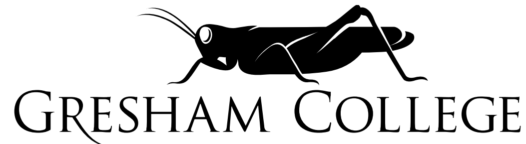

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Architecture, Images & Image-Making Under the Stuarts

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In my lectures this year I am looking closely at the interaction between people, art and architecture. This is not about buildings, about art or about the people that commissioned either, it is about trying to understand how the Tudors and Stuarts thought about what we call art, what it meant to them and what it can teach us about the society they lived in.

In my last lecture I defined art as man-made objects that were not purely utilitarian – things that were made to please the eye as well as serve the hand. Nobody in sixteenth century England and few in the early seventeenth century would have thought of art as we do. It was not a category of activity undertaken by artists. There was no morality attached to it – making things was a craft and one judged by four criteria that we today would not necessarily recognise as those which would define an artwork.

Just quickly to summarise from last time: these were costliness, probably the first thing people took into account in aesthetic appreciation; craftsmanship which, at the time, was defined as cunning – the skill with which something was made. Then there was novelty, a much-prized characteristic then, as now. Finally, there was placement, the relationship one thing had with another. Sixteenth century writers who commented on what they saw judged everything against cost, cunning, novelty and placement.

In this world there was an appreciation of easel painting, but it was one of the less important areas of artistic production. Richard Haydocke in the introduction to his translation of the Italian treatise *A Tracte containing the Artes of curious Paintinge, Carvinge and Buildinge* of 1598 explained:

'the art of painting never attained to any great perfection amongst us (save in some very feawe years of late) yet is it much decayed amongst the ordinarie sorte, for the ancient mediocratie, for these 2. causes : First the Buyer refuseth to bestowe anie greate price on a peece or worke, because hee thinks it is not well done: And the workemans answer is, that he therefore neither useth all his skill, nor taketh all the paines that he could, because he knoweth beforehand the slenderness of his reward'

So, this apologist for native painting in Elizabethan England tells us that people didn't want to pay for paintings and so painters didn't bother to paint good ones!

In fact, there were a very few Elizabethans who rated easel painting highly enough to attempt to commission or buy paintings from abroad. The best known of these Elizabethan collectors was Robert Dudley 1st earl of Leicester who, we know, commissioned and purchased French and Italian paintings. We can't trace many of these now but still have the sketch made of him by Federico Zuccaro in 1575. But comparing state of elite culture in England in 1530 and 1630 we would see a significant difference, indeed comparing that stare of the arts in 1580 and 1620 a much smaller gap, we would see much of the same difference.

Tonight, I am going to focus on that change; ask why and how it happened, whether it was important and what its long-term effects were.

Medieval Christendom was an unbroken common cultural environment, a place where cultural currents flowed without the interruption of schism. Both Henry VII and Henry VIII were happy to welcome into their courts, artists and craftsmen from all over Europe. Henry VII's tomb, of course, had been carved by Pietro Torrigiano

and Henry VIII had employed Nicholas Bellin of Modena to oversee the decoration of his new house at Nonsuch. Even so, foreign observers were scathing about the eclectic mix of medieval, ancient and contemporary design motifs that defined English visual culture in the early sixtieth century.

Henry VIII's break from Rome, and the severing of cultural ties from Italy and the Roman catholic powers of Europe, increased the inward-looking focus of English artistic production. I am not one of those historians who judge this and claim that England was backward or behind other European countries in its cultural output. But the fact is that it was different. England also suffered periodic outbreaks of iconoclasm, both in Henry VIII's reign and in the reign of Edward VI.

The consequence of all this is that three generations of wealthy, educated and sophisticated Englishmen would not travel abroad. They would not see first hand the art and architecture of the continent. There were some who went to the universities of Catholic Europe, but they were few and arguably intrepid English travellers were more familiar with the New World than continental Europe.

