architecture as the continuation of a primordial archetype: "The first man [meaning, '*primus architectus*'], whose need made him ingenious, hammered in four stakes, lashed four posts over them, and put branches and moss on the top [of his *Urhütte*]. " Essential to all high-minded modern architectural-primitivist ideas are the concommitant values of what may be called "organic naturalism"; therefore, as Goethe added, the best rules are found in "*Mutter Natur*":

> Just as in the eternal works of Nature, [in Gothic architecture] everything is perfectly formed down to the meanest thread, and all contribute purposefully to the whole. [Therefore, you see] how the vast building rose lightly into air from its firm foundations; how everything was fretted, and yet fashioned for eternity!... Hence, Nature is the best teacher. *13*

Certainly, Goethe did not invent singlehandedly the idea of the rustic hut as a proto-architectural paradigm of the quintessentially natural operations of "Mother Nature" that were to culminate in the Strassburger Dom. Most likely, the immediate textual source of the enraptured German philosopher was an *Essai sur l'architecture*, published by the Abbe Marc-Antonie Laugier in 1755, and this *amateur* had described the historical origins of all the building arts as follows:

> Telle est la marche de la simple Nature: C'est à l'imitation de ses procédés que l'art doit sa naissance. La petite cabane rustique, que je viens de décrire, est la modèle sur lequel on a imaginé toutes les magnificences de l'architecture [qui l'a suivé]. C'est en se rapprochant dans l'exécution de la simplicité de ce premier modèle que l'on évite les défauts essentielles, que l'on saisit les perfections véritables. *14*

Since I have elsewhere quoted the more important intermediary texts -including Boccaccio, il Filarete, L.B.Alberti, Leonardo, the "Pseudo-Raphael," etc.- derived from the originating classical text *15*, I may now directly proceed to cite the source of Wither's "tortoise-hut" topos. Appropriately, this *fons et origo* proves to be the first and foremost *Urtext in* the entire history of architecture. In the *De Architectura, libri decum* (Book II, chapter 1) composed by Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (ca. 40 BC), we read the following account of "The Origins of [All] Building, " *16* arising out of an era of savage wildness and leading directly to a proto-civilized stage:

> The men of old were born like the wild beasts; in woods, caves, and groves, they lived on food gathered in the fields. ...As they kept coming together in greater numbers into one place [and] they began in that first assembly to construct shelters. Some made them roofed with green boughs [*de fronde facere tecta*], others dug caves on mountain sides, and some, in imitation of the nests of swallows and the way they were built, made places of refuge out of mud and twigs. Next, by observing the shelters made by others, and by adding new details to their own conceptions, they constructed ever better kinds of huts [*efficiebant in dies meliora genera casarum*]. Since men were of an imitative and teachable nature, they boasted of their invention as they daily showed off their various achievements in building [*ostendebant aedificiorum effectus*], and thus, exercising their talents in rivalry, they were rendered of better judgment daily [due to increasing architectural prowess]. At first they wove their walls with upright forked props and drove twigs between them. ...When, in winter-time, the huts could not withstand the rains, they made their roofs sloping and projected [*proclinatis tectis*] and, smeared with clay, the ridged roofs drew off the rain-water.

According to Vitruvius' other observation, not only was this the "original" kind of architecture but, additionally, it was concurrent in his time (just as it was in Wither's era):

> Houses originated, as I have written, in this way and this we can see for ourselves from the buildings that are to this day constructed in like materials by foreign [i.e., Germanic] tribes.

The conclusion of Vitruvius's historical essay brings in a literally "natural metaphor" that has since proved to be essential grist for the modernist mills of architectural theory:

> The space for the dwelling is enclosed by four walls made of standing [i.e., still living] trees [*ex quattuor... parietes arboribus statuentes*] ...which are built up into high towers. ...As for the roofs, by cutting away the ends of the crossbeams, making them converge gradually from the four sides, thus they raise over the middle a lofty pyramid which they cover with leafy branches and clay. In the barbarian [i.e. non-Roman] fashion, they characteristically construct their towering roofs in the mode of the [house of the] tortoise.

