THE ENVIOUS DESTROYER OF ALL THINGS

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ABSTRACT

Time, which kills everything, obsessed early modern England's architects as much as its playwrights. If for a distraught Macbeth, moments crept interminably, for Stuart and Tudor builders, time's slog always threatened to end too soon. The inevitability of architectural death through slow ruin, or frenetic dismantling, took on particular verve in a polity with a history of iconoclasm. Architecture's emphasis upon surface aligned building with (say) portraiture which, around 1600, carried its own rhetorics of time – and information – arrested. Both building and posing subsisted in the proffering of a good face, the warding off of bodily death. And in the case of this article's focus – an ephemeral arch built in London in 1603 – this face – this façade – was threatened by unexpected epistemes of time: duration, instant, and epoch. These were temporalities in upheaval in Stuart London, a moment of unsteady power relations, of new kinds of printed publications, and of that most unpresentable of human phenomena: contagion.

KEYWORDS

Time, which kills everything, obsessed early modern England's architects as much as its playwrights.[1] If for a distraught Macbeth, moments crept interminably, for Stuart and Tudor builders, time's slog always threatened to end too soon.[2] The inevitability of architectural death through slow ruin, or frenetic dismantling, took on particular verve in a polity with a history of iconoclasm.[3] And rightly so, for, to the iconophobes' credit, "classical" architecture in Britain was often an *image* – less a site than a picture: scenery, painting, engraving. Its emphasis upon surface aligned building with (say) portraiture, which, around 1600, carried its own rhetorics of time – and information – arrested. Both building and posing subsisted in the proffering of a good face, the warding off of bodily death.[4] And in the case of this essay's focus – an *ephemeral* arch built in London in 1603 – this face – this façade – was threatened by unexpected epistemes of time: duration, instant, and epoch. These were temporalities in upheaval in Stuart London, a moment of unsteady power relations, of new kinds of printed publications, and of that most *un*presentable of human phenomena: contagion.

A binocular archway, floating impossibly, confronts you as a page [Fig. 1]. Looming in elevation, its mask places you before a hectic assemblage of ornament. This is an engraving of a giant pageant decoration designed in and for London in the post-crowning festivities of James I in 1603. It appeared in a book of illustrations published in 1604, an obscure quarto by Stephen Harrison entitled *The*

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On architectural "time" in early modern Europe, see Francis Choay, *The Rule and the Model*, Cambridge 1987, 131ff; Howard Burns, Building against Time. Renaissance Strategies to Secure Large Churches against Changes in Their Design, in: Jean Guillaume (ed.), *L'église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, Paris 1985, 107–132; Karsten Harries, Building and the Terror of Time, in: *Perspecta* 19, 1982, 58–69; Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, New York 2010, 51–70 and 159–184; more generally, on time in architecture as facture (rather than experience): Sigfried Gideon, *Space, Time, and Architecture*, Oxford ³1954, 426–443; Marvin Trachtenberg, Building Outside Time in Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*, in: *Res: Anthropology & Aesthetics* 48, 2005, 123–134. On how the demonisation of temporal specificity (as opposed to spatial specificity) in capitalism has been historically registered in architecture, see famously Frederic Jameson, The End of Temporality, in: *Critical Inquiry* 29, 2003, 695–718, esp. 696–697, and, differently, Terry Smith, Shock.Build.Mourn.Hope. Architects Confront Contemporaneity, in: id., *The Architecture of Aftermath*, Chicago, IL 2006, 160–189 and 225–230. The contemporary as a condition averse to any idea of pause – and with it, any architectonics of shelter – is one undercurrent of Jonathan Crary, *24/7. Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep*, New York 2013.

[3]
Christine Stevenson, Occasional Architecture in Seventeenth-Century London, in: *Architectural History* 49, 2006, 35. The following paper owes much to this excellent essay.

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Lucy Gent, The Rash Gazer. Economies of Vision in Britain 1550–1650, in: ead. (ed.), *Albion's Classicism*, New Haven, CT 1995, 377–393; Hans Belting, *Face and Mask. A Double History*, Princeton, NJ [2013] 2017, 91–150.

[Fig. 1]
Stephen Harrison, *The Arch's of Triumph* [...], London
1604, plate 1. London: The British Library [G.10866].

Arch's of Triumph.[5] Here rustication crenulates and contours a frenzied, Tuscan-ordered skin. Strapworks frame personifications of Vigilance and Wisdom, while a cartouche reading "LONDINIUM" in Roman majuscule caps a set of galleries with human figures. As a topographic urban maquette, complete with churches, houses and gates, limns the top edge, a niche below hosts a figure of Atlas. A male personification of the River Thames reclines upon a landscape tablet crawling with tendrils. The entire barrage hovers above a segmented ruler and a tripartite ichnographic plan.

The arch and its paper documentation were about a transition of power, or more specifically, about how such a transition could become *known*. On 24 March 1603, the day Elizabeth I died, James VI of Scotland, son of the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots, was proclaimed King of England. This crowning could not be official, however, until James was welcomed in London. James headed southward from Edinburgh that week; city aldermen allotted 4,100 pounds for a ceremonial entry: "the Streets" of the city, as one contemporary account put it, were "surveyed, heights, breadths, and distances taken, as it were to make fortifications, for the solemnities".[6] This was a strange moment for the City of London, "a world divided from the world", as Ben Jonson put it.[7] By 1603 the city had a population of around 222,000 inhabitants. Shiping revenue, a burgeoning weaving industry, and an inchoate banking system had set London on its way to becoming an international, middle-class commercial metropolis, along the lines of what Antwerp, Genoa, and Venice had been in centuries past. The exchange of securities fed property speculation, and the British East India Company had been established by royal charter in 1600. Yet London's bankers – well represented in the Corporation of the City – continually clashed with the Crown. Debt was a sore point: Elizabeth had died owing 60,000 pounds to the city; the Corporation had begun petitioning James for the sum immediately after her death.[8] The aldermen were

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Stephen Harrison, *The Arch's of Triumph. Erected in Honor of the High and Mighty prince James the first of that name King of England, and the sixthe of Scotland at his Majesties Entrance and passage through his Honorable City & Chamber of London upon the 15th day of March 1603*, London 1604, fol. C1. See John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, London 1828, vol. 4, 32ff. For an overview of the colossal literature on the entry itself, Richard Dutton (ed.), *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, Staffordshire 1995, 15–25.

