TEMPORÁNEA

Revista de Historia de la Arquitectura

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Se aborda la investigación en Historia de la Arquitectura desde cualquier disciplina, período cronológico y ámbito geográfico, y promueve la diversidad y complejidad de la Historia como valores irrenunciables. Junto con esta aproximación transversal y plural, esta publicación periódica defiende el carácter multiescalar de la arquitectura abarcando la historia del objeto construido, la ciudad y el territorio.

Se trata de una revista científica del sello Editorial de la Universidad de Sevilla EUS, que junto al equipo editorial de *TEMPORÁNEA. Revista de Historia de la Arquitectura* velará por la calidad, la transparencia y el rigor de la publicación. La revista va dirigida preferentemente a la comunidad científica y universitaria dedicada a la investigación en Historia de la Arquitectura y tendrá una periodicidad anual.

Políticas de sección

a**temporánea** se trata de una sección principal que aparecerá en todos los números. Dicha sección se compone de artículos de libre temática acordes con el perfil de la revista.

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ÍNDICE

a**temporánea**

con**temporánea**

Daniel Sik

Daniel Sik is a doctoral researcher within UCLouvain (Belgium). His research is funded by the Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique (FNRS). His research mainly investigates the relationship between moral discourse and domestic architecture in 17th Century England. Daniel completed his Masters of Architectural studies in the University of Auckland. He has worked as an architectural designer alongside various teaching roles at the National institute for Creative Arts and Industries (NICAI).

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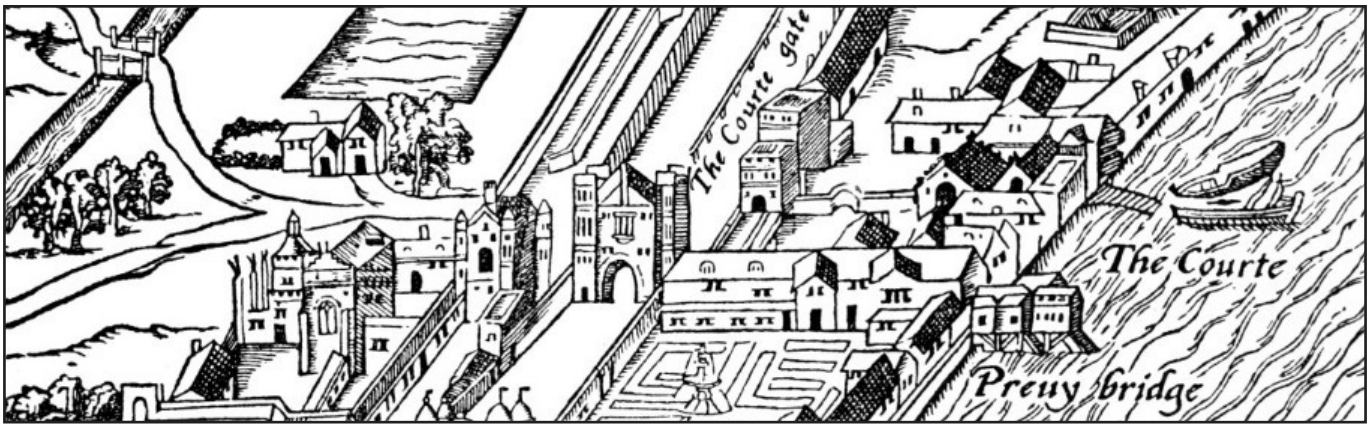

Superficial, Ambitious, and Un-English: Characterising Architectural Aficionados in Early Stuart Dialogues

Superficiales, ambiciosos y poco ingleses: caracterización de los aficionados a la arquitectura en los diálogos de los primeros Estuardo

Daniel Sik
Université catholique de Louvain

Abstract:

This article identifies a recurring character archetype in early Stuart dialogic writing, the *architectural aficionado*, within wider debates about public engagement with architecture in seventeenth-century England. Building on scholarship that has traced the rise of non-professional observers of the built environment, it argues that dialogic texts offer something those sources do not: they show how less-enthusiastic contemporaries received such enthusiasm. In plays and dialogues ranging from Norden's *Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607) through Benvenuto Italiano's *The Passenger* (1612) to Caroline comedies set in Covent Garden, characters who delight in 'new erections,' orderly rows, and Italianate importations are placed opposite less-enthusiastic or more conservative speakers. Read together, these portrayals amount to a polemic against increased architectural appreciation, launched on three related grounds. Primarily, the aficionado is stereotyped as *superficial*, content with façades, lengthened fronts, and ocular pleasure. Secondly, the aficionado is *ambitious*, using architectural talk to align with projecting, social ascent, and the tastes of 'Gentry and Nobility.' Thirdly, the aficionado is *un-English*, favouring foreign models that threaten an imagined Protestant and domestic architectural vernacular. Whether or not such characters mirror historical individuals, their repetition records real anxieties about new tastes, new titles, and new buildings, and shows that vocal admiration of architecture in early Stuart England was not an action without a reaction.

Key Words: England; Perception; Criticism; Theory.

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Resumen:

Este artículo identifica un arquetipo de personaje recurrente en la escritura dialogada del primer periodo Estuardo, el aficionado a la arquitectura, dentro de los debates más amplios sobre la participación del público en la arquitectura en la Inglaterra del siglo XVII. Partiendo de los estudios que han rastreado el auge de los observadores no profesionales del entorno construido, sostiene que los textos dialogados ofrecen algo que esas fuentes no ofrecen: muestran cómo los contemporáneos menos entusiastas recibían dicho entusiasmo. En obras teatrales y diálogos que van desde el *Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607) de Norden y *The Passenger* (1612) de Benvenuto Italiano hasta las comedias carolinas ambientadas en Covent Garden, se colocan a personajes que se deleitan en las «nuevas erecciones», las hileras ordenadas y las importaciones italianizantes frente a interlocutores menos entusiastas o más conservadores. Leídas en conjunto, estas representaciones constituyen una polémica contra la creciente apreciación arquitectónica, articulada en tres argumentos relacionados. En primer lugar, el aficionado es estereotipado como superficial, satisfecho con fachadas, frentes alargados y placer ocular. En segundo lugar, el aficionado es ambicioso, y emplea el discurso arquitectónico para alinearse con los proyectistas, el ascenso social y los gustos de la «nobleza y caballería». En tercer lugar, el aficionado es poco inglés, pues favorece modelos extranjeros que amenazan un imaginado vernáculo arquitectónico protestante y doméstico. Tanto si estos personajes reflejan o no individuos históricos, su reiteración registra inquietudes reales sobre nuevos gustos, nuevos títulos y edificios, y muestra que la admiración vocal por la arquitectura en la Inglaterra estuarda temprana no fue una acción sin reacción.

Palabras clave: Inglaterra; Percepción; Crítica; Teoría.

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Much scholarly effort has been devoted to the emergence of the «gentleman architect» over the seventeenth century. For instance, the 1993 Georgian Group Symposium gathered some of the most prominent names in early modern English architectural history to discuss «The Role of the Amateur Architect». During this symposium, Maurice Howard discussed the prominence of the patron-builder as it arose over the sixteenth century, and Giles Worsley silhouettes a group of non-professional gentlemen who dominated English architecture after the restoration[1]. Of course, such a historiography maps a direct trajectory towards the emergence of the gentleman-professional, who pursued Architecture (writ large) as a full-time career: Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) being the foremost exemplar.