However, in 1629 Peter Paul Rubens arrived in London. He was already acknowledged as one of the greatest painters in Europe. He was well-travelled and had seen all the great art collections of Italy, France and Spain. London was new to him. There he toured the great aristocratic houses of the capital and, indeed the royal palaces.

In a private letter written to his friend Pierre Dupuy he remarked on 'the incredible quantity of excellent pictures, statues, and ancient inscriptions which are to be found in this court'. The next day he wrote to another friend elaborating on his observation 'in this island I find none of the crudeness which one might expect from a place so remote from Italian elegance. And I must admit when it comes to fine pictures by the hands of first-class masters, I have never seen such a large number in one place as in the royal palace and in the gallery of the late Duke of Buckingham. The earl of Arundel possesses a countless number of ancient statues and Greek and Latin Inscriptions'.
So, what was it that had changed? Rubens saw in London something that would have been unthinkable only thirty years before.

The treaty of London signed in August 1604 ended a state of war with Spain that had dominated English politics for almost twenty years. Protestant England, surrounded by its Roman Catholic neighbours, had been very much an island on its own. Spanish territories spread across more-or-less the whole of Europe including most of Italy and, although France was independent, travel abroad for the English was extremely dangerous and ill advised. Also, many luxury goods that were common in Paris and Madrid struggled to make their way into the Port of London and in many ways, England was cut off from most of the cultural currents of contemporary Europe.

While those depicted were not all present at the same time, this painting records the appearance of the room in Somerset House where the negotiations took place. On the left are the members of the Hispano-Flemish delegation, on the right, the English commissioners.

The treaty was ratified by King Philip III of Spain in the presence of Charles Howard the earl of Nottingham and around 500 English courtiers. It was the most splendid and expensive appearance of the English court abroad for nearly a century. The last time anything like it had been seen was for the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. Nottingham who appears second to last on the right-hand side was the man, who as Lord Howard of Effingham, had seventeen years before vanquished the Spanish Armada.
Their trip to Spain was a visit to the centre of the European world, the capital of the Europe's largest and most powerful empire and as the English wagon train of 800 mules that made their way across the sun-scorched landscape exposed the cream of the Jacobean court to an almost completely novel set of cultural influences.

The Treaty of London triggered a huge exodus of the English Aristocracy. So much so that James I became alarmed and registered his disapproval at the Privy Council. Instructions to English ambassadors to keep tabs on English travellers were meaningless as Italy was now teeming with the English. Indeed, when Henry Peacham wrote his book the *Compleat Gentleman* in 1622, it was accepted that to be a gentleman it was necessary to be familiar with the cities of Europe

Of course, Elizabethans had travelled the continent, but only with extreme difficulty and often in disguise. One of the best travelled and most important of this first generation of Jacobean travellers was Henry Wotton who, through his extensive knowledge of Germany, Italy and Switzerland, and his command of several European languages was, in 1604, appointed by James I the first Resident ambassador in Venice since 1550. He was one of the first Englishmen to start to collect Italian paintings with any sense of seriousness. As other English travellers arrived in Venice and stopped at his palazzo, they could see his collection and indeed started to be painted by Venetian painters themselves.

Sir John Finet, later to be Charles I's Master of Ceremonies was one of those. This is his portrait done by Domenico Tintoretto in 1610-11, and a couple of years later he sent Lord Salisbury Palma Giovane's Prometheus devoured by the eagle. This brought to England the richness and vibrancy of Venetian painting that had last been seen the country in the reign of Queen Mary I. It marked the beginning of a love affair between the English and Venetian painting.

Now importantly Prometheus was given by Lord Salisbury to Prince Henry of Wales and Henry hung it in his gallery at St. James's. When Wotton returned home in 1611, he presented himself at Prince Henry's court. In his entourage was one of his secretaries Mark Belford who was later to become an art advisor to several English Aristocrats. Wotton also encouraged him to be a miniaturist. We don't know whether he was any good, but he must have had some talent as Wotton bet the Prince of Wales that he could paint a better likeness of him than Isaac Oliver had. Wotton put up three of his Venetian pictures against three of the Prince's horses. This was probably not a serious bet and the pictures went to join Prometheus in the Prince's gallery at St James's.

