

1981

Hendrik van Paesschen, architect of the Northern European Renaissance

John Fitzhugh Millar
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Architecture Commons](#), [European History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Millar, John Fitzhugh, "Hendrik van Paesschen, architect of the Northern European Renaissance" (1981). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539625149. <https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-8z3e-jw35>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

HENDRIK VAN PAESSCHEN
/ /
ARCHITECT OF THE NORTHERN EUROPEAN RENAISSANCE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

John Fitzhugh Millar

1981

ProQuest Number: 10626342

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10626342

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

APPROVAL SHEET

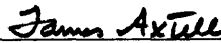
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

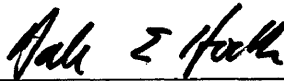
A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "R.F. Ni", written over a horizontal line.

Author

Approved, May 1981

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "James Axtell", written over a horizontal line.

James L. Axtell

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Dale E. Hoak", written over a horizontal line.

Dale E. Hoak

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Cary Carson", written over a horizontal line.

Cary Carson

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
CHAPTER I.....	2
CHAPTER II.....	49
APPENDIX.....	65
NOTES FOR CHAPTER I.....	67
NOTES FOR CHAPTER II.....	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	85
PLATES.....	88
VITA.....	102

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express his appreciation and thanks to many people without whose help this study would have been incomplete. The author is indebted to Professors James Axtell and Dale Hoak and to Mr. Cary Carson for their careful reading and criticism of the manuscript. He wishes to thank Mrs. Clifford Currie, Professor Jeremy Noakes and Professor George Rudé for their valuable assistance in translating many texts from foreign languages.

The author is grateful to many correspondents for their letters of helpful information and encouragement, including the following: Professor James Ackerman, Harvard University; Mr. Anthony Blunt, London; Dr. Luc Devlieghe, Bruges; D. T. LeFort, Amsterdam; Mr. Mark Girouard, London; Professor Henry-Russell Hitchcock, New York; Professor Sten Karling, Stockholm; Professor E. H. ter Kuile, the Netherlands; Professor Peter Murray, London; Professor Otto Norn, Copenhagen; Mr. Joakim Skovgaard, England; Sir John Summerson, London; and Commander J. S. Tickelman, Royal Netherlands Navy.

The author wishes to recognize the assistance so willingly provided by many archives and libraries around the world, especially: Anne Pise Thygesen, Kunstakademiets Bibliotek, Copenhagen; Mette Bligaard, National History Museum, Frederiksborg; Birgit Küstner and Dr. Degner at two archives in Hamburg; Jens Christian Eldal, The Royal Norwegian Archives, Akershus (located inside a fortress partly built by Hendrik); Dr. A. Stroobants, the Historical Museum, Dendermonde; Edmund Kotarski, the

Library, Gdansk; S. B. Halman, The British Architectural Library, London; John Newman, Courtaulds Institute of Art, London; Maurice Tomlin, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Charling Chang Fagan, Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University; Professor James E. Robinson, III, Harvard University; Mrs. Thomas Steele, Washington, D. C.; Dr. J. Van Roey, State Archives, Antwerp; Ralph Hyde, Guildhall Library, London; Michael Wakeford, Mercer's Company Library, London; Mrs. J. P. A. Fenley, The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London; R. H. Harcourt Williams, Hatfield House Library, Hertfordshire; S. R. Head, Hertfordshire County Library; M. J. Barrett, Gresham's School, Norfolk; C. Wilkins-Jones, Norfolk County Library; James Howson, Archives of the London Borough of Barking; R. Hassell, East Sussex County Library; A. G. Vesey Clwyd County Archives; D. Michael Francis, National Library of Wales; Peter Smith, The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales; the State Libraries at Rostock and Lübeck, and the Archives of the Indies, Seville.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate

- I. The Royal Exchange, London.
- II. Gresham House/Gresham College, London.
Building at the Steelyard, London.
- III. Osterley Park, House and Stables, Middlesex.
- IV. Theobalds Park, House and Stables, Hertfordshire.
Burghley House, near Stamford.
Gorhambury, Hertfordshire.
Copthall, Essex.
Slaugham Place, Sussex.
- V. Bachegraig, Clwyd.
Clough Town House, Ruthin.
Plas Clough, Denbigh.
Plas Mawr, Conwy.
Eastbury Manor, Barking.
Gresham School, Holt.
Intwood, Norfolk.
- VI. Palace of the Duke of Brabant au Coudenberg, Brussels.
Raadhuis, Antwerp.
Hanseatenhuis, Antwerp.
Unidentified Raadhuis or Bourse, Flanders.
- VII. Kronborg Castle, Helsingør.
The Bath-house, Hillerød.
Uraniborg, Hven Island.
The Fadelburslaengen, Hillerød.
76 Stengadē, Helsingør.

ABSTRACT

Published accounts of the history of renaissance architecture are often incomplete when they consider northern Europe in the sixteenth century. The purpose of this study is to explore the life and works of Hendrik van Paesschen of Antwerp, one of the most significant architects of the northern European renaissance.

Buildings documented as having been designed by Hendrik were analyzed, and other buildings in the period 1558 to 1583 were attributed to Hendrik in Flanders, England, Wales, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Many of these buildings were designed as a result of Hendrik's association with powerful men in the respective countries, such as the kings of Sweden and Denmark, the sculptor Cornelis Floris de Vriendt, the statesman William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and the financier Sir Thomas Gresham.

Hendrik's influence on the works of later architects was assessed, and it was found that his influence was felt from Scandinavia to Spain and even to North America over a period of two centuries. Among those influenced by him were Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren.

Although his personal life still remains largely obscure, Hendrik emerges in this study as one of the foremost architects of the European renaissance because of his own works and his influence upon others.

HENDRIK VAN PAESSCHEN

ARCHITECT OF THE NORTHERN EUROPEAN RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER I

The story usually told of the progress of the Renaissance style of architecture in Britain is that it began in the reign of Henry VIII with a few tombs and monuments carved by Italian artists, and a few classical details, imperfectly understood, attached to otherwise medieval buildings, as at Kirby or Longleat; and that this "mannerist" approach persisted until about 1610, when Inigo Jones imported the fully-developed Palladian style from Italy. Occasionally, reference is made to the Royal Exchange in London, built near the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, but the identity and significance of the architect of the Exchange is usually omitted, nor is any analysis made of the high level of Renaissance architecture achieved in the Exchange. A closer inspection of the Royal Exchange is the key to an understanding of the considerable progress of Renaissance architecture in Britain and elsewhere in northern Europe half a century before Inigo Jones.¹

In the sixteenth century the Low Countries were a magnet for Europeans interested in commerce, and thither went the young Thomas Gresham (1519?-1579) in 1543 for the purpose of private trade and also unofficially to represent Henry VIII in financial and diplomatic transactions. He proved so adept at manipulating the money-markets at Antwerp that he was appointed as the official Crown agent there under Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. In the beginning, England's commercial relations with the merchants at Antwerp were strengthened by the possession of Calais, but during Mary's reign the French captured Calais; in retaliation, the English took Le Havre, but the French soon recaptured it, leaving England with no potential

entrepot on the Continent.²

The lack of such an English base, coupled with the growing conflict between the Low Countries and their Spanish overlords, convinced Gresham that founding a merchants' exchange in London like the celebrated Bourse at Antwerp would be profitable for him personally and for his country. Gresham's father, Sir Richard Gresham, had previously entertained such a venture as early as 1537, but for various reasons had been unable to proceed. Sir Thomas (for he had been knighted in 1559) proposed to the citizens of London that if they would donate a suitable piece of ground he would undertake to build the London Bourse at his own expense, and so in 1566 a block of old houses on Cornhill was demolished, and the foundation stone was laid for the new building on June 7th. Construction was soon completed and the first merchants moved in at the end of 1568. In January 1570, Elizabeth visited the Bourse after dining with Gresham; she announced that she was greatly pleased with it, although she did not like its foreign name, and so she issued a proclamation that henceforth the building should be called the Royal Exchange.³ No doubt one of the aspects that pleased the queen most was that many of the merchants who had transacted their business in the nave of St. Paul's Cathedral prior to 1569 had moved their operations to the new building.⁴ The Royal Exchange prospered until it was destroyed during the Great Fire of London in 1666. Its replacement, designed by Edward Jerman, was built along roughly similar lines, and lasted until 1838.⁵

During the period of the original Bourse's construction, Gresham's correspondence frequently refers to a Flemish architect or masterbuilder by the name of Henryk, Henryke and Maitre Henri. Who was this architect? The contemporary Italian writer Guicciardini in the 1588 edition of his

Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi claims that "Henrico van Paschen d'Anversa, architetto eccellente," built the London Bourse, although Robert Hedicke, writing in the early twentieth century, disputes Guicciardini's assertion and adds that the likely architect was the well-known Antwerp sculptor Cornelis Floris.⁶ Henri Hymans, a contemporary of Hedicke, upholds Guicciardini's claim, but with no new evidence.⁷ However, a judicial court document in Antwerp from 1568 should end the debate decisively; it states that Marie, daughter of Jan van Delft, "huysvrouw Hendricx van Paesschen," (wife of Hendrik van Paesschen) testifies that her husband was then in England "makende ende edificerende de borsse" (designing and building the Bourse).⁸

The Bourse was a splendid building, very different from most other English architecture of its day. It was built of brick with white stone dressing around a rectangular courtyard. The ground floor of the courtyard was an arcaded loggia supported on marble Tuscan columns. Above the arcade was a storey containing businesses, and with only four windows looking onto the courtyard; where other windows normally would have been placed were compass-headed niches housing fine statues of the kings and queens of England, the niches being separated by Ionic pilasters. It had a hipped roof arranged in a "double-pile" on all four sides, and at the side of the main entrance on the south side was a handsome tower and cupola with overhanging balconies; on the north side of the building, the tower was balanced by an enormous Corinthian column. The cupola, the column and plinths on all four corners of the roof were surmounted with Gresham's personal emblem, the grasshopper. The only feature that marred the building's high level of classical Renaissance design was the use of an even number of bays on the north and south sides of the

courtyard rather than the more correct odd number that one would expect.⁹ All of the carved stone work was imported from Antwerp, but the bricks were English, and the timber came from Gresham's estate at Ringshall, Suffolk.¹⁰

Many writers have suggested that the Royal Exchange was hardly more than a copy of the Antwerp Bourse, built by de Wagemakere in 1531. Although they were both rectangular buildings with arcaded courtyards, the latter was in the Gothic style and lacked any of the graces of the Renaissance.¹¹ Another writer has suggested that the Bourse at Venice may have served as the inspiration, but the Venetian building was and is very different.¹² The closest parallels for the Royal Exchange are to be found in northern Italy in such masterpieces as Brunelleschi's Foundling Hospital at Florence and Laurana's courtyard of the Ducal Palace at Urbino, and in the Low Countries in the Kasteel at Breda by Tommaso Vincidor, ca. 1535.

Although it was destroyed a century after its founding, more than three centuries ago, many pictures of the Royal Exchange survive to give a comprehensive idea of its appearance. A distant view by Visscher (1616) shows the tower and cupola; another view by Hollar shows the southwest corner. The south front appears in an Antwerp engraving, probably by Hogenborg, and in a Victorian print of a painting now lost. The interior of the courtyard was engraved many times by Hollar and Hogenborg and others, and in the eighteenth century (based on an earlier picture) by George Verture. These pictures show, among other things, that Hendrik solved the difficult problem of how to make an arcade continue around a corner by clustering three columns in the corners, something that Brunelleschi never managed to achieve.

Since the author of Gresham's Law of Economics had enough good architectural taste to sponsor the construction of the Royal Exchange in what was for England a revolutionary new style, it would be reasonable to ask if Gresham also employed Hendrik to design any other buildings in England. The first place to look for such a building should be Gresham's own mansion in London where Gresham entertained Elizabeth at dinner. No exact date has been found for this house, but is likely that it was built in 1561-2, while Gresham was laid up with a seriously broken leg; in any case it was completed by 1566.

Gresham's house was flexible. With few material alterations, he was able to establish the Gresham Almshouse for indigents in one wing of the house. The rest of the house he willed to Gresham College, which he had founded a few years before his death in defiance of the authorities of his alma mater, Cambridge University, and the college quickly took over the house as its headquarters. The college hired many distinguished London scholars for its faculty, among them Christopher Wren, who was Professor of Astronomy resident in the College from 1657 to 1661. The college building was fortunately spared by the Great Fire of London; in fact, some of the business of the Royal Exchange was transferred to the college until the new Exchange was built. The college was not well maintained, and by the middle of the eighteenth century the building was abandoned and sold; it was demolished by its new owners, and the land was developed.

Written descriptions of the College mention that it was built around a rectangular courtyard, and that all four sides of the courtyard contained a ground-floor arcaded loggia supported on marble columns that had been imported from Flanders.¹⁵ A map of London following the Great

Fire confirms the rectangular courtyard.¹⁶ Two eighteenth-century engravings, one by Vertue, confirm the loggias, and also show a hipped roof pierced by hipped dormers as at the Royal Exchange. The Vertue engraving also shows that the roof had an innovative design: on the courtyard side, the cornice was two storeys above the ground, while on the street side it was three storeys high. This was accomplished by moving the ridge outwards from its normal central position. Another feature shown in the Vertue engraving was a second courtyard to the south for a stableyard, but this may have been a later addition, as it fails to show up on early maps.¹⁸

Gresham College represents a significant departure from English tradition in its arrangement of rooms. The college's rooms were arranged only a single row deep around the courtyard, and allowed no room for a Great Hall, Great Chamber, Withdrawing Chamber and Privy Chamber which formed the kernel of every large house of the English nobility. Instead, the building could only have been divided into apartments and thus followed up-to-date Italian and French practices.

The Wren and Hawksmoor Collection of drawings contains an ink-and-wash drawing of part of a building with an arcaded loggia on the ground floor, and a later hand has added the suggestion on the back that the picture represents "Gresham Colledge," but the drawing is so unlike the building shown in the two known pictures of Gresham College in its spacing of columns, the details of its loggia and its windows, that there is no way in which this drawing could represent an earlier state of the College. The building shown in the drawing is in a less academic style of architecture, and, judging from the details of its dormer windows, probably dates from the early years of the seventeenth century.

No written connection with Hendrik has yet been found for Gresham College, but its general similarity to the Royal Exchange, which it preceded by a few years, its marked difference from contemporary English buildings, and the ingenious roof design all point to Hendrik as its architect. The fact that Wren lived in the College for several years just before designing his first buildings may have played a part in Wren's evolution of his own personal style of architecture a century after Hendrik had designed the College in a similar style.¹⁹

Gresham owned a number of country houses, of which the most famous was Osterley Park in Middlesex; the name Osterley may have been derived from the popular name for the Hanseatic merchants with whom Gresham traded, for they were called Osterlings. Gresham began to build Osterley about 1567, and both house and stables still stand, although in greatly altered form. At some point, the stables were reduced in size by more than half, and the house was enlarged early in the eighteenth century for the Child family; some alterations had been made to it in the seventeenth century under the ownership of Nicholas Barbon, the London development speculator. Further alterations were carried out in the middle of the eighteenth century to designs by Sir William Chambers, who was then replaced by his arch-rivals, the brothers Adam. The Adams contributed some characteristic interior decoration and the bold stroke of piercing the east wall with a giant hexastyle portico. The house is now owned by the National Trust, and it is opened to the public by the Victoria and Albert Museum.²⁰

But what of the original buildings? Very little information survives. The earliest helpful document is a 1635 estate map containing a small aerial sketch of the house and stables by Moses Glover. The

house appears as a high, rectangular building with a cupola at each corner. Each corner of the house projected slightly so as to give the impression of a bastion, but the projections were much smaller than those of the present house, while the bastions themselves were much larger than the present towers.²¹ A floor-plan for Osterley, presumably dating from the late seventeenth century, agrees closely with the Glover picture. It shows that the house had a courtyard surrounded on three sides by a loggia; the fourth side apparently had a semi-octagonal projection in the middle to contain a staircase, but this feature is very faintly drawn, as if to show that it was to be removed and replaced by some additional rooms for the Childs family, or that it had recently been replaced with additional rooms for the Barbon family. The plan shows clearly that Gresham's house was very much smaller than the present house, and that the principal entrance front was to the south, while it is now to the east. However, the plan fails to agree with some archaeological finds in the present house, which show that there were at least two small, polygonal towers in the corners of the courtyard, possibly inside the loggia.²²

The Glover sketch shows the stables to have consisted of two U-shaped buildings plus a small rectangular house together forming another courtyard. Only the northerly block remains, and that has been altered by moving the original doorway off-center, replacing the two corner-cupolas with a single central one to a similar design, and raising the two wings from their original one storey to the two-storey height of the central section.

Queen Elizabeth visited Osterley and apparently liked it, although true to form, she is reported to have found fault with one detail (an

open space east of the house that she thought should have been bisected by a wall; the story that Gresham had the wall built for her during the night is perhaps apocryphal).²³

Evidence for attribution of the design for Osterley and its stables to Hendrik is entirely circumstantial. It is likely that Gresham would hire the same architect for Osterley as he had for his London house and for the Exchange, and the two buildings were undoubtedly in the Renaissance style, and of brick with stone dressings like Gresham's London buildings. The courtyard and loggia were hallmarks of Hendrik's style, and so were the Tuscan doorways with compassheaded doors, of which one survives on the stable block and another appears on a mid-eighteenth-century elevation drawing proposing alterations; one such doorway stood at the base of the tower of the Royal Exchange.²⁴

The Gresham family had roots in East Anglia, and Sir Thomas owned several estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, some granted to him for services rendered to the Crown. One Gresham property was at Holt, Norfolk. The record of ownership is not clear, but it seems that both Thomas and his uncle, Sir John, owned the property, and in 1553 they planned to build a school to be known as the Free Grammar School, now known as Gresham's School.²⁵ The school was built in 1555 on the plan of an E. Each projection was capped with crow-stepped gables, a feature that Hendrik is believed to have used in other buildings. The building was destroyed by fire in 1859, but its appearance was recorded by an engraving made from a sketch drawn in 1838 and by a photograph taken in 1859. The school was considerably less formal than Gresham's other buildings, and it even had a Gothic arch for its front door. However, the crow-stepped gable had rarely, if ever, previously appeared in England (although common in Flanders), and that feature alone suggests a Flemish architect.

It is entirely possible that the design for such a building was no more than a quick sketch by Hendrik and was given to local workmen to interpret as best they could - hence the Gothic doorway.²⁶

Intwood Hall, Intwood, Norfolk, was another of Sir Thomas' houses. He is known to have enlarged an earlier house built by his father. The house was altered about 1807 by Arthur Browne, and again about 1835.²⁷ The only surviving picture of it is an engraving that was apparently made after the first alterations but before the second. It shows no fewer than six crow-stepped gables across the façade, the inner pair being recessed some distance behind the plane of the outer four. Each gable sat above a single three-storey column of pedimented, casement windows, and a large collection of eight chimney-stacks loomed high over the centre. The picture also shows Gothic buttresses and pinnacles, an embattled wing and two embattled bay windows, but these are regarded as part of the nineteenth-century alterations.²⁸ Once more, it is tempting to recognise the crow-stepped gables as indicative of Hendrik's work, in addition to the pedimented windows (found in several other Hendrik buildings) and the even number of bays in the façade. Elizabeth stayed with Gresham at Intwood in 1578, but her opinion of the house is not recorded.

Sir Thomas owned a house at Great Walsingham, Norfolk. The so-called Manor House there is no more than a plain cottage, while the most impressive house in the village is Berry Hall, close to the Manor House. Berry Hall is a vernacular building constructed early in the sixteenth century. Among its many alterations and additions over the centuries is a two-storey, single-bay porch with a crow-stepped gable, perhaps another quick sketch from Hendrik's pen. In its drawing room is some

rich panelling of Elizabethan date and classical design, but this could easily be the work of any number of workmen employed by Gresham to finish his many buildings.

Gresham was involved in numerous commercial enterprises in England, any of which could have involved buildings designed by Hendrik; among them were oil-mills, corn-mills and paper-mills at Osterley (the paper-mills being the first in England), but no trace of any of these survives.²⁹

The story of Hendrik in Britain now leaves Gresham and joins Gresham's factor, Sir Richard Clough. Clough (1530?-1570), who came from the northern part of Wales, is best remembered as Gresham's chief assistant at Antwerp, and, as such, one of the key men responsible for strengthening England's financial position in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. His knighthood, of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, was received on a tour of the Mediterranean, but it was not recognised in Britain, and neither he nor his friends used the title. Clough made many of the necessary arrangements for the construction of the Royal Exchange, and Hendrik's name appears frequently in Clough's correspondence -- "glad yt you do so well lyke Henryke and yt yor workes go so well forwardes..." and "...Henryke and his men are arrived here (Antwerp)..."³⁰

Gresham and Clough together were able to raise the value of British currency by astute manipulation of the money exchange at Antwerp, but they also succeeded at a far more dangerous task: by corrupting Spanish officials in the Low Countries, they were able to procure enormous quantities of arms and gunpowder purloined from Spanish arsenals. According to an old folk-tale, Clough was equally decisive in his personal life:

it is alleged that John Maurice Wynn of Gwydir proposed marriage to Katheryn Salusbury as she left the church following the funeral of her husband, and she replied that she already accepted Clough's proposal on the way to the funeral! She added, however, that she would marry Wynn if and when she outlived Clough, and this she did in 1580, three years later. ³¹

At the time of his marriage, Clough embarked on a frenzy of construction in northern Wales. In the town of Ruthin, he substantially altered a medieval house into a town house. The building still stands, somewhat altered, and is known as the Myddelton Arms, an adjunct to the Castle Hotel. The walls of the house are only one storey in height, but its high, hipped roof, set off by three massive chimneys, is pierced by no fewer than three rows of dormer windows in the Flemish tradition; this last is not found in any British architectural tradition. Because of the Flemish features of the design and because of what we know about Clough's association with Hendrik, plus the likely connection of Hendrik with Clough's other two houses, it is possible that Hendrik was the architect of the rebuilding of this ancient house. ³²

Clough's other two houses were both built in the country. Plas Clough was built near Denbigh in a somewhat vernacular style. Although its design was obviously Flemish in outline, it would not have been too foreign for a local lady such as Katheryn, and it is surmised that Plas Clough was the house Clough built to please his wealthy but provincial bride. The three projections of its E-plan are crowned with crow-stepped gables, although an eighteenth-century painting of the house shows fewer steps than the house presently has. The central projection consists of a room over an entrance porch, supported by a pair of marble Tuscan

columns. The presence of the columns, combined with the similarity of the house to the Gresham School at Holt, strongly suggest that Hendrik drew at least a general outline of the design, but the random spacing of the windows suggests that local masons interpreted the plan in their own way.³³ It must be admitted that there is little about the design to suggest Hendrik's authorship over that of other Flemish builders.