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, more historiographical effort has been devoted to arguing that the increased public engagement with architecture in England was not confined to gentlemen-architects. A handful of excellent scholarly works come to mind: for instance, London is described through the eyes of its citizens in the volume edited by Julia F. Merritt titled: *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City 1598-1720* (2001), and the architectural musings of various English diarists are examined in Anne Hultzsch's *Architecture, Travellers and Writers: Constructing Histories of Perception 1640-1950* (2014)[2]. Indeed, such scholarship is generally drawn to a handful of well-known sources. Antiquarians such as John Stow and William Harrison evidently spent much time looking at and thinking about buildings, and diarists such as John Eveyln, Henry Slingsby, and Thomas Coryat were diligent in recording their own opinionated experiences of architecture[3]. Such figures cannot properly be grouped under the category of «gentlemen-architects», as they sometimes did not build, and sometimes were not gentlemen. Rather, they can be taken as indicating a broader trend towards architectural engagement, evidenced in the way they looked at buildings, thought of buildings, and spoke about buildings.

However, while primary sources such as personal correspondence, diaries, and antiquarian accounts can be taken to indicate this increased public engagement with building; what such sources exclude is how architectural enthusiasm itself was perceived by English society more broadly. How did contemporaries regard the increased tendency towards looking

1 Georgian Group. *The Role of the Amateur Architect*. Georgian Group Symposium, 1993.

2 MERRITT, Julia F. *Imagining early modern London: perceptions and portrayals of the city from Stow to Strype, 1598 - 1720*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001; HULTZSCH, Anne. *Architecture, travellers and writers: constructing histories of perception 1640-1950*. London: Legenda, 2014.

3 EVELYN, John. *The diary of John Evelyn*. BRAY, William (ed.). London: M. Walter Dunne, 1901 [1640-1706]; SLINGSBY, Sir Henry. *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, of Scriven, Bart*. PARSONS, Daniel (ed.). London: Longman et al., 1836 [1638–1648]; CORYATE, Thomas. *Coryat's Crudities*. London: W. Cater, 1776 [1611]; STOW, John. *The survey of London*. London: Nicholas Bourn, 1633; HARRISON, William. *A Description of England, extract from the Holinshed Chronicles*. London: Walter Scott, 1577.

upon, and commenting on, architecture? One textual type offers a means to fill this historiographical blind spot: the dialogue. In placing architectural enthusiasts in dialogue with others, dialogic texts offer clues as to how an interest in architecture was responded to by less-enthusiastic contemporaries. Architectural dialogues were not unique to seventeenth century England –by then, architecture had already been discussed in numerous dialogues–. For instance, Leon Battista Alberti's *Profugiorum ab ærumna* (15th Century) follows a conversation between a certain Agnolo and Nicolla. The two men start at the Duomo and walk around the city of Florence, with their discussion moving to architecture in Book III[4]. The following century, Diego de Sagredo published his architectural treatise *Medidas del Romano* (1526) in the form of a dialogue between a certain Tampeso and Leon Picard[5]. The increasing interest in architectural topography and place in the dramatic works of the Early Stuart period has already been noted by literary scholars such as Mimi Yiu and P.W. Miller in their work on Caroline topographical comedy[6]. However, while these plays and the dialogues within do indeed engage with London's changing built environment, they also have a hitherto unexplored metapotential as records of the public engagement with architectural engagement itself. In other words, the dialogic form of the play, as well as other dialogic genres, offers an insight into how architectural appreciation itself was characterised, and how broader society engaged with these characters.

More a literary form than a self-contained genre, the dialogue has been described as «one of the most prevalent forms of writing in the European Renaissance»[7]. Often either didactic or dramatic; dialogues discussing architecture can be found in phrasebooks, building manuals, moral treatises, dramatic works, and the like. Often, dialogues allowed authors to present numerous points of view on a single matter, sometimes claiming to leave the burden of choice to the biases of the reader[8]. However, as observed in the research work of Jacob Halford concerning the English dialogue, there was rarely true parity between the interlocutors portrayed in early English dialogues. In numerous cases, Halford observes that there would be a figure who, (like the reader) needs to be instructed. In conversation with them would be a didactic figure: the voice of reason or

4 ALBERTI, Leon Battista. Profugiorum ab ærumnana Libri III. In: GRAYSON, Cecil (ed.). *Opere Volgari: Rime e Trattati morali*. Bari: Gius Laterza & figli, 1966. vol. 2, n.º 1, pp. 159-182.

5 SAGREDO, Diego de. *Medidas del romano neccessarias a los oficiales que quieren seguir las formaciones de las basas, columnas, capiteles y otras pieças de los edificios antiguos*. Toledo: en casa d[e] Remo[n] de petras, 1526.

6 YIU, Mimi. Facing Places in Richard Brome's «The Weeding of Covent Garden». In: *Early Theatre*. 2007, vol. 10, n.º 2, p. 149-158; MILLER, Paul W. The Historical Moment of Caroline Topographical Comedy. In: *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*. University of Texas Press. 1990, vol. 32, n.º 3, pp. 345-374.

7 HEITSCH, Dorothy; VALLEE, Jean-Francois. *Printed voices : the Renaissance culture of dialogue*. Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 2004, p. 1.

8 HALFORD, Jacob. *'Of Dialogue, that Great and Powerful Art': A study of the dialogue genre in seventeenth century England*. PhD Thesis. University of Warwick, 2016, p. 21.

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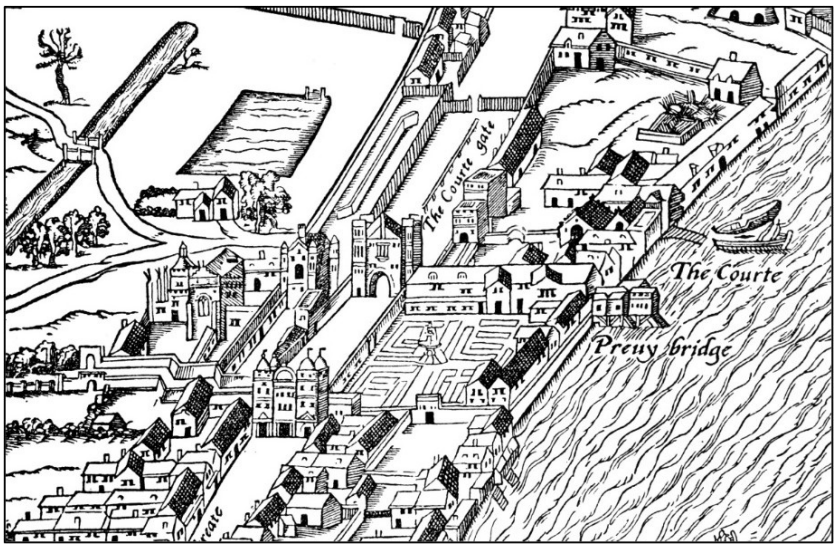

Figure 1. Ralph Agas. Detail of Whitehall from the map of London formally titled Civitas Londinum. London, c .1560. Woodcut print, 71 cm x 180 cm

morality, through which the authorial biases may be gleaned[9]. This establishment of roles could be both implicit and explicitly: for instance, John Reeve in *Joyful News from Heaven* (1641) claims that his use of the dialogic form served to capture the «stirs and discords there are at this time in our native Country England, betwixt Superiors and Inferiors»[10]. In short, it is through analysing the use of *characterisation*, that the didactic aims of dialogic texts can be deduced.