Finet, and indeed Wotton, were gentleman not great aristocrats and it was England's senior peer Thomas Howard earl of Arundel who became the expert in venetian painting and the arbiter of court taste. Arundel, whose grandfather and father had both been convicted of treason and who were respectively executed and imprisoned for life enjoyed a family rehabilitation in the early years of James's reign and entered Prince Henry of Wales's court circle where he rubbed shoulders with other young aristocrats fascinated by European culture.

In the summer of 1612 Arundel gained permission to go abroad and it was then that he met Peter Paul Rubens, then acknowledged as the greatest painter in Northern Europe – who painted his portrait (now lost). He also bought from the painter a number of other canvasses which were to become the first paintings by Rubens to enter England. Interestingly this group are amongst the very few that Rubens actually signed – this must have been at Arundel's request so he could show the, as yet uneducated English, that the paintings were actually by the great master.

After returning to England briefly after the premature and tragic death of Prince Henry, Arundel set off again on his travels. This time he travelled Italy and became, not only enamoured of Venetian painting but with the whole breadth of Italian art architecture and decorative arts from the ancients to the modern. He was a wealthy man and he bought voraciously. His collection didn't only embrace paintings, he was active in digging up the Forum in Rome to find antique sculptures for his collection.

We don't fully know what Arundel returned with when he eventually came back to London and to his mansion, Arundel House, on The Strand. But we do know that he started to rebuild his house as a setting for the collections he acquired on his travels. Although he was now based in London, he continued to collect paintings, sculpture, antiquities and other works of art. As well as using English diplomats as intermediaries and sources of intelligence he employed his own agents to scour Europe and Asia Minor for works of art. Unlike other collectors he knew what he liked and what he wanted. He was generally not interested in buying whole collections, job lots of paintings assembled by others. He bought in a very targeted way.

But this is not the only point about Arundel. Because there was a fundamental difference between him and the other great early Stuart Collectors. Patrons like the Duke of Buckingham, who we will look at in just a moment, were big collectors, but they were swimming in the tide of fashion and not leading it. They bought art as the accoutrement of wealth and greatness and a reflection of their magnificence. Arundel, on the other hand, was amongst the first to buy through a scholarly interest in cultural artefacts. He would buy broken sculptures because

he regarded them as important and collected preliminary sketches and rough notes by painters. In fact, he probably amassed the greatest collection of old master drawings ever known including 600 by Leonardo da Vinci alone. he was also fascinated by inscriptions and ancient manuscripts he collected gemstones, coins and medals and amassed one of the greatest libraries of its age.

So, he studied ancient and modern art with an academic eye and had a passion to improve people's taste in them. This explains why he acquired the Arundel Marbles some of which are on show in this very museum. He bought this collection of sections of ancient buildings associated with sites mentioned in classical literature. He wanted these to be used by painters and engravers in their work, by scholars who, perhaps had not travelled abroad and seen the ruins of ancient civilisations in person. Many important figures did come and look at his collections, including Rubens, and a few even drew direct inspiration from them. Inigo Jones, for instance, was inspired by a fragment of frieze from Pergamon that he used in his design for a screen in the queen's chapel at Somerset House. I like this engraving of Arundel House from the south bank of the Thames done by Wenceslaus Hollar, Arundel's protégé. Lying in the foreground are two broken Roman columns, a reference to Arundel's love of ancient ruins.

It was almost certainly Arundel who introduced Anthony Van Dyck to England and equally importantly brought both Wenceslaus Hollar and Lucas Vosterman to London where they recorded his collection though etchings, a pioneering venture for its time. At the time of his death Arundel possessed over 600 paintings, including 40 attributed to Holbein, 37 to Titian, 26 to Parmigiano, 17 to Giorgione, 16 to Dürer, and 13 each to Raphael and Brueghel.