If Plas Clough was a slightly vernacular Flemish house built to please Katheryn, Bachegraig House, near Tremeirchion, was for Clough himself. Nothing about the design suggests any compromise with local architectural tradition; instead, Bachegraig was the most up-to-date statement of Flemish Renaissance architecture conceivable, and would have looked more at home on the banks of a canal in the Low Countries than in the wilds of North Wales. According to a nineteenth-century history of Wales, Clough had planned to "canalize" the nearby river Clwyd in order for large ships to be able to reach Bachegraig, and he then intended to make the place into a major trading centre. The three sides of the courtyard in front of the house were to serve as "magazines from which he was to dispense his imports to the neighbouring parts."³⁴

The house, which prominently displayed its date of 1567 in wrought iron figures on the front after the Flemish custom, was built of brick with white stone dressings. It had a high basement and a six-bay main floor or piano nobile, the only jarring note being the fact that the handsome, Tuscan entrance porch was off-centre to the left because of the even number of bays - reminiscent of the Royal Exchange. The high, hipped roof was set off by a collection of end-chimneys and pierced by two rows of hipped dormers. On top of the roof stood an enormous, two-

storey cupola, the lower floor of which, following an Elizabethan practice, apparently contained a room for eating with a view out over the Welsh countryside. The rear elevation of the house had three windows on each side of a central, semi-octagonal projection that rose the full height of the walls and was crowned with a balustraded balcony; the dormers in the rear were arranged in three tiers, reminiscent of the Clough house in Ruthin. The main house, which is known to us through many eighteenth-century paintings and sketches, has long since been demolished, but the forecourt buildings still stand in somewhat altered form. Only two sides of the courtyard were completed, but it is likely that the design called for three sides and Clough's untimely death halted construction. The buildings around the courtyard were supported on a flat loggia of marble Tuscan columns. A contemporary Welsh poet described it thus:

At Bachegraig he rear'd a stately pile
Of strong materials, which he brought from Antwerp
Thence, too, his mansion's marble pillars came

In the middle of the side opposite the main house was a gatehouse with a high hipped roof and iron figures showing the date 1569.³⁵

The piano nobile of the main house contained one or possibly two great rooms, but the space inside the roof contained only small rooms. When Dr. Johnson visited the house in 1774, it was already ruinous; he considered that the "addition of another story would make a useful house, but it cannot be great."³⁶ This last remark can be seen as a commentary on the changing tastes in architecture. Yet the appeal of Bachegraig's design lingered long after its conception, for the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, Virginia bears a relationship to Bachegraig, which, at the time of the Palace's construction, was already 150 years old.³⁷

Unfortunately, no documentary evidence has thus far appeared to confirm the great weight of circumstantial evidence that Hendrik was the architect of Clough's three houses; in spite of the voluminous collection of Clough's correspondence at the Public Record Office in London, no letter to or from Hendrik survives.

There remains one further, though tenuous connection between Hendrik and northern Wales. When Clough died, his widow was as good as her word and married John Wynn of Gwdir. John's kinsman Robert, although secure in the locally-based wealth and power of his family, had become a soldier and a diplomat, and joined Clough and Gresham in Antwerp. He returned to Conwy in Wales, where he began the construction of a Flemish-style stone house called Plas Mawr in 1576. Although the house was not completed until 1595, and during the intervening time many alterations were presumably made in the original elevation plan, the floor-plan suggests that the house was built to an over-all master-plan. The plan of the house is in the shape of a U, with crow-stepped gables on the ends of the upright parts of the U. In the angles are polygonal staircase towers, reminiscent of the towers at the Osterley stables. Some of the windows are capped with pediments after the manner of Intwood and other suspected and documented Hendrik buildings. The local builders presumably departed from the original plans in such details as the Gothic front door, the spacing and design of some of the windows, and the addition of an extra storey to the top of the right-hand tower. No documents have yet been found connecting Robert Wynn with Hendrik.³⁸

A slightly earlier house, Eastbury Manor House in Barking, Essex (1572-3) has a remarkably similar plan, even including the unusual internal layout of many of the rooms; however, no features of the elevation

design are compatible with Hendrik's style -- no crow-stepped gables, no pedimented windows, no marble columns. If Hendrik was involved in Eastbury Manor House it could have been no more than in providing a floor-plan, for any elevation sketches he may have given were obviously not followed.³⁹ More research into the background of Eastbury Manor will be needed before any conclusions can safely be drawn.

If the scent of Hendrik's work is only faint at Eastbury, it becomes very strong again at Burghley House, near Stamford. Burghley was built over many years by William Cecil (1520-1598), principal Secretary of State to Elizabeth. Cecil is generally considered to have acted as his own architect for most of his prodigious building efforts, but he is known to have used the services of Hendrik on a number of occasions. Cecil and Gresham had been friends for a long time before Elizabeth's accession, and they continued their relationship after Elizabeth had granted both of them great power. In fact, the story of Gresham's acquisition of stolen Spanish weapons in Flanders closely involves Cecil as co-conspirator. It is not surprising, therefore, that Gresham should have introduced Cecil to Hendrik by 1563 or perhaps even earlier.⁴⁰

Burghley House, which was built in stone from about 1553 to about 1587, is usually described as an Elizabethan prodigy-house; this means that it was very large, somewhat whimsical in design, and intended as a place for Elizabeth to stay comfortably on one of her progresses around the country. It is arranged around a courtyard, and has only been slightly altered since Cecil's death.⁴¹

Of the four exterior elevations, only one could have any connection with Hendrik on stylistic grounds. This is the south or garden face begun about 1564, the centre of which contained an eight-bay arcaded loggia;

the central two bays projected slightly as a focal point, thus disobeying the same rules that Hendrik disobeyed at the Royal Exchange and Bachegraig. This was somewhat altered in the eighteenth century by the insertion of more arches, so as to achieve an odd number of bays in accordance with classical taste, and the parapet around the roof was raised.⁴²

In the courtyard, Hendrik's work is more evident. Researches done by Sir John Summerson and Christopher Hussey indicate that the attractive loggia at the east end of the courtyard was built about 1563 out of parts carved and shipped by Gresham from Antwerp, and that "the Dutch mason" strongly recommended that the columns be made from single pieces of stone (which they were). The correspondence about this is at Hatfield, and included with the letters was a drawing (now lost) endorsed by Cecil with the words "Henryk's plan of my bay window".⁴³ While the bay window itself no longer exists, if it ever was built, here is clear evidence that Hendrik actually was employed by Cecil as an architect.

The arcaded loggia, which has now been altered, originally consisted of three bays on each side of a central structure of two storeys of superimposed arches (the superimposed arches were reminiscent of part of Somerset House in London, built by Cecil's friend Sir John Thynne).⁴⁴ Cecil himself later added a third storey and crowned it with a huge obelisk, but these features can be dated twenty years after the lower part. In about 1835, copies of the loggia were extended around the north and south sides of the courtyard, and somewhat later all the loggias were enclosed to make corridors.

In the middle of the north side of the courtyard was erected a large projection (undated, but probably about 1564). The upper storey

contains a massive arch with windows on either side in the arrangement usually known as a Venetian or Palladian arch. This is undoubtedly the first example of such a design in Britain, and one of the first to appear outside Italy since the classical-Roman period, and may have derived from the Pazzi Chapel in Florence. The south side of the courtyard is a mirror image of the north side.

Other features of Burghley House that may be associated with Hendrik are the collections of chimneys wrought in the shape of Tuscan columns supporting an entablature, and certain interior details. Chief among the latter is the so-called Roman staircase with its elegant ceiling and the Serlian chimney breast in the Great Hall, both built in the 1560s. The vaulted ceiling of the staircase was imitated in a corridor near the west gateway, but that is believed to have been built in 1577.⁴⁵

Sir William Cecil lost interest in Burghley House for many years in the middle of its construction, for he was engrossed in building an even grander house at Theobalds Park in Hertfordshire. Theobalds became destroyed during the Commonwealth, so very little information survives about it beyond Cecil's correspondence and drawings. Nevertheless, Sir John Summerson has managed to piece together a reasonable account of the house's construction.⁴⁶

When Cecil first acquired it, Theobalds was an unpretentious house, but Elizabeth soon visited it and Cecil decided to enlarge it to make her more comfortable should she decide to come again. When the house was finally completed, it had two closed courtyards and one open courtyard plus an extra wing projecting to the side. It had many loggias, some of them formal and others obviously by the hand of a local builder unschooled in classical theory. The most significant loggia was in front

of the Great Hall at the western end of the Middle Court; this loggia was probably very similar to the one in the courtyard at Burghley, except that it had only two arches on either side of the two superimposed arches in the middle. It can be dated close to 1567, for one of Cecil's letters of that year in the Hatfield collection refers to delays caused by Hendrik having lost the plans; this has been taken by some to mean that Cecil designed the loggia for Hendrik to carve, but it is more likely to mean that Hendrik lost the plan of the courtyard into which he was to fit his own design for the loggia.⁴⁷ A drawing in the Hatfield collection shows a plan of Theobalds with an earlier, alternative design for the block containing the loggia: it shows a colonnade of eight giant-order Ionic columns rising through two full storeys, the middle four columns being grouped in pairs.⁴⁸ There is no evidence linking this design to Hendrik nor to anyone else, but it represents the kind of thinking about architecture that was never accepted -- nor even offered-- in Britain until the success of Inigo Jones half a century later, and Hendrik would have been the most likely source for such a design.

A loggia formed part of the south or garden face of the "fountain" block, according to plans drawn by John Thorpe and the existing ruins. The proportions suggest the hand of Hendrik; this portion of the house recalls the similar loggia on the garden side of Burghley. Other loggias, however, were far more primitive in design: a rejected design for the green gallery on the inner side of the gatehouse (1572-4) is clumsy, and the elevation of the "gallery garden" from the same date is uninspired.⁴⁹

The archaeological studies at Theobalds have not revealed any formal stable plan, nor does one appear in any of John Thorpe's records of plans of the estate. However, Robert Smythson recorded "the Platforme of ye

King's Stabell at Tyballs," designed around a square courtyard with a pair of stair towers in the two corners nearest the main entrance rather like the stable at Osterley.⁵⁰ The possibilities are either that Smythson designed the building for James I in 1609 or that Smythson, who like Thorpe was fond of copying down designs by other architects, recorded the plan that he had found on his way to London in 1609; could the architect of the original plan have been Hendrik? The plan is compatible with his style and displays considerable ingenuity. It offers stalls for up to 94 horses in six completely separate compartments, the separation being perhaps intended to help prevent the spread of disease among the horses.

Not far from Theobalds stood Gorhambury, also in Hertfordshire. The property belonged to Sir Nicholas Bacon (1509 - 1579) from 1561 onwards. Bacon, father of the Jacobean statesman and scientist Francis Bacon, was related to both Gresham and Cecil by marriage and was an intimate friend of both. Elizabeth appointed him Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.⁵¹

Bacon apparently did not care for the existing house at Gorhambury, for he began construction of a new house in 1563 and completed it in 1568. This was arranged around a square courtyard, but was for the most part architecturally undistinguished. Elizabeth visited Bacon at Gorhambury and pointedly remarked about its small size, to which Bacon is reported to have replied that the house was adequate, but "madam, you have made me too big for it." Eloquence aside, Bacon was greatly troubled by the queen's observation and he went to Cecil for advice. After discussing the matter with Cecil, Bacon resolved to build a large addition to the house to the west, and accordingly built one and a

half sides of what may have been intended as a second complete courtyard. This L-shaped wing contained a great picture gallery upstairs, supported on a loggia of marble Tuscan columns with a flat entablature. No record survives of any connection between Bacon and Hendrik, but this addition was too much like the loggia at Bachegraig to be a mere coincidence. It is likely that when Cecil advised Bacon to enlarge his house to find favor with Elizabeth he also offered a suggestion that Hendrik should be the architect. The central bay of the south side of the loggia was larger than the others and contained an arch; it also projected forward slightly, and above it was a Venetian window. The Venetian window may have been part of Hendrik's design, or it may have been an eighteenth-century alteration, for it is only known to us from an eighteenth-century watercolor drawing. The ground-floor arch framed a niche that contained a handsome statue of Henry VIII, part of which still survives. The statue was probably carved by Flemish workmen, who excelled in this kind of sculpture.

Bacon's efforts were not in vain: when Elizabeth visited him again at Gorhambury in 1577, she was apparently so pleased that she spent five days there and his costs for entertaining her came to over £575, almost a fifth of the original cost of the house! A new Gorhambury House was begun in 1777 next to the Bacon house, and the old building was partially demolished by 1787, the rest being allowed gradually to fall into ruin. Bacon's house is known to us through the eighteenth-century watercolor mentioned above, an eighteenth-century plan, archaeological investigations and various written descriptions from the sixteenth century onwards.⁵²

Richard Covert (d.1579) owned property near Cuckfield, Sussex. He,

like Gresham, was in the ironworks business; when England lost Calais in 1558, she lost with it her substantial iron industry in the Calais area and a new iron industry sprang up on the Weald in Sussex as part of an effort to supply Elizabeth with new armaments. Thus Covert at Cuckfield and Gresham at nearby Mayfield were both well situated for involvement in the new iron industry; it seems likely that they knew each other well.

At some point, presumably in the 1560s, Covert built himself a house called Slaugham Place on his Cuckfield land. According to slightly inaccurate plans recorded by John Thorpe and the ruins of the actual house, it was a typical Elizabethan-Gothic house arranged around a courtyard, but it did have two handsome loggias, parts of which still survive in isolation. Both were of five bays, the rusticated arcade in the courtyard behind the entrance being the simpler of the two. The other loggia, in the middle of the northwest outside wall, faced the garden and stood under the house's long gallery. Here the arches were coffered and tastefully decorated with armorial plaques, as at Burghley, and were divided by fluted Tuscan pilasters on bases similar to those at Burghley. The central bay projected considerably beyond the plane of the rest of the arcade.⁵³

The similarities of the Slaugham arcades to work at Burghley and their generally high level of Renaissance architecture suggest that an outside architect was hired, as at Burghley, to insert some classical leaven into an otherwise Gothic house designed by some local builder, and further that this architect was in all probability Hendrik; beyond this, nothing further can be said for lack of evidence.

One of Sir William Cecil's closest friends was Sir Thomas Heneage.

The two of them, together with a third good friend, Sir Christopher Hatton, were keenly interested in each other's building projects and maintained a friendly rivalry as to whose house would best satisfy Elizabeth when she came to visit. Heneage's house was Copthall (sometimes spelled Copped Hall) in Essex, built 1564 to 1567. Copthall was related in plan to Slaugham, but it was generally undistinguished in elevation. The house was demolished in the eighteenth century, but a picture was painted of it beforehand. The picture shows that the gable ends were altered into a baroque design reminiscent of Vanbrugh's work, and that a handsome classical nine-bay arcade was erected across the open end of the courtyard between the two gable ends. The gable ends are without doubt late seventeenth-century work, and the arcade was until recently thought also to have been executed in the seventeenth century. However, research by John Newman shows that the arcade was built at the same time as the original house. If this is true, Hendrik may well have been hired to design it; the style is compatible with his work, and Cecil could easily have suggested to his friend that an arcade by Hendrik would enhance his new house.⁵⁴

According to the account of Gresham in the Dictionary of National Biography, Sir Thomas was part owner of the Steelyard, near Blackfriars on the Thames in London. The Steelyard was the headquarters of the Hanseatic merchants in London. The Hanseatic merchants employed Hendrik to build them a great palace in Antwerp, and it is conceivable that they also employed Hendrik to build them a new headquarters at the Steelyard, or to alter the old one. Contemporary accounts of the Steelyard, which was destroyed in the 1666 Great Fire of London, describe an arcaded courtyard or cloister connecting the Steelyard to the Church

of All Hallows the Great, but no pictures exist of the more inland sections of the Steelyard, so any of Hendrik's work that may have been built there must remain unknown. However, in two engravings of slightly after Hendrik's period, a small building appears along the riverbank section of the Steelyard very much in Hendrik's style. It was two storeys tall with a gable roof, and measured two bays by four. The lower storey was an open loggia of Tuscan columns, and the upper storey was of brick, for a brick relieving-arch can clearly be seen in one of the engravings. The roof had dormers on the east side. Quite possibly this building was all that was built of some larger design by Hendrik that may have been intended to form a U-shaped courtyard around the large crane shown in both engravings. Thus, as at Bachegraig, the loggia would have been useful for storing merchandise. The loggia disappeared some time after 1616 and before 1647.⁵⁵

Two more buildings in England were possibly connected with Hendrik, and both were churches within a few metres of Gresham's London house. Gresham's own church, where he is buried in a handsome Flemish tomb, was St. Helen's Bishopsgate. Gresham announced at one point that he would pay to have an elegant steeple placed atop St. Helen's, but the project was never executed. Presumably, if it ever did get as far as the design stage Hendrik would have been Gresham's choice to design it, but no such design survives. The other church was St. Austin's, which had been granted to the Dutch and Flemings living in London for worshiping according to the Dutch Reformed faith. This medieval church survived in part until World War II when it was hit by bombs. It is said that various interior alterations were carried out in the Elizabethan period, and Hendrik would have been the natural choice to design the

work to be done to his own national church (assuming that he was a Protestant, which seems highly likely, given the geographical locations of his other architectural work). However, no record survives either connecting Hendrik with this church or describing in detail the alterations.⁵⁶

Before following Hendrik's career in other countries, it is necessary first to say a few words about important English buildings of the period that he definitely did not design. Buildings that employed Renaissance forms in this period were Somerset House, London; Longleat House, Wiltshire; Longford Castle, Wiltshire; Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire; and the Gate of Honour at Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge. Somerset House is believed to have been designed in 1547-1552 by John Thynne (d. 1580), the Lord Protector's Steward. It displayed classical forms, such as pediments and columns, in a most unclassical way. Thynne later built Longleat for himself, beginning in 1568, and while Thynne's understanding of the correct use of classical forms had improved since Somerset House, Longleat was still wide of the mark. Longford Castle, a remarkable triangular house with large, round bastions at each corner, was built close to 1580 for Sir Thomas Gorges. Its principal façade, which is believed to have been designed by a Flemish or German architect, is almost baroque in its exuberance; it is a relatively homogeneous collection of recessed Dutch gables, classical loggias, columns and pilasters combined with some Gothic details, but it is far removed from Hendrik's style. Kirby was begun in 1570 for Cecil's friend Sir Christopher Hatton. Most of the enormous house was built in regular Tudor-Gothic style, but the ruins of two large screens in a different style are well preserved. One of these is the exterior

of the Great Hall, decorated with distorted Ionic pilasters of a giant order and with a central "tower of the orders", while the other combines an upstairs gallery with pedimented windows over an arcaded loggia with giant but distorted Ionic pilasters in between the bays. The classical details were obviously not well understood at Kirby. The Gate of Honour at Cambridge deserves rather more complete explanation: tradition states that it was designed by Dr. John Caius (1510-1573) with the help of a Flemish "artificer and architect" from King's Lynn, Norfolk, Theodore Havens or de Have. Dr. Caius had attended Gonville Hall at Cambridge along with Gresham. After many years, he returned to Cambridge and enlarged and elevated Gonville Hall into a College, renamed Gonville & Caius College in his honour. He made a number of architectural improvements to the College, the most notable of which was the Gate of Honour in 1572. This is a three-storey structure, of which the base looks like a classical Roman triumphal arch -- but with a pointed Gothic arch! -- and the second storey resembles a Roman tetrastyle temple flanked by pinnacles and containing three aedicules, while the top storey is a hexagonal drum surmounted by a dome. In spite of Gresham's friendship with Caius, there is no possibility of Hendrik having designed this gateway.⁵⁷

If Hendrik's architecture was so novel to England and was enthusiastically accepted by such powerful people as Gresham and Cecil, why was it not also widely accepted throughout Britain? No such buildings were built for Elizabeth, even though she apparently admired Hendrik's work, and the London Guildhall, built in this period, was unreservedly Gothic. Beyond those buildings mentioned above, no buildings in Hendrik's style were constructed for any of the wealthy friends of Cecil and Gresham for

another fifty years; even the three houses built in London by Cecil and his family were relatively non-descript Gothic buildings (Burleigh (sic) House, later called Exeter House; Cecil House and Salisbury House).⁵⁸

The answer to the question is probably very complex, but some of its major components must surely be an identification of the classical Renaissance style with Italy and the Church of Rome; a general atmosphere of xenophobia in an England facing many Continental adversaries; and above all a strong innate sense of conservatism in an era of social and religious upheavals.

Perhaps surprisingly, less is known of Hendrik's life and work in Flanders, his own country, than in England. This may be due to the fact that throughout most of the period of Hendrik's career, Flanders was in a state of turmoil and even all-out war, a condition that would tend to encourage skilled men to spend as much time as they could outside their country, and have a deleterious effect on the preservation of records.