Since this is the key to, or even the direct textual source of Wither's conjoined "hut-and-tortoise" emblematic configuration, I will give Vitruvius' final sentence in its original extended form:

> *Item tecta, recidentes ad extremos transtra, traiciunt gradatim contrahentes, et ita ex quattuor partibus ad altitudinem educunt medio metas, quas fronde et luto tegentes efficiunt barbarico MORE TESTUDINATA turrium tecta.*

In short, the crowning glory of man's first architectural venture ("*ein Urbau*," as Goethe might have said) was/is represented by the quintessentially natural form of a pitched roof made of natural/living materials which have been shaped "*more testudinata*." The moral attached to this quasi-historical tale of the gradual evolution of the arts of architecture was drawn seventeen hundred years later by George Wither (fig. 1): "The tortoise, doubtlessly, does no house room lack/even though this house will only cover his back," and this organically derivative house-form-wrought by Nature herself-"makes if fitting to serve their turns, to whomever should have use of it." However, as first told by Vitruvius, the significance is far more than just "*domus optima*"; instead, the primitive hut form, "*more testudinata*," serves as a evolutionary paradigm for all subsequent attainments to be associated, *in bono*, with man's eventual rise to civilization and refinement. As Vitruvius finally observed (*De arch.*, II, 6-7).

> From these early beginnings, and due to the fact that Nature had only endowed the human race with senses, like the rest of the animals, but had additionally equipped their minds with the powers of thought and understanding-thus putting all the other animals under they sway-men next gradually advanced. From the construction of cabins [initially, *more testudinata*], they later progressed to the other arts and sciences [*ad ceteras artes et disciplinas*], and so humanity was directed from a savage and rustic mode of life to peaceful civilization [*e fera agrestique vita ad mansuetam perduxerunt humanitatem*]. Then, taking courage, and looking ahead with the advantage of those higher ideas born of the multiplication of the arts, they eventually gave up huts [*casas*], and began instead to build proper [that is, classical-styl] edifices [*domos*], with foundations, and brick or stone walls, and roofs of [squared] timber and tiles. *17*

As reader is finally reminded, George Wither likewise had made a careful structural distinction between two levels of civilized attainment-or opposed kinds of social stratification-and to each was apportioned its own distinctive (and "fitting") architectural environment. In Vitruvian terms, this would represent a "scenographic" characterization of differentiated social ranks and the conditions of nearly heriditary strictures or privileges respectively belonging to each caste. *18* According to Wither, the landed aristocrat lives "in his hall," "sealed all with gold and paved with porphyry, hung round with arras, glazed with crystal glass, and covered over with plates of shinig brass." To the contrary, the humble peasant-a near savage perfectly in tune with unspoiled and "primitive" Nature-happily abides "in a homely cottage, thatched with reeds." As Wither makes clear, it is this second kind of wholly natural structure-roofed more testudinata and symbolically representing the pre-civilized rustic mode of ecological equilibrium-"is that where best I love to be."

Because it is unquestionable that Vitruvius' famous architectural treatise would have been well known to George Wither and his contemporaries, therefore, I assume that this standard text represents the most accessible source for Wither's hut-and-tortoise equation. However, as it now appears to me, evidently Vitruvius was in turn perhaps repeating a topos already widely spread in this time. Even though I cannot find any literary traces of the idea before the first century BC, the concept was certainly commonplace in the post-classical period; for this conclusion, we have the testimony of St. Isidore of Seville, the author of the standard encyclopedia of the medieval eras. The learned Visigoth wrote in 630 the following about the quasi-architectural tortoise in his *Etymologiae* (XII, vii, 56):

> The tortoise ["*testudo*"=arch/vault] is so named because its hard-shelled covering has been

> arranged in a vault-like shape -*eo quod tegmine testae sit adopterus in camerae modum.* There are four categories of these: terrene, marine, and swamp- and estuary-dwellers, and [finally] those found in rivers, meaning in freshwater. It is said (which seems incredible) that any ship which carries the right leg of a tortoise will sail very slowly. *19*

In this case, it again appears that, to the contrary of Vitruvius, it was really a Spaniard, St. Isidore, who had first made an emphatic textual commonplace of the "tortoise=architecture" premise. To support this conclusion we have at hand Isidore's other important reference to the tortoise (*Etym.*, XV, viii, 8). This second citation is wholly architectural in nature and includes an understood reference to Vitruvius and, evidently, to some other architectural writers whose texts have since become lost:

> *Testudo* ["tortoise"] refers to the oblique [or groined] vaulting of a temple. It is so called because the ancients used to make roofs in the manner of the tortoise's shell [just as Vitruvius asserted]. They did so [as Vitruvius did NOT state] in order to provide an image of heaven, of which it is said that it is convex in form. Others, however, state that the reference is instead to the atrium [as based upon a mistaken analogy between *testero*, "forecourt," and *testudom* "turtle"] which appears before those who enter [into the temple]. *20*

To conclude, we may believe that, even though righteous "ecology" (*oikos-logikos*) triumphs over aristocratic artifice in Wither's seventeenth-century emblematic vision of *l'architecture moralisée*, in the end one must seriously doubt whether the urbane (and evidently urbanized) Vitruvius would have shared the (most likely feigned) preference of the Jacobean emblematist for the thatched and quintessentially "primitivist" delights of rusticated peasant life-styles...

NOTES: " Hut and Tortoise"

(1) For the bibliographical particulars of Wither's emblem-book, see M.Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, Rome, 1975, p. 538.

(2) Wither, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 261.

(4) None of the medieval proto-zoological sources I have consulted makes any reference to the strictly architectural metaphor that Wither had associated with his emblematic tortoise. For an adequate idea of the comments and associations typically attached to the tortoise in medieval, post-Physiologus (or sub-zoological), literature, see T.H. White (ed.), *The Bestiary. A Book of Beasts, being a translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century*, New York, 1960, pp. 105, 188, 216. To the contrary, no tortoise references are apparently to be found in the Spanish Bestiaries; see S.Sebastián (ed.), *El Fisiólogo atribuido a San Epifanio, seguido de El Bestiario Toscano*, Madrid, 1986. The tortoise was rarely depicted in medieval art, and when (but rarely) it was referred to in medieval literature it was generally given an *in malo* interpretation, following a generic identification with "all such earth-bound [reptilian] creatures" given in Leviticus 11: 29: "Haec quoque inter polluta reputabuntur de his quae moventur in terra, mustela et mus et crocodilus, singula iuxta genus suum." On the other hand, there was a variant tradition, going back to Pliny, according to which the tortoise (*in bono*) could stand for a meditative, "home-body," type; see A. Holguín, *La tortuga, símbolo del filósofo*. Bogotá, 1961. For yet another, strictly architectural, interpretation, see below: Vitruvius, as in note 16, and St. Isidore, as in notes 19-20.

(5) Fortunately, the strickly emblematic (meaning "Renaissance"-see preceeding note) traces of the tortoise are conveniently gathered together in A. Henkel and A. Schöne (eds.), *Emblemata, Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI, und XVII, Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1976, columns 607-616 ("Schildkröte"). To this collection, another example must be restored, namely Alciati's Emblema CXCV, showing "the domesticated Venus" with her foot upon a turtle; see S.Sebastián (ed.), *Alciato: Emblemas*, Madrid, 1985, pp. 239-40. The odd idea of the tortoise as a paradigm of "the Christian wife" is strictly late-medieval in origin, and probably begins with the *Reductorium morale* (ca. 1365) of Petrus Berchorius; see W. S. Heckscher, "Aphrodite as a Nun," *The Phoenix*, VII, 1953, pp. 103-17 (p. 105). For a summary of the standard symbolic attributes attached to the tortoise ("Tortue") in the Renaissance, see G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600*, Geneva, 1954, cols. 383-4: "I. Attribut de la Vénus domestique; II. Un sage lenteur; III. Attribut du Toucher." As is apparent, none of these standard configurations embrace the architectural reference uniquely characterizing Wither's "Hut-and-Tortoise" emblem.

(6) I am quoting from (and modernizing) Borja's text, as reprised in the edition printed in Brussels in 1680: p. 82. See Henkel and Schöne (as in n. 5) for similar entries (all of which postdate Borja's *editio* princips), namely: Camerarius (1605), "Domus optima"; Rollenhagen (1611), "Omnia mea mecum porto," and "OIKOS PHILOS, OIKOS ARISTOS" (Wither's motto); Roemer Visscher (ca. 1620), "T'huys best." As this brief survey appears to indicate, Juan de Borja, a Spanish emblematist, was probably the major source for Wither's tortoise=cottage emblem-but with Rollenhagen most likely serving as the Englishman's direct intermediary. In this case, yet another Spanish author, a Visigothic encyclopedist, enters the picture

as a major factor in establishing the original, strictly literary and strictly post-classical, tradition of the tortoise as an architectural analogue; see St. Isidore of Seville, as in notes 19-20 below.