Therefore, what is notable about those characters who express architectural appreciation in Early Stuart dialogues, is the uncharitable light with which they are characterised. To substantiate this, this article will examine the character archetype of the *architectural aficionado*, a figure who emerged across numerous dialogic genres during the Early Stuart period. In the fictional character of the architectural aficionado, we perhaps glimpse the reflected image of real diarists, antiquarians, rulers, and the emerging «amateur architect». Of course, to describe these varied figures as «aficionados» is no less anachronistic than to describe them as «amateurs»; but unlike the real-life amateur architect, the aficionado was not intent on building, nor were aficionados primarily drawn from the ranks of gentlemen. Indeed, architectural aficionados came from a remarkably broad range of social classes, including bawdy women, city gossips, and conniving civil servants; all of whom were more passionate than knowledgeable. Frequently, they were citizens of London who were eager to discuss its built environment with a less-enthusiastic interlocutor, the dialogue sometimes taking place in the environs of the city itself. The texts which contribute to this character archetype can be understood as constituting a reaction against increased public interest in architecture, a polemic which was largely launched on three grounds. Firstly, the architectural aficionado was frequently stereotyped as *superficial,* someone who judged building merely by gazing upon it. Secondly, architectural aficionados were stereotyped as *ambitious*, with pretensions to the expensive taste and refinement which characterised the socially ascendant. Thirdly, architectural aficionados were stereotyped as *un-English,* with a taste for foreign curiosities which actively threatened a real or imagined English architectural vernacular. Together, these three unflattering characteristics show how increased architectural appreciation was sometimes met with resistance or even active scorn.

Superficial: The architectural aficionado and the building exterior

A central characteristic of the archetypical architectural aficionado is an ardent appreciation for building facades paired with an inability, or unwillingness, to look beyond the exterior. The notion was

9 Ivi, p. 19.
10 Ibidem; REEVE, John. *Joyful news from Heaven*. London: T.F. for Francis Cosines, 1658, p. 2.

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inevitably entangled with early modern ocularscepticism, which is described best in Stuart Clark's *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European culture* (2007), which draws its title from the Stuart minister George Hakewill's *The vanitie of the Eye* (1608). Indeed, this ocular anxiety was remarkably pronounced in Stuart England and was easily projected upon the superficial nature of the architectural aficionado. Their concern with external appearances was often placed in contrast with a more pragmatic concern with the interior or even seen as a rejection of abstract moral ideas. It seemed to brush against a sense of patriotic pragmatism the English held in their approach to building, especially domestic architecture. For instance, Francis Bacon begins his essay *Of Building* (1625) by insisting that «houses are built to live in, and not to look on. Therefore, let use be preferred before uniformity»[11]. This pragmatism was said to have been manifested in a certain exterior plainness, which evidenced the commodity of the interior, as was remarked by the antiquarian William Harrison. He writes in the *Description of England* (1577) that, unlike other nations, England's «greatest houses have outwardly been very simple and plain to sight, which inwardly have been able to receive a duke with his whole train»[12]. Below, three dialogues serve to illustrate this prevalent reaction against architectural superficiality, which will be discussed chronologically. The first is one from John Norden's *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607); the second is from Benvenuto Italiano's *The Passenger* (1612); and the third is from Thomas Nabbes' *Covent Garden* (1632).

John Norden's *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607) portrays a credulous farmer as taken by the appearance of his landlord's manor. The book contains a series of dialogue intended to explain to both landlords and tenants the necessity of the land-surveyor, a profession which Norden himself undertook. The dialogue in question begins when the surveyor stops the farmer to ask for directions to the fictional manor of Beauland. The farmer obliges and also reveals that he is acting as both a tenant and a bailiff for said manor[13]. To this, the surveyor queries:

> Surveyor:
>
> Is it a large Mannor?
>
> Baylie:
>
> It is spacious in circuit, and of great apparance of Tenants, full of diuers commodities, both vnder and aboue the earth, as also of fishing, and fowling, and beareth not the name for nought: for the Mannor is faire, and very commodious.

11 BACON, Francis. *Bacon's Essays, with annotations by Richard Whately*. HEARD, Franklin Fiske (ed.). Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1868 [1625], p. 437.
12 HARRISON, William. A Description of England. In: WITHINGTON, Lothrop (ed.). *The Holinshed Chronicles*. London: Walter Scott, 2010 [1577], p. 115.
13 NORDEN, John. *The Surueiors Dialogue Very Profitable for All Men to Pervse*. London: Thomas Snodham, 1618, p. 83. The farmer mentions «Beauland, a Mannor of his here at hand, whereof I am both tenant and Bayly», from this point onwards he is no longer referred to as «farmer» but as «baylie».

SIK, Daniel. Superficial, Ambitious, and Un-English: Characterising Architectural Aficionados in Early Stuart Dialogues. En: *TEMPORÁNEA. Revista de historia de la Arquitectura*. 2025, n.º 6, pp. 30-55. e-ISSN: 2659-8426. ISSN: 2695-7736. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2025.06.02

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> Surveyor:
>
> Be you then my guide: Is yonder it, with the faire house by the Woods side?
>
> Baylie:
>
> That is it, and a stately house it is indeede.
>
> Surveyor:
>
> It seemes to be a large and loftie cage, if the Bird be answerable.
>
> Baylie:
>
> What meane you by that?
>
> Surveyor:
>
> I meane, that a Titinus may harbour in a Peacockes cage: and yet the cage maketh her not a Peacocke, but will be a Titinus, notwithstanding the greatnes of the cage: So if this loftie Pyle bee not equalized by the estate and reuenewes of the builder, it is as if Paules steeple should serue Pancras Church for a Belfrey.
>
> Baylie:
>
> I thinke my Landlord sent you not insteade of surueying his Land, to deride his house[14].

The patronising tone taken by surveyor towards the farmer-bailiff is one which echoes a certain disdain for rural tenants which punctuates Norden's writing, as Mark Netzloff observes in the introduction to the critical edition (2010)[15]. Indeed, the Baylie is portrayed by Norden as noting only the fairness and stateliness of the manor house, whilst the canny surveyor stresses the proportionality of the house's exterior appearance with the state of the Lord who lived therein. The notion is one well-recited in Ciceronian literature; for instance Robert Whintinton's English translation of *De Officiis* (1534) notes that «dignyte must be set forthe with the house, and all the dignyte is not to be soughe of the house; nor the maister is not to be honoured for his house, but the house for the mayster»[16]. In his learnedness, the surveyor is portrayed as looking beyond exterior appearances; being concerned with the true value of the house and its master. On the other hand, the farmer-bailiff is taken by mere architecture; his defensive retort to the surveyor indicates that he may be too stubborn to be instructed.

In a similar way, the character of Mister Eutrapelus in the English-Italian bilingual phrasebook *The Passenger* (1612) shows an overmuch concern with the exterior appearances of buildings. The book was written by a naturalised Italian immigrant, possibly a protestant refugee, writing under the moniker Benvenuto Italiano. Mister Eutrapelus is depicted walking through London in search of something «rare and

14 Ivi, pp. 85-86.

15 NETZLOFF, Mark (ed.). *John Norden's The Surveyor's Dialogue*. London: Routledge, 2010.

16 CICERO, Marcus Tullius. *The Thre Bookes of Tyllyes Offyces Both in Latyne Tonge [et] in Englysshe*. WHINTINTON, Robert (trans.). London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1534, [unpaginated].

