"Immaginacy Set Free": Aristotelian Ethics and Inigo Jones's Banqueting House at Whitehall
Author(s): Vaughan Hart and Richard Tucker
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"Immaginacy set free"

Aristotelian ethics and Inigo Jones's Banqueting House at Whitehall

VAUGHAN HART and RICHARD TUCKER

> In all inuencions of C[a]ppresious ornaments on must first designe ye Ground, or ye thing plaine, as yt is for youse, and on that, varry yt, addorne yt. Compose yt wth deccorum according to the youse, and ye order yt is of,..for as outwar[d]ly euery wyse ma[n] carrieth a grauiti in Publicke Places, whear ther is nothing els looked for, & yt inwardly hath his mind [sic] Immaginacy set free . . . So in architecture ye outward ornaments oft to be Sollid, proporsionable according to the rulles, masculine and unaffected.

Inigo Jones recorded these notes in his Roman Sketchbook on Friday, 20 January 1615.[1] Here, perhaps in response to the Baroque excesses of Rome, he spells out a distinction between internal and external ornamentation that can be seen in most—but not all—of his court buildings. The notable exception to the Jonesian "masculine and unaffected" external style was the Banqueting House, realized from 1619 at Whitehall. In describing the possible reasons for this anomaly, we will examine Jones's identification of the Vitruvian principle of Decorum (*decor* at Vit.I.ii.5, 9)—a principle of appropriate display clearly underpinning his Roman Sketchbook notes[2]—with the Aristotelian one of magnificence, which he saw as Vitruvius's source.[3] Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* emerges as a major philosophical influence on Jones and his Banqueting House, a fact perhaps first recognized by Ben Jonson when famously admonishing the architect for setting up architecture as the highest kind of knowledge; Jones had "Drawn Aristotle on us: and thence shown / How much architectonike is your own!"[4]

Part I: "Drawing Aristotle on us": Jones's study of Aristotelian ethics

Vitruvius failed to cite the origins of the principle of Decorum, and his Renaissance emulators are similarly silent on the matter. In order to overcome this and other omissions concerning the ethical and moral background to Vitruvian concepts, Jones turned his attention to antique philosophy, studying Italian translations of Xenophon (1521, 1547), Plato (1554), Plutarch (1567, 1614) and Piccolomini (1575).[5] It was while reading his copy of the 1551 Segni translation of Aristotle's *Ethics,*[6] however, that Jones came clearly to identify the Aristotelian theory of appropriate expenditure (*megaloprepia,* translated by Cicero as *magnificentia*) with appropriate display of architectural ornament. At the beginning of chapter two of Book IV, accompanying the heading "Della Magnificenza," there is a single-word annotation by Jones in sepia-colored ink that has, through time, become faint: the word is "Decorum." This is not, as are the vast majority of Jones's annotations, a translation as such, and clearly demanded analytical interpretation from him. Indeed it also represents the single occasion in an approximate thirty-year study of architectural theory when Jones found it appropriate to

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1. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth, fols.76*b*–76*r*.

2. In his Barbaro *Vitruvius* (Venice, 1567), Book I, chapter 2, p. 27, line 28 (of Barbaro's commentary), Jones notes "Thinges doon with autoriti Decorum" and p. 29 (against Vitruvius) "Decorum in a likeness of ornament." Some years following his initial reading of Vitruvius, Jones was to write in his *Stone-Heng Restored* (1655) an accurate précis of Vitruvius's tripartite explanation of decorum (*statio, consuetudo,* and *natura*)—qualities, as he put it, "relating the Decorum used by them [the Ancients]," pp. 58–59. See G. Higgott, "'Varying with Reason': Inigo Jones's Theory of Design," *Architectural History* 35 (1992):51–77.

3. On "magnificence," see J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 123.

4. In *An Expostulation w[i]th Inigo Jones,* c. 1631. See *Ben Jonson,* ed. I. Donaldson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 462.

5. Jones's books are listed in J. Harris, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1973), Appendix III, pp. 217–218.

6. *L'ethica d'Aristotile,* trans. and commentary by Bernardo Segni (Venice, 1551).

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add a single-word heading encapsulating the passage he was reading. It is as if Jones is highlighting the ultimate focus of his years of study.

Aristotle introduces the principle of *magnificentia* by explaining: "outlay is not the same for the man who maintains a warship as it is for one who leads a delegation to a festival. So the suitability is relative to the agent himself, and to the circumstances and the object of his expenditure."[7] Jones underlines this and adds to the margin a symbol he consistently used to emphasize significant passages, namely, a pointing hand (☞). Concerning appropriate expenditure on building, Aristotle notes: "It is also characteristic of [the Magnificent man] to furnish [*edificare* in the Segni translation] his house in a way suitable to his wealth (because even this is a kind of ornament) . . . and in every set of circumstances to spend what is appropriate (because the same expenditure is not equally due to gods and men, nor is the same outlay proper in the case of a temple as in that of a tomb)."[8] Alongside this passage, Jones translates: "To build a house fytt to our estate / adorned," and "dicorum in building of Temple or Sepultra." For Jones, following Segni, Aristotle thus uses the term "magnificence" not in reference to the objects that furnish a building (as in modern translations), but to the building itself and, more specifically, to how a building is ornamented or "adorned." Jones's bridge between Aristotelian magnificence and the principles governing the appropriate use of architectural ornament is made complete by his subsequent use of the term "dicorum." He thus makes explicit what the Renaissance treatises he studied merely implied, namely, the origins of the architectural concept of Decorum in Aristotle's theory of magnificence.

In his closing remarks on *magnificentia* in Book IV of the *Ethics*, Aristotle introduces the fundamental notion of virtue as a "mean," or rather as the middle way. This notion commanded Jones's attention throughout the *Ethics*.[9] Aristotle observes "the man who goes to excess and is vulgar exceeds (as we have said) by spending more than he ought"—or as Jones translates "Vice is over doing without Dicorum"—whilst, as Aristotle continues, "the petty man will fall short in all respects."[10] This, it should be noted, is one of the few occasions throughout Jones's annotations—and one of only three occasions in his copy of the *Ethics*—that he underlines one of his own annotations. The effect is to link appropriateness in architecture—namely Decorum—to the notion of virtue as a "mean" between the limits of excess and deficiency. This link is, perhaps, not at all obvious, but it would have been familiar enough to Jones from his study of Alberti. Alberti made a similar link between Decorum and the selection of the mean when defining "compartition" at chapter five of Book VI of *De re aedificatoria*, explaining that each element "should be made up of members neither too numerous, nor too small, nor too large, nor too dissonant or ungraceful . . . For if the compartition satisfies these conditions completely, the cheerfulness and elegance [*decor*] of the ornament will find the appropriate place."[11] In chapter two, Alberti defines beauty in architecture as a type of mean (*mediocritas*): "Beauty is that reasoned harmony of all the parts within a body, so that nothing may be added, taken away, or altered, but for the worst."[12] Although Alberti gives no source, his definition is highly derivative of Aristotle's explanation of the significance to craftsman/artists of the doctrine of the mean in the sixth chapter of Book II of the *Ethics:* "If, then, every art performs its function well

7. From Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. J. A. K. Thomson (New York: Harmondsworth, 1976), p. 151

8. Aristotle (see note 7), p. 151; 1551 fol. 114*v*: "*È anchora da Magnifico* l'haversi ed[i]ficara [sic] una casa conveniente alla sua ricchezza; chè una tal'cosa mostra in se *ornamento*."