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Thomas Dekker, *The Magnificent Entertainment* II, 200–202 and 204, as in: Frederic Bowers (ed.), *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, Cambridge 1955, vol. 2, 258. On the book, see Christiane Hille, *Visions of the Courtly Body*, Berlin 2012, 84–85.

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Charles H. Hereford, Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, Oxford 1925, vol. 1, 46.

8

On the financial circumstances pressuring the 1603/04 entry see Ian W. Archer, City and Court Connected. The Material Dimensions of Royal Ceremonial, in: *Huntington Library Quarterly* 7, 2008, 157–179, and Dutton, Jacobean Civic Pageants, 19–26. I have found helpful the account of the preparations by the individual dramatists in James D. Mardock, *Our Scene Is London*, New York/London 2008, 23–44.

[Fig. 2]
Stephen Harrison, *The Arch's of Triumph* [...], London
1604, title page. London, The British Library [G.10866].

none too enthusiastic about James' silence on the matter, and even less happy about subsidising a gigantic, deliberately ornate festivity for his welcoming.[9]

The form of the pageant itself presented some tricky etiquette. The entry was not just about James triumphant; it bespoke the passing of power from city to Crown. Never before had a British monarch died heirless and power ceded to an already reigning king. James had been deemed monarch of Scotland at age 13; he was not native to England. But at the same time, he was the Stuart king of Great Britain (the first to call himself such); he could not be greeted with the standard pageantry due a "visiting" royal.[10] For James in 1603, that is, traditional processional syntaxes of triumph, urban marriage or city-and-Crown brotherhood could not be recycled. Songs, speeches, imagery and décor had to be cribbed together anew from bits of older pageants. The productions became deliberately eclectic in their borrowing from rhetorical theory, an assemblage-ism echoed in the ephemeral architecture's collagist form.

Much is known about the literary content and political import of the happening. Its pageants were authored by Jonson and Thomas Dekker (1570?–1632), rival playwrights and bitter professional enemies.[11] The two were charged with designing programmes of songs, plays, and *tableaux vivant*, while Stephen Harrison was enlisted as "Inventor of the Architecture". This was the first time in English history such an "artificer" was named publically as such.[12]

This is apparent in *The Arch's of Triumph* [Fig. 2], the first illustrated "entry" book ever published in England. The little volume began with a dedication to Thomas Bennet, the Lord Mayor of London, dated 16 June 1604. It was printed by the Utrecht-born goldsmith William Kip, an engraver of portraits and maps.[13] The eight plates were issued with nine letterpress pages, printed separately by John Windet. The book's initial print run seems to have been close to 500 copies. Today, less than ten exemplars of the first edition seem to survive.[14] A second edition was printed in 1613.

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David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558–1642*, London 1971, 73.

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Sybil M. Jack, 'A Pattern for a King's Inauguration'. The Coronation of James I in England, in: *Parergon* 21 2004, 67–91. See also Roy Strong, *Coronation. A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy*, London 2005, 251–252.

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On the literary content of the entry see, for example, Glynne Wickham, Contributions de Ben Jonson et de Dekker aux Fêtes du Couronnement de Jacques Ier, in: Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Fêtes de la Renaissance*, Paris 1956, 279–283; and Mardock, Our Scene Is London, 23–44 and 127–133.

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Bergeron, Pageantry, 245–246.

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On Kip see Anthony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689*, London 1998, 41–45.

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Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. II: The Reign of James I*, Cambridge 1955, 17–34. Aside from exemplars in the British Museum,

In his opening text, Harrison advises that six weeks were needed to construct seven archways; five were sponsored by the City of London, and two others by the Italian and Dutch merchant communities. Harrison is exacting about the spatial distribution of Jonson and Dekker's iconography. A passage like this, describing one arch, is typical:

> The lively garnishments to this building are 23 persons, of which the worthiest was Justice, who was advanced to the highest seate, below her in a Cant by her selve, Vertue was placed, and at her feete Fortune, who trod upon the globe.[15]

Such a visual "cheat sheet" is paired with transcriptions of oratory, and frequent notes about the preparations for the event. The illustrations show the visual appearance of the structures, but also (through the inclusion of scales and compasses) bespeak an awareness of their spatial and interpretive dislocation to the printed page. Printed, the strange arch accosts viewers less as image but as thing. As architecture and emblem of the City of London, the engraving transforms readers into momentary sovereigns; we view the arch from a point of privilege in the book, head-on, while at the same time we are referred, in our own present, back to a now-vanished event. The numbered line and woodgrain plan at the base of the arch reminds us that the structure once had a material body. And, set against the hulking elevation, the entire presentation asks one to enter into the logic of a visual relationship based on diminution, where one contemplates not just alternate views of an object, but alternative metrics of scale. We will return to these metrics shortly.

After the *Londinium*, there was an Italian pageant, which used paintings rather than live actors. Next came a Dutch arch,[16] near the Royal Exchange. A structure entitled Nova Felix Arabia followed, and then a Garden of Plenty erected at Cheapside, and, lastly, a Temple of Janus, built at the Temple Bar. Before this last arch, however, there seems also to have been an arch entitled "The New World", less about America than about a new state of existence under James, of control quite literally rotating to the Stuarts from the Tudors. If the form of such structures remained ostensibly the same – loose fusions of Roman models plastered with design from Italian and Netherlandish pattern prints – the literary modes on

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Edinburgh University, Harvard (Houghton) and the British Library, there are copies at the Huntington Library in San Marino, CA (sig. 61302) and the University of Texas, Austin, TX (Pforzheimer 449A.) On the presumed readership of these kinds of publications, see Adam Smyth, *'Profit and Delight'. Printed Miscellanies in England (1640–1682)*, Detroit, MI 2004, 32–72.

