

This monograph examines the most prestigious political paintings created in Britain during the High Baroque era. It investigates a period characterized by numerous social, political, and religious crises, in the years between the restoration of the Stuart monarchy (1660) and the death of the first British monarch from the House of Hanover (1727). On the basis of hitherto unpublished documents, this book elucidates the creation and reception of nine major commissions that involved the court, private aristocratic patrons, and/or civic institutions. The new interpretations of these works focus on strategies of conflict resolution, the creation of shared cultural memories, processes of cultural translation, the performative context of the murals and the interaction of painted images and architectural spaces.

Christina
Strunck

BRITAIN AND THE CONTINENT 1660–1727
Political Crisis and Conflict Resolution in Mural Paintings at Windsor,
Chelsea, Chatsworth, Hampton Court and Greenwich



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TO STEFAN AND ELEONORA

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Erlangen, September 2020



CHAPTER 1

THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS BOOK, STATE OF RESEARCH, AND METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF MURAL PAINTINGS

Is this book about British art? It certainly discusses some of the most important works of art created in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and yet the terminology “British art” does not fit comfortably for two reasons.

Firstly, the term “Great Britain,” which gained currency from 1603 when James Stuart became king of England, Scotland, and Ireland as James VI and I,¹ was not consistently in use during the period in question. Although James’s ambition was to reign as “King of Great Britain,” England and Scotland remained de facto separate entities.² After the execution of James’s son Charles I in 1649, Parliament opted for the title “Commonwealth and Free State” and offered Oliver Cromwell the dignity of “Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.”³ During this period thirty delegates each from Scotland and Ireland were welcomed into Parliament, but upon the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 separate parliaments were reinstated in Dublin and Edinburgh.⁴ The union with Scotland, which had encountered great opposition from the start, no longer existed.⁵ Although medals of the Restoration monarchs grandiloquently proclaimed their rule to encompass Great Britain, Ireland, and even France,⁶ only in 1707 were England and Scotland formally united as “Great Britain” by the Act of Union.⁷ It is therefore somewhat anachronistic to refer to seventeenth-century art as “British.” Nevertheless, it has become common to use this adjective in discussions of early modern and even medieval art, for instance in *The Tate Britain Companion to British Art* (2002), *The History of British Art* (2008), *A*

Companion to British Art: 1600 to the Present (2013), *Art in Britain* (2015), and *British Baroque* (2020).⁸ It is in this same general sense that the term will be employed in the present book, conscious however of the fact that “Britishness” only began to take shape in the course of the seventeenth century.

Secondly, it is problematic to speak of British art since many of the artworks studied in this book were created by foreigners. Charles II, William III, Queen Anne, the Duke of Devonshire, Christ’s Hospital, and the Royal Hospital at Chelsea awarded their most prestigious commissions to Antonio Verrio and Louis Laguerre, for example. This was certainly not due to a lack of native talent. Isaac Fuller, “a full-blown Italianate classicist,” excelled at large-scale murals in the early 1660s, and John Michael Wright not only painted Charles’s imposing portrait in coronation robes but also contributed to the interior decoration of Whitehall Palace with the lofty allegory *Astraea Returns to Earth*.⁹ At the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford, Robert Streater demonstrated that he was capable of creating a breathtaking illusionist ceiling painting in an up-to-date High Baroque continental style.¹⁰ But despite the fact that this ceiling was completed by about 1669 and Streater had been Sergeant Painter to Charles II since 1663,¹¹ at Windsor Castle he was only allowed to work alongside Verrio, while the Italian obtained the largest and most important share of the royal commission in 1676.¹² The employment of Italian and French artists was therefore a conscious choice rather than a necessity. Some of the most influential British patrons opted for international rather than British artists – even

though the subject matter of the works they painted was clearly British in that it referred to current political and religious debates within the kingdom.

The question “Is this book about British art?” thus leads, in turn, to the main topic of this study: the relationship between Britain and the continent as reflected in and shaped by the visual arts. How did they present British history and what was their role in the nation-building process? To what extent was a “British identity” defined by contrast with continental identities? And in what ways were continental artists and politicians involved in this process?

Britain and the Continent, 1660–1727

The long seventeenth century, which can be seen as “the century of revolution” (in Hill’s terms), confronted Britain with numerous political, military, social, and religious challenges.¹³ This book opens in the aftermath of an unprecedented crisis: the trial and execution of King Charles I for high treason in 1649 and the subsequent exile of his son and heir. The time frame 1660 to 1727 designates a period beginning with the restoration of the Stuart monarchy and ending with the death of George I, the first Hanoverian on the British throne. The following brief historical sketch is meant to provide a very summary overview of the most salient conflicts faced by the British people during these decades.¹⁴ Some individual conflicts will be explored in greater detail in the single chapters of this book.

Above all, the period 1660 to 1727 was characterized by massive political instability. Upon his accession Charles II granted a general amnesty, but some of the politicians who had brought about his father’s condemnation were nevertheless prosecuted and publicly humiliated. The necessity for former supporters of the Commonwealth to readapt to royal rule created previously unknown social conflicts. A strong opposition movement began to form in the 1670s and led to the so-called Exclusion Crisis. As Charles II did not have legitimate offspring, his brother James was his heir apparent. The Exclusion Bill supported by leading Whig politicians sought

to ban James from the succession because he was a convinced Catholic, but Charles supported his brother and dissolved Parliament. A conspiracy against the life of the king failed (Rye House Plot, 1683). On his deathbed Charles II actually converted to Catholicism, and he was indeed succeeded by his brother. The duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate Protestant son of Charles II, headed a rebellion against James II in the same year (1685) but was defeated and executed.