9. Book II chapter seven (see note 7, p. 106)—"Nemesi is the midoll between Envi and being glad of another's hurt" (Righteous Indignation is a mean between envy and spite). Book III chapter five (see note 7, p. 126) ☞—alongside: "Siasi detto adunche da noi universalimente *della Virtù*. . . ." (We have now given a general account of the virtues, stating in outline what their genus is, viz. that they are mean states and dispositions). On the social virtue of amiability and the corresponding vices at Book IV chapter six (see note 7, p. 163)—"the midell but not being the extreme is commendable. and is named friendship. How it different from friendship" (The person who corresponds to the intermediate state is the sort that we mean when we speak of a good friend; although that implies an element of affection. But this quality differs from friendship in that it is independent of feeling. . . .)

10. Aristotle (see note 7), p. 152. Alongside Aristotle's clarification that both "these dispositions are vices, but they do not actually bring disrepute," Jones's final note reads: "Some vicious habits not very hurtfull."

11. From Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans J. Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), p. 163. On this as an injunction to seek the perfect mean, see A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 81.

12. Alberti (see note 11), p. 156.

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only when it observes the mean and refers its products to it (which is why it is customary to say of well-executed works that nothing can be added to them or taken away, the implication being that excess and deficiency alike destroy perfection, while the mean preserves it)—if good craftsmen[/artists], as we hold, work with the mean in view; and if virtue, like nature, is more exact and more efficient than any art, it follows that virtue aims to hit the mean. By virtue I mean moral virtue since it is this that is concerned with feelings and actions, and these involve excess, deficiency and a mean."[13] This is the one time when Aristotle discusses the "mean" within the context of artistic theory, and here Jones is prompted to reinforce the specific link by writing alongside the passage, "What ye Virtu is in arte" and inscribe a pointing hand in the margin. The significance of the "mean" to the art of building, which Jones's marginalia appear to seek, is confirmed when Aristotle explains that the virtue of magnificence—identified by Jones with Decorum—can also be considered a "mean." Jones heavily underscores this explanation.

Jones's distinction between internal and external ornamentation contrasted Albertian opulence or delight—*festivitas*—with frugality or dignity—*gravitas*. He thus prescribed an architecture that united antipodal characteristics—between external and internal, public and private, gravity and imagination, canonic and licentious. These opposites retain their separate identities but in a state of equilibrium, rather like on Serlio's delicate and rustic gates in the *Extraordinario Libro* (1551). On such contrasts Daniele Barbaro explained in his commentary to *Vitruvius* (1567 edition) that mixing with reason in buildings "can result in a beautiful form in the middle."[14] In the Aristotelian sense this equilibrium can be considered as a mean condition—a mean defined, that is, by two ornamental extremes that the architecture, as it were, "balances." Indeed, Jones's analogy of the "wyse man" who outwardly "carrieth a grauiti . . . yt inwardly hath his Immaginacy set free" is Aristotelian. It is an expression of the mean that, in the *Ethics,* every virtuous man strives for in his effort to tread a path between two kinds of vice, "one of excess and the other of deficiency."[15] Thus, as Aristotle argues elsewhere (and as it would seem for Jones's "wyse man"), "It is said that the soul is a harmony of some kind; for . . . harmony is a mixture or composition of opposites, and the body is composed of contraries."[16] It might be objected, however, that an architecture which is externally "masculine and unaffected"—and that will therefore essentially appear austere to the majority of observers—cannot in itself represent a mean between extremes. But this represents a misinterpretation of Aristotelian ethics. Aristotle had not defined the mean as necessarily the precise mid-point between extremes, but rather as a point perceived as somewhere closer to the lesser of two evils. Whichever was the greatest vice was dependent on the inclination of the individual, and the influence of circumstance. Thus anyone who aims at the mean should: "(1) keep away from that extreme which is more contrary to the mean . . . For one of the extremes is more erroneous than the other; and since it is extremely difficult to hit the mean, we must take the next best course, as they say, and choose the lesser of the evils . . . (2) We must notice the errors into which we ourselves are liable to fall...and we must drag ourselves in the contrary direction . . . (3) In every situation one must guard especially against pleasure and pleasant things, because we are not impartial judges of pleasure."[17] These strictures no doubt struck a chord with Jones, for he adds not one but two pointing hands. Of course, if Jones was to "drag" himself in the contrary direction to pleasure, or rather *festivitas*, his architecture would naturally tend towards the "masculine and unaffected" he argued for externally.

After discussing "magnificence" and the other "moral" virtues in Book IV of the *Ethics*, in Book V Aristotle turns his attention to the concept of "Justice." Jones annotates the passage in chapter one which defines Justice, as he notes, "not apart of Virtu but perfect virtue" and where it is ultimately demonstrated "how justice commandos all the virtues & visos." As the

13. Aristotle (see note 7), pp. 100–101.

14. Barbaro *Vitruvius* (Venice, 1567), Book III chapter 1, p. 115: "però dico io, che mescolando con ragione nelle fabriche le proportioni d'una maniera, o componendole, o levandole, nè puo risultare una bella forma di mezo." On the influence of the mean on Serlio's selection of ornament, see M. Carpo, "The Architectural Principles of Temperate Classicism: Merchant Dwellings in Sebastiano Serlio's Sixth Book," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 22 (1992):135–151.

15. Book II, chapter nine; Aristotle (see note 7), p. 108.

16. Aristotle, *De Anima*, 407 b30–31, from R. McKeon, ed., *The Basic Works of Aristotle* (New York: Random House, 1941), p. 546.

17. Book II, chapter nine; Aristotle (see note 7), p. 109.

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arbiter of virtue and vice, or in Jones's words, the moderator of "ye outward operations," Justice is described as the mediator between excess and deficiency in behavior. Justice therefore plays a significant role in social interaction, and is subsequently shown to lie at the root of many of the laws and moral principles that define appropriate conduct in society. Aristotle demonstrates in chapter three of Book V the significance of the geometrical mean in "Distributive justice": "Then if what is unjust is unequal, what is just is equal; as is universally accepted even without the support of argument. And since what is equal is a mean, what is just will be a sort of mean."[18] Thus, just as magnificence—or rather as Jones interpreted it, "Decorum"—is presented as a mean, so is the "balance" of Justice, and of course, its scales.

The link here between "Distributive justice," the mean, and Decorum is certainly by no means straightforward, but nevertheless Jones acknowledges it for alongside Aristotle's passage he adds the note, "Plato li[bro]: iiii. Civil Decorum" and further highlights this with a pointing hand. The reference is to the fourth book of the *Republic;* it is clearly Jones's intention to establish a link between related theories in the two texts, for there is a corresponding Jonesian "+" reference marker, together with another pointing hand, against Plato's discussion of how just and civil behavior in the individual arises from the harmony that exists when appetite and spirit are held in check by reason.[19] Platonic Justice, both in the individual and, by analogy, in the state, is then described in terms similar to Aristotelian Justice—as a "mean" condition achieved by the harmonic union of reciprocal characteristics. Here we can plainly see the connections between what Jones called Plato's "Civil Decorum" and Aristotle's discussion of the role in social ethics of Justice as a mean, Jones's inter-connections indicating analytical interpretation far beyond mere translation.

Before examining the possible implications of Jones's study of the *Ethics* with regard to the Banqueting House ornamentation, let us briefly consider Aristotle's description in Book VI of the intellectual virtues. In chapter one we are told that these virtues can be divided into those that are associated with the "contemplative" part of the "rational" soul, "with which we contemplate those things whose first principles are invariable," and those that are associated with the "calculative" part of the "rational" soul, "with which we contemplate things that are variable."[20] Jones translates in full: "the soulo hath to parte; on hath reason the other not. The part which reason divided into too parte. the first considers the first enti or principols. the second considers thos things of which may be in more than one way (or contingent) [added subsequently]." Aristotle further explains in chapter four that reason and variation (what might be called "invention") are essential to artistic production—or as Jones translates, "Art is the Habit to do a thing with right reason." Architecture is the only art that Aristotle lists as an example here. Jones notes in Segni's commentary that art consists "of generation invention & contemplation"—or in other words, to use a more familiar Jonesian phrase and one that could well be used to sum up Aristotle's definition of art, of "variation with reason."[21] For in architecture, "on must first designe ye Ground . . . and on that, varry yt, addorne yt. Compose yt"—with, of course, "decorum."