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Harrison, Arch's, sig. F.

16
The Dutch arch was described and published separately in *Beschryvinghe van de herlycke arcus triumphal ofte eere poorte van de nederlantsche natie opgherecht in Londen ...* Middleburg 1604–1605, which survives only in a copy in the Royal Library, Brussels (cat. 1744/280). See Gervase Hood, A Netherlandic Triumphal Arch for James I, in: Susan Roach (ed.), *Across the Narrow Seas. Studies in the History and Bibliography of Britain and the Low Countries*, London 1991, 67–82.

which the "poetical" parts of the entries operated seemed to have differed greatly, depending upon authorship. And this made the pageant different from nearly every other civic spectacle staged in northern Europe before this time.[17]

Harrison actually uses the word "heaping" to describe the first arch,[18] and we know from city records that the device was enormous. The Dutch arch, which was about the same size, was more than 80 feet high. The accumulative tack of both the archways and their various representations in print was, most likely, aimed less at James than at the merchant communities of London (English, Italian, Dutch) that funded and watched the entry; this allied James' event with those merchants' native pageants – sponsored, as well, by beleaguered civic councils.[19]

Dekker and Jonson each published their own transcription of the event's speeches and plays. Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment* (1604), and Jonson's *Parte of King James his Royal and Magnificent Entertainment* (1604) – were both *un*illustrated books prizing the "Poeticall rather than the Architecturall" aspects of the entry.[20] Dekker made sure to distinguish his labour from that of the mere "joiner":

> Harrison [...] was the sole Inventor of the Architecture, and from whom all directions, for so much as belonged to Carving, Joyning, Molding, and all other work were set downe.[21]

Dekker, accordingly, forced his *dramatis personae* – Vigilance, etc. – to identify themselves before speaking (as in "I am Wisdom, hear me now") etc. Jonson, by contrast, ridiculed such a practice as hermeneutically degrading, insulting his readers' capacity for interpretation, leading to a "most miserable and desperate shift of

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[17] The *blijde inkomst* of the Duke of Anjou into Antwerp in 1582 supplies a good comparison, see Pierre L'Oyseleur (dit De Villiers), *La Ioyeuse Et Magnifique Entrée De Monseigneur Françoys De France, Frère Unique Du Roy, Par La Grâce De Dieu, Duc De Brabant, D'Anjou, Alençon, Berri, Etc. En Sa Très-renommée Ville D'Anvers*, Antwerp 1582. And on the book itself: Emily J. Peters, Printing Ritual. The Performance of Community in Christopher Plantin's '*La Joyeuse & Magnifique Entreé de Monseigneur Francoys ... d'Anjou*', in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 61, 2008, 370–413.

[18] Harrison, Arch's, sig. C recto.

[19] Compare, for example, the situation in France: Christian Jouhard, Printing the Event. From La Rochelle to Paris, in: Roger Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print. Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, Princeton, NJ 1987, 290–333.

[20] On the publication history of these works see George Watson (ed.), *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, Cambridge 1974, vol. I, 1656 and 2074.

[21] Dekker, Dramatic Works, I, 303. On the passage see David M. Bergeron, Harrison, Jonson, and Dekker. The Magnificent Entertainment for King James I, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31, 1968, 445, which, inexplicably, refers to Harrison's engravings as drawings.

the Puppits".[22] For Harrison, readers' progression through the book was appropriately spatial – turning pages, stopping to scan iconography, deciphering lengthy inscriptions – enacting a parallel, and a recapitulation, of the spectacle's own movement through the city.

In affording the chance to study a simulacrum of their everyday environment, the "actual" *Londinium* [Fig. 1] enthralled observers. The dramatist Gilbert Dugdale marvelled how

> [here] your eye might easily find out, as the Exchange, Coleharbor, Paules, Bowes Church, etc. [...] top and top gallant whereon were showes so imbroidered and set out.[23]

Harrison's illustration of the structure, while indeed wondrous, remained elusive with regard to scale. His compasses and ruler [Fig. 1] resist laying out a specific measurement scheme. As his text explains [Fig. 3]:

> [I]n the Descriptions, where mention is to bee made of *Heights, Breadths*, or any other Commensurable proportions you shall find them left this – with a blanke, because we wish you rather to apply them to the scale your selve.[24]

But what is it that the *Londinium* arch wants our "selves" to know? In his 1625 essay, "On Building", Francis Bacon suggested that the *ingenium* of architecture subsisted in function rather than ornament: "Leave the goodly fabrics of houses for beauty only to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with small cost."[25] As with other mechanical practices, architecture, for Bacon, was to seek its excellences in utility alone, not in any rhetorical flourish. And yet the functionality of the *Londinium* arch – far from Bacon's "house" – subsisted solely *in* rhetoric. Architecture, which can never nar-

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Ben Jonson, *B. Jon. His Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment*, London 1604, sig. B2 verso.

23
Gilbert Dugdale, *The time triumphant: declaring in briefe, the ariual of our soueraigne liedge Lord, King Iames into England, his coronation at Westminster: together with his late royal progresse, from the Towre of London thróugh the Cittie ...*, London 1604, fol. B2v. Dugdale may have been an actor, a journalist, or both. See David M. Bergeron, Gilbert Dugdale and the Royal Entry of James I, in: *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 13, 1983, 111–125.
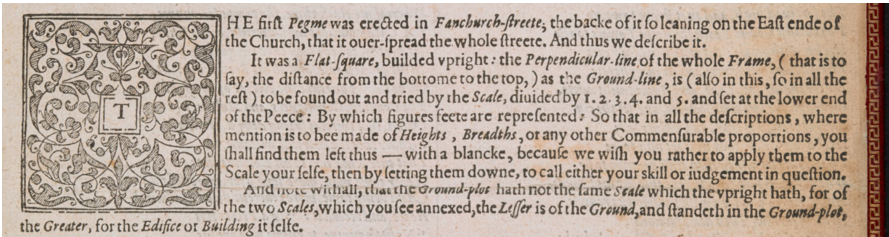
24
Harrison, Arch's, sig. C. A compelling discussion of the "quantitative" representational stance this bespeaks is Henry S. Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage. Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts 1580–1630*, Oxford 2006, 133–152, on which see also below. On the knowledge-structures making up early modern architectural facture, see Claudia Bührig, Elisabeth Kieven, Jürgen Renn and Hermann Schlimme, Towards an Epistemic History of Architecture, in: Hermann Schlimme (ed.), *Practice and Science in Early Modern Italian Building. Towards an Epistemic History of Architecture*, Milan 2006, 7–12.