Sometime around 1616 Arundel commissioned Daniel Mytens to paint his portrait and that of his wife at Arundel House. They are a remarkable pair of images. Arundel holds a wand and sits like a field marshal with his baton about to order his army of marble statues to march out to war. His wife sits in front of another gallery much more demurely and through the door we can see their collection of paintings.

They are mysterious paintings because the interiors which they depict probably did not exist. But the paintings show Arundel as a connoisseur and a teacher. As I have already explained Arundel was closely associated with James I's eldest son Prince Henry of Wales and it is crucial to understand that this young man was seized with the same passions as Arundel; especially for Venetian painting. He was based at St James's palace and here he created an architectural setting for his collections. This is extremely important in the history of English art and collecting.

St. James's contained a continuous gallery that ran around the eastern court. The south front privy gallery and the northern gallery overlooking the outer court were both exactly 100 ft long end to end; the eastern gallery, that was known as the 'crosse gallery' was 125 ft long. So, there was a single uninterrupted gallery 325ft long and it was this that became the centre of the young prince's picture collection. Originally it must have been plastered and hung with tapestry and Prince Henry had it panelled with fluted pilasters every ten feet. The new panelling was to enable the Prince to hang paintings there.

On twelfth night 1610 he launched his public life with a great court festival. And the next day Henry rode to Whitehall from St. James's and escorted his parents and his sister back to his house. There, in his new gallery, he gave them, his brother, and the cream of the court, supper on a table that was reported to be 120ft long – almost the full length of the eastern section.

The gallery was a spectacular setting for the Prince's picture collection and one that was deliberately conceived in conjunction with a library. The late sixteenth century had seen an explosion of collecting across the princely courts of Europe; galleries and cabinets were filled with old master paintings, sculptures, coins and medals, manuscripts and books. Through his mother Anne of Denmark, and people like Arundel and Wotton he knew of the great collections of the Medici and of the emperor Rudolph II in Prague and the Prince and his advisors deliberately set out to imitate them.

The first evidence we have for Prince Henry buying paintings is in January 1611, at exactly the time that the gallery was completed, and soon after it was public knowledge that the Prince had set out to create a great gallery of painting. The same month Venetian Ambassador, Marc Antonio Correr wrote that the Prince was 'paying special

attention to the adorning of a most beautiful gallery of very fine pictures, ancient and modern'. A few months later, with work still in progress in the library, Sir Thomas Chaloner gave a tour of the rooms to Ottaviano Lotti, the Grand Duke of Tuscany's representative in London asking him to send works of art to the prince be displayed there. As far as we know this led to nothing, but in late April or early May that year he was presented with two paintings by the States General of the Dutch Republic as a diplomatic gift.

These were a large canvas by Hendrick Vroom depicting a battle off Gibraltar which is now in the Rijksmuseum and a 'great sea peece' sold at the time of the Commonwealth, and now lost, by Jan Porcellis; both were described as being for the gallery at St. James's and specially framed for it. Henry had a taste for such marine paintings for he commissioned three further paintings from Porcellis each on panel. These were not the only new arrivals as a request, this time to Vincenzo Salviati, the Florentine Ambassador led to the receipt, in June 1611, of a large shipment of paintings that were delivered by the architect Constantino de 'Servi at Richmond. As the paintings were unpacked Henry asked the Italian 'about the decoration of their Highnesses galleries and if there were subject pictures and what kind of statues, and he confirmed his intention of using the foresaid pictures for his new gallery'.

Jan Porcellis, A Storm at Sea painting on Panel almost certainly used as an over door in the gallery at St. James's. It bears the HP brand identifying it as one of the Princes paintings.