The influence of Jones's understanding of the relationship between antique moral philosophy and architectural Decorum extended, as we might expect of a student of Vitruvius, beyond theoretical deliberations to the practice of architecture and use of ornament. As we shall now see with the Banqueting House, through applying his study of Aristotle's *Ethics* to building, Jones aimed to produce a well ordered architecture—ethically, socially and morally—in the perception of those who viewed it.

Part II: The Banqueting House ceiling as an essay in Aristotelian ethics

The Banqueting House was undoubtedly the most important and most expensive building project constructed during the reign of James I. As Per Palme has pointed out, it was begun in 1619 in anticipation of the celebration of the marriage alliance between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta.[22] The building was thus

18. Aristotle (see note 7), p. 177.

19. *La Republica di Platone,* trans. Pamphilo Fiorimbene (Venice, 1554), p. 170. See Plato, *The Republic,* trans. H. D. P. Lee (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1955), p. 219 [Jones's mark is around 443e, i.e., chapter xvii, undivided in his 1554 edition].

20. Aristotle (see note 7), p. 204.

21. See Higgott (see note 2).

22. P. Palme, *The Triumph of Peace* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1957).

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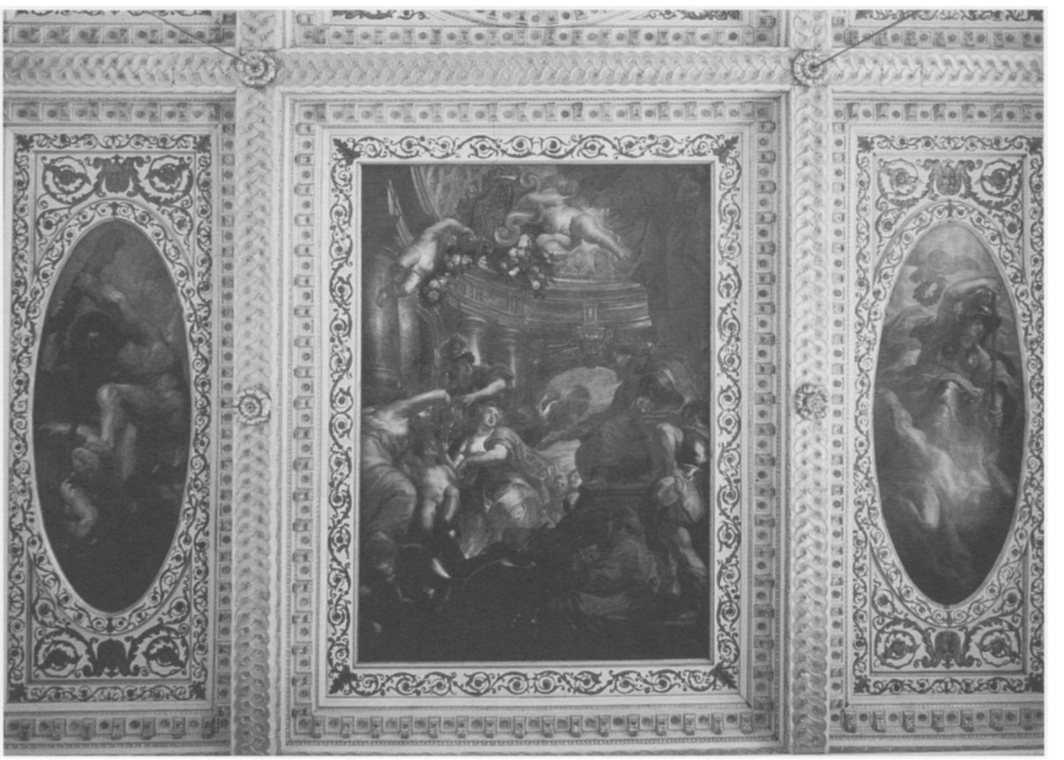

Figure 1. Rubens's ceiling panels to the Banqueting House, the northern triptych, "Britannia perfecting the union of England and Scotland." Crown © Reproduced by kind permission of Historic Royal Palaces. Photograph: Vaughan Hart and Richard Tucker.

conceived by James as a gesture of magnificence—in the true Aristotelian sense—built in part to celebrate the triumph of the king's "peace." For it can be seen as an appropriate (although unprecedented) display of wealth and royal status, which is what Aristotle's principle of *magnificentia* called for. The Banqueting House was conceived as a setting for pageantry and masques chiefly designed to glorify the sovereign and state. A consistent theme of these performances was the notion of mediation between extremes—a moral harmony that, as we have seen, was perfectly familiar to Jones. The ascendancy of virtue over vice, which animated the Stuart masque, was a subject we have seen he examined in some detail in the *Ethics.* Aristotelian ethical notions can be seen reflected in the whole ornamentation of the Banqueting House, but are nowhere more clearly expressed than in Rubens's ceiling panels depicting religious, social and moral harmony under the reign of James I (figs. 1–3). Palme has shown that the initial programme for Rubens's panels was worked out in the early 1620s.[23] The influences that informed it were therefore the same as those informing the building design, and at that time the dominant motif in court allegories was the Spanish Match. Significantly, the Spanish Crown had demanded to see, prior to the arrival of the Infanta, toleration of Roman Catholic worship in England. In the following analysis of the ceiling canvasses, we shall describe the allegorical motifs that have been identified by Roy Strong as relating to James's efforts to achieve a new Golden Age.[24] Our primary aim, however, will be to show that these carefully interwoven motifs are connected by a more basic affinity. This is the familiar link between Aristotelian

23. However the canvasses were not dispatched to Whitehall until 1635 (Palme, see note 22, pp. 77–80).

24. R. Strong, *Britannia Triumphans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

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Figure 2. Rubens's ceiling panels to the Banqueting House, the southern triptych, "The Benefits of the Government of James I." Crown © Reproduced by kind permission of Historic Royal Palaces. Photograph: Vaughan Hart and Richard Tucker.

ethics and Jones's notion of Decorum—a link that emphasized the mediation between extremes that James sought in his political endeavors, and hoped to celebrate with the construction of the Banqueting House.

The canvasses are arranged as three triptychs, each exploring a common theme.[25] We can only assume that Rubens must have compiled their programme with someone familiar with the mythology of the Stuart dynasty, and Palme and Strong believe this was Inigo Jones.[26] In the central panel of the northern triptych,[27] generally known as "Britannia perfecting the union of England and Scotland," James leans forward on his throne, wearing his robes of state (fig. 1). Opposite are two female figures, England and Scotland, between which is the infant Britannia awaiting a crown. The crown is in two parts, and a helmeted warrior, identified as Minerva-Pallas (representing the king's Wisdom), binds it into one. The restored crown allegorizes the main theme of the entire ceiling—the attainment of religious and political unity in order to strengthen the Protestant cause. This theme is reinforced by the setting for this momentous event, a circular temple with a Doric entablature and Tuscan columns.[28] For together with the Doric, the Tuscan had been portrayed as an emblem of national, necessarily Protestant, authority and it cannot have be coincidental that Jones identified the "solid" Tuscan columns at Stonehenge with the ancient Britain popularly cultivated by Church and

25. The following synopsis is based on Strong (see note 24) and Palme (see note 22), pp. 260–261.

26. Palme (see note 22), p. 287; Strong (see note 24), p. 14.

27. Following Julius Held's positioning of the canvasses according to a reconstruction of Rubens's preliminary sketch for the ceiling at Glynde. See J. Held, "Rubens's Glynde Sketch and the Installation of the Whitehall Ceiling," *Burlington Magazine* 112 (1970):274–281.