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Francis Bacon, On Building (1624), in: *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban*, London 1625, 4. On Bacon's chimeric understanding of practical knowledge, see Rhodri Lewis, Francis Bacon and Ingenuity, in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 67, 2014, 113–163, and, more capaciously with regard to the local scene: Alexander Marr, Pregnant Wit. *Ingegno* in Renaissance England, in: *British Art Studies* 1, 2015, http://britishartstudies.ac.uk/issues/issue-index/issue-1/pregnant-wit (24.09.2020).

HE first *Pegme* was erected in *Fanchurch-streete*, the backe of it so leaning on the East ende of the Church, that it ouer-spread the whole streete. And thus we describe it.

It was a *Flat-square*, builded vpright: the *Perpendicular-line* of the whole *Frame*, (that is to say, the distance from the bottome to the top,) as the *Ground-line*, is (also in this, so in all the rest) to be found out and tried by the *Scale*, diuided by 1.2.3.4. and 5. and set at the lower end of the Peece: By which figures feete are represented: So that in all the descriptions, where mention is to bee made of *Heights*, *Breadths*, or any other Commensurable proportions, you shall find them left thus —— with a blancke, because we wish you rather to apply them to the Scale your selfe, then by setting them downe, to call either your skill or iudgement in question.

And note withall, that the *Ground-plot* hath not the same *Scale* which the vpright hath, for of the two *Scales*, which you see annexed, the *Lesser* is of the Ground, and standeth in the *Ground-plot*, the *Greater*, for the *Edifice* or *Building* it selfe.

[Fig. 3]
Stephen Harrison, *The Arch's of Triumph* [...], London
1604, sig. C1r, detail. London, The British Library [G.10866].

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rate in the sense of a poem or a painting, signifies *only* through its décor, as Vitruvius (known to some English builders) maintained. Harrison's engraving (a piece of merchandise, recall), meanwhile, remained part of the event; it reified James' status as an occurrence that crossed all media, yet was lodged in a particular place and time. But the arch print does not just preserve the appearance of a vanished monument. As it conveys the visual specifics of a lost architectural body, it also summons a consciousness of that body's disappearance. Like a ruin, its informational mode operates as both an embrace and a denial of architectural ephemerality. But this is a different kind of communication than language. Indeed, in moving away from partly "classical" rhetoric as a sole mode of aesthetic theory, English designers prized the enunciatory task of visual form alone – there, styles or *elocutio* were not appendages to content, but content itself. Herein might lay one way to think about the "knowledge" of the Harrison arch. The tiny nothingness at its centre speaks not only to James, but to the constant invisibility of any bodily "king", any physical "London" even amidst this framing riot of visuality.

And here, Harrison's understanding of scale is crucial. In England, scale was a relativist metric known since antiquity, an abstract way of comprehending an object or a space by comparison to a body or tool. The first English maps to include scale rulers appeared in 1540.[26] By the later sixteenth century scale had been codified as a specific component of property quantification – it was often discussed in tracts on land surveying.[27] And for Harrison "scale" is anxiously subjective, a function of "your selve". As Henry Turner has argued, the archway's description in Harrison's print reveals a means wherein the city is represented through an analytic, rather than a symbolic mode; that is, one based on numbers and projection rather than (say, Dekker's) allegory, the kind of measurement implied by the pictured scale and the numerical transcription. Harrison's representative mechanisms – the two alternatives for viewing the monarch – make it "suddenly possible to posit new forms of equivalence among objects".[28]

Many Londoners in James' ambit, of course, made their living trafficking in abstractions – bonds, equity, futures, debt.[29] They

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Paul D. A. Harvey, *Maps in Tudor England*, Chicago, IL 1993, 8.

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Early surveying tracts make efforts to explain how exactly scale measurements worked, see, for example: Edward Worsop, *A Discoverie of Sundrie errours and faults daily committed by Landmeaters*, London 1582. On the book, see M. A. R. Cooper, Edward Worsop. From the Black Art and Sundrie Errors to True Geometricall Demonstration, in: *Survey Review* 32, 1993, 67–79. More broadly on scale and subject–object relations: Jennifer Roberts, Seeing Scale, in: ead. (ed.), *Scale*, Chicago, IL 2016, 10–24.

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Turner, Renaissance Stage, 149.

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On the peculiar elision of ephemeral and permanent in the *Entertainment*'s financial ambit, see Caroline van Eck, Statecraft or Stagecraft? English Paper Architecture in the Seven-

would have well understood an epistemology of enumeration, of projection. Harrison's woodgrain ground plan breaks down the giant *Londinium* structure into its constituent parts, left to be understood *performatively*, that is, only though the mental action of, as Harrison advises, "your selve". English Protestant culture – which fetishised rigorous, experiential reading – would have been well accustomed to such subjectively epistemic engagement with a printed page, with the authority of measure.[30] In the engraving, we might say, the two meanings of "ruler" in English – as both "king" and measuring device – collapse.[31]

All of this must be considered against the fact that the 1603 entry almost did not take place at all. A wave of plague – which would eventually kill nearly one in five Londoners – more than 30,000 people – forced the pageant to be postponed by nearly a year.[32] Plague outbreaks were common enough in England in the sixteenth century, and tended to peak during the summer months (the 1603 London visitation, for example, did not die down until October.) Yet the cultural and economic effects of the 1603 plague were particularly devastating, even in a city renowned for its filth.[33] In certain parishes two-thirds of citizens died.[34] (Dekker himself tabulated that during a particularly bad week in London the plague killed 3,035 people.[35]) Those who could, escaped the metropolis, and those who could not, avoided human contact by choice or by fiat. The preventive efforts of civic authorities were almost uniformly *ad hoc*, and devoted chiefly to containment; theatres and public houses were closed, markets and fairs shut down. Such an improvisational response, so claimed authorities in eerily prescient language, was all that was possible against a disaster most frightening for its sheer

teenth Century, in: Sarah Bonnemaison and Christine Macy (eds.), *Festival Architecture*, London/New York 2007, 113–128.