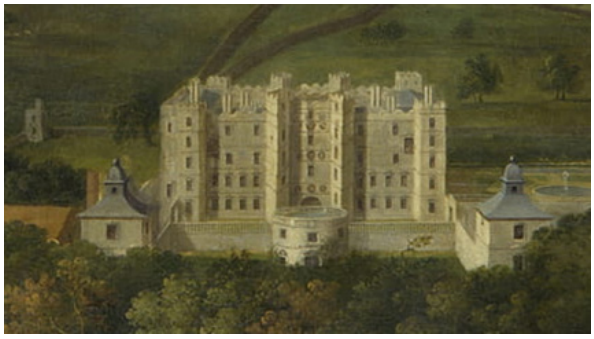

Figure 2. Richard Wilson. A view of Elizabethan Chatsworth. C. 1680. Oil on Canvas, 99,1 cm x 124,5 cm

magnificent», accompanied by his friend Alatheus. When Eutrapelus encounters a palace in London, he is quick to express disappointment, stating:

> Eutrapelus:
>
> the courtly palaces built with no great Architecture, can no wayes be very pleasing to their eyes that haue seene mighty buildings in other places, very rare and magnificent , built with all the state, splendor, arte, and order, possible, as farre as the minde of man can here below desire and wish.
>
> Alatheus:
>
> Obserue sir, it may so be that some Palace is not as you say, so faire to outward sight, as peraduenture the courtly Palace of London, but yet both the antiquitie therof, may answere this defect, and the number of chambers and roomes, by meanes whereof it is so much the more commodious, as also according to the common report, it being inwardly so well furnished with rare tapestries, and as it were with an infinite number of gold and siluer plate, and further set forth with whatsoeuer else belongs to decoration, that it giues place to no other. Moreouer, to what great vse is an outward beautifull prospectiue?
>
> Eutrapelus:
>
> A thing perfect must be perfect in euery circumstance: besides, the owners humour is herein satisfied, and other mens eyes fed, for the rest hee that is content may be said to inioy.
>
> Alatheus:
>
> But here is the point; wee must looke further into the matter, for the magnificence of a Court doth not onely consist in the outward pompe of Edifices, and other such like things, (euen as also Dukes, Princes and Kings were not created onely for pompe) but in order, policie, ciuilitie, customes, vertue, and in the administration of an vnspotted iustice, and balanced equitie, in euery thing: for so it will truely represent, and be a liuely draught and picture of the heauenly hierarchie[17].

Once again, the architectural aficionado stands to be corrected by his interlocutor. The language used by Eutrapelus is fundamentally ocularcentric, desiring that buildings be «pleasing to their eyes» and may see «other mens eyes fed». In response, Alatheus pitches this desire for a palace to be «faire to outward sight» against two things: firstly, the interior of the palace and how well it is furnished for lodging and eating; and secondly, the qualities and virtues of good governance. As such, the outward gaze

17 ITALIANO, Benvenuto. *The passenger*. London: Thomas Snodham for John Stepneth, 1612, pp. 470-471.

SIK, Daniel. Superficial, Ambitious, and Un-English: Characterising Architectural Aficionados in Early Stuart Dialogues. En: *TEMPORÁNEA. Revista de historia de la Arquitectura*. 2025, n.º 6, pp. 30-55. e-ISSN: 2659-8426. ISSN: 2695-7736. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2025.06.02

of the architectural aficionado is described as insufficient to penetrate the true nature of things; those things concealed within or abstracted beyond the formal. This dynamic between the eye and the intellect emerges throughout the dialogue between Eutrapelus and Alatheus. In a later passage, Alatheus is speaking in verse about the blindness of vanity, when he is interrupted by Eutrapelus seeing a London townhouse built of timber. The conversation moves to a comparison of architectural tastes between the two men. It becomes evident that the architectural aficionado Eutrapelus is enthralled by the modern classicising tendency, whilst Alatheus adopts a more conservative position. The passage reads:

> Alatheus:
>
> He's blinde that onely loues base worldly things: | For he that would his minde and soule retaine, | In the last day quiet and disburdened, | The fewer must follow, and not the vulgar vaine.
>
> Eutrapelus:
>
> But see here what a pretty house a Citizen hath built. [...] but where did you euer learne to build in woods?
>
> Alatheus:
>
> Why this is an ancient custome, and an olde custome is kept for a law.
>
> Eutrapelus:
>
> May you not perceiue it a little to smell, and to retaine a lustre of the fashion of that age? during which, men liuing amongst wilde beasts in the shady woods, they knew not what humane commercement, policie, nor any law was.
>
> Alatheus:
>
> You speake this of the golden age, wherein golde not yet raigning, man was not subiect to the greedy famine of deceit: know sir, that as rich men doe ouer all the world, so do they here likewise, this is made for their commodity and pleasure, & where profit ioynes with their ease then they spare neither cost nor labour, respecting no trauaile, to the end they may be accommodated in all things, as if they were here to liue for euer.
>
> Eutrapelus:
>
> I affirme the like: for I haue seene in diuers Prouinces of this noble Kingdome, Palaces built with no lesse pompe then Art, and passing ouer all others, euen now I call to minde, that the honourable and illustrious Baron Cavendish, which is seated on a reasonable lofty foundation, built of free marble stone, cut in square forme, and with excellent order, being raised with faire

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> Architecture, which is adorned with a faire and beautifull Frontispice[18].

The tastes of the architectural aficionado Eutrapelus are unmistakably progressive in their superficiality. He shows an active disdain for the traditional half-timbered houses which constituted the bulk of London's housing stock before the great fire, believing that they were old-fashioned in the face of humanity's modern progress. Alatheus retorts with a reference to the golden age of Ovid, suggesting a historical narrative of decay and corruption rather than one of modern progress. To him, London's traditional timber houses signified a nostalgic past of greater social harmony. As such, like many others, Alatheus suggests that the superfluities of modern architecture were signs of modern greed and luxury[19]. Perhaps obtusely, Eutrapelus continues to praise the house of Baron Cavendish, noting its «faire architecture» and «faire and beautifull Frontispice». The house Eutrapelus is referring to is most likely Chatsworth House, which was purchased in 1609 by the Baron Cavendish of Hardwick from his elder brother for a tidy £10 000[20]. Chatsworth does indeed conform with Eutrapelus' description; it certainly had a modern classicising disposition for the time of its construction. Being built wholly of Ashlar in a neat rectangular plan, it was symmetrical and rhythmic, having (in the words of Eutrapelus) «excellent order». From his language, it is clear that it is not any appearance, but external modernity which consistently catches the eye of the aficionado.

The superficiality of the aficionado's modern architectural tastes is explicitly mocked in Thomas Nabbes' *Covent Garden a pleasant comedie* (1632). The exchange takes place in the opening of the third scene, where the gentleman Artlove finds Mistress Tongall appreciating some houses in London's Covent Garden. The dialogue reads:

> Artlove:
>
> Mistresse Tongall, you are delighting your selfe with these new erections.
>
> Tongall:
>
> Faire erections are pleasing things.
>
> Artlove:
>
> Indeed they are faire ones, and their uniformity addes much to their beauty.
>
> Tongall:
>
> How like you the Balconee's? They set off a Ladies person well, when she presents her selfe to the view of gazing passengers.
>
> Artificiall fucations are not discern'd at distance[21].

18 Ivi, pp. 512-513.

19 THOMSON, David. *Renaissance Architecture : Critics, Patrons, Luxury*. Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1993; CONDELLO, Annette. *The architecture of luxury*. London; New York: Routledge, 2016.

20 LEVIN, Carole. *Cavendish, William, first earl of Devonshire (1551-1626)*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2004.