Then a major shipment of paintings from Venice arrived for which the Prince paid over £400. Other paintings, once hanging in the gallery at St. James's in Henry's time, can be identified in later inventories although no comprehensive list survives from before the Civil War. What is certain, though, is that quickly and decisively Henry Prince of Wales created what was, at the time, the largest picture gallery in England over 325ft long and hung by perhaps as many as fifty paintings.
In 1611 work was underway on the prince's cabinet, a small room set aside for collections of antique coins, medals and bronzes, all of which he started collecting avidly in 1610. One purchase for this was a famous collection of antiquities from a Dutch collector for which he paid a colossal £2,200 in 1611. The cabinet was unfinished at the time of the Prince's death and its location cannot now be pinpointed. The combined costs of building the library, cabinet and panelling the gallery were a very substantial £2,800 and represented an extraordinary undertaking.

Henry VIII had combined galleries with cabinets of treasures before, but what the Prince was doing was deliberately creating an encyclopaedic collection of the world's knowledge in imitation of, and potentially in rivalry with, the cabinets of other European princes. Neither Elizabeth I, nor James I were interested in such an enterprise, but his brother Charles was to continue his endeavours with vigour later in the century.

At only eighteen years of age, this princely architectural patron, succumbed to what was probably typhoid and, after a horrible illness, made infinitely ghastlier by the ministrations of his doctors, died at St. James's on 6 November 1612.

While Arundel was the most sophisticated and perhaps most influential of all the great collectors on the Jacobean and Caroline age, he was not the only one. He was rivalled, and not only in the sense of artistic patronage, by George Villiers, the Due of Buckingham, the great favourite of first king James and later King Charles.

Buckingham rose from virtually nothing to be the only Duke in the kingdom, the king's right-hand man and the most powerful Englishman outside the royal family. As he rose to power and wealth, he began to establish a household and establishment suitable to his power. He brought into his service a Huguenot refugee Balthazar Gerbier who was not only multi-lingual but a painter, architect and connoisseur. He soon became the Duke's aesthetic tutor and his personal shopper travelling all over Europe hunting out the most valuable works of art and antiquities.

Ultimately his picture gallery was one of the greatest in Europe: The hall of his London house was dominated by two enormous canvasses by Titian; his great chamber was hung mostly with paintings by Rubens and his gallery had twelve paintings by Veronese.

Unlike Arundel, for whom his collection expressed his world picture, Buckingham's extraordinary collections were a social ornament and expression of his worldly glory. He was not interested in what he called 'deformed or misshapen stone' but wanted pure and perfect pieces. He did not read books despite collecting them and kept his eye on the prestige that his collection brought him. This is not to say that he didn't like, understand or appreciate his paintings, only that were the setting of his life and not an integral part of it.

Buckingham, though, was crucial to the development of Charles I aesthetic development because it was he who encouraged and accompanied Prince Charles on his mad-cap trip to Spain in 1623. The story will be familiar, but Charles and Buckingham essentially galloped across Europe to arrive in Madrid to win the hand of the Infanta Maria Anna sister of Philip IV of Spain. Charles was away for eight months and this was his only experience of the world outside England and Scotland. Charles visited all the main palaces of the Spanish Crown and was able to examine the treasures they held. In the Escorial alone hung more than a thousand paintings.
Charles fell for Titian whose paintings were particularly numerous as he had worked intensively for the Emperor Charles V and King Phillip II. So, the king bought his first pictures independently on the open market at public sales in Madrid: amongst others, Titian's Woman with a fur coat (now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Conjugal allegory now in the Louvre.

The trip to Spain was a failure in diplomatic terms but it was critical in forming Charles's taste in painting. So much so that, even while Prince of Wales, Rubens was to say of him that he was the greatest amateur expert in painting in the world. There is a wonderful insight into Charles's connoisseurship in a description of the king receiving a consignment of paintings from the Vatican.
'As soon as the king was told by the queen that she had received the pictures he rushed so see them calling to him Jones… the Earl of Holland and the earl of Pembroke. The very moment Jones saw the pictures he greatly approved of them, and in order to study them better threw off his coat, put on his eyeglass, took a candle and, together with the king began to examine them very closely, admiring them very much…

The king's reputation as collector and connoisseur was to be sealed forever by the stunning purchase of a huge collection of outstanding paintings from Ferdinando Gonzaga the Duke of Mantua. These started to arrive in London in the late 1620s transforming the size and quality of the King's collection.