[30]
See Lori Anne Ferrell, Page *Techne*. Diagrams in Early Modern English 'How-to' Books, in: Michael Hunter (ed.), *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain. Essays in Interpretation*, Aldershot 2010, 113–126.

[31]
David Summers, *Real Spaces*, London 2003, 202.

[32]
Until recently, this fact has received relatively little attention in studies of the event; see Frank Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London*, Oxford 1963; Sara van den Berg, The Passing of the Elizabethan Court, in: *Ben Jonson Journal* 1, 1994, 31–61; Ian Munro, The City and Its Double. Plague Time in Early Modern London, in: *English Literary History* 30, 2000, 241–261; Kelly Stage, Plague Space and Played Space in Urban Drama, 1604, in: Rebecca Totaro and Ernest B. Gilman (eds.), *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England*, New York 2011, 54–75.

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See Ken Hiltner, Representing Air Pollution in Early Modern London, in: id. (ed.), *What Else Is Pastoral? Renaissance Literature and the Environment*, Ithaca, NY 2011, 95–125.

[34]
Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart London*, London 1985, 167–168.

[35]
Ernest B. Gilman, *Plague Writing in Early Modern England*, Chicago, IL 2009, 130.

invisibility.[36] It re-mapped the city into wards of danger or safety that changed from day to day.[37] Dekker himself personified the plague as a lumbering, rag-tag horde in a later poem:

> [T]he Plague is muster-master and marshal of the field [...] a mingle mangle, *viz.* dumpish mourners, merry sextons, hungry coffin-sellers, scrubbing bearers, and nasty grave-makers.[38]

This image of the plague as a monstrous homunculus (we cannot but help think of the *Londinium* arch aesthetic) was not new; many of the widely asystematic measures taken to combat it in London were.[39] Harsh quarantine restrictions were enforced. Houses on Cheapside, for example, were quite literally boarded up with their inhabitants inside, and special night-watches set up to prevent escapes.[40] Waves of hastily enacted edicts (limiting, for example, the number of attendees permitted at a plague victim's funeral), in turn, fed popular unrest.[34] Boundaries and groupings were sporadically instated between, for example, infected and non-infected individuals, between inside a quarantined house and out. "Searchers" of the dead – often widowed pensioners – were entrusted with managing such restrictions, acquiring unprecedented authority while, at the same time, remaining utterly dispensable to the city government itself.[41] Far from being thrown into disarray, most social (and gender) hierarchies were simply displaced; invariably it was "a lack of

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[36] On contagion architecture (and its impossibilities), see Geeta Dayal, Landscapes of Quarantine, in: *Frieze* 132, 2010 at: https://www.frieze.com/article/landscapes-quarantine (24.09.2020); Diana Budds, Design in the Age of Pandemics, in: *Curbed* 17 May 2020, at: https://www.curbed.com/2020/3/17/21178962/design-pandemics-coronavirus-quarantine (24.09.2020); Matthew Newsom Kerr, *Contagion, Isolation, and Biopolitics in Victorian London*, Cham, Switzerland 2017.

[37] An effect, perversely, not unlike the temporarily "upending" social effects of carnival. See Eric Wilson, Plagues, Fairs, and Street Cries. Sounding Out Society and Space in Early Modern London, in: *Modern Language Studies* 25, 1995, 2–42. In the 1660s, printed broadsides would emerge, equally strangely, as an "ordering" element, "ameliorating fears associated with the chaotic nature of the disease". See Eileen Sperry, Lord Have Mercy Upon Us. Broadsides and London Plague Life, in: *Sixteenth Century Journal* XLIX: 1, 2018, 95–113.

[38] Thomas Dekker, *The wonderfull yeare. Wherein is shewed the picture of London, lying sicke of the Plague*, London 1603, fol. D1r. Dekker and Jonson published prolifically during 1603, as a result of the compromised market for live performance with the closing of the theatres. See Jonathan Gil Harris, *Sick Economies*, Philadelphia, PA 2011, 108–135.

[39] Paul Slack, Books of Orders. The Making of English Social Policy, 1577–1631, in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 30, 1980, 1–22.

[40] Slack, Impact, 304–305.

[41] Richelle Munkhoff, Searchers of the Dead. Authority, Marginality, and the Interpretation of Plague in England, 1574–1665, in: *Gender & History* 11 1999, 1–29.

order", as one pamphlet scolded, that caused infection to spread.[42] Poor families suffered, better-off ones fled; the parallels to our own moment are chilling, yet predictable.

Days before James was scheduled to arrive in London in July, the plague had become so bad that the event was called off. James and his court remained in Greenwich.[43] Six more weeks had to be spent dismantling the arches. Although James' coronation in Westminster went ahead, quietly, a civic procession did not in fact occur until March 1604. All of the lavish ceremony scrupulously documented by Harrison and others, therefore, became, once published, a political *re*-enactment.