21 NABBES, Thomas. *Covent Garden a pleasant comedie*. London: Richard Oulton, 1638, pp. 6-7.

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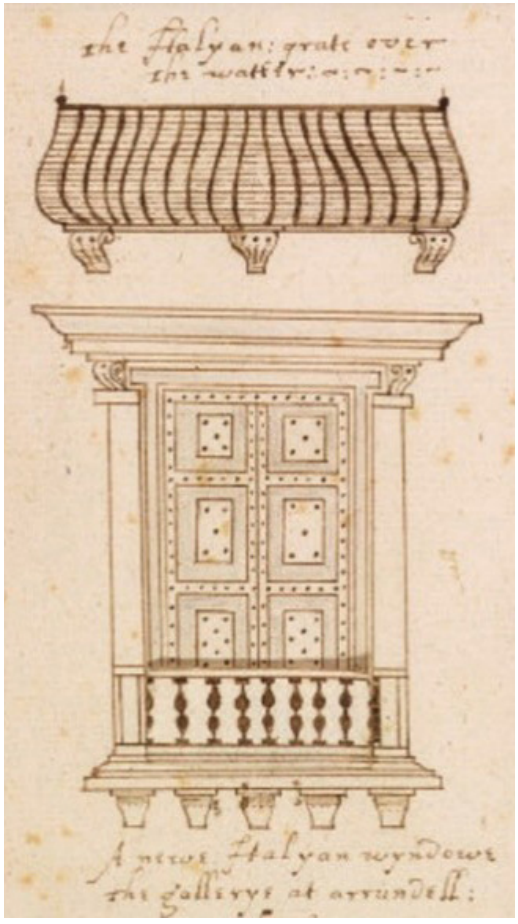

Figure 3. John Smythson. The Italyan rate over the watter & a new italyan windowe. London, 1614. Ink on paper

Both Artlove and Tongall engage in appreciating the newly-erected townhouses in Covent Garden, built in an orderly classicising style in accordance with Caroline building proclamations, and possibly built by the likes of Inigo Jones or Isaac de Caus[22]. Yet, it is Tongall's appreciation for architecture which seems to be openly mocked; «You are delighting yourself with these new erections», quips Artlove; a double-entendre intended to highlight the pornographic nature of Mistress Tongall's objectifying gaze[23]. Tongall does not deny the accusation, favourably comparing the decorated facade to a lady in heavy makeup («artificial fuctations») who «presents herself to the view of gazing passengers». The foremost decoration of the facade was a balcony, a recent Italian import, which was frequently understood as a place of sexual display and seduction[24]. Indeed, there is no shortage of Stuart texts which disparage the modern concern with architectural ornamentation, which doubtlessly tinted the characterization of the architectural aficionado[25]. As such, the gaze of the architectural aficionado is one which is stereotyped as sensual and lascivious; being primarily concerned with a superficial search for sensory pleasure.

22 STUART, Charles I. *A proclamation concerning new buildings, in and about the citie of London and against the diuiding of houses into seuerall dwellings, and receiuing and harbouring of inmates*. London : Robert Barker, 1630; DUGGAN, Dianne. 'London the Ring, Covent Garden the Jewell of That Ring': New Light on Covent Garden. In: *Architectural History*. 2000, vol. 43, p. 148.

23 ZUCKER, Adam. Laborless London: Comic Form and the Space of the Town in Caroline Covent Garden. In: *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. 2005, vol. 5, n.º 2, p. 104.

24 Ibidem.

25 GAINSFORD, Thomas. The Glory of England, or a True Description of Many Excellent Prerogatives and Remarkeable Blessings. London : Edward Griffin for Th: Norton, 1618, p. 225. CAREW, Thomas. To My Friend G.N., from Wrest. In: CAREW, Thomas. *Poems, with a maske*. London : for H.M., and are to be sold by J. Martin, 1651, [line 58] ; HALL, Joseph. *The Works of Joseph Hall, D.D., Successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich*. [s.l.]: Talboys, 1839, p. 258.

SIK, Daniel. Superficial, Ambitious, and Un-English: Characterising Architectural Aficionados in Early Stuart Dialogues. En: *TEMPORÁNEA. Revista de historia de la Arquitectura*. 2025, n.º 6, pp. 30-55. e-ISSN: 2659-8426. ISSN: 2695-7736. https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/TEMPORANEA.2025.06.02

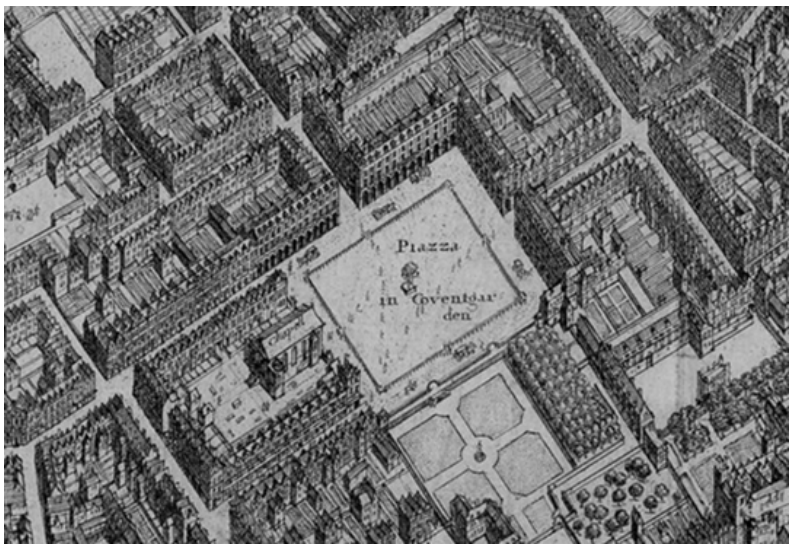

Figure 4. Wenceslaus Hollar. Detail of Covent Garden from a bird's-eye plan of London. London, 1660/6. Etching, 344 mm x 455 mm

Ambitious: Architectural appreciation and Social Climbing

The superficiality of the architectural aficionado was also mirrored in the way they performed and aspired towards higher social status. The association between architecture and ambition during the Stuart Period has already been well noted by Mark Girouard, who stated that «the typical figure of the age is not the country gentleman [...] but the lawyer on the make, the dangerous and magnificent courtier, on whom no man could rely». These ambitious figures did not build out of «a passion for architecture, but because they wished to demonstrate their wealth and their position»[26]. Early modern contemporaries were evidently not ignorant of this social function served by architecture. In dialogic texts, most especially dramatic works set in the environs of London, this tendency is typified in a network of ambitious behaviours broadly known as «projecting». The term was used as a triple-entendre to refer to the engagement in building projects, the alchemical projection towards gold, and self-projection upwards in society.[27] One of the earliest dramatic characterisations of such a «projector» is the character Merecraft from Ben Johnson's *The Devil is an Ass* (performed 1616), who plans to drain the fens in order to aspire towards wealth and status.[28]

Although the architectural aficionado does not engage in building, they too are consistently characterised with the same marks of social ambition. The same qualities can be observed in the architectural aficionados who have already been discussed. Mister Eutrapelus desires to be seen around the court; donning courtly airs and graces which prompt Alatheus to comment «I am afraid that you otherwhiles haue beene a Courtier». Eutrapelus responds: «In my youth I haue seene diuers and sundry Courts, and conuersed with Courtiers, but I my selfe was neuer Courtier»[29]. Alatheus admits that his dislike of the court springs from the «the enuie, and maleuolence of Courtiers,' who wished to flatter their way into power»[30]. In response, Eutrapelus notes that courtiers also engaged in the performance of virtue; their «liberality is a great ornament, and giues testimonie of a loftie and noble spirit: so in like manner magnificence, to keepe an honourable Table, to build, and vpon euery worthy occurrent to shew himselfe a wise, valiant, and iudicious souldier»[31]. In Eutrapelus' view, building, alongside numerous other performances of status, were valid forms of aspiration amongst the ruling

26 GIROUARD, Mark. *Life in the English country house: a social and architectural history*. New Haven :Yale Univ. Press, 1994, pp. 4-5.
27 FEINGOLD, Mordechai. Projectors and Learned Projects in Early Modern England. In: *The Seventeenth Century*. 2017, vol. 32, n.º 1, pp. 63–79.
28 JONSON, Ben. *The Devil is an Ass.* COOK, Albert S. (ed.). New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1905 [performed 1616; printed 1631], xxxvii. Albert S. Cook argues that Jonson's is probably the earliest dramatic representation of the projector. The draining of fens is later mixed with monumental building projects in the characterization of Banausia in: RANDOLPH, Thomas. *Poems with the Muses Looking-Glasse* [performed 1638].
29 BENVENUTO, Italiano. *The passenger*. Op. cit. (n. 17), p. 471.
30 Ivi, p. 473.
31 Ibidem.