(7) Wither. *op.cit.*, p. 86; see also pp. 117-18 for the appendix to this emblem (nearly identical to the explanation quoted above).

(8) Although the theoretical significance of Wither's "hut-and-tortoise" motif has been consistently ignored by architectural historians, this point was cogently made by a literary scholar; see W. A. McClung, *The Architecture of Paradise, Survivals of Eden and Jerusalem*, Berkeley, 1983, p. 117 ff. (not recognizing, however, the important Isidorean intermediary; see notes 19-20 below).

(9) For this anticlassical condemnation, see J. Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, Orpington (Kent), 1886, vol. I, pp. 23-25.

(10) Ruskin, in R. L. Herbert (ed.), *The Art Criticism of John Ruskin*, Garden City, 1964, pp. 100, 107.

(11) For the primary texts backing up these conclusions, see J. F. Moffitt, "Leonardo's 'Sala delle Asse' and the Primordial Origins of Architecture," *Arte Lombarda* (in press); for a briefer analysis of the situation in a modernist context, see also *idem.*, "Antonio Gaudí and the Architecture of Symbolism, "*Actes du XXVIIe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art*, Strasbourg, 1989 (in press).

(12) For the "pre-modernist" expressions of "primitivism" (which are to date only rarely studied in relation to pre-modernist art and architecture), see A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, Baltimore, 1935. To the contrary, for art historical periods after 1850, the primitivist concept-always a matter of "content," and not necessarilly of "form" as such-is granted to be the greatest significance-but ONLY in the case of painting and sculpture (and, as yet, NOT in modern architecture), see the pioneering study by R. Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art*, New York, 1966. For a much wider ranging (iconological and rather sociological) perspective on various (largely unacknowledged) "primitivist" values inherent to many current cultural patterns and prejudices, see J. F. Moffitt, *Occultism in Avant-Garde Art, The Case of Joseph Beuys*, Ann Arbor, 1988 (where mention is also made of "ecology" as representing a fashionable trend in recent artworks and, especially, art-jargon).

(13) J. W. von Goethe, "On German Architecture," in J. Gage (ed.), *Goethe on Art*, Berkeley, 1980, pp. 103-12.

(14) M-A. Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture*, París, 1755, pp. 9-10.

(15) For these other texts, see Moffitt, "Leonardo's 'Sala delle Asse'," as in n. 11 (also citing the modern scholarly literature touching on the concept of the "primitive hut"); see also J. Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, New York, 1972; and, most recently, A. Milobedzki, "Architecture in Wood: Technology, Symbolic Content, Art," *Artibus et Historiae: An Art Anthology*, X/19, 1989, pp. 177-206.

(16) For the original Latin text, see F. Granger (ed.), *Vitruvius on Architecture*, London, 1962, pp. 76-83.

(17) *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

(18) It was Vitruvius himself who first forthrightly announced the equation between social classes-in Wither's example, urbane aristocrat vs. country bumpkin-and their respective architectural *mises-en-scène*. As Vitruvius authoritatively stated, "There are three kinds of theatrical backdrops [*scaenae*]. ...Their subjects differ in various ways from one another. Tragic settings are designed with colums, pediments and other royal attributes [*signis reliquisque regalibus rebus*]. ... [To the contrary,] satyric settings are painted with trees, caves, mountains, and other tokens of rusticity [*reliquisque agrestibus rebus*], which are accomodated to landscape" (*De arch.*, V, vi, 9; *ibid.*, pp. 288-89). Since the time of Sebastiano Serlio (*Architettura*, 1537)-who elaborated in much greater detail upon the basic "scenographic," socially stratified, triad (tragic-aristocratic; comedic-bourgeoisie; satyric-peasantry) initially formulated by Vitruvius-this notion has become an unquestioned staple of architectural theories associated with the expression of those life-style pretensions that seem so naturally inherent to capitalist consumerism.

(19) L. Cortés y Góngora (ed.), *San Isidoro de Sevilla; Etimologías*, Madrid, 1951, p. 306.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 377; compare this to Juan de Borja (1581), as in note 6 *supra*. For the other, cosmological-symbolic reference, evidently a commonplace topos of ancient palatine and religious architecture, see K. Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *Art Bulletin*, XXVII, 1945, pp. 1-27; E. B. Smith, *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas*, Princeton UP, 1971.