The 1603 plague meant segregation, profiteering, and death. It was upon such a scene that the *Londinium* appeared. On the one hand its agglomerative décor [Fig. 1] offered aspirations for a robust, regenerative city restored. On the other, its disjointedness signalled the urban fracturing wrought by the plague on the city fabric. Once the 1604 event was over, the aldermen of the City of London even tried to make up some of the cost by selling off the pageant materials.[44] (There was precedent: after Elizabeth I's progress in Bristol in 1574, the city had successfully sold off painted "canvases" used for the royal entertainment.[45]) In being erected, dismantled, assembled again, and then taken down for good, the architecture of James' pageant nurtured an aesthetic of disarticulation. It survived only in print, but lingered in socially-distanced forms. Harrison beautifully summarised his book's role in warding off oblivion:

> Reader, the limmne of these great Triumphall bodies (lately disjointed and taken in sunder) I have thou seest (for thy sake) set in their apt and right places again [...] not they are to stand as perpetuall monuments, not to be shaken in peeces, or to be broken downe, by the malice of that envious destroyer of all things, *Time*.[46]

The idea that triumphal archways were constituted of, and dissolvable into, disparate "peeces" by time and history was, of course, part of their foundational myth. Even outside of England, "jointed-ness"

42

Thomas Lodge, *A Treatise of the Plague*, London 1603, fol. F1. See Lewis Barroll, *Politics, Plague, and Shakespeare's Theatre. The Stuart Years*, Ithaca, NY 1993, 121–125.

43

A. W. Sloan, Plague in London Under the Early Stuarts, in: *South African Medical Journal* 48, 1974, 882–888, 885.

44

Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry, 73–74.

45

Francis Wardell, Queen Elizabeth I's Progress to Bristol in 1574. An Examination of Expenses, in: *Early Theatre* 14, 2011, 101–120, 113.

46

Harrison, Arch's, fol. K.

was a fundamental political metaphor.[47] In antiquity arches were quite literally agglomerations of spolia. Vitruvius said almost nothing about the *fornix*, or triumphal arch form, but Alberti, commenting on the arches of Constantine and Septimius Severus in the *Ten Books*, examined their origins in old city gates, the sites where wartime booty would be accumulated and posted, encasing the structures behind.[48] Indeed, the idea of ornament as a captured "skin" was important to civic ceremony – as it was to portraiture – as a kind of clothing which did not just sheathe a body, but organised its structure.[49] The very idea of spolia, as Stevenson has noted, sprang from the metaphor of stripped animal hides – an epidermal heaping made public.[50]

A vital source for this strategy was Sebastiano Serlio's *Third Book*, on ornament and antiquities. The work was not translated into English until 1611, but a Dutch edition had circulated on the London book market far earlier.[51] The English version (tenuously related to the Italian) explicitly described triumphal arches as improvisational, hastily prepared cobblings [Fig. 4]. Here is Serlio, via Peake:

> It is true, that the Ornaments of the most part of the Triumphant Arches in Rome are much contrary to Vitruvius' writing, and this, I thinke, is the cause: that the Archs are, for the most part, made by the Roofes of other buildings (that is, of as many sorts of pieces as they could get).[52]

And unsupervised workers, Serlio went on, were to blame for the indecorousness. It is therefore perhaps significant that when describing the 1603/04 London structures, Harrison did not use the foreign-sounding "arches" (*arcus*, from Greek αψίδα – "chief, ruler"), but rather "device", and further "Pegme". In seventeenth-century

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[47]
Adam Nicolson, *Power and Glory. Jacobean England and the Making of the King James Bible*, London 2003, 68–69.

[48]
Cf. Leon Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, Book 8, chapter 6.

[49]
As described, for example, in Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* [1853], New York 1972, 21–23. On ornamental cladding as skin see Mark Wigley, Architecture after Philosophy. Le Corbusier and the Emperor's New Paint, in: *Journal of Philosophy and the Visual Arts* 2, 1990, 82–95.

[50]
Cf. Stevenson, Occasional Architecture, 35: "various experiences served to turn all 'architecture' in early modern Londoners' minds in to something potentially more unstable, and responsive, than the word connotes today."