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classes. Alatheus counteracts Eutrapelus' lofty tastes in stressing that the ruling classes were «were not created onely for pompe», but to ensure good governance[32]. The exchange is one which illustrates the social means by which architecture was entangled with political ambition. If buildings were to be seen as expressions of ambition, architectural aficionados like Eutrapelus seemed to openly condone it.

Likewise, in the character of mistress Tongall, architectural appreciation and social ambition is also consolidated. When her interlocutor Artlove reveals that he desires to be introduced to a certain Miss Dorothy, Tongall boasts of her ability to establish socially advantageous matches for women, stating: «And would you not use me! hath so long practise in match-making made me politicke to contrive, and my conversation with your selfe and the rest of the Wits made me complementall, and doe you thinke I cannot facilitate your entrance to Mistris Dorothy?»[33]. However, it is made immediately clear that her political contrivances are primarily directed towards her own advancement; as she schemes to marry her daughter Linny to the much wealthier Artlove[34].

Yet, the most explicitly ambitious architectural aficionado can be found in Richard Brome's *Covent Garden Weeded* (circa 1632), which, like the play by Thomas Nabbes, was also set in London's Covent Garden. The play opens with a dialogue between Rookesbill, a speculative developer who has built houses in Covent Garden, and Cockbrayne, an architectural aficionado and Justice of the Peace. As the two men stroll along a row of townhouses, Cockbrayne exclaims:

> Cockbrayne:
>
> I Marry Sir! This is something like! These appear like Buildings! Here's Architecture exprest indeed! It is a most sightly scituation, and fit for Gentry and Nobility.
>
> Rookesbill:
>
> When it is all finished, doubtlesse it will be handsome.
>
> Cockbrayne:
>
> It will be glorious: and yond magnificent Peece, the Piazzo, will excel that at Venice, by hearsay, (I ne're travell'd). A hearty blessing on their braines, honours, and wealths, that are Projectors, Furtherers, and Performers of such great works. And now I come to you Mr. Rookesbill: I like your Rowe of houses most incomparably. Your money never shone so on your Counting-boards, as in those Structures.

32 Ibidem.
33 NABBES, Thomas. *Covent Garden a pleasant comedie*. Op. cit. (n. 21), p. 7
34 Ibidem. «Mr. Art-love I like you so well, that (were she worthy) you should have my daughter Iynnye».

> Rookesbill:
>
> I have pil'd up a Leash of thousand pounds in walls and windows there.
>
> Cockbrayne:
>
> It will all come again with large encrease. [...] You cannot think how I am taken with that Rowe! How even and straight they are! [...]
>
> Rooksbill:
>
> I would a few more of the Worshipful hereabouts, (whether they be in Commission or not) were as well minded that way as you are Sir; we should then have all sweet and clean, and that quickly too.
>
> Cockbrayne:
>
> I have thought upon a way for't, Mr. Rooksbill: and I will pursue it, viz. to finde out all the enormities, yet be my selfe unspied: whereby I will tread out the spark of impiety, whilest it is yet a spark and not a flame; and break the egge of a mischief, whilest it is yet an egge and not a Cockatrice. Then doubt not of worthy tenants for your houses Mr. Rooksbill[35].

The two men are both invested in architecture, Rookesbill as a builder and Cockbrayne as an aficionado. Both men are also invested in different forms of ambition; Rookesbill aims towards a return on his investment through an increase in wealth, which Cockbrayne enthusiastically endorses. Cockbrayne's ambition is primarily social, he hopes that personally speeding the gentrification of Covent Garden as a Middlesex Justice of the Peace, will pave his way into the urban magistracy. Indeed, this character arc is established in this opening dialogue; Cockbrayne seems to believe that encouraging fine architecture will serve to attract upper classes. The language with which he endorses this architecture is unquestionably ocular; the houses «appear like buildings»; they are a «sightly situation» and «architecture expressed». In particular, he praises Rookesbill's houses for being «even and straight». In a similar vein, he promises Rookesbill that he will personally rid Covent Garden of unworshipful troublemakers; but the acts of bravado he undertakes throughout the play to do so are ultimately more demonstrative than effective. Indeed, it is Cockbayne's misguided ambition which drives most of the play's plot; like his superficial appreciation of architecture, he acts to be seen rather than for the actual good of the community. This is made clear later in the play, when a resident gentleman receives a flatulent letter from Cockbrayne, who professes to be acting «for the good of the republic». Scornfully, the gentleman comments «republic, repudding [..] he is ambitious to be called into authority by notice taken of some special service»[36].

35 BROME, Richard. Covent Garden weeded. In: BROME, Richard. *Five new playes*. London: A. Crook, 1652, p. 7.
36 Ivi, p. 77.

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Cockbrayne's architectural superficiality extends to the perception of authority which drives his ambition, hoping that ostentatious moral projects would earn him a place in the urban magistracy.

As such, the character trope of the architectural aficionado as it emerged in the early Stuart period emphasised certain connections between the superficial appreciation of architecture and a tendency towards social ambition. In such a view, architectural appreciation was not only pretentious in itself but was often accompanied by real pretensions to wealth and power. As such, the new architecture, new building, and new forms of social mobility, were all tinted by a reactionary suspicion. The newly built townhouses of Covent Garden so loved by Tongall and Cockbrayne, seemed to flatter Caroline architectural tastes like an ambitious courtier, promising wealth and power to a new class of investors and *novi homines,* and threatening to destabilise England's traditional social structure. It was the greedy gaze of the ambitious architectural aficionado which fuelled this economy of power, wherein buildings themselves were seen as fungible commodities to be traded or exchanged in the pursuit of status. The matter is best illustrated in Covent Garden, where London's nascent real estate market allows builders and Justices of the peace to aspire upwards; and gentleman rentiers to become answerable to speculative developers.

Un-English: The unpatriotic aficionado

A third, recurring critique in early Stuart dialogues is the portrayal of the architectural aficionado as un-English; an affectation resulting from foreign (predominantly Catholic) influence. There were, of course, numerous political reasons behind this social climate. During the Jacobean period, the Anglo-Spanish wars were well within living memory, and the gunpowder plot of 1605 had not improved Catholicism's public image. During the subsequent Caroline period, conspiracy theories began circulating concerning «popish plots», orchestrated by Catholic powers to influence England's domestic and foreign policy[37]. These biases were reflected in England's literary culture: the French, the Spanish, and (most predominantly) the Italians, were often stereotyped as those which prioritised sensory delight over virtue in dress, cookery, and architecture[38]. In reaction, the English derived pride from rejecting these sensory delights. Thomas Gainsford (d.1624) and George Whetstone (d.1587), both soldiers

37 HIBBARD, Caroline M. *Charles I and the popish plot*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.

38 LIEVSAY, John Leon. *The Elizabethan image of Italy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964. Although sometimes in referral to Jews and Turks, those cultures partial to the so-called idolatry of Roman Catholicism were most frequently implicated. To provide only a few other examples: LUPTON, Donald. *London and the countrey carbonadoed and quartred into seuerall characters*. London: Nicholas Okes, 1632, pp. 103-104. «Land-lords weare and wast their Tenants vppon their backes in French, or Spanish fashions». BURTON, Robert. *The anatomy of melancholy*. Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short, 1621, p. 523. What it is. With all the kindes, causes, symptomes, prognostickes, and seuerall cures of it: «men so vnspeakable in their lusts, vnnaturall in malice, such bloody designements, Italian Blaspheaming, Spanish renouncing, &c».