The earliest building in Flanders for which there is a documented connection with Hendrik is also by far the most important building in Flanders in this period. This is the Raadhuis or Town Hall in Antwerp, built in 1561 to 1566; Antwerp was the most prosperous city of northern Europe at this time and thus needed an impressive building for its seat of government. The Raadhuis was still new when it was gutted by fire in 1576 during the Spanish Fury or riot of the Spanish troops, but it was rebuilt exactly as before, according to contemporary illustrations.⁵⁹

At some later date, the central courtyard was roofed over to provide more offices, and plate glass has replaced the small-paned casement windows, but otherwise the building remains today substantially as it was built.

The Raadhuis is a large, four-storey building with its front divided

into three sections. On either side of the central section, which almost overpowers the rest, are eight bays; on the ground floor is a heavily rusticated arcade, while the next two floors consist of large windows separated by Tuscan and Ionic pilasters respectively, and the top floor is largely hidden by a massive overhanging balcony and the heavy eaves of the roof. The central section is composed, above the rusticated arcade, of variations on a theme of loosely paired columns arranged around arches and niches in four storeys, using respectively the Tuscan, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite orders; towards the top of this section the structure narrows into a single bay with a pediment on top and a large pinnacle on either side. On the four corners of the large hipped roof are small plinths, as on the Royal Exchange, surmounted by the town's emblem of an eagle. There are two rows of dormers on the roof. The central courtyard was surrounded by an arcaded loggia, and a contemporary painting shows that the town government conducted some of its official business in the courtyard, the often unfriendly Belgian weather permitting.⁶⁰

Most historians writing about this building have felt secure in attributing the design to Cornelis Floris de Vriendt (1514? - 1575), a leading sculptor of the period, but doubt has now been cast on his authorship. The record shows that many artists submitted plans, including a certain Niccolo Scarini of Florence, and Floris was awarded the contract to supervise the construction, but not necessarily to his own design, if he even composed his own design in the first place.⁶¹ It is also recorded that Hendrik van Paesschen was placed by Floris in charge of the construction of at least the ground-floor arcaded loggias and quite possibly of the rest of the building.⁶² From what we know of Hendrik's other activities, especially in England, he did not have the time to be physically

present to watch all the stones being laid true, so it would seem that his role in this case was more likely to have been providing the design for part or all of the building. The design is certainly not outside the range of his style, and included many elements that he used in other buildings such as the Royal Exchange.

As for Floris, a close examination of his record reveals this master-sculptor as not much of an architect. The vast majority of his designs were for tombs for royalty and other notables, particularly in Denmark, and these tombs, although beautifully executed, show little in the way of a grasp of the principles of Renaissance design. The same can be said for two of his most famous creations, the tabernacle of the church at Zoutleeuw (1550) and the rood-screen in the cathedral at Tournai (1572). His designs for the portico in front of the medieval Rathous at Cologne, even when modified by Wilhelm Vernucken before execution in 1569 - 1573, show little understanding of how to assemble classical forms correctly, and achieve their positive effect by the application of quantities of carved decoration.⁶³ Even the impressive Hanseatenhuis at Antwerp, examined below, appears not to have been designed by Floris at all. Demonstrating the deficiencies of Floris does not prove that Hendrik was the architect of the Raadhuis, but it does suggest that it is possible to swim against a sea of print that has claimed Floris to have been the architect. Final proof, if it can ever be attained, will have to await further documentary discoveries.

Antwerp's prosperity attracted the attention of merchants from countries further away from England. German Baltic towns of Hanseatic League suspected that one way to slow the ebb of commerce away from their league to Antwerp was to build their own training centre in Antwerp. This large building, known as the Hanseatenhuis,

was built around 1564. It contained over 300 rooms, which were furnished so luxuriously that the merchants in the Hanseatic port of Danzig (Gdansk) issued a complaint. In Napoleonic times, the building was altered by the removal of its lofty steeple and many changes were made to its fenestration. It was falling into ruin when it was destroyed by fire in 1893.⁶⁴

As a work of architecture, the Hanseatenhuis was even more successful than the Raadhuis, for it achieved a unified brick façade in the style of the Renaissance without the use of pilasters to divide the wall into bays. Once again, this building was arranged around a rectangular courtyard at the base of which was an arcaded loggia. The front was thirty bays wide (an even number, as at the Royal Exchange, but here hardly noticeable because of the skillful treatment of the doorway) and four storeys tall, divided into a ground floor, a mezzanine and two very tall and well-lit upper floors. The double-pile hipped roof was pierced by two rows of hipped dormers, and had a plinth at each corner surmounted by the symbol of the Hanseatic League, a two-headed eagle, again similar to the plinths at the Royal Exchange. The chimneys, with their tall, thin arches on the sides, were similar to those on the Raadhuis. The roof's cornice was appropriately heavy for the mass of the building. Above the roof soared an impressive steeple with an overhanging balcony as at the Royal Exchange, but decorated more richly; the Corinthian columns of the overhanging stage linked the steeple visually with the two-storey Roman triumphal arch that surrounded the principal entrance on the ground floor.⁶⁵ The Hanseatenhuis was a fitting symbol of the commercial power of the Hanseatic League, which, although waning, was still great.

Just as in the case of the Raadhuis, documents in Antwerp state that Floris was in charge of the production of the Hanseatenhuis, although they

do not specifically state what that entailed; and just as in the case of the Raadhuis, there is considerable doubt as to Floris' connection with the design. The oldest expression of doubt was published without apparent contradiction in Antwerp shortly after Floris' lifetime: the 1588 edition of Guicciardini's Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi states that Hendrik van Paschen of Antwerp was responsible for the design of the "Palazzo e fondaco de gli Ostarline" (the palace and establishment of the Osterlings).⁶⁶ More recent writers have also discounted the role of Floris in favour of Hendrik, notably Baert, Roggen and Withof.⁶⁷

It is possible to construct a theory on this somewhat flimsy evidence that Floris and Hendrik sometimes worked as a team, in which Floris with his international stature as a sculptor took responsibility for the production of an important building while Hendrik furnished the designs and some of the engineering. However attractive this theory may be, it will need considerably more research if it is ever to be proved.

Hendrik is documented beyond dispute as the architect of one Flemish structure: he designed the fortifications at Dendermonde (then called Termonde) in East Flanders in 1577, but no trace of these fortifications survives and no pictures or plans of them have yet appeared. Whatever may have been built to Hendrik's design was completely replaced when the Spanish refortified the city in the 1580s.⁶⁸ Moreover, since Hendrik was known both in Flanders and in Scandinavia for his skill as a designer of fortifications, it is at least possible that he was also the designer and engineer for the Antwerp Citadel. The Dendermonde fortifications and the Antwerp Citadel were both built as a consequence of the state of war that existed between the Dutch and their Spanish overlords. George Braun wrote in his 1572 book Civitates Orbis Terrarum that Antwerp, "in

view of its illustrious, valiant and numerous (104,981 in 1568) inhabitants and its noble citizens, surpasses all other cities in the world of wealth, magnificence, power, splendour and fine houses... (and) possesses all things, whether needful for life or conducive to pleasure, a circumstance at which all foreign merchants wonder exceedingly." And yet, six years before these words were printed, Antwerp had been sacked by the Spanish, and she was to face the even worse destruction known as the Spanish Fury in 1576; in the end the Netherlands provinces to the east secured their independence, but the territory around Antwerp was reconquered by 1599.⁶⁹

The Citadel, built in 1567 at the then southern limit of the city, was a pentagonal star-fort, tied in with the eastern defense works that surrounded the city; Antwerp was protected on the west by the River Scheldt. Hendrik's connection with the Citadel, if any, is yet to be documented.

Further research will also be necessary to establish a connection between Hendrik and the large house that Gresham had built in the Long New Street early in the 1560s; this street was Antwerp's principal artery, a useful address for both Gresham and the other English merchants who resorted there.⁷⁰ In fact, one might well wonder whether the Hanseatic merchants conceived the idea for their trading palace after watching how the English merchants fared with a place of their own under Gresham's roof.

Tracing the career of Hendrik has much in common with trying to catch a criminal who is careful to leave few clues, but nowhere more so than with an impressive building that is the central focus for a contemporary oil painting. The painting, whose present location is unknown, was published in Country Life in 1963, and was there attributed to Frans Francken

the Younger on stylistic grounds. The building, which is evidently either a provincial Raadhuis or a Bourse, is too well composed to have been a figment of the artist's imagination, and combines important elements from many other buildings attributed to Hendrik, notably the Antwerp Raadhuis and the Royal Exchange in London. The writer in Country Life was unable to identify the building, in spite of searching the records about Flanders, the Netherlands and northern Germany, and more recent queries to experts in Belgium and the Netherlands have had no further success.⁷¹

The building appears to have been arranged around a rectangular courtyard; the principal front, facing the artist, was on one of the short sides, and the long sides each had a tower with cupola atop. The front was nine bays wide, the central three bays being included in a projection that rose above the roof and closely resembled the similar projection on the Antwerp Raadhuis. The hipped roof was pierced by two rows of hipped dormers, and had a plinth at each corner bearing a finial. The ground floor was fronted by a Tuscan arcaded loggia, while the next floor had pedimented windows separated by Ionic pilasters (minus the bases that slightly detracted from the pilasters on the Raadhuis at Antwerp). The top floor was an attic storey with square windows. Other notable features were the pinnacles on either side of the top of the central projection, and the overhanging gallery on the left-hand tower. While the building had so much in common with Hendrik's other buildings, it also totally lacked any sign of strapwork, a device that Hendrik also appears to have eschewed; Floris, on the contrary, together with nearly all other Flemish and Dutch architects of this period, made extensive use of strapwork often in an attempt to mask poor basic composition.

Another oil painting provides a further hint of Hendrik's work in Belgium. This is a view of the Palace of the Dukes of Brabant on the Coudenburg, Brussels, as seen from the park in the 1550s. Prominent in the picture is a seventeen-bay recent addition to the otherwise-Gothic Palace. It had a Tuscan arcaded loggia on the ground floor and a regular row of windows on the single floor above, which presumably housed a picture gallery. The roof, which ended in a crow-stepped gable, had two rows of dormers.⁷² Thus, the building was compatible with Hendrik's style and period, but beyond that it would be injudicious to say more.

For the rest of Hendrik's career, one must turn one's attention to Scandinavia. From 1561 to 1563 he was employed by King Eric XIV of Sweden to design or supervise the construction of fortifications at Alvsborg and laying out the town across the river, but for some unspecified reason he lost favour with the King and fled from Sweden.⁷³

In the same year that Hendrik left Sweden, Sweden and Denmark went to war in what is known as the Seven Years' War of the North; it was allegedly fought over which of the two kings should be entitled to use a coat-of-arms of three crowns that dated from the time that Denmark, Norway and Sweden were all united.⁷⁴ King Frederik II of Denmark (reigned 1559 - 1588) stood to lose more than Eric in such a war, so he quickly hired Hendrik (or Hans, as he was called in Denmark) on 25 June 1564. Although he did not trust Hans because of his previous service to Eric, Frederik paid him well - 200 Crowns per year plus a free house and other allowances. In 1566 Hans was sent to Bohus, which is a medieval fortress now part of Sweden but then under the jurisdiction of Denmark. There he inspected the fortifications and supervised the

the strengthening of the walls, but the extent of his work is not presently known.

In 1567, Frederik sent Hans to Akershus in what is now Norway to inspect the fortifications there. He drew up a plan for earthworks around the old castle, and what became known as the King's Battery and the Queen's Battery were built the following year.⁷⁵

Hans presumably left Denmark at that point, for no further information about his services there exists until 1574. By that time, the Danoswedish war was long over, and Frederick was interested in increasing his prestige and comfort by a major rebuilding of the medieval castle of Krogen at Helsingør (the Elsinore of Shakespeare's Hamlet). The new structure, which was to be both a fortress and a royal palace, was called Kronborg, and Hans was hired to provide the design and supervise the construction. How much of his design was dictated by the remains of the old castle is not known, but the palace surely owes its irregular features to medieval planning. By the end of 1575, construction was well along. The parts of the old castle no longer needed had been demolished, and the north and west sections were largely complete, along with a large part of the south section. In 1576 Hans supervised the demolition of an old stone house at Lundehave in addition to his duties at the castle. As the residential parts of the castle were proceeding smoothly, Hans turned his attention to building new defensive works in front of it.⁷⁶ In 1577, he had to return to Flanders to work on the fortifications at Dendermonde, which may indicate that the work at Kronborg was so near completion that it could manage without him.

Hans' place was taken by a young and talented Fleming, Antonius van Opbergen, from Malines, who remained on the job until 1585 and

strengthened the defences of Kronborg. The castle suffered a disastrous fire in 1629, and needed major rebuilding, which was done over ten years under the direction of Hans van Steenwinckel II. Most of the rebuilding merely copied what had stood previously, but some of it reflected new ideas in design and new requirements for parts of the palace. Christian IV never managed to refurnish the palace as richly as it had once been, and by the eighteenth century it began to show neglect as no Danish kings had lived there for years. Now, however, Kronborg is being slowly restored to its seventeenth-century appearance.⁷⁷

Kronborg, which was built of stone, has a nearly-square rectangular plan around a large courtyard. It has little of the regularity and symmetry one might normally expect to see in a design by Hans, but that may be due to special requirements of the king, including the re-use of sections of the ancient castle. The outside corners of the castle are fashioned into towers, each of a different design and character; the towers had a frankly utilitarian purpose, because Kronborg controlled the entrance to the Baltic and it was thus necessary to be able to see approaching ships from as great a distance as possible. The inside of the courtyard contained five polygonal staircase towers spaced irregularly; these recall similar towers in England, as at the Osterley stables and at Plas Mawr. The east side of the courtyard has no staircase towers, and was built as a long gallery over an open loggia, but the loggia was soon closed in because of the Danish weather; this wing was built under Opbergen's direction, and it is not known how much he may have altered Hans' design. Most of the windows on the lower two floors around the courtyard are pedimented. The chief glory of Kronborg is the enormous east gable facing the sea; this rises through five storeys on top of the plain

Gothic windows of the chapel below it, and the pedimented windows of the gable are set off by engaged columns and be-stated niches at each level. The gable was executed by a talented mason named Herman Griis, but Joakim Skovgaard, an authority on Kronborg, is convinced that the design was by Hans. Similarly, the elegant triumphal arch at the entrance is thought to have been executed by Gert van Groningen, but was probably designed by Hans.⁷⁸ Whatever the extent of his work, Hans managed to please the king, who gave him land near the castle.⁷⁹ Kronborg is a marriage of the medieval with the Renaissance; the two co-exist in tension, neither entirely happy.

Upon his return from Dendermonde, Hans was sent to Bohus once more to work on the fortifications there.⁸⁰ No further documented work can be traced in Scandinavia, but several buildings are related to Hans' style. The first is the town-house at 76 Stengade in Helsingør, built in 1579. The house is set with gable-end to street. The gable itself is crow-stepped. The five-bay façade had pediments over all the windows on the lower two floors, and can be related to work at Kronborg and at the Bath-house at Hillerød.⁸¹

In spite of a seemingly perennial shortage of money, Frederik embarked on extensive building schemes. One site that he liked was Hillerød, between Helsingør and Copenhagen. He saw it as a place to retire to tranquility and to escape from the cares of the other two places. He constructed a village of buildings on a network of islands there in the late 1570s. The most important building he built there was known as the Bath-house, and indeed it was used for bathing and for other entertainment.⁸² This is a brick building with stone dressing. It is built on a slightly asymmetrical E-plan, and is two storeys high with five crow-stepped gables.

The principal entrance is through the side of a polygonal staircase tower placed in the middle of the long façade. The doorway very closely matches one of the tower doorways at Kronborg. The tower has since been augmented by the addition of a steeple, while the domed cupola that used to stand on the middle of the roof has disappeared. The ground-floor windows on the front are pedimented. There is no documentation as to the architect, but two members of Floris' family, Johan and Hans, were hired to complete the interior.⁸³ The design of the building is entirely consistent with work attributed to Hans/Hendrik both in Denmark and in England; he was, after all, the king's architect.

A second building constructed at Hillerød at the same time was the Fadeburslaengen or long pantry next to the tilt-yard.⁸⁴ This is two storeys high, built of brick with stone dressings. Its crow-stepped gables on the ends are decorated with a ball finial on each step. The ground-floor windows are now irregularly spaced, but it is likely that they have been altered. The upper windows are regular, sixteen in number along the side. Undoubtedly, this building came from the pen of the same architect as the Bath-house.

Many of the buildings here attributed to Hans/Henderik were quite extraordinary for their period, but they pale beside Uraniborg on the island of Hven off the coast of Helsingør. Frederik was concerned lest the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe should leave the kingdom, so to entice him to stay he gave him the island of Hven and told him that he would pay for a house and observatory to be built there according to Tycho's specifications. Construction began in 1576 and was finished in 1581. The building consisted of a square block attached on each end to a two-storey drum with a conical cap. Around the base of the drums were one-storey apartments for servants and visitors. The windows of the square block

were crowned with elaborate scroll-pediments, and a few round windows high on the walls were to light rooms for students. On the roof were three domes, the largest being in the centre; this was octagonal and of pure Renaissance design, perhaps the first in northern Europe, but the little cupola on top of it had an uncharacteristic onion-like open top, on which was perched a giant statue of Pegasus. The chimneys were almost identical to the unusual chimneys of the Raadhuis and Hanseatenhuis in Antwerp. All the domes and conical roofs were for making celestial observations.⁸⁵ Tycho was evidently not satisfied with Uraniborg as an observatory, so he arranged for Hans van Steenwinckel I to design him a new one mostly underground in 1584; this was called Stjerneborg, and was also on Hven, and it was evidently successful enough to keep Tycho in Denmark for thirteen more years, but eventually he went to live in Prague where he could match wits with Kepler.⁸⁶

Since Uraniborg was being built within sight of Kronborg at the time that Hans was working at Kronborg, and since it was being commissioned by Frederik, whose architect Hans was, there is a strong likelihood that Hans was its architect. In addition, the design of Uraniborg, however eccentric, reflects many characteristics observed in other buildings by Hans. The conclusion reached here was totally independent of, but in agreement with the findings of Francis Beckett, an expert in Danish architectural history: Hans must have been responsible for the path-breaking design of Uraniborg.

Francis Beckett suggested that other Scandinavian works by Hans included the altarpiece of the principal church at Lund in Sweden and several tombs in the same church. Other writers have pointed out that Hans had been imprisoned at Bohus by Frederik in 1579 when these works

were being done; however, the record does not state whether he was in a dungeon or merely under house arrest, nor does it say how long he was detained. Beckett also suggested that Hans designed houses at Lystrup and Vallø about 1570-8, but proof for that will have to await further research. Certainly, the brick courtyarded house at Vallø with its pedimented windows has much in common with Hans' work at both Kronborg and the Bath-house at Hillerød. However the house at Lystrup is rather different: the lower two storeys are in the same style as Vallø, but with an E plan, while the top of the building was decorated with profuse strapwork. A possible explanation is that Hans began the building but it was finished by another Fleming, such as Opbergen or one of the Steenwinckels.⁸⁷

A few words should be said about buildings in continental Europe that Hans/Hendrik did not design. For example, if the Hanseatic merchants had been pleased with their palace at Antwerp, might they not have asked Hendrik to design buildings in their own towns? Enquiries in Lübeck, Rostock, Gdansk and Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) have produced no clues, although Floris did some work for Königsberg. When war closed off the world's commerce at Antwerp, Gresham and Clough and most of the other foreign merchants transferred their operations to Hamburg, where a stock exchange building or Börse was constructed in 1577-83 to a design at least superficially similar to Hendrik's style; in this case, the architect was Jan Andresen of Amsterdam, and closer observation shows that the Börse, which was built of wood on a platform over the harbour, was not classically correct in the design of its cornice and entablature. Furthermore, no trace of Hendrik can be found in any other Hamburg building.⁸⁸ Finally, the Antwerp house of the printer Plantin, with its crow-stepped gables and arcaded loggia in the courtyard, would seem to

be a natural candidate for a connection with Hendrik. However, although the date of construction is usually given as within Hendrik's working life, the date of construction of the parts built in his style was actually well into the seventeenth century.⁸⁹

Using all or most of the buildings here attributed to Hendrik, it should be possible to identify various typical characteristics of Hendrik's architecture.

In the first place, it seems that Hendrik worked on three or four kinds of buildings. The most notable were his complete high-style buildings, such as the Royal Exchange, Osterley, Gresham College, Bachegraig, the Antwerp Raadhuis, the Hanseatenhuis, the unidentified raadhuis and Uraniborg. While these are identifiably from northern Europe, they would rank well in any list of Renaissance buildings from anywhere in Europe.

Hendrik's less formal, almost vernacular-style buildings form a second distinct group. Among these were Intwood, the Gresham School, Plas Clough, Plas Mawr, the Bath-house, the Fadelburslaengen and 76 Stengade.

Still another class of buildings would include larger buildings in another style where Hendrik was called into add spice by the inclusion of a loggia or a wing, as at Burghley, Theobalds, Gorhambury, the Brabant Palace and Slaugham Place; Kronborg is also related to this category, in that it involved the retention of much of the fabric of the medieval castle.

The fourth class, which has not been thoroughly examined above, would consist of Hendrik's fortifications, which were built in Flanders, Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

Among the architectural details found in many of Hendrik's designs would be, first and foremost, the Doric loggia. Some of these, as at Bachegraig, the Steelyard and Gorhambury, were a simple colonnade with entablature, but most were arcades, and most were arranged around courtyards, as at the Royal Exchange, Gresham College, the Hanseatenhuis and probably Osterley. The columns used were generally of marble and carved in one piece.