Under James I the collecting of English aristocrats was hardly noticeable in the European art markets; but in the 1620s and 30s the English were amongst first division of collectors. They were not alone as they were competing with the French, the Spanish and the Dutch, not to mention the Italians themselves. Prices spiralled and as a consequence collecting art was a sport confined only to the super rich and In England that meant Charles I and Henrietta Maria, the Earl of Arundel, The Duke of Buckingham and James Duke of Hamilton who took up some of the mantle that had fallen after the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham.

The circle of collectors was slightly widened in the 1630s after Charles I successfully enticed foreign painters, sculptors and designers to come and work for him in England. Hubert Le Suer the sculptor, Rubens and Van Dyck, Mytens, Honthorst, and Orazio and Artemesia Gentileschi. These court painters did works for some other courtiers as well as the royal family.

Of these Van Dyck stands out for special mention here. I think it is partly because of the brilliance of Van Dyck's paintings of Charles I, his family and his courtiers, that we feel we know the Caroline court and its elegance, sophistication and cultural enlightenment. There was no such chronicler of the court of King James and this conceals the evidence of a court that was far more open-minded and intellectually vibrant than the court of Charles. Let's not forget that it was at James's Court that Shakespeare played, where Ben Johnson and Beaumont and Fletcher worked. Francis Bacon was an exceptional philosopher and historian; there were brilliant theologians including John Donne and Lancelot Andrews and of course there was Inigo Jones the all-round architect, designer and connoisseur of the visual arts. At the centre of all this was James himself an intensely bookish man fascinated by philosophy, theology and history a man much more at home with his books than with the clawing and fawning court that he had inherited from Queen Elizabeth.

James's court was thus a centre of new thought and innovation – Charles's court was one of conformity and cultivation. Charles was not his father nor shared his open-minded intellectual curiosity. Under Charles court culture became much more inward-looking, indeed quite self-centred. It was that his court was ordered, dignified and restrained. Manners and etiquette counted for everything.
This important observation leads us on to the big question I want to pose this evening, one that we can ask being blessed with hindsight. Throughout this period of collecting with the king and a small group of his friends spending large sums of money, and much time on art what did everyone else think?

I suspect that the answer is that everyone else didn't think at all. They didn't even know what was going on. The works of art purchased by Charles I and his close friends were extremely expensive and well out of the reach of almost everyone else. All the best paintings were produced by foreigners, there was hardly a native market at all. Most of the most sought after works of art were imported and you could only import such things if they were not for sale as the Painter-Stainers' guild had a stranglehold over the sale of pictures. There were no auctions, unless authorised. So private sales were the only way forward in terms of consuming contemporary or antique Continental art.

But surely you will say those great galleries at St James's and even more so at Whitehall were full of paintings of the highest quality, surely English and foreigners alike were shown around by the king and his courtiers they noticed and commented on the great collections. Well, the answer is not. When people did comment on the royal collection it was the tapestries that they referred to, the rich hangings that covered the walls of the outer rooms; the paintings barely get a mention.

There is an important reason why this is so. This my reconstruction of the first floor of the privy gallery range at Whitehall palace as it was in around 1635. In 1639 the King's Surveyor of Pictures Abraham van der Doort made a detailed inventory of all the paintings hanging there. Putting the inventory and the plan together we have a unique insight into the way that the king showed his collection and from this we gain a crucial insight.