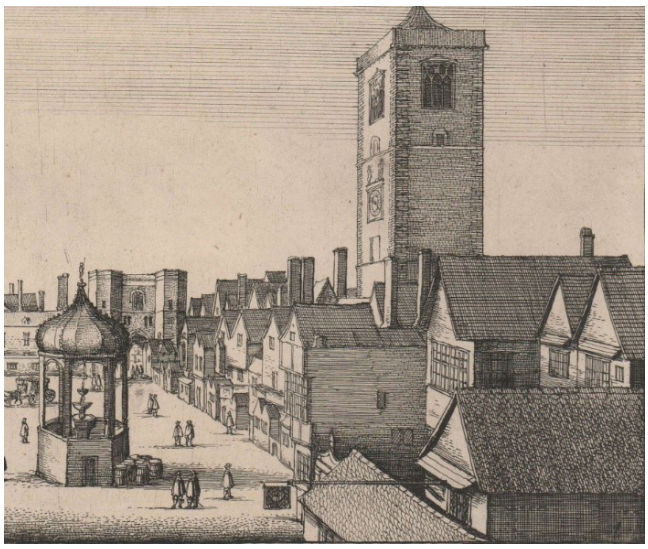

Figure 5. Wenceslaus Hollar. View of square to the north of Westminster Hall. 1647. Etching, 15 cm x 328 cm

having campaigned overseas, proudly recall ignoring the splendour of buildings while abroad[39]. Whetstone piously adds that he delighted more in the contemplation of virtue than sumptuous building[40]. This patriotic self-righteousness comes to tint the characterisation of the architectural aficionado, as someone who was, or had become, un-english. Therefore, inherent to the critique of the architectural aficionado as one drawn to the foreign, was the exceptionalist notion that England aimed towards a less superficial, and more inherent moral superiority than other nations.

This tendency can be observed in the architectural aficionados from already cited examples. For instance, the well-travelled Mister Eutrapelus believes that London's architecture should consider «their eyes that haue seene mighty buildings in other places»[41]. In a later passage, he questions why England had not matched ancient Rome and numerous other empires «in building matters of great wonder»[42]. He questions: «where is Caesars Circus, three stadions in length, and one in breadth? where is Pompeies Theater in Rome, which was able to receiue forty thousand men?». The list continues at length, serving to illustrate how Eutrapeus' appreciation for the new architecture was marked by a temporally and geographically detached imagination. To his interrogation, Alatheus responds with typically protestant references to the ascendancy of true faith over mere works, stating: «The Gentile law did encourage men more to illustrious humane actions, but the Christian law now exhorts men to peace»[43]. As such, Eutrapelus' architectural enthusiasm is entangled with Romish tenancies, which place him at odds with the piously protestant view espoused by Alatheus. Indeed, this anti-Catholic framing was not inconsistent with the literary oeuvre of the author Benvenuto Italiano. Five years later Italiano published *Scala politica dell' abominatione, e tirannia Papale* (1617), an anti-papist libel which aimed to expose the corruption of the Roman church[44].

The same foreign imaginary seems to inform the tastes of Cockbrayne's architectural preferences from *Covent Garden Weeded*. His ambitious desire that «the

39 GAINSFORD, Thomas. *The Glory of England*. Op. cit. (n. 25), p. 225. «As for those ostentous heapes of stone, which transport the slight credulity of the ignorant […]».

40 WHETSTONE, George. *An heptameron of ciuill discourses*. London: Richard Iones, 1582, p. 18. Whetstone writes in 1582 that the Palazzo Farnese «was of power to haue inchaunted my eyes with an immodest gase [...] for bace is his mynde, whose spirit hourely beholdeth not greater matters then eyther beautie, buylding or braverie[...]And certertenly, at this instant, I delighted more to contemplate of Segnior Phyloxenus vertues: then to regarde his sumptuous buyldings».

41 BENVENUTO, Italiano. *The passenger*. Op. cit. (n. 17), p. 470.

42 Ivi, p. 515.

43 Ivi, p. 516.

44 Although the place of publication is stated to be Rome, I have reason to believe that it is actually published in London, partially because publishing a papal expostulation in Rome is quite discourageable, but also because it sees an almost exclusively English circulation until 1769, when it is documented in the library of Monsieur Louis Jean Gaignat. See: FRANÇOIS DE BURE, Guillaume (dir.). *Supplement a la bibliographie instructive, ou Catalogue des livres du cabinet de feu m. Louis Jean Gaignat*. Paris : Chez Guillaume François, 1769; OSBORNE, Thomas. *A catalogue of the libraries of sir Luke Schaub and of several noblemen and gentlemen. Which will continue selling till 1st Jan. 1760*. London: T. Osborne, 1759.

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Piazzo, will excel that at Venice, by hearsay – I ne'er travelled», reveals, not only that Cockbrayne's pretentious tastes are self-consciously Italianiate, but also that they were uninformed by practical experience. The serene republic pressed particularly strongly on the early modern English imagination; foremostly in dramatic literature, Venice was imagined as a place of foreign curiosities and foreign vices[45]. Indeed, the character Dorcas in Covent Garden weeded –whilst not an architectural aficionado– serves to characterise the Italianising pretensions of the new architecture as a whole[46]. Appearing «habited like a Curtizan of Venice», on the balcony of her Covent Garden townhouse-cum-brothel, Dorcas' air of exotic seduction brings her in dangerously close proximity to prostitution[47]. Like the recently imported balcony and piazza, Dorcas' Venetian manner served to capture the gaze of the superficial aficionado, hoping to exploit their fascination for pecuniary return.

An explicit illustration of the foreign nature of architectural appreciation can be found in *The first days entertainment at Rutland-House* (1656), written by William Davenant. The second half of this text constitutes an imagined dialogue between a Parisian and a Londoner, who «declaim concerning the prae-eminence of Paris and London»[48]. Addressing the Londoner, the Parisian recalls the architectural deformity of the English capital, stating:

> [...] we should more except against the constancy of minds then their mutability, when they incline to error; I will first take a survey of yours in the long continu'd deformity of the shape of your City, which is, of your Buildings. [..] Is unanimity of Inhabitants in wise Cities better exprest then by their coherence and uniformity of Building? Where Streets, begin, continue, and end in a like stature and shape: but yours (as if they were rais'd in a general insurrection, where every man hath a several designe) differ in all things that can make distinction. Here stands one that aims to be a Palace, and, next it, another that professes to be a Hovel. Here a Giant, there a Dwarf, here slender, there broad; and all most admirably different in their faces as well as in their height and bulk. I was about to defie any Londoner, who dares pretend there is so much ingenious correspondence in this City,

45 McPHERSON, *David C. Shakespeare, Jonson, and the myth of Venice*. Newark; London; Cranbury; NJ: University of Delaware Press; Associated University Presses, 1990.

46 BROME, Richard. Covent Garden weeded. Op. cit. (n. 35), p. 1. Indeed, the real Covent Garden did feature numerous italianate architectural elements, elements which in Stuart dialogues were criticised as catering to the aestheticizing gaze of the architectural aficionado while concealing a litany of private vices.