[51]
The printer of the English translation, Robert Peake, was in fact James' Sergeant Painter. On Serlio in England, see Eileen Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*, Cambridge 1990, 414–417. On Serlio in English collections: Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry 1560–1720. Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance*, Warwickshire 1981, 66–86.
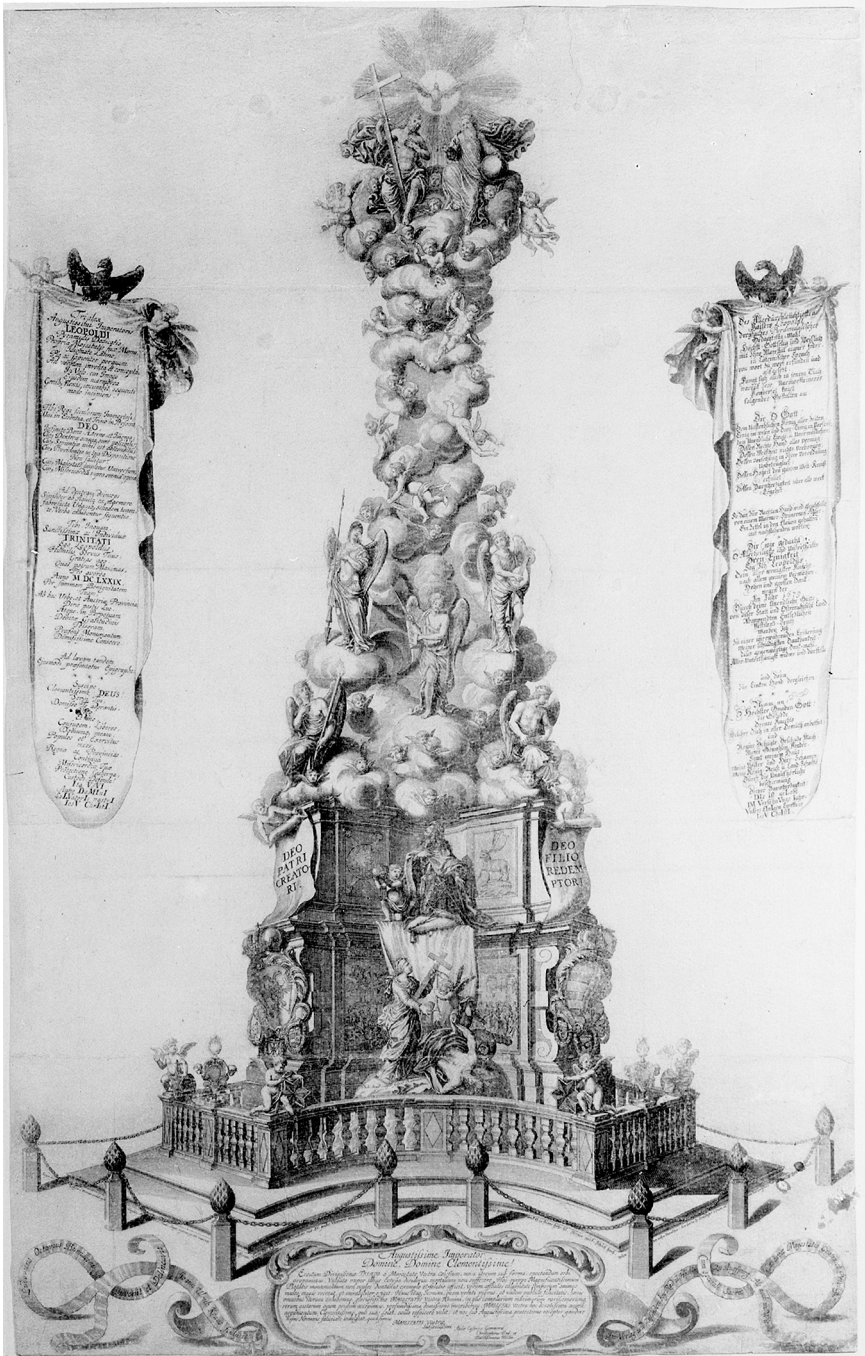
[52]
Robert Peake's version of Serlio, 1611, Book III, fol. 49v.
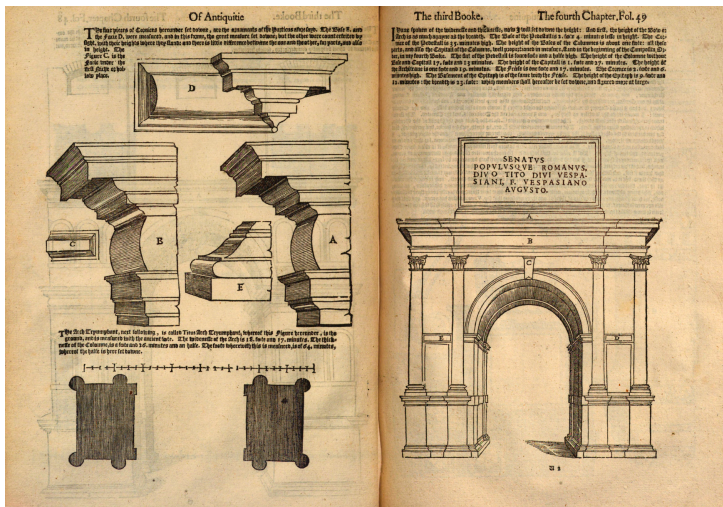
[Fig. 5]
Johann Ulrich Kraus after Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, *Wiener Pestsäule* (Vienna Pla-gue-Column), 1692, engraving. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv. 166.564B.

English parlance these were theatrical architectures through and through: "jointed scaffolds or platforms".[53] One of the few printed books on art in English that *would* have been available to Harrison in 1603, Richard Haydocke's partial translation of Lomazzo (*A Tract containing the Artes of Curious Painting Carvinge & Buildinge* (Oxford, 1598)) likened architectural assemblages to insubstantial Pandora's Boxes.[54]

Harrison's engravings brandish their status as ragged tumuli of repurposed ornament. The engraved scrollwork and the grotto-like encasements borrow as much from older architectural treatises as from the alleged forms of the built structures themselves. Many almost look forward towards the teeming forms of the *Pestsäulen*, plague columns, which were to constellate Central Europe later in the same century [Fig. 5].[55] Such agglomerative décor suits a London of both proliferation and human ruination. Like the structures Serlio had described as made in great haste, so too were James' "pageants" erected, dismantled, and rebuilt again quickly. The dichotomy, here, then, becomes not just between Vitruvian building according to ideals versus that according to site, but, even more interestingly, between construction's slowness versus its relative speed. Like the *Säulen*, the arches become both monuments to plague vanquished and talismans against its return. In this sense, the hastily executed *Londinium* arch *was* expressive, in its very facture, of a London of "the displaced and temporary",[56] a city of financial violence, temporal elasticity, and social upheaval.

It is not hard to see the import of such issues in a culture of iconoclasm.[57] Indeed, Haydocke's book, as its introduction claimed, was a response to Reformed ideas about breaking down images; it

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[53]
On "Pegme", see Bernard Adams, *London Illustrated*, Phoenix, AZ 1983, 3, and Stevenson, Occasional Architecture, 66, n. 49.

[54]
See Vaughn Hart, Early English Vitruvian Books, in: id. and Peter Hicks (eds.), *Paper Palaces. The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, New Haven, CT 1998, 297–318.

[55]
Alexander Grünberg, *Pestsäulen in Österreich* (Österreich-Reihe, Bd. 122/124), Vienna 1960, 1–16, and Gertraut Schikola, Ludovico Burnacinis Entwürfe für die Wiener Pestsäule, in: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 25, 1972, 247–258. Europe developed its own tradition of "plague crosses" precisely around the years of James' entry: see Kathleen Hines, Contagious Metaphors. Liturgies of Early Modern Plague, in: *The Comparatist* 42, 2018, 318–330; Frank M. Snowden, *Epidemics and Society. From the Black Death to the Present*, New Haven, CT/London 2019, 58–82, esp. 77–80.

[56]
Lena Cowen Orlin, Temporary Lives in London Lodgings, in: *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71, 2008, 242.