Access features: *stair from the park, access along privy gallery, the privy lodgings and privy stair. The matted gallery. Access to the privy lodgings confined to gentlemen of the bedchamber and the royal family.*

The Privy gallery, one of the main arteries for courtiers moving through the palace was hung with Tudor and Jacobean portraits, 73 of them in all. In the Inventory they are described as 'Whitehall pieces' in other words paintings inherited by Charles I already hanging at Whitehall. So, if you were a courtier you would see every day the dynastic array of traditional paintings. However, if you wanted to see some of the king's personal collection you would need to get access to the matted gallery or the privy lodgings. The Matted gallery contained Van Dyck's Great Piece, the monumental family portrait of the king and his family set at Whitehall itself. It hung in the company of Italian and northern paintings.

The Privy lodgings, restricted to a very small number of people invited in by the sovereign, contained the king's own collection. The first privy lodging was filled with canvasses by Titian and the following two rooms overflowed with paintings by Raphael, Correggio and others. The paintings in the king's own bedchamber were smaller and more personal, a painting from the circle of Raphael of the Virgin and Child hung in the bedchamber and next door in the breakfast room was Vandyke's gorgeous painting of the king's five eldest children. The largest room in the privy lodgings was the king's cabinet. There were 80 paintings in here including works by Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci, but it also contained bronzes, books, medals, drawings and other works of art. Into the ceiling of the cabinet was set Ruben's own sketch for the ceiling of the Banqueting House.
So, the facts are these. Very few people got to see the great works of art collected by the King, Buckingham and Arundel. Ac cess was granted to a tiny select circle and so appreciation of them remained confined to a tiny minority. No wonder they are hardly mentioned by visitors to the English Court – they were invisible to almost everyone.
In fact, the only exposure people at Whitehall had to had to great contemporary painting was in the Banqueting House. I have recently spoken about Rubens and you can look up my lecture on the Gresham College Website, but you must forgive me if I return to this important building again tonight to make some slightly different points.

Inigo Jones was the man who most perfectly bridged the courts of James I and Charles I. His work covered a huge span of activity including being empresario and designer of court masques. But In the context of tonight's lecture I want to consider him as architect. Because as Charles I brought contemporary painting to the fore so James I brought the architecture of northern Italy to London in the form of the Banqueting House.

The key to understanding Jones is that he was a European. He had travelled more extensively than perhaps any Englishman of his age; and his travels were not just idle tourism they were structured study tours when he visited and examined as many buildings, paintings and sculptures as he could, made notes, sketches and bought books and prints. he became employed by James I's wife, the Danish Queen Anne, as a stage designer and decorator in 1604. Soon Jones began to dabble in architecture working for Robert Cecil 1st earl of Salisbury in London and at Hatfield House. In 1610 he was appointed Surveyor to Henry Prince of Wales and five years later, high in royal favour, he won the top architectural job becoming Surveyor of Works to James I.

The Surveyor's work was onerous with a heavy administrative burden, but Jones had been employed, not primarily for his administrative skills, but because he was recognised as the most talented designer at court. The men in the Office of Works at his side were much more experienced in building than he; many could draw plans and elevations, and all had overseen major building projects. But Jones had travelled more widely than any of them and had studied Roman buildings at first hand. He admired Venetian architects especially Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scomozzi. In 1570 Palladio had published *Quattro libri dell'archittura* a mixture of studies of ancient Roman buildings and designs by the author of town houses, villas and public buildings. Jones's copy is full of marginal notes showing that he was determined to master the system behind the four orders and not just their use as a cladding.

Most of Jones's work was the repair of existing medieval and Tudor structures and the erection of relatively minor ancillary buildings. Yet three important new commissions did come his way: The Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace, St. Paul's Cathedral and the Covent Garden Piazza. The only one that survives in any meaningful sense (though much altered) is the Banqueting House conceived as a great presence chamber to celebrate the Stuart dynasty. Completed in 1621 on one of London's main thoroughfares it was based on Venetian villa designs using classical orders in an archaeologically correct manner. The elevations were rich, rusticated from basement to cornice, and constructed of stone of contrasting colours. Though the internal space was furnished like a traditional great hall, its architectural realization was radical. It was conceived as the nave of a classical basilica focussed on a great niche under which James I was intended to sit, like a Roman Emperor.