28. The temple has a Doric entablature, although the columns appear to be Tuscan.

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Figure 3. Rubens's ceiling panels to the Banqueting House, the central triptych, "The Apotheosis of James I." Crown © Reproduced by kind permission of Historic Royal Palaces. Photograph: Vaughan Hart and Richard Tucker.

Crown.[29] The two oval panels on each side represent the ideal of moral harmony. In the northeastern panel, Minerva-Pallas—secret Wisdom—is seen thrusting a lance into the neck of a naked woman below—representing Ignorance. In the corresponding panel on the opposite side, Hercules—identified with the heroic virtue of Courage—aims a blow to a woman who represents the moral weakness of Envy.[30] Thus, to either side of the Union scene there is a straightforward representation of conflict tempered—of virtue reigning supreme over vice.

In the central panel of the southern triptych—"The Benefits of the Government of James I"—the king is enthroned within a niche framed by twisted columns (fig. 2). James, cast as Solomon, gestures towards a group below, vanquishing them into an abyss while he shields two female figures representing Peace and Plenty as the benefits of government. To the left is Mercury, using his caduceus to subdue a hydra, whilst to the right Rebellion is repelled by Minerva-Pallas. Since many Protestants understood the hydra as representing the Pope, according to Strong "for the average seventeenth-century Protestant English visitor to Whitehall Palace," the evil figures "could only ever refer directly to two events, the Gowrie Plot of 1600 and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605."[31] As Strong notes, the words in the Prayer Book service for Gowrie Day paraphrase the scene: "Let them be driven backward, and put to rebuke, that wish

29. On John Shute's identification of the Tuscan with a Romano-British king see V. Hart, "From Virgin to Courtesan in Early English Vitruvian Books," in *Paper Palaces: the Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise,* ed. V. Hart (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 309. Jones used the Doric for James's catafalque in 1625.

30. R. Strong identifies Hercules with "Heroic Virtues" and entitles this "Hercules vanquishes Envy," (see note 24), p. 32.

31. Strong (see note 24), p. 36.

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any evill to his Royall person, or to our gracious Queene, or to any of their most worthy Progenie."[32] One of the most significant benefits of James's rule is, accordingly, the re-affirmation of Protestant supremacy, or, in the parlance of the Stuart court, "The Golden Age Restored." The Jones-Rubens ceiling celebrates, therefore, a Protestant monarchy, but it does so in a style of painting and architecture absolutely identified with the Catholic rulers and religion of mainland Europe. What Catholics could perceive as an expression of religious toleration, however, Protestants, especially Puritans, could identify as Popery. The intended Spanish Match had already added to public anxieties over the religious sympathies of the Stuart court. It is likely then that the veiled anti-Catholic references to the Gowrie and Gunpowder Plots in this panel were meant to counter such Protestant fears. James was wary of both Catholics and Puritans in equal measure, which is perhaps reflected by the attempt made in the canvass to appease and appeal to the views of both. The theme of regal virtues vanquishing vice is continued in the two flanking panels of this southern triptych. To the west a female figure, holding a bridle and representing Temperance, sits upon the hunched, naked body of Intemperance (Licentiousness). In the opposite panel another female figure, representing Liberality, holds a cornucopia from which a cascade of precious emblems falls into the shadows, where an old hag-like woman—Avarice—is crouching in despair.

The great oval in the middle of the ceiling—"The Apotheosis of James I"—is the climax of the entire composition, where James is depicted ascending heavenwards on the back of an imperial eagle and globe (fig. 3). His right hand holds the scepter, while his left grasps a female figure carried on a cloud. With a pair of scales in her right hand, she clearly represents Justice. Two figures, one Minerva-Phallas and the other a Victory grasping Mercury's caduceus, hold a crown of laurel over the king. This is the triumphant finale: Justice raising James unto the light of Heaven. On either side of this central apotheosis are two narrow panels filled by processions of putti. One depicts a chariot, into which Liberality's cornucopia is spilling, drawn by a bear and a lion: a putto is placing a bridle on the lion, reflecting the virtue of Temperance whose attribute was the bridle.[33] The second depicts a further triumphal chariot laden with corn and drawn by a wolf and ram, now at peace. The theme is an obvious one—the rewards of the restoration of the Golden Age, the benefits of the virtuous rule of James I.

Strong suggests that the "key source-book" for this iconography is James's exposition of monarchy by Divine Right, the *Basilikon Doron*, written for the edification of his son, Henry Prince of Wales: "the placing of the Virtues on the ceiling follows the book precisely. Justice, James I writes, is the greatest virtue. . . . The task of a Prince, according to the *Basilikon Doron*, is principally to "exercise true Wisedome" . . . To these James adds the virtues [Temperance and Liberality] personified in the two [southern] side panels, both of which are conceived by him in the Aristotelian sense as means between extremes."[34] Strong continues by quoting James who defined Temperance as the Queen of the virtues: "wise moderation, that first commaunding your selfe, shall as a Queene, commaund all the affections and passions of your minde, and as a Phisician, wisely mixe all your actions according thereto therefore, not onely in all the affections and passions, but even in your most virtuous actions, make ever moderation to be the chiefe ruler." The other virtue mentioned by James is Liberality: "Use trew Liberalite in rewarding the good, bestowing frankly your honour and weale: but with that proportionall discretion, that every man may be served according to his measure."[35] Since the interwoven motifs of all nine canvasses thus transcend James's political achievements to represent universal virtues, it is likely that both James and his artists were acknowledging their debt to a more ancient source than the *Basilikon Doron*. For James's description of Temperance as "wise moderation" is, as Strong mentions in passing, a classically Aristotelian interpretation of this virtue as a mean between extremes.[36] Aristotle advised in the *Ethics* that the just ruler must "observe the mean," be moderate in all

32. *A fourme of Prayer with Thankesgiving, to be used by all thr Kings Maiesties loving Subjects every yeere the fifth of August,* (London, 1603).

33. See Strong (see note 24), pp. 45, 49 (incorrectly citing the lion as an attribute of *Temperanza*).

34. Ibid., pp. 45–46.

35. *The Political Works of James I* (1616; republished 1918, ed. C. H. McIlwain), pp. 37, 42.

36. Indeed each of the virtues illustrated in the side panels is, in the Aristotelian sense, a mean between extremes. Temperance, for instance, is described in the *Ethics* as the mean virtue between Licentiousness and Insensibility.

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things, and avoid both excess and deficiency. Jones studied the *Ethics* around the same time that Rubens was working on the canvasses,[37] and used the phrase "architechtonicall Scheam" adapted from Aristotle to describe the geometry of Stonehenge surveyed during the time he was designing the Banqueting House.[38] The *Ethics* is, in the plainest sense, an exposition on the virtues and was evidently a primary source for the *Basilikon Doron* and therefore the ceiling. Let us examine the parallels.