Hendrik can usually be praised for fairly correct use of classical details in a period when he was probably alone in northern Europe in doing so. This could take the form of pilasters between bays, as on the Royal Exchange and the Antwerp Raadhuis and the unidentified raadhuis; or of pedimented windows, as at Intwood, Plas Mawr, the Bath-house, Kronborg, Uraniborg, 76 Stengade and the unidentified raadhuis; or an arched doorway in a Doric system, as at the Royal Exchange, Osterley, Osterley Stables, the Hanseatenhuis and Kronborg; one detail used by Hendrik was even scarce in Renaissance Italy (although not in pre-Renaissance Italy) and appears elsewhere in a capriccio by Bramante: this was the overhanging balcony on a tower, as found on the Royal Exchange, the Hanseatenhuis and the unidentified raadhuis.⁹⁰ In one area, however, Hendrik often ignored classical rules: he often gave a façade an even number of bays, rather than the classical odd number; this can be seen at the Royal Exchange, Bachegraig, Burghley and the Hanseatenhuis.

Many of Hendrik's roofs were high hips or double-pile hips with finials on plinths at the corners, as at the Royal Exchange, the Antwerp Raadhuis, the Hanseatenhuis and the unidentified raadhuis. His dormer windows usually had hipped roofs, sometimes with finials on top, and he

often arranged them in more than one row, as at Bachegraig, the Clough Town House, the Brabant Palace, the Antwerp Raadhuis, the Hanseatenhuis, the unidentified raadhuis and Kronborg. Other roofs were gabled with crow-stepped gable ends, seen at the Gresham School, Intwood, Plas Clough, Plas Mawr, the Brabant Palace, 76 Stengade, the Bath-house and the Fadelburslaengen.

A characteristic of Flemish architecture that Hendrik took with him to Britain and Denmark was the interplay of white stone dressings, including quoins and belt courses, with the brick walls of many of his buildings. This can be found at the Royal Exchange, Bachegraig, the Osterley Stables, the Bath-house and the Fadelburslaengen, and in variation at Plas Mawr, for the body of Plas Mawr is of rubble stone rather than of brick.

Many of Hendrik's buildings had polygonal staircase towers attached to a wall; this does not seem to be from a tradition indigenous to the Low Countries, but it does go back to the Middle Ages in Scandinavia, and so possibly Hendrik picked it up during his first stay in Sweden.⁹¹ These staircase towers appeared at Osterley, the Osterley Stables, Theobalds Stables, Plas Mawr, the Bath-house and Kronborg.

An unexpected feature of Hendrik's architecture is the almost total absence of anything that could be called strapwork.⁹² Strapwork, probably derived from early sixteenth-century work at Fontainebleau, was eagerly picked up by Flemish and Dutch architects of Hendrik's day, such as Floris, Coeck and Vriedeman de Fries, and was exported all over northern Europe at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. In sticking more closely to true Renaissance forms rather than experimenting with the blind alley of mannerist

strapwork, Hendrik was thus years ahead of his time in the development of Renaissance architecture in northern Europe.

But who was Hendrik? His name is spelled in so many different ways that it is difficult to find all the existing information about him, and many writers even appear to believe that the different spellings represent different people. His wife spelled his name Hendrik van Paesschen, but in England he was known as Henryk, Henryke and Maître (Master) Henri. In Flanders he was also Hendrik van Paschen or van Passe, and the French-speaking population called him Henri de Pas. In Scandinavia, he was Hans Paaske or van Paaschen or van Pascha. Are all these names in fact referring to the same man? Some elementary phonetics and philology may help to answer that question. The Flemish pronunciation of Paesschen is not, as the Germans might pronounce it "Pesh'n" but "Pahsk'n." In that way, it could more easily be converted into Paaske or Passe or even Pas. In fact, the World War I battle of Paeschendaele (pronounced "Pahskendahl", not "Passiondale") in Flanders is likely to be the site where Hendrik's family had made their home several generations earlier, and that name in turn derives from the French expression "Pas de Calais" denoting the area of northern France and western Flanders within the influence of Calais. Hans, of course, is merely one of the Scandinavian equivalents for Hendrik or Henry.

Hendrik's family life remains mostly obscure, but is visible at a few points. It is known that he was married to Maria, daughter of Jan of Delft, and there is some indication that Crispin de Pas I (also spelled Crispijn de Passe), a prominent Netherlands artist (1565 - 1637), was a son of Hendrik; Crispin had many children, Crispin II, Simon,

Wilhelm and Magdalena, of whom it is known that Simon (spelled de Paas) was employed by King Christian IV of Denmark designing stage sets for the royal theatre in 1634, while Crispin II and Wilhelm kept up their father's trade and did excellent copper engravings.⁹³ If Crispin I was Hendrik's son, his own birth date would suggest a birth date of about 1530 for Hendrik. No documents mentioning Hendrik's name nor buildings in his style survive from after 1582, so it is possible that he died in that year. Because of his prolonged residence in staunchly Protestant countries and his extensive work for Protestants patrons, it is likely that Hendrik worshipped in the Dutch Reformed faith, and his political views would probably have been aligned with those who sought independence from Spain for all the Dutch and Flemish provinces.

About his early life nothing is presently known. However, it is inconceivable that Hendrik could have developed an architectural style with such pure Renaissance elements in it simply from reading books; he had to have spent some time in northern Italy, at which time he would have acquired his taste for loggias, those lovely arcades and colonnades that are so much better suited to Italian weather than to the harsher climate of northern Europe. If he was born about 1530, he would have probably visited Italy in his early twenties or in the 1550s, and might possibly have returned north in time to assist William van Noort with the building of the Utrecht Raadhuis or Sebastiaan van Noyes with the very Italianate palace of Cardinal Granvelle in Brussels.⁹⁴ On the other hand, he may have received his first work after returning from Italy at the hand of Cornelis Floris, who himself claimed to have spent some time in Italy; Hendrik's paths crossed those of members of the Floris family over many years in Flanders and Scandinavia.

Floris as already noted, was best known as a sculptor, although he also ventured into architecture. What was Hendrik? At various times, he is described as a sculptor, a master mason, a building contractor and an architect, and no doubt at one time or another he was all of these. However, he could not have spent even a large fraction of the time necessary to oversee the construction of all the buildings here attributed to him. If an architect is someone who designs buildings for others to construct, then surely Hendrik fits this category best of all. In Italy, the separate profession of architect seems to have emerged before 1500, but in northern Europe, where great men like Cecil played a large part in the design of their own houses, the distinction was blurred until after 1600. Thus, Hendrik may have been ahead of his time for northern Europe in still another way.

How good was Hendrik's architecture? His best works may be judged on a par with fifteenth-century Italian work, although he never developed it on a level that could compete with Italians contemporary with himself, such as Palladio; such lack of development may be largely the result of a lack of market in northern Europe for such advanced architecture, for even Inigo Jones was not widely accepted in England when he imitated Palladio's style in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁹⁵ In a comparison with his contemporaries in France, Hendrik, in contrast to other architects from the Low Countries and Britain, could hold his head high in the presence of de Lorme, Lescot, Bullant and du Cerceau, and even Serlio.⁹⁶

The modern observer could be pardoned for believing that Hendrik would have needed a Eurailpass to have been able to make so many trips between Antwerp, England, Wales, Sweden, Norway and Denmark in such a relatively short time. However, travel by sea was fairly easy in his

day, at least for such short distances, and the amount of travel he did, while well above average, was not more than an enterprising merchant might have done; Gresham for example, reported that in the first two years of Elizabeth's reign he made no fewer than forty round trips between London and Antwerp.⁹⁷ On the other hand, few architects travelled as much as Hendrik. Naturally, with powerful clients like Gresham, Cecil, Frederik II and their friends, Hendrik had ample incentive for his traveling, but other factors, such as trying to avoid the disruption of war in Flanders or the plague in its virulent outbreaks in the 1560s, may have played a part.

It cannot be denied: the story of Hendrik van Paesschen is at best shaky and poorly in focus. There are few buildings for which he is documented as the architect; most of his buildings have long been destroyed or unrecognizably altered; and details of his personal life are practically non-existent. However, the lack of information about him is really only one of degree, compounded by the passage of four centuries since he lived. In spite of prodigious scholarship, lively debates still rage about which buildings can be attributed to Christopher Wren, a man who has been in the public eye continuously since 1660, and debates appear frequently in Country Life about the extent of the works of Sir Edwin Lutyens, who was probably Britain's leading architect in the first half of the twentieth century. The stature of Wren and Lutyens is not affected by such debates; similarly, the dearth of information about Hendrik van Paesschen should not prevent him from taking his place in any list of Europe's greatest architects.

CHAPTER II

An architect is best known for the qualities of the buildings attributed to him, but his reputation is furthered almost as much by architects whose work is influenced by him. In the case of Hendrik van Paesschen, whose name has almost been forgotten, such influence on other architects can only be surmised from an inspection of buildings similar to his, for there is probably no surviving documentation of any architect tracing the source of his inspiration to Hendrik. Nevertheless, Hendrik's influence can be traced directly in many countries from Spain to the North Sea, and indirectly even in North America. In England, men such as Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren knew of Hendrik's architecture and allowed it to show in some of their own buildings.

Hendrik's two most impressive buildings were the Raadhuis and the Hanseatenhuis at Antwerp, and one can find several municipal buildings in the Netherlands and northern Germany that clearly reflect these two designs. The earliest was the Rathaus or Town Hall at Emden in Hanover, just over the German border from the Netherlands. The Rathaus was designed by Laurens van Steenwinckel I, and built between 1574 and 1576. From the Antwerp Raadhuis the Emden design borrowed large-scale cut stones, the projecting balcony of the top storey, and the high hipped roof pierced by three levels of hipped dormer windows. Like the Hanseatenhuis, the Emden building avoided pilasters to articulate its façade and relied on the large windows to break up the surface into twelve bays. Like the Hanseatenhuis, the Emden building was crowned by a tall steeple, but by

the placement of the steeple and the entrance beneath it Steenwinckel asserted his independence: the entrance was severely off-set to the left of centre. The lack of symmetry in this building practically devoid of classical details suggests a return to medieval principles.¹

The next two descendants of the Antwerp Raadhuis were both additions to the gothic Raadhuis at Gent in Flanders. Joos Rooman designed the four-bay, three-storey Bollaertskamer in 1580. Each bay is articulated with columns, as in the central part of the Antwerp building, but the Gent building uses pairs of columns rather than single columns. The addition on the other side of the Gent Raadhuis is much larger. It is nineteen bays long and three storeys tall on an arcaded basement. Each bay is defined with pilasters as on the side portions of the Antwerp Raadhuis, but the unbroken repetition of this motif with no relief in the centre gives an impression of undistinguished monotony. The addition took twenty-three years to build, starting in 1595, to designs by Loys Hendrickx.²

At about the same time, an addition was made to the Guildhall at Exeter, England by an unknown designer. This addition, although only three bays wide and two storeys high, seems to have been crudely modelled on the Bollaertskamer in Gent. Its ground-floor arcade was suitable for a small market, while the upper room was used as the city's council chamber. Although the builder skillfully executed the pairs of Corinthian columns between the windows he was evidently not comfortable with the classical language of architecture in the rest of the structure.³

As late as 1608 the German builder Lüder von Bentheim rebuilt the medieval town hall in Bremen with an eye on Hendrik's two buildings in Antwerp. He gave the ground floor a graceful, arcaded loggia as in the

courtyard of the Hanseatenhuis, but the rest of the façade appears as one giant storey with large, pedimented windows. The spaces between the windows were accented with statuary rather than pilasters, and the projecting balcony was placed above the cornice rather than below it. As at the Antwerp Raadhuis, the central three bays project forward and are crowned with an elaborate Flemish gable, which relieves the flat surface of the high hipped roof behind.⁴

Similar in concept but quite different in detail was the Raadhuis built at Bolsward in the Netherlands Friesland in 1613 to designs by Jacob Ghijsberts and Maarten Domenici.⁵ By this time, the impact of Hendrik's Antwerp designs on the leading architects and builders was weakening.

Another of Hendrik's buildings that caught the eyes of subsequent architects was the Royal Exchange in London. The earliest parallel for the exchange may have been the Casa Lonja at Seville, Spain, built in 1582 by Juan de Herrera. This square building with an arcaded courtyard originally served as the financial exchange for Seville, but it now houses the Archives of the Indies. Leonardo Benevolo considered that Herrera modelled his design on the Exchange at Amsterdam; while it is true that the two buildings are not unlike each other, the Amsterdam building was not built until 1608, many years after the Casa Lonja. Both, however, owe a debt to the Exchange in London. The Seville building is close to the London Exchange in concept, but in detail of the courtyard it also owes much to Antonio da San Gallo's Palazzo Farnese in Rome. Herrera could easily have known about the London building from numerous engravings of it available soon after its completion. Because Spain was on hostile terms with England and Flanders at the time, Herrera's

alleged admiration for Hendrik's design is remarkable.⁶

Actually, it is likely that Herrera placed art above politics more than once, for he had been in charge of the design and construction of the Escorial from 1563 to 1584. While much of that enormous palace reflects the tastes of a procession of Italian architects hired by Philip II, the high, hipped roofs with hipped dormers are probably the product of Flemish craftsmen hired by Herrera.⁷ No such roofs were part of either the Spanish or Italian traditions, and even French roofs were somewhat different.

The most obvious copy of the Royal Exchange was the Exchange at Amsterdam. After the Spanish suppression of the revolt in the western Netherlands, the port of Antwerp lost its freedom and hence its attractiveness to foreign commerce. The foreign merchants, such as Sir Thomas Gresham, initially turned to Hamburg for a new centre of commerce, and in fact an exchange was built in Hamburg in 1577 - 1583 to designs by the Amsterdam builder Jan Andersen.⁸ However, when there was no longer any danger of Spanish military penetration of the eastern Netherlands, the port of Amsterdam emerged as the dominant commercial centre of northern Europe.

In 1608, a year before the final peace treaty with Spain, work began on the Amsterdam Exchange to designs by Hendrick de Keyser, one of the two leading Dutch architects of the day. It is not known whether de Keyser had any knowledge of the Casa Lonja in Seville -- the state of war that had so long existed between Spain and the Netherlands would suggest that he had not seen it -- but it is certain that he knew the London Exchange. In fact, although the Royal Exchange was over forty years old by 1608, de Keyser made a special voyage to London to measure

it and copy many of its features.⁹

The Amsterdam Exchange has long since been destroyed, but it is well known to scholars through written descriptions and a variety of paintings and engravings. The Exchange was arranged around a rectangular, arcaded courtyard, longer and narrower than the London building; it measured six by twelve bays, with the entrances in the short sides taking up the centre two bays as at London. Also as at London, a steeple with overhanging balcony stood outside and to one side of the principal entrance. The upper storey facing the courtyard was decorated, as at London, with a series of compass-headed niches (for statues that were never installed) separated by Ionic pilasters, but with a difference. De Keyser must have noticed the disadvantages of the design of the London courtyard, how only four windows faced the courtyard to let light into the upper offices and to give people in the upper offices a chance to see what was happening in the courtyard. Accordingly, he managed to place no fewer than forty windows between the niches around the courtyard, making the wall considerably more crowded than its counterpart in London.

The roof of the Amsterdam Exchange was a single-pile hip, except on either side of the principal entrance where it was doubled over a pair of pavilions. The London Exchange had a double-pile hipped roof to cover its wider bulk. The Amsterdam Exchange had hipped dormers, each crowned with a finial as at London, but there were no pedestals with finials at the four corners of the roof. The Amsterdam building also had a narrow walkway running around the top of the roof, and Amsterdam residents apparently found this a fashionable place to walk in spite of the danger caused by a complete lack of balustrades. However, the engraving showing the walk without balustrades was published in 1612,

only a year after the Exchange opened for business, and it is possible that railings were fitted shortly afterwards.¹⁰

The direct influence of the London Exchange on Continental European architectural thought began to be muted as England turned inward upon herself in the struggles that led to the Civil War and during the Commonwealth. Only six years after the restoration of the monarchy, the Exchange was destroyed in the Great Fire of London. By contrast, the Amsterdam Exchange stood proudly as a symbol of Dutch financial power during the period of the greatest Dutch commercial expansion. Nevertheless, no subsequent building based on the design of the Amsterdam Exchange has yet been identified. Perhaps a study of Batavia, the Dutch commercial centre in the East Indies, would reveal an offspring of the Amsterdam Exchange.

Another Continental relative of the Royal Exchange was the Bourse at Lille. Lille, although now in France, was considered in the seventeenth century to be part of the Low Countries. The Bourse was built in 1652 by Julien Destrez. It was a rectangular building arranged around a courtyard with the now-familiar arcaded loggia. The two storeys above the loggia were heavily decorated in the Mannerist style then current, but the basic shape of the building was unmistakably inspired by Hendrik's work at the Royal Exchange and the Hanseatenhuis. A large cupola was perched on the high, hipped roof over the main entrance, and the roof was pierced by a row of hipped dormers, each crowned with a finial. The chimneys were modelled after the distinctive chimneys of the Hanseatenhuis. As at the Royal Exchange, the ground floor of the exterior was given over to a multitude of shops, which, according to old photographs, eventually altered the appearances of the building by launching forward a variety of

large awnings.¹¹

Hendrik's London Exchange also inspired imitators in England. The earliest was the so-called New Change in the Strand in Westminster, built for Sir Robert Cecil in 1608 - 1609, for which at least three separate designs were prepared. Although Hendrik's Royal Exchange had been justly criticized because its arcaded loggias provided a convenient loitering-spot for prostitutes, beggars, and juvenile delinquents, all three designs for the New Exchange called for an arcaded loggia in imitation of the Royal Exchange. In fact, the arcade of the New Change soon attracted loiterers, and was latter filled in with large windows in order to discourage them.¹²

The authorship of the three designs has not yet been clearly established. One of them was drawn by Inigo Jones, one of his first two architectural designs. Jones had made a short visit to Italy a few years earlier, and had been hired by Queen Anne of Denmark as a stage-set designer for the royal theatre in Denmark (a job that later fell to Hendrik's grandson Simon) and in England.¹³ Howard Colvin describes the Jones design as evidence "of an imperfect assimilation of classical themes from such sources as Serlio, Palladio and Sangallo, and of a total lack of practical architectural experience." Sir John Summerson agrees, adding that the design was "obviously the work of somebody who had had little to do with architecture and nothing with building."¹⁴

It is likely that the Jones design was the earliest of the three, for it most closely echoed the design of the Royal Exchange. Not enough land was available for an internal courtyard as at the Royal Exchange, so the designs for the New Change expressed the loggia on the exterior,

facing the street. The Jones loggia consisted of seventeen tall arches with Ionic pilasters attached to the piers. The upper floor echoed the Royal Exchange with a series of niches for statues, but provided light for the offices behind the niches with a row of small attic windows. The roof supported three cupolas, the central one being the largest, surrounded by fantastic volutes and carvings more appropriate to a Jones state-set. Apart from the central cupola, it was an adequate design, although not as accomplished as much of Jones' later work. The Jones design was rejected, possibly because of the cupola.¹⁵

The second design was recorded by Robert Smythson, but whether or not he was its author is open to dispute. It is possible that some other architect showed Smythson this design when he visited London in 1609 and Smythson thought so much of it that he carefully copied it in his notebook. It is also possible that Smythson drew the design himself the previous year in the hope that it would be selected. In any case, it was in a style not foreign to Smythson, for above the cornice it was lavishly decorated with strapwork and "fantastic" finials in a tradition that owed nothing to the Italian Renaissance.