47 Ivi, p. 8.

48 DAVENANT, William. *The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland-House, by Declamations and Musick: After the Manner of the Ancients*. London: J. M. for H. Herringman, 1656, p. 45.

> as that he can shew me one House like another[49].

It is no coincidence that the language used by Davenant's Parisian echoes the architectural preferences of the English architectural aficionado. Indeed, the Parisian's insistence upon orderly «coherence and uniformity» resembles, for instance, the taste for the «even and straight» row of houses praised by Cockbrayne[50]. Both instances seem to draw their language from the frequent Caroline proclamations calling for increased uniformity in building, which prescribed standardised proportions and materials for all newly-built houses[51]. As such, the un-English character of the architectural aficionado also served to subtly critique the foreignness of the new architectural tastes and legislation. To patriotic reactionaries, the superficiality of such foreign tastes had an adverse effect on the stalwart English vernacular. This is articulated in the Londoner's retort as written by Davenant, which reads:

> I will now visit your houses; which I confess transcendent as Towers, compar'd to the stature of those in our City; but as they ate as high roost as our Belfries; so have they in them more then the noise of our Bells; lodging distress'd Families in a Room; and where there is no plenty, there is seldome quietness. [...] You are disorder'd with the rudeness in our streets; but have more reason to be terrifi'd with the frequent insurrections in your own. In ours, a few disturb the quiet of Coaches; but in yours, whole Armies of Lackies invade the peace of publique Justice[52].

There is more to the orderliness of a city than straight streets and uniform houses, argues the Englishman. Once again, the English rhetoric opposes outwards expressions with inward values; claiming that the superficial uniformity of Paris served to conceal both the poor living conditions within, and the discontentment of its citizens. In contrast, the English view was that architectural expressions of orderliness were not concomitant with actual civic order, but more importantly: to mistake one for the other was an un-English affectation. The Parisian is a character who subtly mocks the tastes of the architectural aficionado, framing them as holding London to a foreign measure; one preoccupied with artful facades and less with English virtues.

49 Ivi, pp. 48-19.

50 BROME, Richard. Covent Garden weeded. Op. cit. (n. 35), p. 1.

51 BARNES, Thomas G. The Prerogative and Environmental Control of London Building in the Early Seventeenth Century: The Lost Opportunity. In: *California Law Review*. 1970, vol. 58, n.º 6, pp. 1332-1363; STUART, Charles I. *By the King. A proclamation concerning buildings, and inmates, within the citie of London, and confines of the same.* London : Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1625;

STUART, Charles I. *A proclamation concerning new buildings*… Op. cit. (n. 22).

52 DAVENANT, William. *The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland-House*… Op. cit. (n. 48), pp. 74-79.

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Conclusion

Across numerous dialogic texts during the Early Stuart period, a character archetype can be seen emerging which seemed to consolidate architectural appreciation with certain socially damaging tendencies. This article has addressed this archetype as the *architectural aficionado*, a shallow social climber with a roaming eye and a taste for the foreign. The archetype is portrayed in numerous guises within numerous dialogic genres, with some portrayals being less sympathetic than others. To wit; the swaggering Cockbrayne from *Covent Garden Weeded* (c.1632); the bawdy Tongall from *Covent Garden* (1632); the pretentious Eutrapelus from *The Passenger* (1612); and the credulous Bailiff from *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607), all seem to mock the moral pitfalls of excessive architectural appreciation.

The parallels between these characters and real figures can only be conjectured. For instance, in the notes of the 2010 critical edition of Covent Garden Weeded, Michael Leslie stresses the similarities between Cockbrayne and Inigo Jones (1573-1652)[53]. Indeed, this was the age of Jones and Henry Wotton (1568-1639) self-styled classicists who had filled their eyes with the buildings of Vicenza, Genova, and Rome[54]. It is worth noting that in the 1630's Inigo Jones had raised the ire of the playwright Ben Johnson (1572-1637) in a famously public spat[55]. The episode may have spurred the antagonism between dialogic writers and their followers; and those who espoused *Architecture* writ large, perhaps explaining the increasingly antagonistic tone taken towards the architectural aficionado in the dialogues after 1631. Nevertheless, this episode can be considered more a symptom than a cause: Johnson's *Expostulation of Inigo Jones* (1631) parroted many of the preexisting stereotypes which had contributed to the negative characterisation of the architectural aficionado.

Therefore, whether or not the literary architectural aficionado mirrored actual historical figures; the characterization of such figures reveals the social attitudes which real architectural enthusiasts had to navigate. Indeed, if the ideological biases of dialogic texts were to be revealed through the act of *characterisation*; the vicious stereotypes accompanying architectural appreciation serve to record a real cultural resistance to excessive architectural enthusiasm. While the character of the architectural aficionado may have been fictional, the anxieties which characterised them were certainly real. In the often less-than-subtle mockery of the

53 LESLIE, Michael (ed.). *The Weeding of Covent Garden*. London: Royal Holloway UoL, 2010, [Act 1.1:8].
54 ANDERSON, Christy. *Inigo Jones and the classical tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007; WORSLEY, Giles. *Inigo Jones and the European classicist tradition*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ., 2007.
55 GORDON, D. J. Poet and Architect: The Intellectual Setting of the Quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones. In: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. 1949, vol. 12, pp. 152178.

architectural aficionado, can be glimpsed a thoroughgoing denigration of the *new*: new tastes, new titles, and new buildings. In such a view, the superficial eye of the architectural aficionado could be conceptualised as a socio-political force which fuelled the new social changes threatening England's moral and social order. It was the superficial gaze of the architectural aficionado which allowed speculative developers to cozy up to courtly tastes; it was this gaze which distracted citizens from London's moral decline; it was this gaze which let landlords prey upon credulous tenants; and this gaze which allowed foreign vices and lascivities to take root in English soil. Indeed, distilled in the eyes of the architectural aficionado were the manifold anxieties of the decades leading up to the Civil War. Assessing the character archetype of the architectural aficionado in dialogic texts reminds us that the vocal appreciation of architecture within early Stuart society was not an action without a reaction.

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CREDITS FIGURES

Front Page. Ralph Agas. Detail of Whitehall from the map of London formally titled *Civitas Londinum*. London, c .1560. Woodcut print, 71 cm x 180 cm. Source: JENSTAD, Janelle; NEWTON, Greg; McLEAN-FIANDER, Kim (eds.). *The Agas Map of Early Modern London*. Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 2013-present. CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

Figure 1. Ralph Agas. Detail of Whitehall from the map of London formally titled *Civitas Londinum*. London, c .1560. Woodcut print, 71 cm x 180 cm. Source: JENSTAD, Janelle; NEWTON, Greg; McLEAN-FIANDER, Kim (eds.). *The Agas Map of Early Modern London*. Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 2013-present. CC BY-NC 4.0 license.

Figure 2. Richard Wilson. *A view of Elizabethan Chatsworth*. C. 1680. Oil on Canvas, 99.1 cm x 124.5 cm. Source: Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth House. CC BY-SA 4.0.

Figure 3. John Smythson. *The Italyan rate over the watter & a new italyan windowe*. London, 1614. Ink on paper. Source: RIBA drawings collection SD208/SMY/III/7(1). Photograph by the author.

Figure 4. Wenceslaus Hollar. *Detail of Covent Garden from a bird's-eye plan of London*. London, 1660/6. Etching, 344 mm x 455 mm. Source: BM Q,6.136. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 5. Wenceslaus Hollar. *View of square to the north of Westminster Hall*. 1647. Etching, 15 cm x 328 cm. Source: BM Q,6.42, © The Trustees of the British Museum.

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