In Book III Aristotle discusses the two chief moral virtues, namely Courage and Temperance. In Book IV he names the third moral virtue as Liberality. This is loosely described as the correct attitude towards wealth, and is defined as the mean between the extremes of Avarice and Meanness. The liberal man, according to Aristotle, will give money or bestow honour "to the right people, and the right amounts, and at the right time,"[39] which is loosely James's definition of this virtue quoted above. It is here that Aristotle defines "magnificence" as a special kind of Liberality, which we have seen Jones identify as a concept at the root of architectural Decorum. We recall that James saw the greatest virtue as Justice. This, as we also noted, is precisely Aristotle's definition in chapter one of Book V as he expresses in the proverb "in justice is every virtue comprehended"—or, as Jones translates it, "how justice commandos all the virtues & visos." Book VI deals with the "intellectual" virtues, amongst which Wisdom is described as "the most finished form of knowledge."[40] In view of Jones's likely contribution to the design of the canvasses, further confirmed here, it is significant that he assiduously annotated Books III, IV, V and VI of the *Ethics*, paying particular attention to the definitions of the virtues illustrated in the panels.[41] We have seen that Justice, the most complete virtue, holds center stage in the ceiling. Attending her in the corners are the four regal virtues, Wisdom and Courage, Liberality and Temperance—each overcoming their conflicting vices, Ignorance and Envy, Avarice and Licentiousness. These virtues are reinforced in the central narrow panels, with their related themes of Temperance and Liberality. It is as if the Jones-Rubens ceiling is intended as an (thus far unrecognized) essay in *Nicomachean Ethics*, constituting an almost literal translation of Aristotle's exposition on the virtues. Through Rubens, Jones can be seen to confirm the Aristotelian sources of what, judging from the Roman Sketchbook notes, can be judged as his Decorum-based design philosophy of "variation with reason." Here James's policy of peace is raised to the level of "state philosophy" and the *all'antica* style is offered as its architectural embodiment. Indeed, through their presence on the Banqueting House ceiling, the Orders themselves become part of the iconography of state-craft.

We have seen that Jones studied Decorum in both Plato and Aristotle, tracing the origins of what he termed "Civil Decorum" in the moral equilibrium of the Republic and the origins of architectural Decorum in the context-dependent mean called *magnificentia*. We have also seen that Jones's architecture could, to date, be said to reflect an analogous equilibrium, between external gravity and internal opulence—or, in the imagery of the ceiling canvasses, a mean form of Liberality (or *magnificentia*) balancing extreme qualities of (outer) Temperance on the one hand and (inner) Licentiousness on the other. A sense of balance also orders the overall composition of the Banqueting House ceiling, albeit on a single plain. Since Justice—pictured in the central canvass guiding James heavenwards with her scales carefully balanced in her right hand—is attended at each corner by the four Aristotelian virtues pictured vanquishing their conflicting vices, the entire ceiling is symmetrical about both axes, thematically *and* compositionally. The notion of balance that is fundamental to the philosophy allegorized in the paintings is therefore consistent in their composition.

Furthermore, this balance is also detectable in the architectural ornament. In the central panel of the southern triptych, we recall, James is cast as Solomon, the "just mediator," and enthroned within a niche framed by twisted columns, which are here clearly of the Ionic order. These are the twisting columns that, legend has it, formed the "Beautiful Gate" to Solomon's Temple. However, the surviving twisting columns in St.

37. It is estimated that Jones did not start annotating the *Ethics* until the mid to late 1620s (see J. Newman, "The Dating of Inigo Jones's Handwriting" (1980), typescript from "Essays Presented to Professor Peter Murray," lodged in Senate House Library, University of London).

38. I. Jones, *STONE-HENG Restored* (1655), p. 68, adapting Aristotle's "architettonica" (*Ethics*, Book I, chapter one, and Book VI, chapter seven (the latter reference underlined in Jones's copy [p. 188]). See V. Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 131.

39. Aristotle (see note 7), p. 143.

40. Book VI, chapter seven; Aristotle (see note 7), p. 211.

41. For example: "Fortitude a principal virtue or most manifest" (III.vi). "The temperate desire what as and when he ought, and so reason commands of disposition" (III.xii). "Intellective Science and wisdom mean not the prudence and they must noble the Art" (VI.ii).

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Peter's, and as interpreted in Bernini's famous Baldacchino, had Composite capitals, as Jones would have seen when visiting Rome. It is perhaps significant then that on the ceiling, like in Raphael's *Healing of the Lame Man* (acquired by Charles I), the capitals of the twisting columns emphasize the Ionic form. For let us recall what Vitruvius wrote of the Ionic order: "if Ionic temples are erected, account will be taken of their middle quality; because the determinate character of their temples will avoid the severe manner of the Doric and the softer manner of the Corinthian."[42] Thus as the Order of the "middle quality," reflecting an Aristotelian mean between extremes, the Ionic—at least in terms of religious iconography—is the only type that might be perceived as ecumenical and identified with James as the just mediator, Solomon. This iconography suggests that the ornamentation of the Banqueting House was itself viewed emblematically,[43] a possibility we shall now examine.

Part III: The ornamentation of the Banqueting House

The Banqueting House interior is quite resplendent (fig. 4). The elaborate carving of the enormous brackets projecting from the Ionic entablature to carry the gallery is certainly, in Jones's parlance, "Capresious."[44] Between the gilded Corinthian capitals of the pilasters above the gallery is an equally rich polychrome frieze of female heads and beribboned swags of fruit and flowers. Anyone familiar with Jones's Roman Sketchbook notes would be reminded of the architect's approval of rich interior decoration, and of "Immaginacy set free." However, contrary to these Roman Sketchbook principles, the exterior is ornamented with an even more decorative Order than the interior (fig. 5). The second story pilasters, in the same position on the interior and exterior, are Composite without and Corinthian within. The use of the Composite style was, as far as we know, his first on the external façade of any built project, for although Jones flirted with the feminine and more decorative Orders in earlier works, these schemes remained on paper. His Composite and Ionic pilasters, above a Rustic plinth, thus represents his most extensive range of ornamental types built externally to date (a range used only once again externally, on St. Paul's Cathedral). As such the Banqueting House elevation was the first for the court that did not conform to the dignified attitude of a man "in Publicke Places." Jones's "liberated imagination" is as evident in the elaborate festoons and, as if to emphasize the gender change, female masks adorning the public face as it is in the interior (fig. 6). Does Jones here transgress the underlying balance that had previously shaped his architecture?

Following Palme, we noted that the Banqueting House was intended as a public symbol of the new religious accord that would result from the Spanish Match. Palme's otherwise rigorous investigation overlooks the question as to whether the ornamentation can equally be seen to reflect these aspirations, instigating Jones's marked departure from the "masculine and unaffected" external style. Certainly decorative forms had been identified with Catholicism from the outset of the English Reformation,[45] and the puritanical condemnation of the more decorative Orders common in Protestant countries was mirrored in the first English architectural treatises by their identification of Corinthian and Composite with moral licentiousness. For Henry Wotton, for example, the Corinthian was "lasciviously decked like a Curtezane."[46] As Onians has suggested, in Italy by the middle of the sixteenth century it had become increasingly rare to use Corinthian or Composite columns on buildings other than Catholic churches.[47] This, we might assume, would not have escaped Jones's notice when visiting Rome. Thus we might reasonably suppose that, consistent with the Banqueting House's conception, Jones's novel use of the more decorative Orders on its façade reflected this shift in public toleration towards Catholics. Certainly Jones's "religious" reading of the Orders is evident in his

42. Book I chapter 2, from Vitruvius, *On Architecture,* trans. F. Granger (London: Heinemann, 1931), p. 29.

43. See V. Hart, "Heraldry and the Architectural Orders as Joint Emblems of British Chivalry," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*23(1993):52–66; Hart, "On Inigo Jones and the Stuart Legal Body," in *Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relationship of Body to Architecture,* ed. G. Dodds and R. Tavernor (forthcoming, 2001).

44. Roman Sketchbook note, Friday, 20 January 1615. The existing gallery is an early-nineteenth-century reconstruction.

45. See J. Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1600* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1973).

46. H. Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (1624), p. 37. See Hart (see note 29); Carpo (see note 14).

47. Onians (see note 3), pp. 310–312.

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Figure 4. The Banqueting House interior. Crown © Reproduced by kind permission of Historic Royal Palaces. Photograph: Vaughan Hart and Richard Tucker.