The lower two floors, while flawed in a few respects, were more in keeping with classical architecture. The ground floor included a loggia of thirteen arches with Tuscan pilasters attached to the piers; Smythson indicated that the loggia could be filled in with glazing if desired. A total of twelve niches with statues were distributed unobtrusively on both floors, and the upstairs offices had unimpeded lighting provided by compass-headed windows. This design was rejected, most likely because of the garish decoration above the cornice.¹⁶

The building as constructed owed something to the Smythson design,

but it was both simpler and more sophisticated. All but one of the niches were discarded in favor of additional small windows, and the thirteen arches of the loggia rested directly on heavy Tuscan columns. The dormer windows pierced the parapet in the French manner, and the steep, pavilion-hipped roof also recalled French practice. The man in charge of the construction of the New Change was Simon Basil, the Surveyor of the King's Works, but it is not known whether he also provided the plans for the building; it is known that Basil was in charge of the construction of Hatfield House for which the designs had been provided by another man. The New Change was demolished early in the eighteenth century to make way for a new development.¹⁷

A provincial building that despite its small size was probably an imitation of the Royal Exchange was the Council House or Town House at Salisbury, built some time before 1610. The ground floor consisted of an open, arcaded loggia, three bays by two, probably used as the public market, while the city council met in the chamber above. The roof, in contrast to the classicism below, was intersected by pointed Elizabethan gables, but was crowned with a small classical dome - probably the first in Britain.¹⁸

Of all the British imitations of Hendrik's Royal Exchange, the most significant was its replacement. Amid all the death, destruction and displacement of the Great Fire of London, no loss was more acutely felt by the nation as a whole than that of the Royal Exchange and its facilities for carrying on financial transactions. It is no wonder, therefore, that the work of rebuilding the Exchange began the following year in 1667 to designs by Edward Jerman, who along with Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke, Hugh May, Roger Pratt and Peter Mills had been appointed by the City

Corporation to oversee the rebuilding of the burned area of the city.¹⁹

The new Royal Exchange, which was completed by 1671, imitated many of the features of the former building, possibly the result of the conservative tastes of the merchants, but in each case the features borrowed were modified. The expected arcaded loggia in the courtyard was given a central focus by means of an odd number of bays rather than the even number of the old building. The upper storey of the courtyard was decorated with Ionic pilasters and niches containing statues, but each niche supported a small oval window to give light to the offices within, although the windows were far too high for people in the offices to see out into the courtyard. The body of the building was covered by a double-pile hipped roof, but the slope of the roof was so low that it was completely hidden by the low balustrade that surrounded both the inner and outer edges of the roof. Naturally, there was no room for dormer windows. The principal entrance was marked by a tall, handsome steeple, but the steeple, rather than being offset to one side as at the old building, stood awkwardly atop the giant-order, Corinthian triumphal-arch that served as the entrance. Perhaps the most significant alteration was the removal of shops from the ground floor of the exterior. Instead, the ground floor consisted of an arcaded loggia stretching almost completely around the building. As one might suspect, the exterior loggia attracted loiterers just as the interior one did. Whether the inclusion of so many arches reflected the conservatism of the merchants or their interest in certain kinds of loiterers is not recorded. However, when Jerman's Exchange was destroyed by fire in the 1830s its successor also included arcaded loggias.²⁰

Whether they were erected consciously in imitation of Hendrik's

Exchange or of Jerman's, market buildings were built with arcaded loggias in many parts of England, of which perhaps the most notable are the Custom House and Exchange at King's Lynn, Norfolk by Henry Bell, the anonymous market at Amersham, Buckinghamshire, and the market at Abingdon, Berkshire by Christopher Kempster or Christopher Wren, all built towards the end of the seventeenth century, and James Gibbs' unexecuted design for the Market and Shire Hall at Hertford of ca. 1737. An even closer parallel can be seen in the reflected plans for the Bristol Exchange by William Halfpenny in 1738, and the Bristol Exchange as executed by John Wood the Elder in 1741; both plans called for a courtyard surrounded by a loggia after the London model.²¹ Markets like the English examples appeared in Ireland, such as the Tholsel at Dublin and the Exchange at Cork. Other markets appeared in North America rather later, such as the anonymous Philadelphia Market, Faneuil Hall in Boston by John Smibert (the Boston merchants went so far as to install a grasshopper weathervane on the cupola as a tribute to Sir Thomas Gresham and his Royal Exchange in London), the Brick Market in Newport, Rhode Island by Peter Harrison, the Market at Providence, Rhode Island by Joseph Brown and the anonymous Town Hall in Fayetteville, North Carolina.²²

The Royal Exchange was Hendrik's most prominent building in Britain, but his first major building in Britain, Gresham College was probably equally influential on later architects. The arcaded loggia around its courtyard provided the fashionable notion that institutional buildings, whether colleges, schools or hospitals, could best accomplish their purposes if fitted with such a loggia. The earliest parallel to Gresham College was the Canterbury Quadrangle at St. John's College, Oxford. This was designed by Adam Browne in 1632 and commissioned by Archbishop

Laud. Its arcade is classically correct, while its upper storey, reflecting medieval practices, is so retardataire as to suggest that an entirely different architect was responsible for it.²³

Other institutional buildings with arcades included John Webb's College of Physicians before the Great Fire of London, and the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham in Ireland. Christopher Wren was familiar with Gresham College, for he served as resident Professor of Astronomy there as a young man.²⁴ He later used arcaded loggias in many of his buildings, but two of them in particular seem to reflect Gresham College. These are the Bishop's Library at Lincoln and the unexecuted design for Westminster College. Whether or not the tradition is accurate that Wren was the architect of the first building at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, the building was provided with an arcaded loggia that would have been repeated across its courtyard if the original design had been completed; certainly the Virginia climate made such a loggia more appropriate than it would have seemed in England.²⁵ The neo-Palladian amateur architect, the Earl of Burlington, succeeded where Wren had failed in having his design accepted by Westminster College, and it too had an arcaded loggia.²⁶ The fashion was still powerful many years later in Philadelphia, where Robert Smith designed the impressive Bethering House (a combined almshouse, workhouse and hospital) in 1767 with a loggia in its courtyard much like the one Hendrik designed for Gresham over two centuries earlier.²⁷

Naturally, there were other precedents for arcaded loggias besides Hendrik's work. The concept was rooted in the medieval, gothic-arched cloister tradition, and numerous examples of classical, renaissance loggias could be found in southern Europe. Nevertheless, the fashion

in England began with Hendrik's two most notable London works, the Exchange and Gresham College.

The arcaded loggias Hendrik built for William Cecil at Burghley and Theobalds had very little effect on the general style of building English country houses, but a recent attempt to reconstruct on paper the design of Sir Christopher Hatton's large house called Holdenby, built in 1575 - 1580 in Northamptonshire, based on archaeological and documentary evidence, strongly suggests that Cecil's good friend and rival had the Hendrik loggias imitated for the screen in front of his Great Hall.²⁸ In addition, the arcaded screen that Hendrik probably built for Cecil's and Hatton's friend Sir Thomas Heneage at Copthall in Essex was very likely the inspiration for a similar but more elaborate screen at Hatfield early in the seventeenth century; Inigo Jones has been linked with work done at Hatfield, but it has never been proved that he was responsible for this loggia.²⁹

At Bacheagraig, the Steelyard and Gorhambury, Hendrik used a flat loggia consisting of a row of Tuscan columns supporting a plain entablature. This was a form that had little if any Continental precedent. In the late seventeenth century a few examples appeared in England, but whether this was direct inspiration or mere coincidence remains a mystery. Sir Thomas Fitch's Courthouse at Windsor, and Aske's Hospital in London by Robert Hooke (like Wren, a former professor at Gresham College) were among the better examples, but the closest parallel to Hendrik's work is Morden College at Blackheath, Kent, often attributed to Wren. This is a brick building arranged around a courtyard with one storey of apartments over a flat loggia, and having a hipped roof. The central bay of the upper storey is emphasized with a pair of pilasters and a pediment as at

Gorhambury.³⁰ While Wren may never have visited Bachegraig in northern Wales, it is quite conceivable that he could have seen Gorhambury.

Mark Girouard described Bachegraig as a house that "should have been built on the edge of a Low Countries canal, not in a Welsh wood."³¹ What Mr. Girouard did not say is that Bachegraig was unique in its day and that there were no such houses along any Low Countries canals for another sixty or seventy years. By that time, it is doubtful that the houses that were built along the canals were influenced by Hendrik's work tucked away in a forgotten corner of northern Wales. However, it is quite possible that houses in England and America owe something to Bachegraig. Such houses would have a bold, modillioned cornice under a high, hipped roof with a cupola on top; they would be relatively compact houses, and their building materials would show contrasting colors; a forecourt might be set off in front of the house by a pair of matching dependencies. This description, with minor modifications, fits many houses of the second half of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, of which the most notable were Ashdown House, Berkshire, attributed to Sir Balthazar Gerbier; Sandywell House, Gloucestershire, attributed to Henry Bret; Fairford, Gloucestershire, attributed to Valentine Strong; Eagle House, Mitcham, Surrey; Edial Hall, Staffordshire and the Governor's Palace, Williamsburg, Virginia (the last three all anonymous). Of these, perhaps the Governor's Palace, with its two-storey cupola and tight forecourt, was the closest to Bachegraig. Nancy Halvorsen Schless has argued persuasively that the Governor's Palace owed much to Netherlands prototypes, but she was unaware of an earlier and closer Netherlands prototype for the Palace in Britain, Bachegraig.³²

Hendrik's Danish work initiated a new style in Denmark. The Bath-

house, the Fadeburslaengen, Uraniborg, Vallø and Lystrup introduced the familiar Flemish technique of contrasting red brick walls with white stone dressings, including pedimented windows, quoins and belt-courses; these items were repeated in many later buildings, such as the Frederiksborg Palace, the Rosenborg Palace and the Bourse in Copenhagen.³³ How much these Danish works or the similar Hanseatenhuis at Antwerp influenced architects in other countries to use red brick accented with white stone is debatable, because other Flemish architects, such as Regnier (first name unknown) and Johann Kramer at the Zielona Brama in Gdansk, were using this technique contemporarily with Hendrik.³⁴ In fact, it is possible to trace it to Alessandro Pasqualini's church-tower at Ijsselstein in 1532.³⁵ Thus, the appearance of red brick and white stone in France in such buildings as the Château de Fleury, the Château de Courranes, the Place des Vosges in Paris and others is probably due to Flemish prototypes in general and not to Hendrik in particular.

Apart from specific buildings that were directly patterned after Hendrik's work, it is possible to suggest that Hendrik influenced later architects by establishing a climate in which they and their clients would be more receptive to classical ideas, even if the actual models for those ideas came from France or Italy. For example, it is likely that the first classical domes that Inigo Jones saw were at Uraniborg and the Bath-house in Denmark, and that may have conditioned him to a greater receptivity towards the domes he later saw in Italy. Jones used domes in an early design for an unexecuted garden-temple, in the stage set for the masque Oberon, and in the catafalque for the funeral of James I at Westminster Abbey.³⁶ Hendrik's obsession with arcaded loggias around

courtyards may have made northern Europe more receptive to such large arcaded squares as the Grand' Place at Arras, the Place Ducale at Charleville, the Place des Vosges in Paris, Covent Garden in London and the triangular Place Dauphine in Paris. Hendrik's bold hipped roofs with dormers and modillioned cornices, which had no counterpart in Italy or France, may have paved the way for Jones, Wren and others to make such roofs part of the national style of England and English America. Finally, in a very general sense, Hendrik greatly assisted the spread of classical details, classically used, throughout northern Europe.

If the attributions to Hendrik of buildings in the previous chapter can be substantiated, Hendrik emerges as one of the most talented architects of the renaissance, and deserves to be better known. Later buildings and trends, patterned after these buildings, also depend on the validity of the attributions of the previous chapter for their connections with Hendrik's documented buildings, it is evident that succeeding generations thought highly of Hendrik's work, while the man himself may have remained anonymous to most of them.

APPENDIX

Fully Authenticated Works

1. Fortifications and Town Plan, Alvsborg, Sweden, 1559 (?), 1561 - 1563.
2. Burghley House, near Stamford, England, 1563 - 1565. (parts)
3. Fortifications at Båhus, Sweden (then Denmark), 1566; 1578, 1579.
4. The Royal Exchange, London, England, 1566 - 1568.
5. Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire, England, 1567. (parts)
6. Fortifications at Akershus, Norway, 1567.
7. The Castle and Fortifications of Kronborg, Helsingør, Denmark, 1574 - 1577.
8. Fortifications at Dendermonde, Flanders, Belgium, 1577.

Inadequately Documented Works

1. The Steelyard, London, 1559 (?). (parts)
2. The Raadhuis, Antwerp, 1561 - 1566.
3. Gresham House/College, London, 1561 (?) - 1566.
4. The Hanseatenhuis, Antwerp, ca. 1564.
5. Clough Town House, Ruthin, ca. 1567.
6. Bachegraig House, Clwyd, 1567 - 1569.
7. Copt Hall, Essex, ca. 1567. (parts)
8. Osterley House and Stables, Middlesex, 1567ff.
9. Gorhambury, Hertfordshire, ca. 1568ff.
10. Uraniborg, Hven Island, 1576 - 1581.
11. The Bath-house, Hillerød, ca. 1577.

12. The Fadeburslaengen, Hillerød, ca. 1577.
13. 76 Stengade, Helsingør, 1579.
14. Unidentified Raadhuis or Bourse, Flanders.

Possible Additional Works

1. Gresham School, Holt, Norfolk, 1555ff.
2. Palace of Duke of Brabant au Coudenburg, Brussels, ca. 1559. (part)
3. Gresham's House, Antwerp, 1560s.
4. Intwood Hall, Norfolk, ca. 1566.
5. Plas Clough, Denbigh, ca. 1567.
6. Stable plan, Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire, 1567(?).
7. Plan of Town of Frederikstad, Norway, 1567.
8. The Citadel, Antwerp, 1567.
9. Slaugham Place, Sussex, late 1560s(?). (part)
10. Project for Steeple, St. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate, London,
ca. 1568.
11. Alterations to Interior of Dutch Church of St. Austin Friars, London,
ca. 1568.
12. Plan of Eastbury Manor, Barking, Essex, 1572.
13. Plas Mawr, Conwy, 1576.
14. Vallø Manor House, Denmark, 1570s.
15. Lystrup Manor House, Denmark, 1570s.
16. Entrance Porch, Berry Hall, Great Walsingham, Norfolk.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. The best book on British architectural history is Sir John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830 (Penguin Books, 1953; revised 1963) pp. 18, 107 for the Royal Exchange. Others include Peter Kidson, Peter Murray & Paul Thompson, A History of English Architecture (Penguin Books, 1965); David Watkin, English Architecture, A Concise History (Oxford University Press, 1979); Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture (Penguin Books, 1943; revised 1963); Reginald Blomfield, A History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500 - 1800 (London, 1897, 2 volumes) p. 34 for the Royal Exchange.
2. John Ward, The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College (London, 1740) pp. 7 - 32, and Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1885-1901) vol. 23, pp. 142 - 153.
3. Ward, Lives, p. 16.
4. Walter Thornbury, Old and New London (London, 1873) vol. 1, p. 496.
5. Howard Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 (London, 1978) p. 459.
6. Lodovico Guicciardini quoted in Biographie Nationale (Brussels, 1901) vol. 16, pp. 666 - 7; Robert Hedicke, Cornelis Floris und die Florisdekoration (Berlin, 1913) pp. 96, 168.

7. Henri Hymans, "L'Architecte Henri van Paesschen et l'Ancienne Bourse de Londres," Bulletin de l'Academie Royale d'Archeologie de Belgique, (Antwerp, 1980/9) vol. 5, pp. 343 - 354.
8. Certificatieboek 28 (1568), fo 34 ro, 19 October 1568, Stadsarchief, Antwerp.
9. All the illustrations of the Royal Exchange can be seen at the British Library in London. The grasshopper was Gresham's family symbol for several previous generations, so the oft-told story of Gresham being a baby abandoned in a field and found by children hunting grasshoppers is without foundation. The idea of a giant Corinthian column towering over the roof may have been novel in its day, but it is not without imitators: Wren's Monument for the Great Fire of London was just such a column. An 1871 water tower in St. Louis, Missouri, 154 feet tall and designed by George Barnett, is billed as the world's tallest Corinthian column. By contrast, the column on the Exchange seems to have been about 100 feet from the ground to the top of the entablature.
10. East Anglian Miscellany (1918) vol. 12, p. 71, quoting Gresham's letter to Cecil, 13 August 1566.
11. Ward, Lives, pp. 12, 13.
12. Thornbury, London, p. 495. The so-called Bourse at Venice is probably a reference to La Zecca or the Mint, built by Jacopo Sansovino about 1535, which can be seen in Peter Murray, Renaissance Architecture (New York, 1971 pp. 268 - 271, 277.

13. All three can be found in Murray, Renaissance: the Innocenti or Foundling Hospital pp. 10 - 16; the Ducal Palace pp. 82 - 87; the Kasteel at Breda pp. 352, 356.
14. D. N. B. vol. 23, p. 147.
15. Wards, Lives, pp. 19, 20.
16. Map entitled "London and Part of the Suburbs after the Great Fire in 1666," found in British Library, London; eighteenth century, no visible imprint date.
17. Pictures of Gresham College were obtained from the Mercers' Company in London, but are probably available at the British Library.
18. A copy of the drawing in the Wren - Hawksmoor Collection was obtained from the Courtauld Institute in London.
19. Eduard Sekler, Wren and His Place in European Architecture (London, 1956) p. 31. Wren was a key member of the Royal Society, and Gresham College was the first home of the Society.
20. The best background material on Osterley can be found in the Guidebook to the house, available from the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, and in the various articles in Country Life: vol. 52, pp. 727ff; vol. 60, pp. 782ff, 818ff, 858ff, 907ff, 938ff, 972ff; vol. 85, pp. 579ff; vol. 86, pp. 8ff, vol. 99, pp. 440ff; vol. 147, pp. 1164ff, 1258. The word "Sterling" to describe British durrency derives from "Osterling."
21. The Glover map is in a private collection, but photographs of it can be ordered from the Victoria & Albert Museum.

22. A copy of the floorplan was sent to me by Mrs. J. P. Fenley, an expert on Osterley; she says that the original is in care of the Victoria & Albert Museum. The polygonal staircase towers are found in the Guidebook, p. 49.
23. Ward, Lives, p. 18.
24. Photographs of drawing obtained from Victoria & Albert Museum, entitled: "South Front of a House for Francis Gild Esq. at Osterley Park, Middlesez."
25. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, The Buildings of England: North-East Norfolk and Norwich (Penguin Books, 1962) p. 167; and Norfolk Archaeology (no imprint place and data supplied) vol. 32, pp. 185-186; and Colvin, Architecture, p. 798.
26. Illustrations supplied by the County Library, Norwich, Norfolk.
27. Norfolk Archaeology vol. 32. p. 188; and Colvin, Architecte p. 150.
28. Illustration supplied by the County Library, Norwich, Norfolk. In 1553, Edward VI granted Gresham some property at Westacre, Norfolk. The only published history of the property states that Sir Edward Barkham, Lord Mayor of London in 1621, acquired the property and built Westacre High House, and Barkham's grandson, Edward Spilman, had to replace the house because it was already ruinous. The house was greatly altered in 1839, but there is little likelihood that Gresham had any connection with the architecture of this building.
- Gresham owned the Manor of Ringshall, near Battisford Tye, Suffolk, from whose forests came the timbers for the Royal Exchange.

However, regional historians have not been able to decide which of several ruins may have been Gresham's house, nor are there any pictorial or written descriptions of the building.

One of Gresham's finest residences was the former palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Mayfield, Sussex. The ancient structure still stands and is presently used as a convent school, but its fabric is far earlier than Gresham's time.

29. Ward, Lives, p. 18.

30. Robin Gwyndaf Jones, "Sir Richard Clough of Denbigh c. 1530 - 1570," Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions vol. 19, pp. 24 - 65, and vol. 20, pp. 57 - 101; D. N. B. vol. 11, pp. 128 - 131. References to Hendrik: Jones "Clough" p. 64. Clough is pronounced "Cluff."

31. Peter Howell, "Houses of the Vale of Clwyd", Country Life vol. 162, pp. 1906 - 1907.

32. Letter from P. Smith, Secretary of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales, 3 December 1980; illustrations provided by Clwyd County Record Office.

33. Peter Smith, Houses of the Welsh Countryside (London, 1975) p. 228; illustrations provided by the National Library of Wales.

34. Mark Girouard, "Bachegraig" in Howard Colvin and John Harris, ed. The Country Seat (London, 1970) p. 31. Local traditions, perhaps the result of suspicions about architectural innovation, claims that the devil was Clough's architect, and that Clough even maintained a room for him under the high hipped roof.

35. Poetry quotation, Girouard, "Bachegraig" p. 30; illustrations of Bachegraig supplied by the County Record Office, Clwyd and the National Library of Wales.
36. Johnson quotation, Girouard, "Bachegraig" p. 32.
37. The Williamsburg Governor's Palace is covered in Marcus Whiffen, The Public Buildings of Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1958) pp. 53 - 66.
38. Smith, Houses pp. 229, 232, 244, 245; Country Life vol. 24, pp. 126 - 132 and vol. 136, pp. 1703 - 1704.
39. Summerson, Architecture p. 57 and plate 34; Country Life vol. 79, pp. 12 - 16; A. Greewood, Guide to Eastbury Manor House (no imprint date).
40. Chambers Biographical Dictionary (London, 1912) p. 153.
41. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Bedfordshire, Huntingdon and Peterborough (Penguin Books, 1968) pp. 220 - 221; Christopher Hussey, "Burghley House," Country Life vol. 114, pp. 1828-1832 and 1962 - 1965; and Eric Till, "Capability Brown at Burghley," Country Life vol. 158, pp. 982 - 985. Burghley is open to the public through the kindness of its owner, the Marquess of Exeter.
42. Till, "Brown", pp. 983 - 984; Hussey, "Burghley," p. 1830.
43. Hussey, "Burghley," p. 1832.
44. Summerson, Architecture, plate 12.
45. Illustrations supplied by the National Monuments Record, London.

46. Sir John Summerson, "The Building of Theobalds," Archaeologia, vol. 97, pp. 107 - 126, especially plates 30 and 32. Theobalds is pronounced "Tibbl'ds."
47. Hussey, "Burghley," p. 1962.
48. Summerson, "Theobalds," plate 24. It must be admitted that some viewers might see a link between this design and Kirby in the use of the giant order.
49. Summerson, "Theobalds," plates 26, 27 and 33, and fig. 1.
50. Summerson, "Theobalds," plates 32 and 33; Mark Girouard, "The Smythson Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects," Architectural History vol. 5, pp. 30 and 67.
51. Ward, Lives, p. 18; Summerson, "Theobalds," p. 107; D. N. B., vol. 2, pp. 366 - 371.
52. J. C. Rogers, "The Manor and Houses of Gorhambury," Transactions of the St. Albans and Hertfordshire Archaeological Society, 1933, pp. 35 - 112; and especially figs. 1, 9 and 12. The interior of the new wing showed little trace of Hendrik's work - the principal chimney - breast in particular was heavily decorated with strapwork.
53. Mark Girouard, "Renaissance Splendour in Decay," Country Life vol. 135, pp. 70 - 73. Slaugham is pronounced "Slaff'm." Some historians, disagreeing with Girouard, feel that Slaugham was built later for Covert's son.
54. D. N. B. vol. 25, pp. 407 - 409; John Newman, "Copthall," in Colvin & Harris, Country Seat, pp. 18 - 29.

55. Photographs of four early views of the Steelyard from the Thames were kindly supplied by the Guildhall Library, London. The Wyngaerde Panorama of ca. 1550 shows no loggia, but the "Copperplate Map" of ca. 1559 includes it. The building with the loggia shows most clearly in the Visscher Panorama of 1616, but is missing in the Hollar "Long View" of ca. 1647.
56. Ward, Lives p. 27; Gerald Cobb, London City Churches (London, 1942/1977), pp. 155, 156, 175.
57. Summerson, Architecture: for Somerset House, see pp. 16, 17 and plate 12; for Longleat, pp. 29 - 31 and plates 13, 14; for Longford, pp. 38, 39; for Kirby, pp. 18, 19 and plates 19, 20; for Caius (pronounced "Keys"), pp. 101, 102 and plate 64. Hatton also built another large house, Holdenby (1575 - 80), with no assistance from Hendrik.
58. Norden's Map View of Westminster (1593), copies of the British Library and the Guildhall Library, London.
59. Two anonymous engravings of the Raadhuis on fire, Stadsarchief, Antwerp. For the Spanish Fury, see Pieter Geyl, The Revolt of the Netherlands 1555 - 1609, New York, 1958.
60. Painting by Henry Leys of Italian family taking oath of allegiance, located in the Raadhuis.
61. H. Gerson and E. H. ter Kuile, Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600 - 1800 (Penguin Books, 1960) p. 13; Jakob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive and E. H. ter Kuile, Dutch Art and Architecture 1600 - 1800 (Penguin Books, 1966/1977) p. 377.