[57]
And on how English iconoclasm unexpectedly changed period concepts of "construction" as well, see Chloe Porter, *Making and Unmaking in Early Modern English Drama. Spectators, Aesthetics and Incompletion*, Manchester 2013. Of the vast literature on English iconoclasm, most important remains: John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images. Destruction of Art in England 1535–1600*, Berkeley, CA/London 1973, esp. 82–100; Stevenson, Occasional Architecture, 50ff., has signalled the import of the "iconoclastic mode" for English building. And such a mode's relation to plague is not without precedent outside of Atlantic Europe, see David Turner, The Politics of Despair. The Plague of 746–747 and Iconoclasm in the Byzantine Empire, in: *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 85, 1990, 419–434.

intended to lay out a mode of art – and architecture – responsive to, and consistent with, "the doctrine of the reformed Churche".[58] Elizabeth's predecessor, Edward IV, had banned images from churches officially in 1547. With slight suspensions, a programme of so-called "stripping of the altars" remained Crown policy all century. Even in London this meant that, as one preacher mandated, "all images in everie parish church [shall be] pulled down and broken".[59] By 1643 Parliament established the "Committee for the Demolishment of Monuments of Superstition". This would culminate, of course, in the actual destruction of the royal body when James' son Charles I was decapitated in 1649.

This is not to imply that iconoclasm explains James' 1604 entry, or its representations, but rather to suggest that viewers from such a cultural moment would perhaps have been more sensitive than in other situations to the potential for the structures (like plague-addled bodies) to be here today, gone tomorrow, as it were: visible now, but not at one point in the future. Or to be broken down and transformed into something else. After Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries between 1536 and 1541, London was flooded with pillaged bricks and marble. A new kind of permanent architecture-as-recycling spread across the city; Somerset House, on London's Strand, for example, was built largely with salvaged ecclesiastical masonry.[60] Print certainly abetted this process in Stuart England, by rendering the arches themselves patterns to be copied – an oak screen in the Great Hall at Knole House in Kent, dated to around 1608,[61] was modelled upon Harrison's engraving of the then-gone *Londinium* arch [Fig. 1]; Thomas Sackville, the avaricious Lord High Treasurer to James VI and I, allegedly renovated the Hall along such lines in hopes of one day receiving the king personally. Thus was the archway design doubly instrumentalised (unsuccessfully, as it turned out, as James never visited Knole) as social capital.

Harrison's prints, along such lines, monumentalise not just the processional architecture, but the truth of its disappearance. The literary theorist Mikhail Yampolsky puts it this way: "destruction and construction can be understood [...] as two equally valid structures of immortalization."[62] The "vanishing" of the 1604 arches was

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58
Richard Haydocke, *A Tract containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge, Carvinge & Buildinge*, Oxford 1598, 4.

59
As cited in Gilbert Bernet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church in England*, London 1880, Book II, ccx.

60
Stevenson, Occasional Architecture, 50–51.

61
John Newman, *Kent. West and the Weald*, New Haven, CT/London 2012, 338–339 and 343–344, with detailed illustrations.

62
Mikhail Yampolsky, In the Shadow of Monuments. Notes on Iconoclasm and Time (trans. John Kachur), in: Nancy Condee (ed.), *Soviet Hieroglyphics. Visual Culture in Late Twentieth-Century Russia*, Bloomington, IN 1995, 93–112, 100.

as much of an event as the plague, as the re-staged plaster-and-scaffold spectacle itself.

For to print a civic entry, of course, was not merely to record: it was to reduce, to privatise, to scale. The various publications *around* the event were separate elements of the happening itself: recall how Jonson titled his book a literal "Parte" of the King's entertainment. The time of the procession, the delay of its commencement, the future of Stuart rule, the six weeks of the arches' construction and dismantling – these are the various times – Harrison's "envious destroyers" – which both animate and kill the "bodies" of the 1604 décor. But Harrison's prints were, of course, "peeces" themselves, meant to stave off destruction. To do so they hosted their own times – times of reading, times of preservation, times of subjection, times of knowing. The coronation events were deliberately unique, The translation into print condensed those temporalities into a situation suffused by death, quick or slow.[63]

There is no one *Londinium* "arch", only Harrison's arch, Dekker's arch, Dugdale's arch. James' *Magnificent Entertainment* – like the plague – is not "matter" (as it certainly was not in 1603 or 1604), but a "quasi-object", in Latour's famous terms.[64] If space is the realm of exteriority – of the city, the public, and the seen – time secrets a nuance of the private, the habitual, the opaque.[65] Early modernity in England revelled in arts where such time, such interiority, was a medium (*Hamlet* was first published in 1603, the year of the first aborted parade).[66] In this, it seems that Harrison's *Londinium* print [Fig. 1] stages a tension facing not just the describers, the designers, the actors and the funders of triumphal entries. Like capital itself, it becomes comprehensible only as traffic between securities and value, sickness and health, between superabundant allegory and dumb, unspeaking paper.

[63]
William Alexander McClung, A Place for a Time. The Architecture of Festivals and Theaters, in: Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman (eds.), *Architecture and Its Image. Four Centuries of Architectural Representation, Works from the Collection of the Canadian Center for Architecture*, Montreal 1989, 86–108. On the "evental" nature of such occurrences, vital is Alain Baidou, *Being and Event* (trans. Oliver Feltham), London/New York 2005, 201–211.

[64]
See Bruno Latour, Factures/Fractures. From the Concept of Network to the Concept of Attachment, in: *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 36, 1999, 1–20; and on Latour's general relevance to the early modern: Julian Yates, What Are "Things" Saying in Renaissance Studies?, in: *Literature Compass 3/5*, 2006, 992–1010. Cognate is Timothy Morton's problematic category of the hyperobject, a forever-inaccessible (or resistible) entity beyond human scale. See Timothy Morton: *Hyperobjects: Philosophy and Ecology After the End of the World,* Minneapolis 2013.

[65]
Jameson, The End of Temporality, 697.

[66]
Thomas Clayton (ed.), *The "Hamlet" First Published (Q1, 1603). Origins, Forms, Intertextualities*, Newark, DE 1992.

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