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Figure 5. The Banqueting House exterior. Photograph: Vaughan Hart and Richard Tucker.

annotations to Serlio (where he underlined Serlio's link between the Corinthian and the Virgin Mary),[48] and implicit in his treatise on Stonehenge and "ecumenical" ornamentation at St. Paul's.[49] But this does not account for why Jones chooses the Composite—rather than the Corinthian—and thereby inverted his decorative hierarchy concerning interior and exterior ornament.

A straightforward explanation for what at first appears to be Jones's rather peculiar inside-out arrangement is that he may simply have been following precedent. What, then, are the likely sources for the Banqueting House? The Vicentine palazzi of Palladio and Scamozzi—and Palladio's Porto Colleoni, Barbarano, Chiericati, and Valmarano in particular (Book II, chapter III)—are normally cited as Jones's influences.[50] However each of the front façades of these four palazzi marshals the Orders in strict progression. The Villa Chiericati, for instance, has Ionic above Doric, whilst the Villa Barbarano has Corinthian above Ionic. In fact all the villas with superimposed Orders illustrated by Palladio share this characteristic. Hence, it would seem that Jones's use of the "fifth" Order—the Composite—above the "third"—the Ionic—owes little to Palladio. Indeed, Jones's very use of the Composite is unusual, for although the Ionic is common to many of the villas illustrated by Palladio, only one of the private houses with superimposed Orders has Composite columns.[51] On the other hand the interior ornamentation of the

48. In Book IV fol.169*r*. On fol.139*r* Jones translates: "the Ancients dedicated This Doric Order To [the] most Roboustious good[s]. Christians to saints of the like nature."

49. See V. Hart, "Imperial Seat or Ecumenical Temple? On Inigo Jones's use of "Decorum" at St. Paul's Cathedral," *Architectura* 25 (1995):194–213.

50. See G. Toplis, "Neo-platonic Aspects of the Thought and Work of Inigo Jones" (M.A. thesis, Liverpool University, 1967), pp. 3–4. A. C. Fusco, *Inigo Jones Vitruvius Britannicus* (Rimini : Maggioli, 1985), p. 216.

51. The villa designed for Giovanni Battista Garzadori, Book II, chapter xvii. The ground storey columns are Corinthian (one rank below the upper columns).

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Banqueting House—which quite "correctly" has Corinthian above Ionic—can be seen to owe much to the influence of ancient Basilica, the Egyptian Hall from Vitruvius and the Temple of Jupiter from Palladio. But none of these precedents can account for Jones's external use of Composite pilasters above the Ionic central story and rustic base.

We have seen that Jones, following Aristotelian ethics, sought in his Roman Sketchbook note to balance the expression of the moral extremes of gravity and licentiousness, later reflected on the ceiling canvases. Of course this balance is just what we have at the Banqueting House, except that for the first time it is expressed on the façade. In the context of the dominant Puritanism of Reformation Britain, these extremes when used in court art would have readily expressed the virtues of Protestantism on the one hand and the vices of Catholicism on the other. If the honest "British" Rustic Tuscan expressed Protestant virtues—following Jones and English treatise writers of the period, and indeed the later ceiling canvases—then the licentious Composite—commonly termed the "Italic" or "Latin"[52]—would surely have invited the puritanical criticism of Catholic licentiousness. Within this hierarchy the "middle" Ionic Order can, as we noted, be seen as "neutral"—or, to be more precise, "ecumenical." From a more Catholic viewpoint—or at least from the viewpoint of courtiers sympathetic with the building's programme—Jones's Orders on the Banqueting House would therefore be seen as entirely consistent with the desire to create a symbol of Christian unity, or at least harmony. For here the "ecumenical" Ionic might be seen quite literally to unite the "Protestant" Rustic base with the "Catholic" or "Italic" attic. If the Orders are marshaled according to their ornament, then only the "fifth" Order, the Composite—with the "mean" Ionic between—can balance the Rustic-Tuscan basement level of the three story façade. It is as if Jones is mimicking the Ciceronian orator—with whom he closely identified—in articulating antithetical ornamental styles of the *all'antica* "language" in a rhetorical act of persuasion.[53]

Figure 6. The elaborate festoons and female masks on the exterior of the Banqueting House. Photograph: Vaughan Hart and Richard Tucker.

Jones's likely perception of the religiosity of the Orders combined with emerging ideals towards toleration offers, therefore, a plausible explanation for his use of the Composite Order—in the face of moral oppositions to it by English treatise writers—for the very first time on the façade of a court building. The ornamental oppositions previously defining interior and

52. S. Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, trans. V. Hart and P. Hicks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), Book IV, fol. 183*r* [p. 364]. Alberti also referred to the Composite as the "Italian," Book VII, chapter six (see note 11, p. 201).

53. In his Barbaro *Vitruvius* Jones notes in Book III chapter 1 "an excellent Comparison of Barbaro between the orator and the architect," p. 115, line 32. We know that Jones read Cicero's *De oratore*, for he notes in Book I, p. 22 of the *Vitruvius*: "for so much as belongs to Architecture of every science as I expressed above for this see Cissero li.3 fo.254 as I have noted in my notebook of Architecture." Onians has pointed out that Cicero's three types of oratory provided "a close model for Vitruvius's classification of Doric and Corinthian as extremes of "severity" and "softness," with Ionic embodying *mediocritas* in between" (see note 3), p. 38. On the rhetorical nature of the Orders, seen as forms of emblematics and heraldry, see for example Hart (see note 43, "Heraldry").

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exterior of Jones's buildings—irrespective of their functions and (royal) patronage—become, in a more tolerant climate, freely expressed by him on a single external plain. As such for the first time he openly explores the full expressive and decorous range of the *all'antica* style. From a purely Aristotelian point of view, the continuation of the "masculine and unaffected" style—which he was obviously still free to follow—for the Banqueting House façade would surely have failed to express the qualities of *magnificentia* and Vitruvian Decorum appropriate to such a building and its symbolic purpose. Indeed as Serlio explains in Book IV, the Romans composed the Composite from a combination of the feminine Ionic and Corinthian "perhaps because they were unable to outdo the creations of the Greeks," adding that "they used it more for triumphal arches than for any other thing. And they were absolutely right to do this, because since they had triumphed over all those countries from which these works originated, they were quite at liberty as their masters to combine them."[54] The Banqueting House, as a symbol of James's "Triumph of peace," might therefore be crowned externally by no more fitting Order than that of the triumphal Composite.[55] Finally, we have still not offered an explanation as to why Jones adopted Corinthian-style pilasters for the internal second story. The floor of the Banqueting Hall is, of course, at *piano nobile* level, above the basement expressed on the façade. As a result, only two Orders of pilasters are visible inside the hall, and therefore the necessity for visual balance is negated. Any two Orders could be used in sequence. In line with what was the most likely precedent for Jones's interior—the Egyptian hall—he superimposed the Corinthian above the Ionic. In doing so he made the external use of Composite capitals all the more remarkable.