62. Hedicke, Floris pp. 88, 136.
63. Gerson and ter Kuile, Belguim p. 13.
64. --- ----, Histoire de l'Architecture en Belgique (no information about author or place and date of publication supplied with the photocopy) pp. 496, 497.
65. At least five sixteenth-century engravings exist of the Hanesatenhuis, available from the Stadsarchief, Antwerp.
66. Lodovico Guicciardini, quoted in Biographie Nationale (de Belgique), vol. 16, pp. 666 - 667.
67. Baert quoted in Histoire de l'Architecture en Belgique, p. 496 n. 2; D. Roggen and J. Withof, "Cornelis Floris," Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis vol. 8, pp. 79, 138, 139, 140. According to a 1566 letter from Clough to Gresham about work for Cecil, quoted in Jones, "Clough," vol. 20, p. 64, Hendrik and Floris were associated in some way: "I can nott wrytt you answere by thys my letttr for yt both Henryke and Florys ar both houtt of ye towne."
68. Hedicke, Floris p. 136; Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Kunstler (Leipzig, 1932) vol. 26, p. 282. Letter from Dr. A. Stroobants, archivist of the Ovdheidkundig Museum. Dendermonde, 17 December 1980.
69. Leonardo Benevolo, The Architecture of the Renaissance (Boulder, Colorado, 1978) volume I, pp. 406, 407.
70. D. N. B. "Gresham, p. 145; Gresham had earlier lived at the house of Jasper Schetz; the English Company of Merchant-Adventurers

were located in 1558 at the Hotel van Lyere, which they renamed English House, according to Jones, "Clough," pp. 45, 46.

71. "Collectors' Queries," Country Life vol. 133, p. 156. Letters from E. H. ter Kuile and Luc Devliegheer in 1980.
72. Painting in the national Collection, Brussels.
73. Letter from Professor Sten Karling, Stockholm, 11 February 1981
Weilbachs Kunstnerleksikon (Copenhagen, 1949) vol. 2, p. 520.
74. Joakim A. Skovgaard, A King's Architecture (London, 1973), p. 3.
75. Weilbachs K., pp. 520, 521. Confirmed by a letter from Jens Christian Eldal at the Royal Archives at Akershus, 3 March, 1981. Mr. Eldal confirms that the two batteries still stand, slightly altered. He also states his opinion that the legend that Hans drew the plan for the town of Fredrikstan (about 100 km. southeast of Oslo) has no substance, and is based on the fact that the town was rebuilt on its new site while Hans was staying in Norway.
76. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Netherlands Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries (New York, 1978) p. 61 and fig. 63; Skovgaard, Architecture pp. 17 - 25; Weilbachs K., pp. 520, 521.
77. Skovgaard, Architecture pp. 19, 75 - 77.
78. Letters from Joakim Skovgaard in 1980.
79. Weilbachs K. p. 521.

80. Weilbachs K. p. 521.
81. Skovgaard, Architecture pp. 11, 95.
82. Skovgaard, Architecture pp. 41 - 44, D. F. Slothouwer, Bouwkunst der Nederlandsche Renaissance in Denemarken (Amsterdam, 1924), plates 76, 80, 84; ca. 1680 illustration provided by the Nationalhistoriske Museum at Frederiksborg.
83. Skovgaard, Architecture, p. 15. However, the entry on the Floris family in Thieme & Becker, Lexikon vol. 12, p. 121 shows the Floris family tree to contain neither a Hans nor a Johan. Cornelis Floris' grandson Jan II seems to be the most likely candidate, or his nephew Frans II, or both.
84. Skovgaard, Architecture pp. 41, 44.
85. Skovgaard, Architecture pp. 15, 16.
86. Chambers Biographical Dictionary p. 128.
87. Weilbachs K. p. 521. Pictures of Lystrup and Vallø supplied by the Kunstakademiets "Bibliotek, Copenhagen.
88. D. N. B. "Gresham" pp. 148, 151. Illustrations and other information about the Hamburg Exchange sent by the Information Officer of the Hanseatischen Wertpapierbörse at Hamburg.
89. Leon Voet, The Golden Compasses (Antwerp, 1952) pp. 265 - 300.
90. Murray, Renaissance plate 170; for earlier examples of the overhanging stage on a tower, see the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence,

the Palazzo Sforza in Milan, and the Castello at Vigevano by Bramante. Octagonal towers with overhanging balconies were designed about 1455 - 60 by the Florentine architect Antonio Filarete (d. ca. 1470) for a domed church for an imaginary town he called Sforzinda. Another of Filarete's designs, that of the Ospedale Maggiore at Milan, has an important parallel with Hendrik's work: one of the façades contained an even number of arches in its loggia.

91. Skovgaard, Architecture p. 8.
92. The small amount of strapwork at Uraniborh could have been added by the builder after Hans had departed.
93. Thieme & Becker, Lexikon vol. 26, pp. 281, 282; C. Kramm, Levens en Werken etc. (Belguim, 1860) vol. 4, p. 1250; A van Wurzbach Niederlands Kunstler Lexikon (Netherlands, 1910) vol. 2, p. 304. The job of theatrical set-designer to Christian IV had coincidentally been held by Inigo Jones a few years earlier. Hendrik may have been descended from Jean van Paesschen (d. 1526) who wrote a book whose English translation was called The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Hierusalem; a single copy of this book, printed in 1604, is at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, according to the National Union Catalogue.
94. Another possibility is some time spent with Herman de Herengrave, the architect of the Nijmegen Raadhuis of 1554, which has many features in common with the Bath-house and other Hendrik buildings. Entries for van Noort and van Noyes can be found in Thieme & Becker,

Lexikon.

95. For Inigo Jones, see Sir John Summerson Inigo Jones (Penguin Books, 1966); James Lees-Milne, The Age of Inigo Jones (London, 1953); and John Harris and A. A. Tait, Catalogue of the Drawings by Inigo Jones, John Webb and Isaac de Caus at Worcester College Oxford (Oxford, 1979).
96. For French Renaissance architects, see Anthony Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 1500 - 1700 (Penguin Books, 1957); François Gebelin, Les Châteaux de la Renaissance (Paris, 1927); William H. Ward, The Architecture of the Renaissance in France (London, no date, ca. 1920); Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, Europäische Architektur (Munich, 1957).
97. D. N. B., "Gresham," p. 143.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Netherlands Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries, (New York 1978), p. 60 and Fig. 62.
2. Hitchcock, Gables, pp. 65, 66, 74; Figs. 70, 71, 83.
3. J. Alfred Gotch, Architecture of the Renaissance in England (London, 1848), Plate 24; p. 15.
4. Hitchcock, Gables, p. 72. Photograph supplied by the German National Tourist Office.
5. Hitchcock, Gables, p. 88, Fig. 93.
6. Leonardo Benevolo, The Architecture of the Renaissance (Boulder, Colorado, 1978), volume I, p. 415. Photograph of the Courtyard supplied by the Archives of the Indies.
7. Peter Murray, Architecture of the Renaissance (New York, 1971), pp. 346 - 349.
8. Letters from the State Archives and the Wertpapierbourse at Hamburg in October and November, 1980.
9. Jakob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive and E. H. ter Kiule, Dutch Art and Architecture 1600 - 1800 (1966/1977), pp. 386, 388. Many early pictures of the Exchange are available from the State Archives

10. Engraving by Visscher, 1612.
11. Engravings and photographs available from the City Library, Lille.
12. Walter Thornbury, Old and New London (London, 1873), Volume I, pp. 496, 497.
13. John Harris and A. A. Tait, Catalogue of the Drawings by Inigo Jones, John Webb and Isaac de Caus at Worcester College Oxford (Oxford, 1979) pp. 13, 14; plate 10. About Hendrik's grandson: Joakim A. Skovgaard, A King's Architecture (London, 1973), p. 94.
14. Howard Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600 - 1840 (London, 1978), p. 468.
15. Harris and Tait, Catalogue, plate 10.
16. Mark Biarouard (ed.), "The Smythson Collection," in Architectural History Volume V (1962), pp. 32 and 73.
17. The best account of the New Exchange can be found in Laurence Stone, "Inigo Jones and the New Exchange," in Archaeological Journal, Volume CXIV (1957), pp. 106 - 122. A picture of the completed building done shortly before its demolition can be obtained from the Guildhall Library, London. For Simon Basil, see Colvin, Architects, p. 95.
18. A vignette of the market building appears on a 1610 map reproduced in John W. Reps, Tidewater Towns (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1972), p. 7.

19. Colvin, Architects, p. 459.
20. There are many contemporary paintings and engravings showing both the exterior and the interior of Jerman's Royal Exchange. A plan and elevation appeared in Colen Campbell, Vitruvius Britannicus (London, 1715 - 1727), Volume II, plates 23, 24, 25.
21. For the Custom House at King's Lynn, see Sir John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530 - 1830 (Penguin Books, 1963), p. 153 and plate 107B. Amersham and Abingdon Markets, author's photographs. For the Hertford Market, see Bryan Little, The Life and Work of James Gibbs, 1682 - 1754 (London, 1955), p. 150 and Plate 28. For the Bristol designs, see Walter Ison, The Georgian Buildings of Bristol (London, 1952), pp. 95 - 105 and Plates 14, 15 and 16.
22. For the American markets, see John F. Millar, The Architects of the American Colonies (Barre, Massachusetts, 1968); the Philadelphia Market, p. 123; Faneuil Hall, p. 185; the Newport Market, p. 164; the Providence Market, p. 177. The Fayetteville market is known from an engraving supplied by the North Carolina Archives.
23. Colvin, Architects, p. 149; Summerson, Architecture, plate 65A.
24. For Webb's College of Physicians, see Harris and Tait, Catalogue, plates 57 - 62 and pp. 34, 35. An excellent photograph of the Kilmainham Hospital can be found in Maire and Conor Cruise O'Brien, A Concise History of Ireland (New York, 1972), p. 71. For Wren as professor at Gresham College Colvin, Architects, p. 918.
25. For the Bishop's Library, see Eduard F. Sekler, Wren and His

- Place in European Architecture (London, 1956), plate 56A. The design for Westminster College, see Reginald Blomfield, A History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500 - 1800 (London, 1897), p. 227. The College of William and Mary, see Marcus Whiffen, The Public Buildings of Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1958), pp. 18 - 33.
26. Author's photograph of existing building. See Colvin, Architects, p. 130.
27. Millar, Architects, p. 142.
28. Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House (New Haven, Connecticut, 1978). plate 60.
29. For the Hatfield loggia, see Summerson, Architecture, plate 31A. Colvin, Architects, pp. 95 and 468.
30. The Court House at Windsor and Morden College, author's photographs, and Colvin, Architects, pp. 308, 792, 922n. For Hooke, Colvin, Architects, pp. 428, 430.
31. Mark Girouard, "Bachegraig," in Howard Colvin and John Harris (ed.) The Country Seat (London, 1970), p. 30.
32. Whiffen, Public Buildings, pp. 53 - 66 (especially p. 62). Nancy Halvorsen Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace, Williamsburg," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Volume XXVIII, No. 4 (December 1969); pp. 254 - 270. Mrs. Schless was apparently unaware of the similarity of the Palace to the French

chateau of Balleroy, which, however, could not possibly have been influenced by Hendrik's work; it is merely a case of parallel development.

33. These buildings are to be seen, among other places, in Skovgaard, A King's Architecture, and in D. F. Slothouwer, Bouwkunst der Nederlandsche Renaissance in Denemarken (Amsterdam, 1924).
34. Hitchcock, Gables, Fig. 54 and p. 56; photographs of early engravings supplied by the Gdansk Library.
35. Murray, Renaissance Architecture, plate 524.
36. Colvin, Architects, p. 468, Harris and Tait, Catalogue, plates 24, 25, 49; Sir John Summerson, Inigo Jones (Penguin Books, 1966), p. 32.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Benevolo, Leonardo. The Architecture of the Renaissance. Boulder, Colorado, 1978.
- Biographie Nationale. Brussels, 1901.
- Blomfield, Reginald. A History of Renaissance Architecture in England 1500 - 1800. London, 1897.
- Blunt, Anthony. Art and Architecture in France 1500 - 1700. Penguin Books, 1957.
- Campbell, Colen. Vitruvius Britannicus. London, 1715 - 1725.
- Chambers Biographical Dictionary. London, 1912.
- Colvin, Howard. A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600 - 1840. London, 1978.
- Colvin, Howard, and Harris, John (ed.). The Country Seat. London, 1970.
- The Dictionary of National Biography. London, 1885 - 1901.
- East Anglian Miscellany. London, 1918.
- Gebelin, François. Les Chateaux de la Renaissance. Paris, 1927.
- Gerson, H., and ter Kuile, E. H. Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600 - 1800. Penguin Books, 1960.
- Geyl, Pieter. The Revolt of the Netherlands 1555 - 1609. New York, 1958.
- Girouard, Mark. Life in the English Country House. New Haven, Connecticut, 1978.
- Gotch, J. Alfred. Architecture of the Renaissance in England. London, 1884.
- Harris, John, and Tait, A. A. Catalogue of the Drawings by Inigo Jones, John Webb and Isaac de Caus at Worcester College Oxford. Oxford, 1979.
- Hedicke, Robert. Cornelis Floris und die Florisdekoration. Berlin, 1913.

- Histoire de l'Architecture en Belgique. (no publication data supplied).
- Hitchcock, Henry-Russell. Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries. New York, 1978.
- Ison, Walter. The Georgian Buildings of Bristol. London, 1952.
- Kidson, Peter, and Murray, Peter, and Thompson, Paul. A History of English Architecture. Penguin Books, 1965.
- Kramm, C. Levens en Werken. Belgium, 1860
- Lees-Milne, James. The Age of Inigo Jones. London, 1953.
- Little, Bryan. The Life and Work of James Gibbs, 1682 - 1754. London, 1955.
- Millar, John Fitzhugh. The Architects of the American Colonies. Barre, Massachusetts, 1968.
- Murray, Peter. Renaissance Architecture. New York, 1971.
- O'Brien, Maire and Conor Cruise. A Concise History of Ireland.
- Pevsner, Sir Nikolaus. The Buildings of England: Bedfordshire, Huntingdon and Peterborough. Penguin Books, 1968.
- Pevsner, Sir Nikolaus. The Buildings of England: North-East Norfolk and Norwich. Penguin Books, 1962.
- Pevsner, Sir Nikolaus. Europäische Architektur. Munich, 1957.
- Pevsner, Sir Nikolaus. An Outline of European Architecture. Penguin Books, 1943, revised 1963.
- Reps, John W. Tidewater Towns. Williamsburg, Virginia, 1972.
- Rosenberg, Jakob, and Slive, Seymour, and ter Kuile, E. H. Dutch Art and Architecture 1600 - 1800. Penguin Books, 1966, revised 1977.
- Sekler, Eduard. Wren and His Place in European Architecture. London, 1956.
- Skovgaard, Jaokim A. A King's Architecture. London, 1973.
- Slothouwer, D. F. Bouwkunst der Nederlandsche Renaissance in Denemarken. Amsterdam, 1924.
- Smith, Peter. Houses of the Welsh Countryside. London, 1975.
- Summerson, Sir John. Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830. Penguin Books, 1953, revised 1963.

- Summerson, Sir John. Inigo Jones. Penguin Books, 1966.
- Thieme, Ulrich, and Becker, Felix. Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler. Leipzig, 1932.
- Thornbury, Walter. Old and New London. London, 1873.
- Voet, Leon. The Golden Compasses. Antwerp, 1952.
- Ward, John. The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College. London, 1740.
- Ward, William H. The Architecture of the Renaissance in France. London, circa. 1920.
- Watkin, David. English Architecture, A Concise History. Oxford, 1979.
- Weilbachs Kunstnerleksikon. Copenhagen, 1949.
- Whiffen, Marcus. The Public Buildings of Williamsburg. Williamsburg, Virginia, 1958.
- Wurzbach, A. van. Niederlands Kunstler Lexikon. Netherlands, 1910.

PERIODICALS

- Archaeologia, London, Volume 97.
- Archaeological Journal, London. Volume 114 (1957).
- Architectural History (Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain), London. Volume 5 (1962).
- Bulletin de l'Academie Royale d'Archeologie de Belgique, Brussels. Volume 5 (1908/9).
- Country Life, London. Volumes 52 (1922); 60 (1926); 85 (1939); 86 (1939); 99 (1946); 133 (1963); 135 (1964); 147 (1970); 162 (1977).
- Denbighshire Historical Transactions, Denbigh. Volumes 19 and 20.
- Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis, Gent. Volume 8.
- Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Philadelphia. Volume 28, number 4 (December 1969).
- Norfolk Archaeology, Norwich. Volume 32.
- Transactions of the St. Albans and Hertfordshire Archaeological Society, St. Albans. 1933.

Key to Plate I

(left column)

The Royal Exchange, London:

- 1) Exterior elevation of west side.
- 2) Exterior elevation of south front.
- 3) Plan.

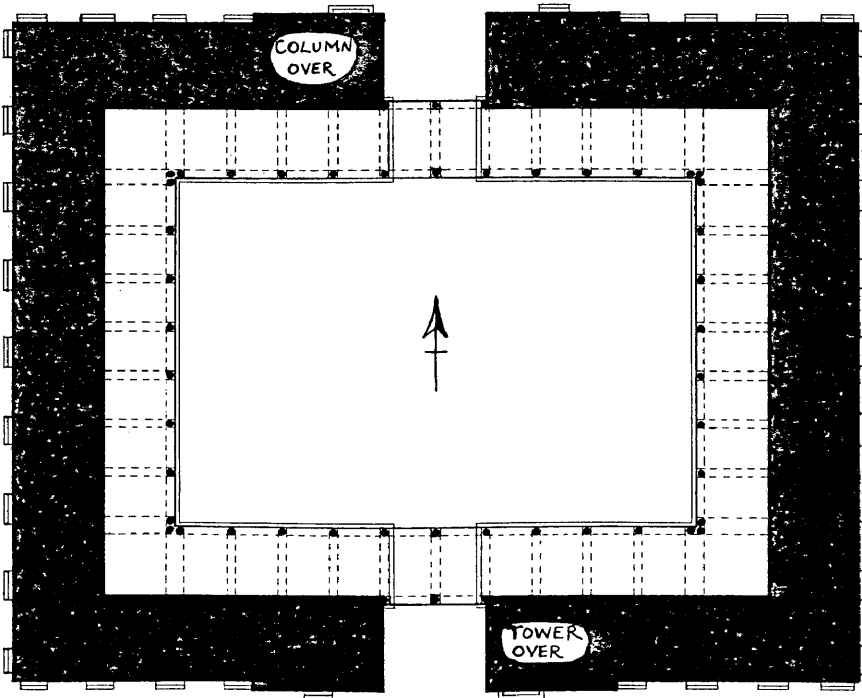
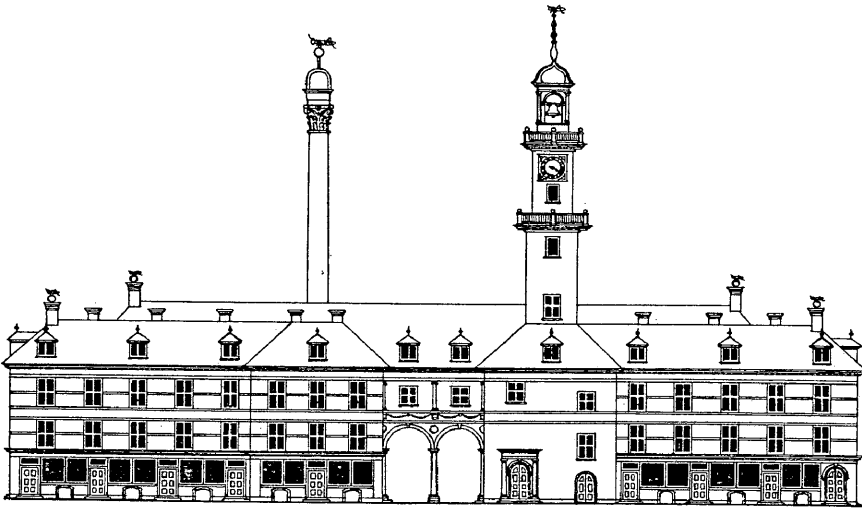
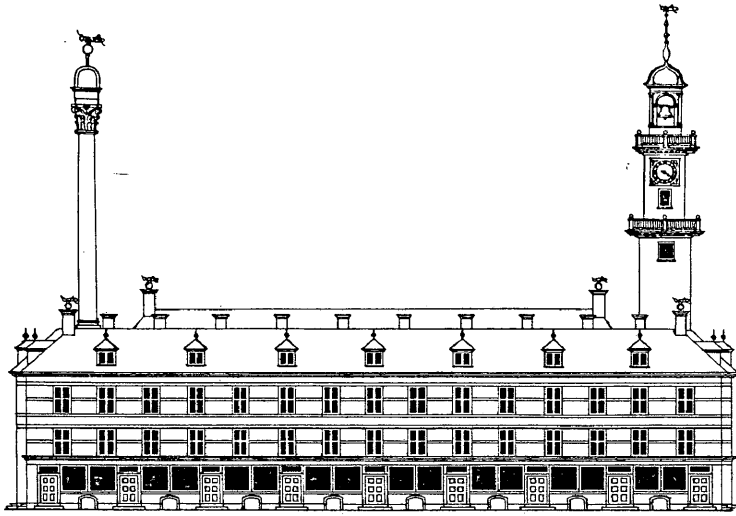
(right column)

The Royal Exchange, London:

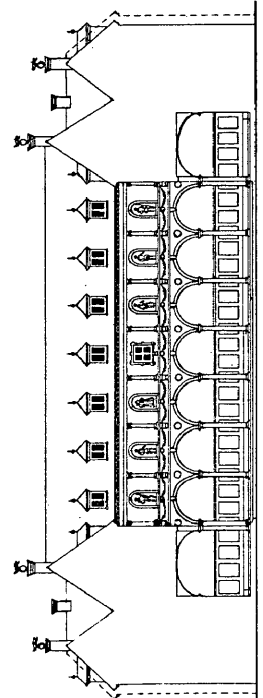
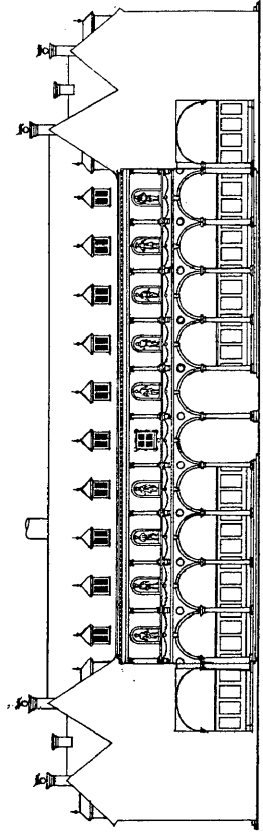
- 1) Courtyard elevation, looking north.
- 2) Courtyard elevation, looking east.