This scholarly use of classical precedent skilfully blended with traditional forms and enriched for English taste also applied to Jones's remodelling of Old St. Paul's in 1632-42. Here he was responsible for re-casing the transepts and nave in Portland Stone, re-fenestrating them with round-headed and circular windows and using the Romanesque buttresses to create a sort-of Tuscan order. A vast Corinthian portico based on Palladio's reconstruction of the Temple of Venus and Rome was built at the west end as a magnificent royal vestibule. Had Jones gone on to recase the tower, and had the cathedral been spared the Great Fire and the Blitz, it would have been a remarkable and influential building. But history was not kind to Jones's work there which was obscured after only a couple of years and destroyed in 1666.

Despite their prominence neither St Paul's nor the Banqueting House became widely imitated models and Jones's other royal commissions were either in the private precincts of royal palaces like the Queen's House, Greenwich (completed 1635) or at a distance from London like the Prince of Wales house at Newmarket (demolished, completed 1621). Most contemporaries didn't understand the subtleties of Jones's work and certainly did not perceive his buildings as inherently superior to others. As a result, in his lifetime his influence was extremely limited. More typical of the interest shown in classical precedent was the book written by Sir Henry Wotton, a former English Ambassador to Venice. *The Elements of Architecture*, published in 1624 was a small, practical and unillustrated manual of architectural design. Quite unlike Jones, Wotton was almost deliberately non-technical and anti-intellectual, providing simple rules for using the orders correctly.

Perhaps an expression of just how remote and intellectual the architecture of Jones was is the occasion when Sir Simonds d'Ewes had to rise in Parliament to ask precisely who Inigo Jones was; and in 1641 Jones was condemned

not for his architecture, masques or even for building Roman catholic chapels but for illegally pulling down St. Gregory's church near St. Paul's cathedral and for bullying the parishioners. Jones's architecture like the king's taste in paintings was an obscure curiosity nurtured by an introverted and out of touch monarch.

Nor can we see the king's collecting mania as one of the activities that led to the financial crises that set the scene for the civil war. Between 1625 and 1630 the king spent £23,030 on tapestry, £7,063 on new paintings, £3,00 for the Banqueting House ceiling and £4,530 for statues. This is really not very much money in terms of a total annual household budget of £250,000 or the expenditure of £65,000 on building the Sovereign of the Seas the most expensive warship built to fate by an English Monarch. James I was far more extravagant at court; he spent £100,000 on the wedding of Princess Elizabeth.

So, let's tie this all up and try and fathom out what conclusions we can draw. In 1603 a genuinely new era opened in the history of British taste and patronage. The opening up of Europe after the end of prolonged war with Spain re-established artistic links with Italy. A small group of English Aristocrats became obsessed with the art and architecture of Venice in particular and began to amass collections of paintings sculpture and other works of art. To be in the club you had to be a millionaire and so the club was very small. It was also very introverted. Arundel, Buckingham, Sutherland, the king and queen and their advisors like Jones and Wotton looked inwards to the cabinets, closets and galleries full of art and very few outside a charmed circle had any idea what was going on.

The only glimpse everyone else got was of the Banqueting House ceiling, an epic work of art accessible to more-or-less anyone who wanted to see it. But both the ceiling and the architecture of the building in which it was set were considered the products of a minority interest a court that was doing its own thing. It's not really very surprising that Parliament resolved to execute the king outside the banqueting House rather than on Tower Hill. It was the end of a king who was intransigent and out of touch, outside a building which, in so many respects, represented the alienation between governor and governed.

In my next lecture we will be moving on to the later seventeenth century and we will see how the art market in England was created, how the appreciation of painting spread outside the confines of Whitehall to adorn country houses up and down the land. But for this next instalment ladies and gentlemen I'm afraid that you will have to wait until April 3rd.

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