Conclusion: the licentious and the grotesque

In recommending in his Roman Sketchbook that "in Architecture on must Studdy the Parts . . . and then addorne them,"[56] Jones goes on to list a number of the very ornaments that he combined to form the Composite frieze at the top of the Banqueting House façade. The list includes ornaments that we might have expected Jones to consider as amongst the most "capricious" forms—namely "festoni," "maskquati," "folliami," "scroules," "balustri," and swags of fruits. These were missing from Jones's first scheme for the Banqueting House but are pencilled-in on the second (figs. 7–8).[57] We can only speculate as to whether their addition to the final design was intended to accentuate the visual impact of the second-story pilasters, but we cannot deny that their presence focuses the attention of the observer upon the Composite capitals. Of all the treatises that Jones studied, Giovanni Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'Arte, delle Pittura, Scultura, et Architettura,* (1584) gave the most precise rules for ornamenting the friezes of the five Orders. He recommended that the figures in the frieze for the Composite should follow the character of the Order—that is be "composite" in character, like sirens, chimeras, harpies or sphinxes.[58] After listing his inventory of *all'antica* decoration in the Roman Sketchbook, Jones added that "thes composed ornaments the wch Proceed out of ye aboundance of dessigners and wear brought in by Michill Angell and his followers in my oppignion do not well in sollid Architecture and ye fascatia of houses, but in gardens loggis stucco or ornaments of chimnies peeces or in the inner parts of houses."[59] The qualified tolerance of what he called "composed ornaments" places Jones, in John Peacock's opinion, in the tradition that viewed grotesques "as paradigmatic of all ornament, rather than among those Vitruvian purists who dismissed them as perverse and eccentric."[60] The conflict of viewpoints that Peacock draws attention to sets the canonic Vitruvian

54. Serlio (see note 52), Book IV, fol. 183*r* (p. 364).

55. Paul van Somer portrayed the King standing in front of the Banqueting House around 1620, imagined as complete although still under construction, together with the inscription "Dieu et mon droit." Noteworthy are the swags, festoons, and female masks of Jones's Composite Order. Somer presents the building as part of a metaphor, not only of Divine Right, but also of James's cultivation of Christian accord. See O. Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: Phaidon Press, 1963), vol. 1, p. 81, no. 104 (see pl. 45).

56. Roman Sketchbook note, 19 January 1615. See J. Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 53

57. See J. Harris and G. Higgott, *Inigo Jones, Complete Architectural Drawings* (London: P. Wilson for A. Zwemmer; New York: The Drawing Center, 1989), cat. nos. 33 and 34.

58. From Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti,* ed. R. P. Ciardi (Florence: Marchi & Bertolli, 1973–1974), vol. 2, p. 363.

59. Roman Sketchbook note, Friday, 20 January 1615.

60. Peacock (see note 56), p. 249.

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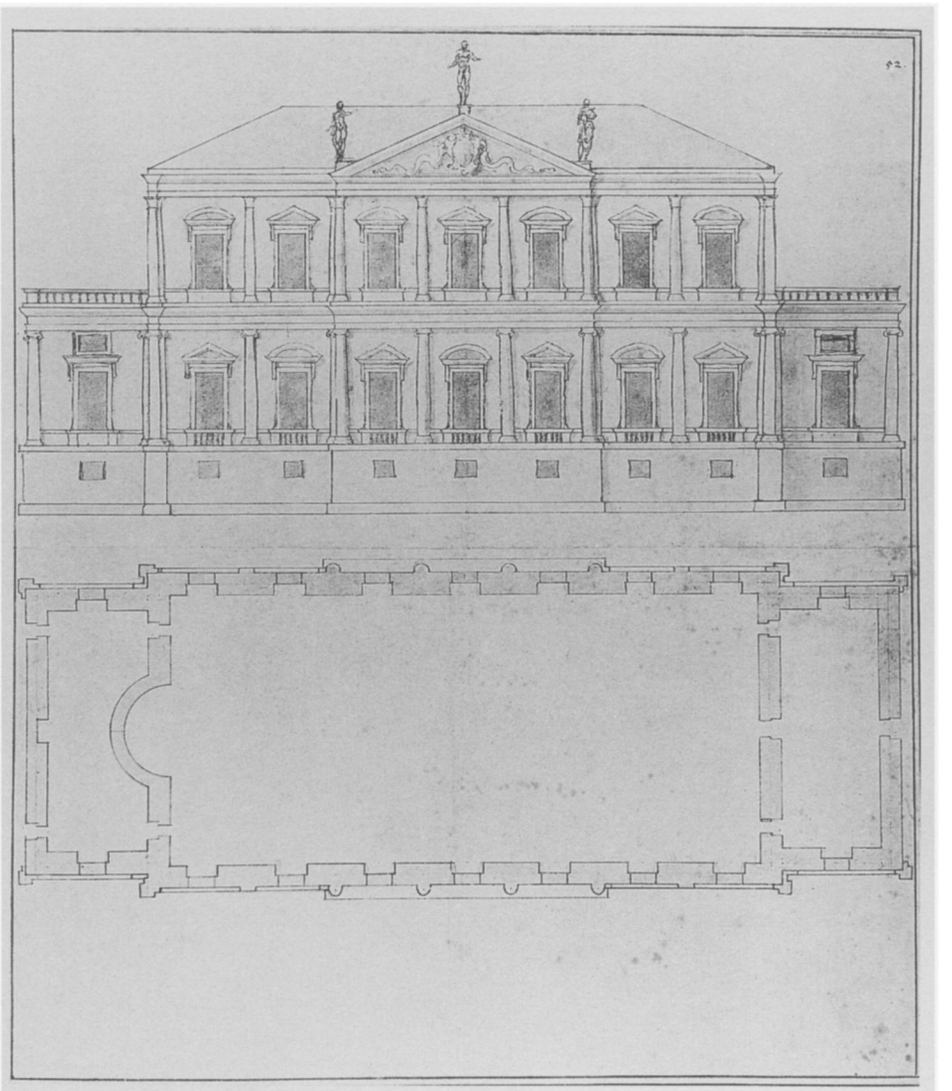

Figure 7. Jones's first scheme for the Banqueting House, 1619. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of the Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

doctrine of ornament—which rejects the grotesque as licentious—against the neo-antique revival of *grottesche* by the school of Raphael. Surely, however, Jones occupies neither camp. For he neither wholly dismisses nor unequivocally allows the use of the grotesque, or "composed ornament," but rather accepts its licentiousness and restricts its use in these early notes to the private confines of the interior of buildings: "so in architecture ye outward ornaments oft to be solid, . . . Whear within the Cimeras yoused by the ansients . . . are most commendable."[61] Although at Whitehall Jones

61. Note dated 20 January. Ben Jonson referred to "*Chimaera's*, by the vulgar unaptly called *Grottesque*," and Thomas Marshall recorded Jones's reference to Giovanni da Udine's "excellt in grotescs, wch the ancients called Chimaraes" (*Ben Jonson, Works*, ed. C. H. Herford and P. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–1952), vol. 8, p. 611; Marshall, *Discoveries*, lines 1568–1569; see J. Wood, "Inigo Jones, Italian Art, and the Practice of Drawing," *Art Bulletin* 74 (1992):269).