All drawings are reconstructions based on contemporary pictures and descriptions.

PLATE I



100 FEET
30 METRES
20
10
0
APPROXIMATE SCALE



Key to Plate II

(left column)

Gresham House/Gresham College, London

- 1) Exterior elevation of west side.
- 2) Courtyard elevation, looking south.
- 3) Courtyard elevation, looking east.
- 4) Plan.

(right column)

Building at the Steelyard, London

- 1) Exterior elevation of east side.
- 2) Exterior elevation of south side.

All drawings are reconstructions based on contemporary pictures and descriptions.

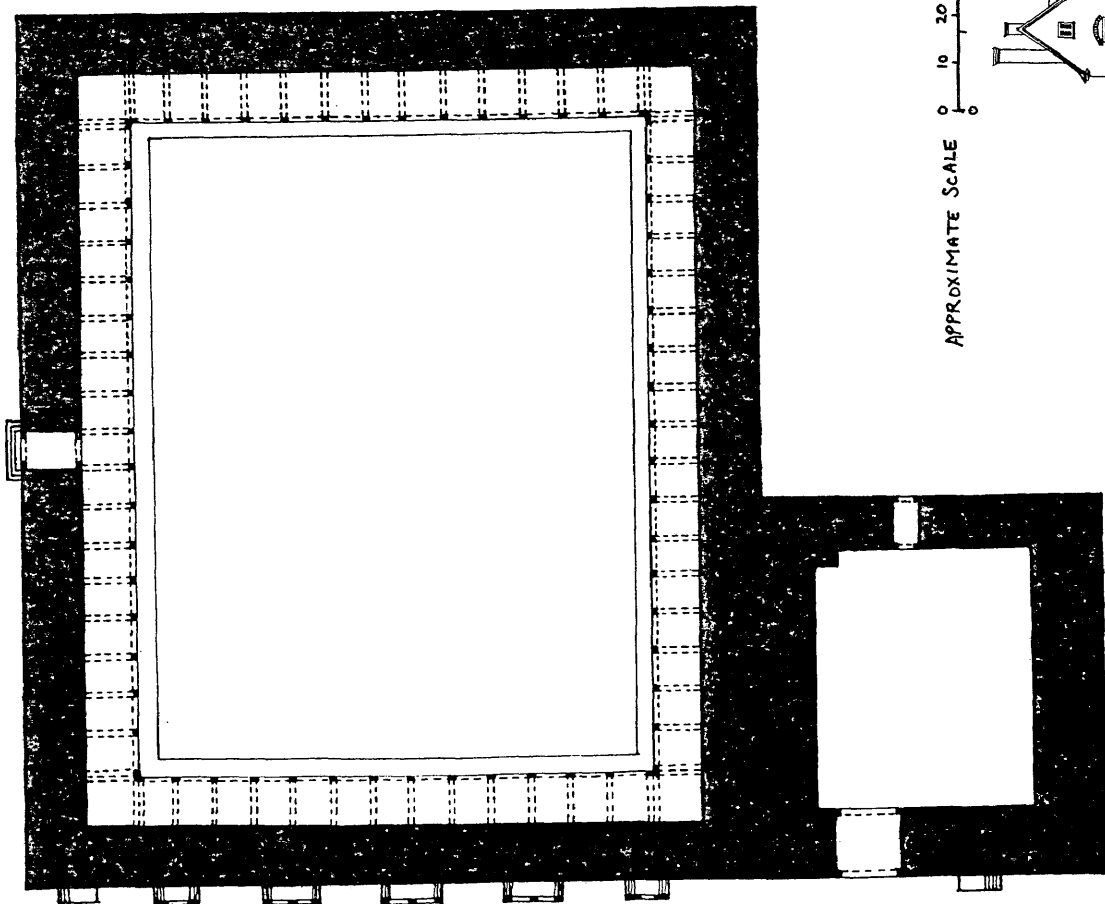
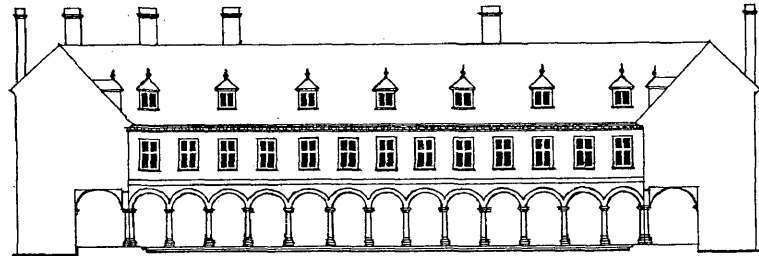
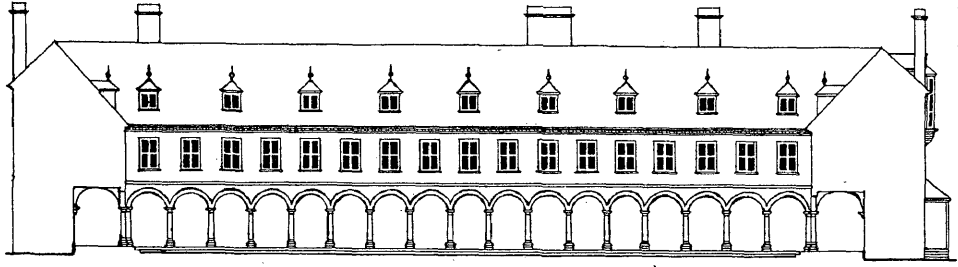
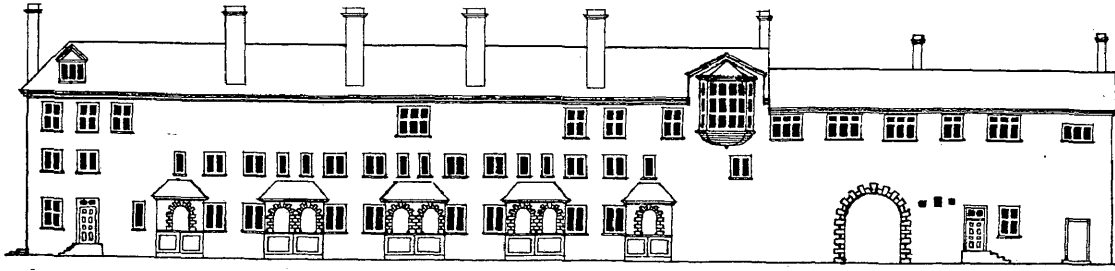
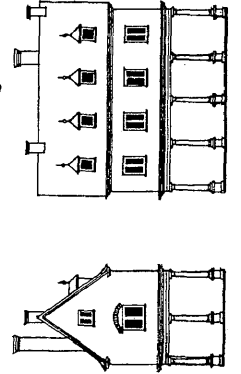


PLATE II

100 FEET
30 METRES
20
50
10
20
0 10 20 30
APPROXIMATE SCALE



Key to Plate III

(left column)

Osterley Park, Middlesex

- 1) Exterior elevation of north front.
- 2) Exterior elevation of south front.
- 3) Courtyard elevation, looking south.
- 4) Exterior elevation of west side.

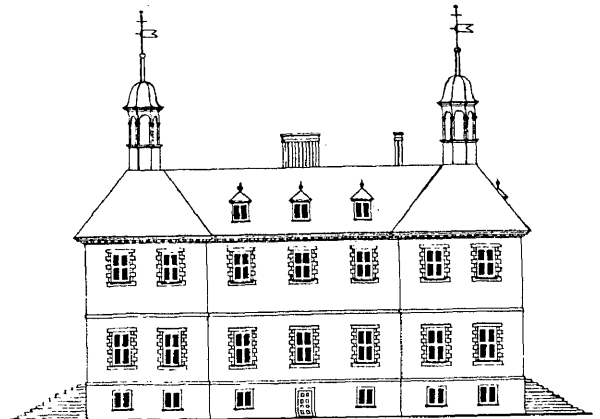
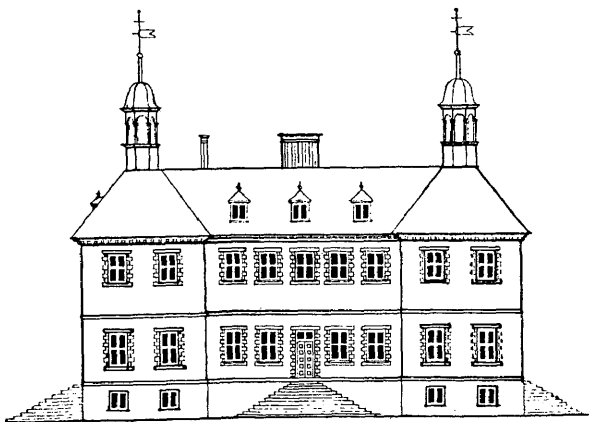
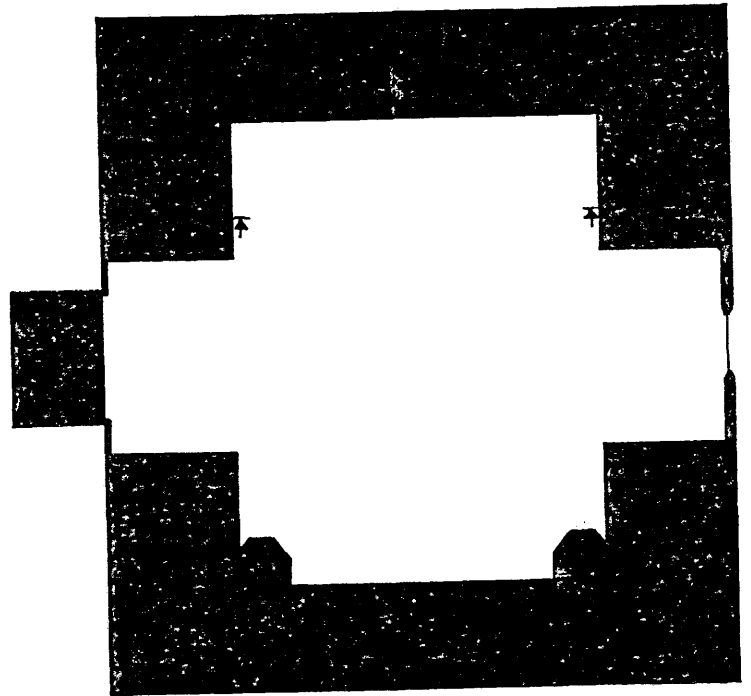
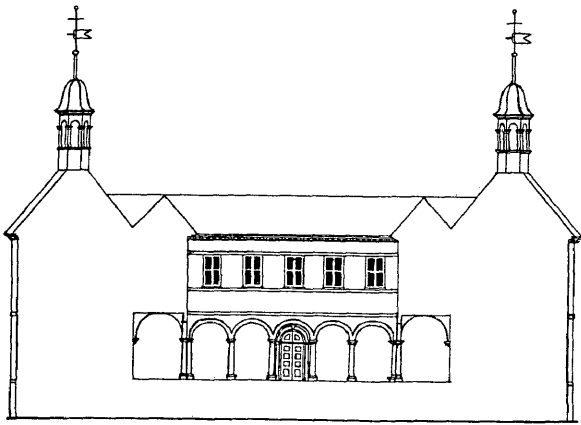
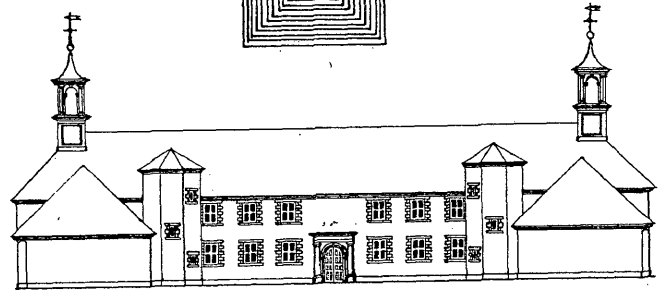
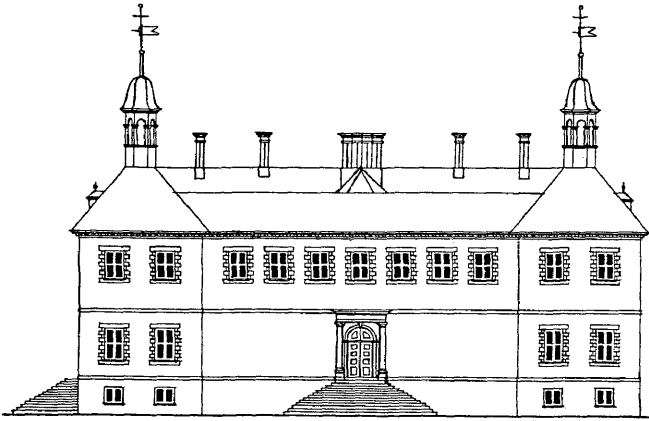
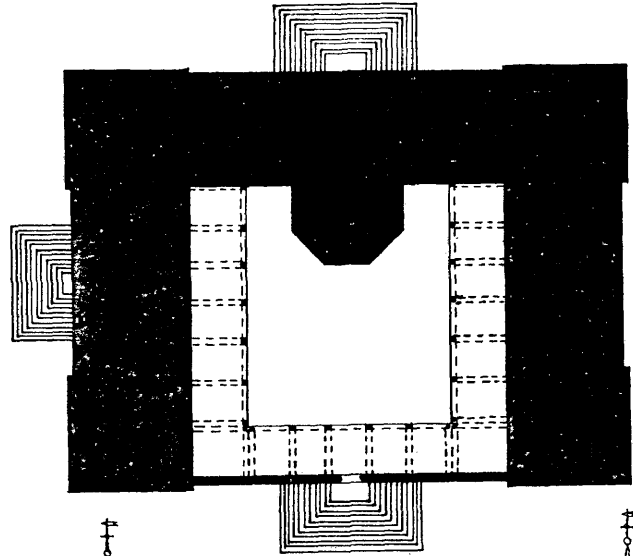
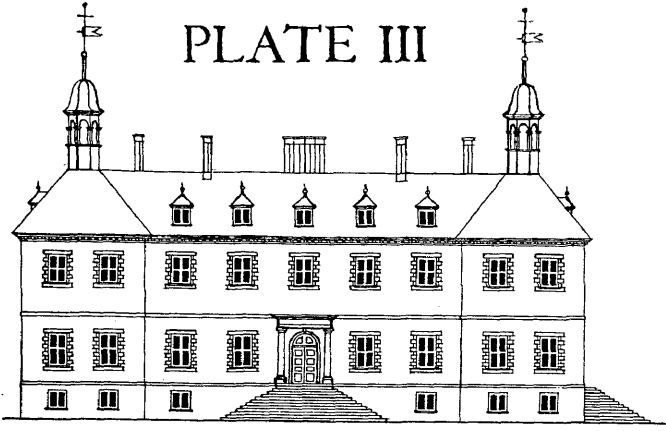
(right column)

Osterley Park, Middlesex

- 1) Plan.
- 2) Courtyard elevation of stable block.
- 3) Plan of stable block.
- 4) Exterior elevation of east side.

All drawings are reconstructions based on early pictures, plans and descriptions, and on the remains seen in the existing buildings.

PLATE III



APPROXIMATE SCALE 0 10 20 30 100 FEET 0 10 20 30 METRES

Key to Plate IV

(left column)

Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire

- 1) Exterior elevation of part of south front.
- 2) Elevation of project for each side of Middle Court screen.
- 3) Elevation of east side of Middle Court.

Burghley House, near Stamford.

- 4) Exterior elevation of part of south front.
- 5) Courtyard elevation, looking north.
- 6) Courtyard elevation, looking east.

(right column)

Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire

- 1) Plan of stable block.

Gorhambury, Hertfordshire

- 2) Exterior elevation of west wing.

Copthall, Essex

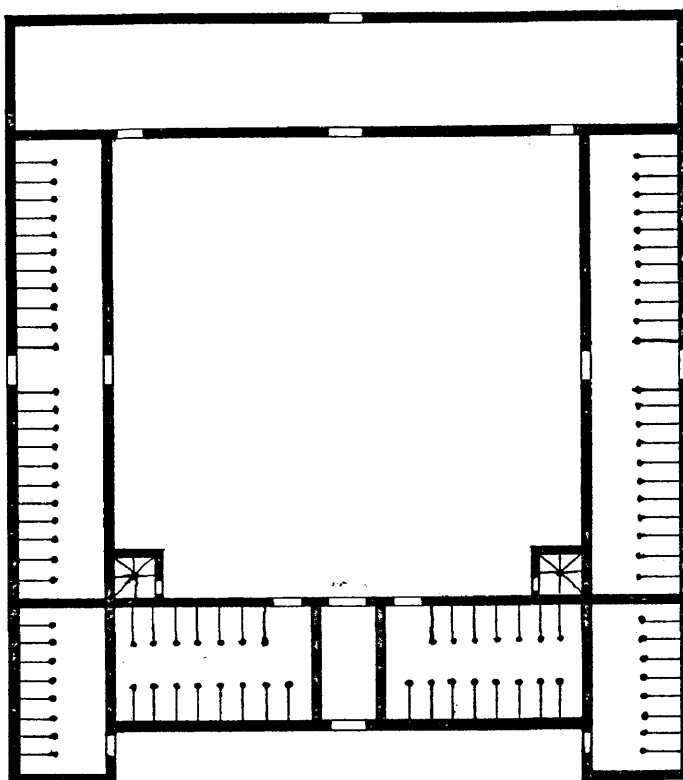
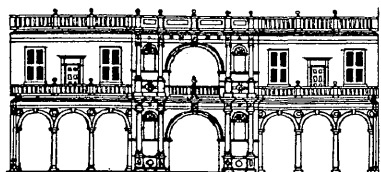
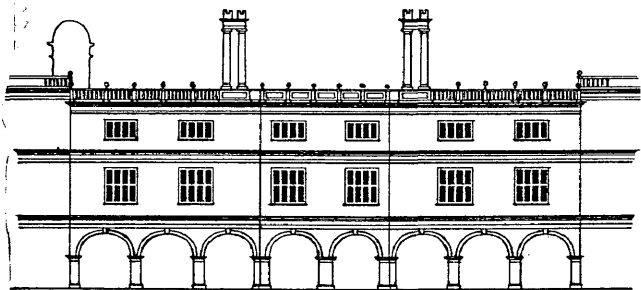
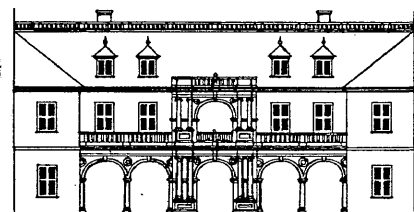
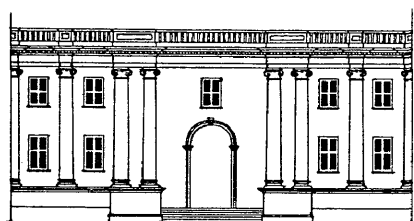
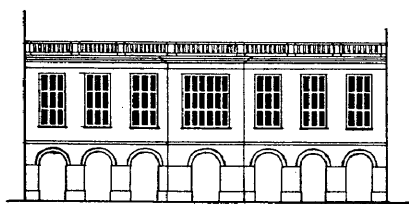
- 3) Elevation of arcaded courtyard screen.

Slaugham Place, Sussex

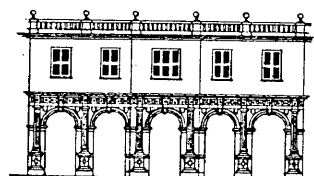
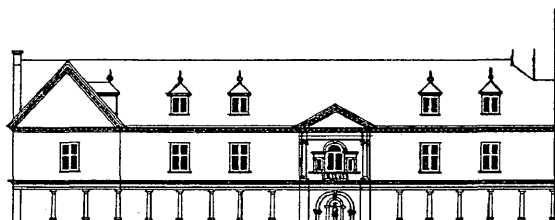
- 4) Exterior elevation of part of northwest side.

Burghley House drawings based on present building with restoration based on early pictures and descriptions. Slaugham Place drawing based on existing ruins. Other drawings are reconstructions based on contemporary pictures and descriptions and some archaeological evidence.

PLATE IV



100 FEET
30 METRES
20
10
0 10 20 30 40 50
APPROXIMATE SCALE



Key to Plate V

(left column)

Bachegraig, Clwyd

- 1) Exterior elevation of rear.
- 2) Exterior elevation of side.

Clough Town House, Ruthin

- 3) Exterior elevation of front.

Plas Mawr, Conwy

- 4) Plan

Eastbury Manor, Barking

- 5) Plan

middle column)

Bachegraig, Clwyd

- 1) Exterior elevation of front of house from courtyard.

Plas Clough, Denbigh

- 2) Exterior elevation of front.

Plas Mawr, Conwy

- 3) Exterior elevation of courtyard front, omitting windows and doors.

Gresham School, Holt

- 4) Exterior elevation of front.

(right column)

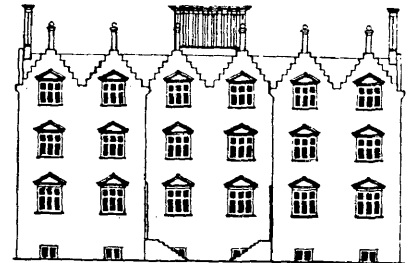
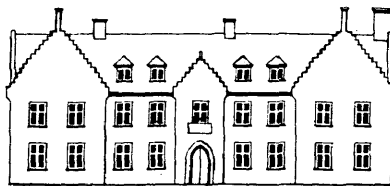
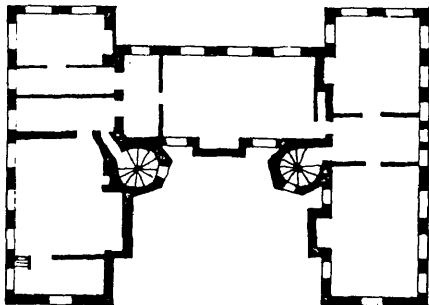
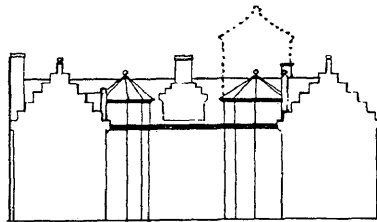
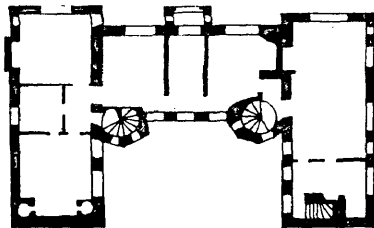
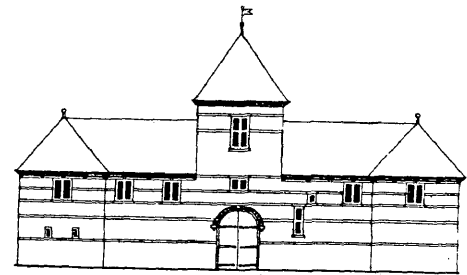
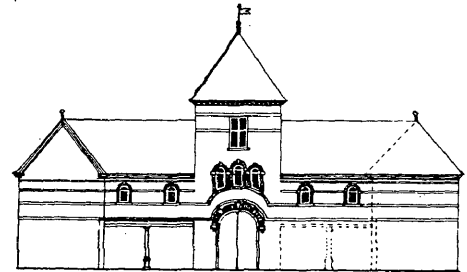
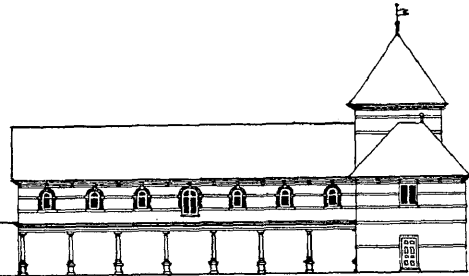
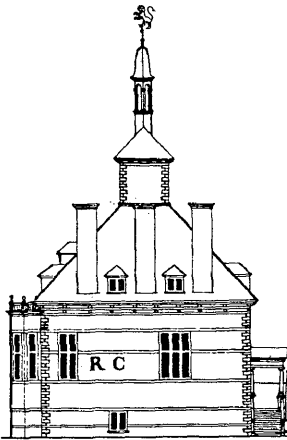
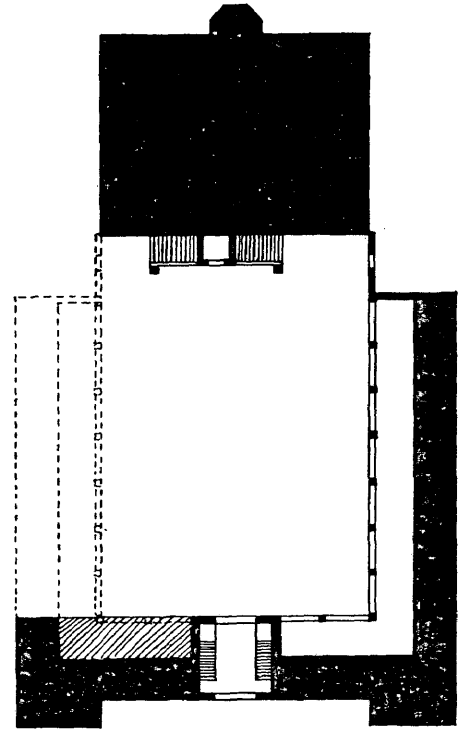
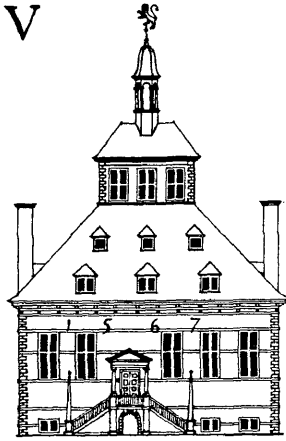
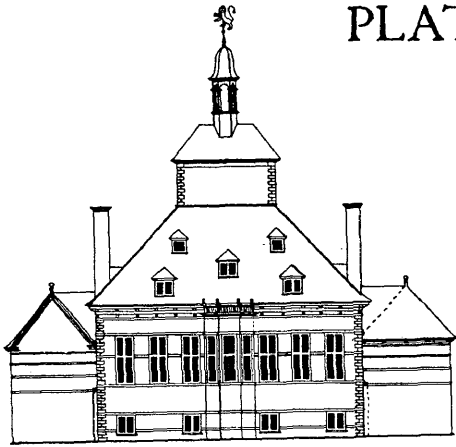
- 1) Plan.
- 2) Courtyard elevation of gatehouse.
- 3) Exterior elevation of gatehouse.

Intwood, Norfolk

- 4) Exterior elevation of front.

Drawings of Bachegraig, Clough Town House, Plas Clough, Plas Mawr and Eastbury Manor are restorations based on the existing buildings and on early pictures and descriptions. Drawings of Gresham School and Intwood are reconstructions based on early pictures and descriptions.

PLATE V



APPROXIMATE SCALE 0 10 20 50 100 FEET
0 10 20 30 METRES

Key to Plate VI

(left column)

Palace of the Duke of Brabant au Coudenberg, Brussels

1) Exterior elevation of gallery wing.

Raadhuis, Antwerp

2) Plan.

3) Exterior elevation of front.

Hanseatenhuis, Antwerp

4) Plan.

5) Courtyard elevation.

(right column)

Raadhuis, Antwerp

1) Exterior elevation of side.

Hanseatenhuis, Antwerp

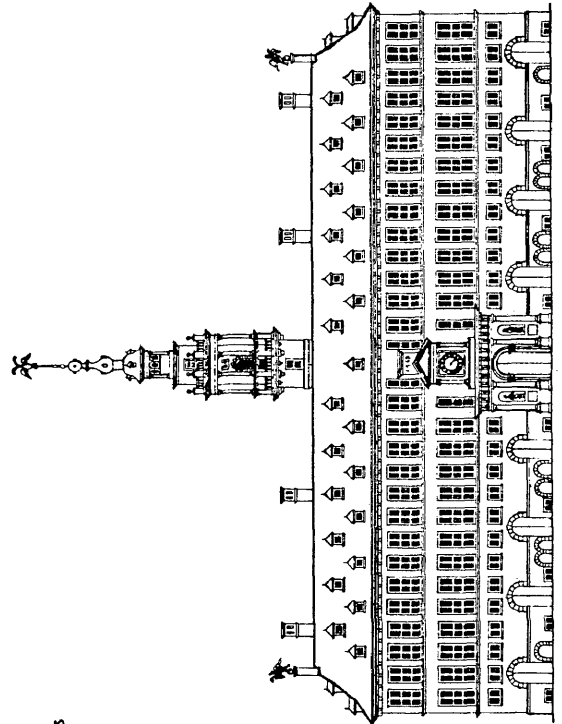
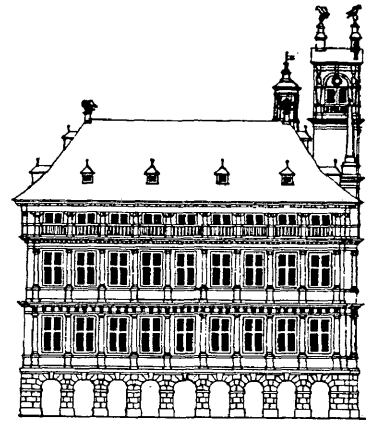
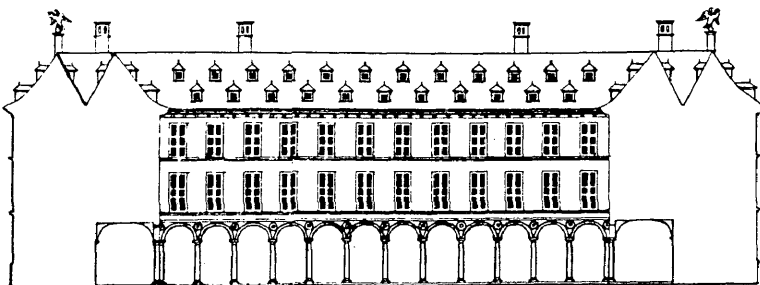
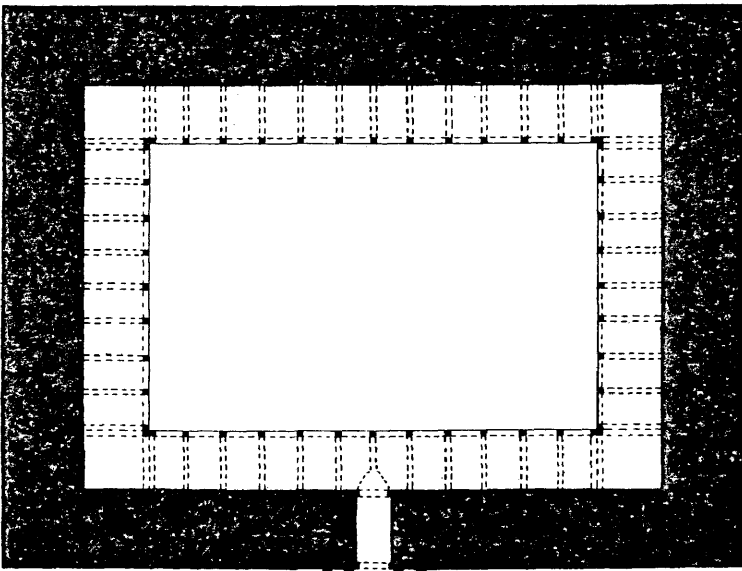
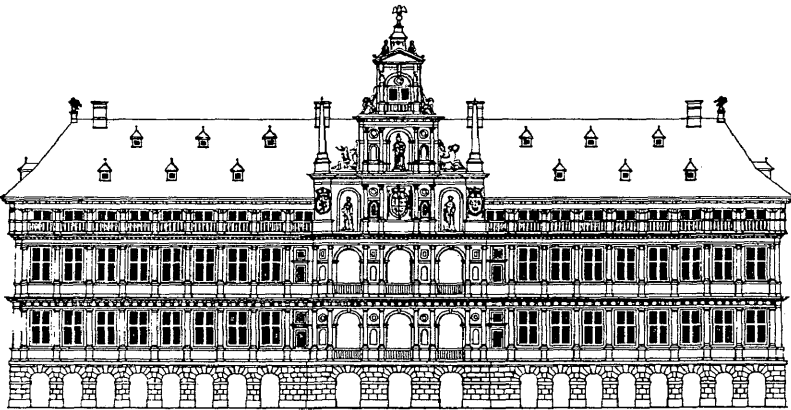
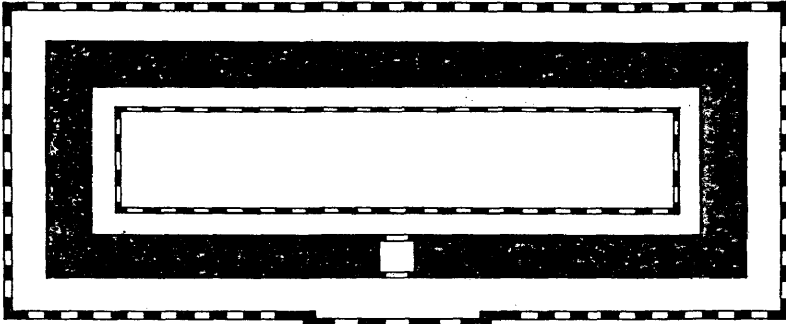
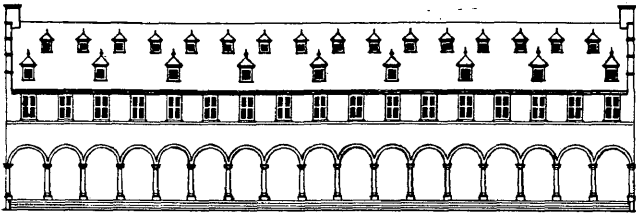
2) Exterior elevation of front.

Unidentified Flemish Raadhuis or Bourse.

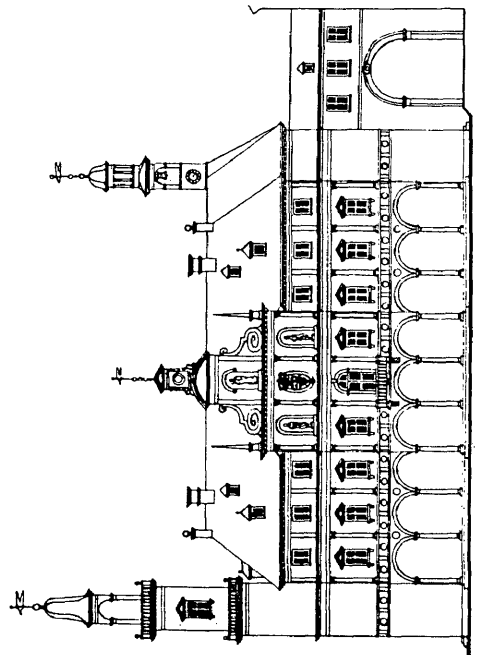
3) Exterior elevation of front.

Drawings of the Antwerp Raadhuis based on existing building restored according to contemporary pictures and descriptions; all other buildings reconstructed based on contemporary pictures and descriptions.

PLATE VI



APPROXIMATE SCALE
100 FEET
30 METRES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



Key to Plate VII

(left column)

Kronborg Castle, Helsingør

- 1) Plan.
- 2) Exterior elevation of north front.
- 3) Exterior elevation of east side.
- 4) Exterior elevation of south side.
- 5) Exterior elevation of west side.

(middle column)

The Bath-House, Hillerød

- 1) Plan.
- 2) Exterior elevation of front.
- 3) Exterior elevation of back.
- 4) Exterior elevation of side.

Uraniborg, Hven Island

- 5) Plan.
- 6) Exterior elevation of front.

(right column)

The Fadeburslaengen, Hillerød

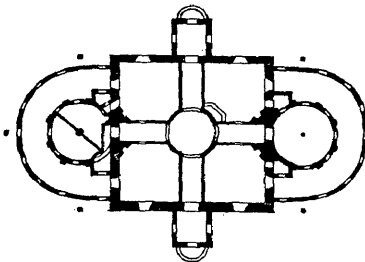
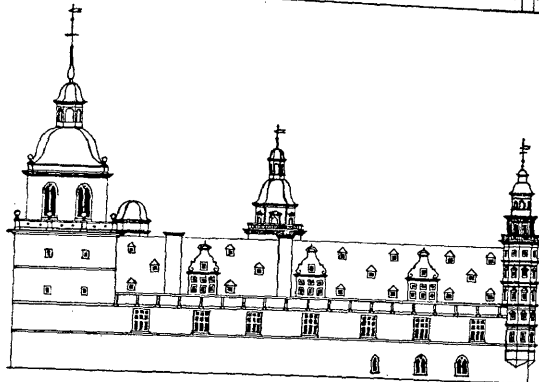
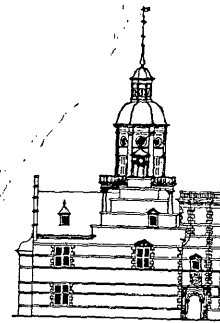
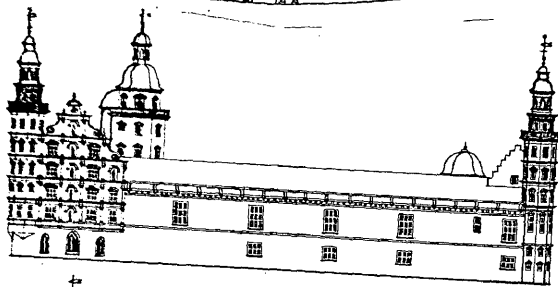
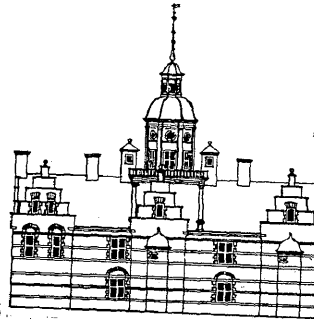
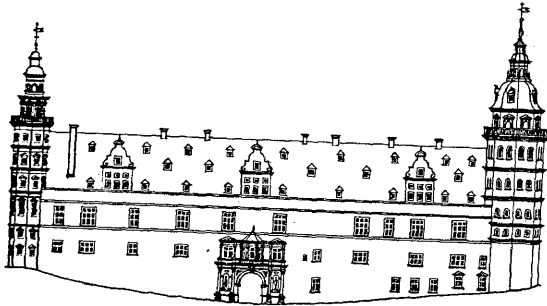
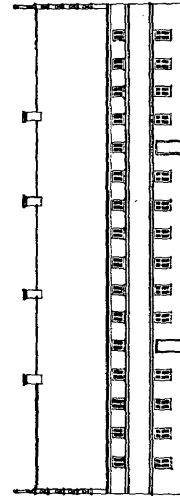
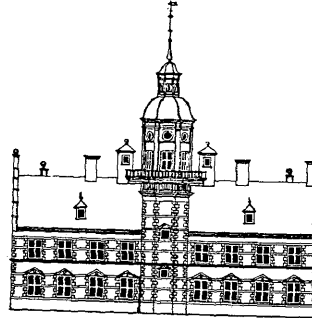
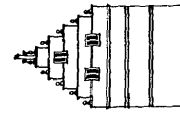
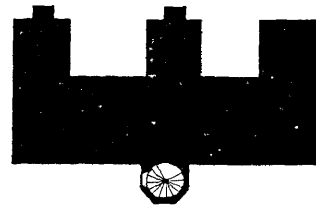
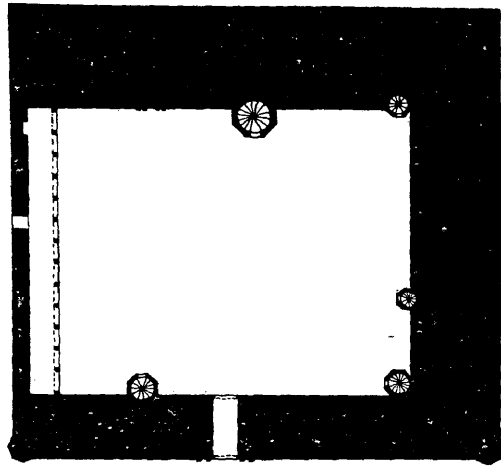
- 1) Exterior elevation of end.
- 2) Exterior elevation of front.

76 Stengade, Helsingør

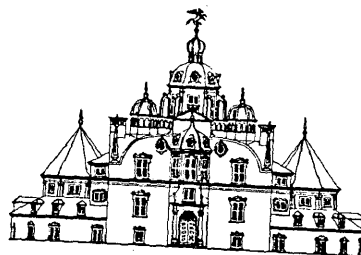
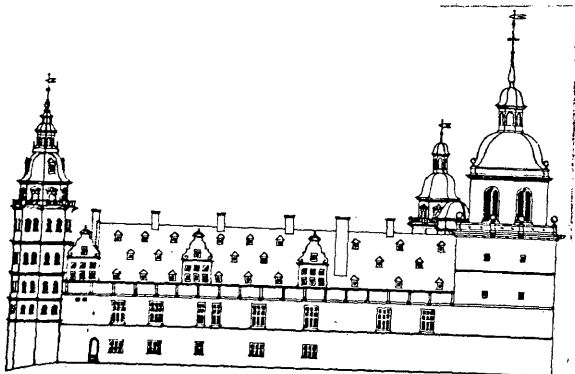
- 3) Exterior elevation of front.

All drawings, except for Uraniborg, based on existing buildings, restored according to early pictures and descriptions. Uraniborg reconstructed according to contemporary plans, pictures and descriptions.

PLATE VII



100 FEET
30 METRES
APPROXIMATE SCALE



VITA

John Fitzhugh Millar

Born in New York City January 19, 1945. Attended schools in England; graduated from Middlesex School, Concord, Massachusetts 1962; A. B., Harvard University, 1966. Served as Museum Director for Revolutionary War Ship "Rose", Newport, Rhode Island until 1980. Taught periodically at Salve Regina College, Newport.

Publications include: The Architects of the American Colonies, Barre, 1968; Rhode Island: Forgotten Leader of the Revolutionary Era, Providence, 1975; Ships of the American Revolution, San Francisco, 1976; American Ships of the Colonial & Revolutionary Periods, New York, 1978; (forthcoming) The Journal for the Committee for the Construction of the Continental Frigates "Providence" and "Warren", Providence, 1982. Articles in Rhode Island History, Newport History, The Nautical Research Journal, Model Shipwright and the Journal of the Company of Military Historians.

In August 1980, the author entered the College of William and Mary as a graduate student in the Department of History.