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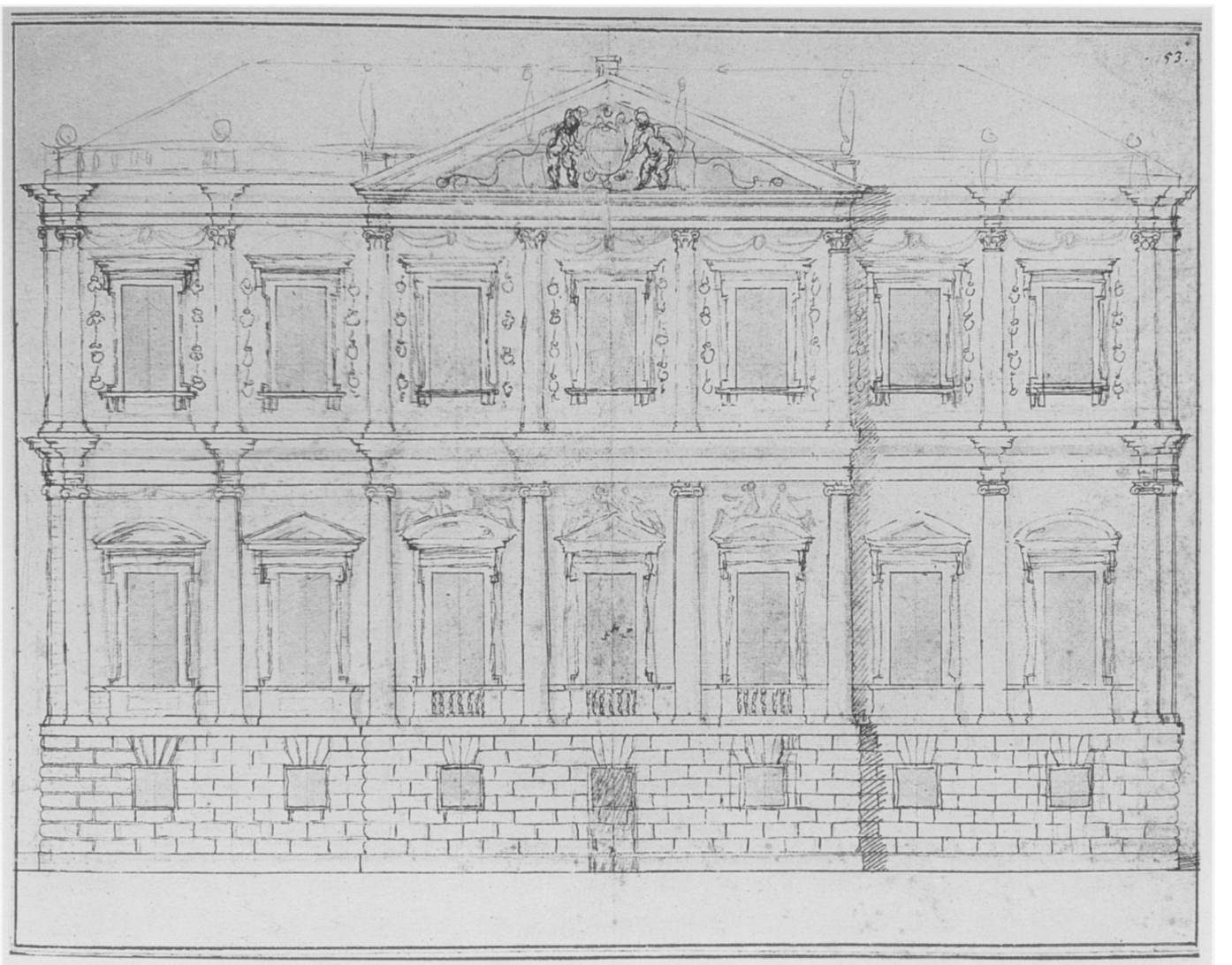

Figure 8. Jones's second scheme for the Banqueting House, 1619. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of the Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees.

resists placing "Cimeras" or the heads of beasts within his Composite entablature, the female masks that are used—with their curious facial expressions—belong firmly to the tradition of the grotesque.[62] As Jones's studies would have shown him, Lomazzo had recommended such decorative friezes in order to encourage the Mannerists of Rome. We noted that English Puritans associated the Catholic faith with

62. A possible source for the female masks is the fragment of temple frieze that Jones discovered among the Arundel Marbles. Interestingly, Jones paraphrases almost exactly Vitruvius on Decorum when noting the origin of the frieze in Book IV, fol. 14 of his Palladio: "which I thinke was of the tempell of Minerva at Smirna by reason of the gorgons heades in the mettopes of [the] freese betwene the Cartozzi which are in the stead of Trigliffios a rare invention and to bee imitated sheauing how the Ansientes varied and composed ther oders according to the nateurres of the gods to whome the Tempels weare dedicated."

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superfluity and licentiousness, qualities which the "capricious" ornaments of the Counter-Reformation might be seen to have expressed. Although Jones's masks are appropriate enough for a masquing hall, especially those internally, his use of this Composite entablature externally clearly breaks his own early doctrine. This, combined with the fact that Jones had never before used grotesques externally, makes his garlanded masks on the façade all the more noteworthy as a further aspect of his change in style—a change instigated, as we have suggested, by the need to acknowledge Catholic tastes and influences. His proposed use of the Jesuit IHS sunburst on an early façade for old St. Paul's, of around this time, probably arose from the same need.[63]

Thus the shift in politico-religious attitudes at court might have moved the ornamental boundaries, as it were, of the Aristotelian "mean" in favor of more opulent display—or, to paraphrase Jones, towards the "feminine and affected" Orders. Prior to the Banqueting House, the mean was closer to the Tuscan than the Composite, and this dictated the use externally of the "masculine and unaffected" Orders that Jones had adopted in all built works to date. Shortly after the Banqueting House and the failure of the Spanish Match, Jones returned to this "masculine" style for court buildings up until his Corinthian portico to old St. Paul's, built under the influence of High Church Laudianism.[64] During this time he used the Corinthian Order externally only once, on the east (private) window of the otherwise austere Catholic Chapel at St. James's Palace (1623), a building that was also associated with the Infanta. Together with other Catholic iconography, the Composite may, equally, have been used on external details of the private Catholic chapel at Somerset House (now demolished).[65] Significantly for this argument, the popular identification of Jones's *all'antica* architecture—and the decorative Orders in particular—with Popery was made all too clear when Puritans disfigured the Cathedral's Corinthian columns together with other High Church decoration during the Civil War.[66] Thus the contradiction between Jones's apparent theoretical disapproval of capricious ornament externally, and his actual use of that ornament can be explained, true to the principle of Decorum, by circumstance or "varying with reason."

One final observation can be made concerning the masks, with reference to the use of "capricious" ornament elsewhere at this time. In 1613, not long before Jones recorded his thoughts on the use of such ornament in the Roman Sketchbook, George Chapman produced the *Memorable Masque.* This was also conceived in celebration of a Royal wedding, in this case of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine. Chapman was a friend of Jones—who designed the masque—and his detailed description of its scenery within the masque text can, as Peacock points out, only have been composed in close collaboration with the architect.[67] The masquers, according to Chapman, rode in procession from Whitehall. First came "two cars triumphal, adorned with great mask-heads, festoons, scrolls, and antic leaves, every part enriched with silver and gold. The last chariot, which was most of all adorned, had his whole frame filled with molded work, mixed all with paintings and glittering scarfings of silver, over which was cast a canopy of gold borne up with antic figures, and all composed *à la grotesca.* Before this, in the seat of it as the charioteer, was advanced a strange person, and as strangely habited, half French, half Swiss, his name Capriccio."[68] The key to Capriccio's character, as Peacock argues, is given by one of his lines: "A man must be a second Proteus, and turn himself into all shapes."[69] Cappriccio therefore personifies the idea of change or metamorphosis—an idea symbolized by the grotesque ornament on his chariot, and by his "dual" national dress. Could it be that in using capricious—or even Cappriccio's—ornament on the Banqueting House façade, Jones was also intending to represent change—a new ornament for a new era? Surely this would have been all too apparent to the learned courtiers, students of Aristotle and Vitruvius such as Ben Jonson, who attended Jones's masques at the Banqueting House—and who could not have failed to see in his novel building a balanced expression of the new mood of religious toleration.

63. The Puritan William Prynne recognized the IHS monogram as, "but an undoubted Badge, and Character of a *Popish,* and *Jesuiticall* Booke; of an *Idolatrous* and *Romish Devotion,*" in W. A. Prynne, *Briefe Survay and Censure of Mr Cozens His Couzening Devotions* (1628), p. 4. On this early scheme see Hart (see note 49), p. 203.

64. See Hart (see note 49).

65. See Harris and Higgott (see note 57), cat. nos. 60, 61.

66. W. Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London, 1716), pp. 115, 148. See Hart (see note 49), p. 211.

67. Peacock (see note 56), p. 228.

68. *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court,* ed. S. Orgel and R. Strong (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1973), vol. 1, p. 256, lines 62–67,

69. Ibid., p. 258 ,lines 260–261.

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