When James II and his Catholic wife Mary of Modena finally produced an heir to the throne in 1688, concerns about the establishment of a permanently Catholic and absolutist monarchy arose. Part of the political leadership therefore turned to William of Orange for help, as both he and his wife Mary, a Protestant daughter of James II, could present a claim to the throne. After William’s almost unresisted invasion in 1688 and the flight of James II to France, the couple was jointly crowned in 1689. Political power resided however chiefly with William, especially after Mary’s premature death in 1694. Thus Britain was governed by a monarch from the Dutch House of Orange.

Shortly before William’s death in 1702, the succession was regulated by the Act of Settlement (1701). William would be followed by Anne, Mary’s younger Protestant sister. Still, as neither William and Mary nor Anne and her husband George of Denmark had surviving children, they were intent to exclude the Catholic pretender James Francis Edward Stuart – the son of James II and Mary of Modena whose birth had caused the so-called Glorious Revolution in 1688. When his father died in French exile in 1701, James Francis Edward claimed the English, Scottish, and Irish crowns with the support of Louis XIV.

After the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, the next Protestant in line for the throne was the electress Sophia of Hanover, a granddaughter of King James I. However, as she died shortly before Anne in 1714, according to the Act of Settlement Sophia’s son eventually became king as George I. Thus the Hanoverian dynasty succeeded the Stuart monarchy – though not without opposition from Stuart supporters, who organized the (ultimately unsuccessful) Jacobite rising of 1715. In Scotland

a further Jacobite rebellion took place in 1719, backed by Spain.

As this brief survey has shown, continental forces were heavily enmeshed in the political conflicts within Britain, especially as politics were closely bound up with religious issues. During the reigns of Charles II and James II, the Church of Rome increasingly sought to gain influence on British politics. Protestantism had a political component, too, because the opposition movement of the 1670s was in part fuelled by the dissenters who had been discriminated against by the Act of Uniformity of 1662.

When we look at Britain's foreign policy, we find interconfessional alliances as well as wars between Protestant nations. Between 1660 and 1727, numerous armed conflicts preoccupied the British people. Trade interests had been the driving force behind the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654) and led to a revival of hostilities in 1664. The Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667) was not just a European conflict but also concerned dominion of overseas colonies that promised rich gains. It ended with a victory by the Dutch, who then forced England to enter into the Protestant Triple Alliance with them and Sweden against Catholic France when Louis XIV claimed the Spanish Netherlands and the Franche-Comté for his wife Maria Theresa of Austria (War of Devolution, 1667/68).

In 1670, Charles II changed sides by signing the Secret Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV. The French king paid generous subsidies to Charles in return for helping him vanquish the Dutch. A secret addition to the treaty stated that the sum would increase considerably if, at an unspecified time, the British monarch declared his reconciliation with the Church of Rome and reinstated Catholicism as the national faith of his country. The outcomes of the subsequent Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672–1674) were regarded as a British success. However, in 1677 Charles broke the Anglo-French alliance by marrying his niece Mary to William of Orange, Louis's Dutch arch-enemy.

James II pursued a pro-French course and joined forces with his distant cousin Louis XIV. William of Orange responded to the French threat with a hazardous

counter-attack: A major reason behind the Glorious Revolution of 1688 was William's desire to tap British resources for his war against Louis. Military action dominated the first decade of his reign, successfully concluding with the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. Soon, however, French pretensions to the Spanish crown sparked a further conflict in which Britain was involved during Queen Anne's reign (War of the Spanish Succession, 1701–1713). The Peace of Utrecht (1713) confirmed Britain's newly won status as world power. After the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1719, Britain finally began to move towards a new era of stability, leaving behind an age of crisis.

Art and Crisis

In periods of crisis, communication is vital. A monarch needs to promote his cause and to maintain the loyalty of his subjects. Painting can be a particularly efficient medium for such communication efforts, with its visual immediacy having the potential to create a strong and lasting impression. As the saying goes, "A picture says more than a thousand words."¹⁵ While the opposition may seek to wound those in power with satirical prints, they strike back with a majestic version of history in paint.

This book examines a number of monumental paintings put on display for large audiences in vast public spaces. Some were commissioned by British monarchs, others by private patrons or public institutions. Their common denominator is not only their size and public function but, above all, their subject matter. All of them aimed to produce a lasting image of the British monarchy. Consequently, this book studies the ways in which such works presented both British history and Britain's relationship with the continent. How were the political, social, and religious conflicts of the period 1660–1727 addressed by artistic means? To what extent did these works of art serve as mediators that proposed solutions to current problems or sought to promote certain kinds of conduct? And what was the ideal future they envisaged?

Most of the following chapters deal with murals, defined by Lydia Hamlett as “mural painting (as opposed to mural sculpture, for example), the location of which is ‘on a wall,’ taken to encompass all structural boundaries including ceilings.”¹⁶ However, the first case study analyses the monumental paintings on the ephemeral triumphal arches erected for the coronation entry of Charles II in 1661. The subsequent chapters are respectively dedicated to the pictorial programme of Windsor Castle, murals within the city of London (at Christ’s Hospital and the Royal Hospital at Chelsea), the Painted Hall at Chatsworth, the King’s Staircase and Queen’s Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace, and the Painted Hall of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich. Not by chance, this table of contents constitutes an almost complete list of the most important and most striking mural paintings created between 1660 and 1727: Precisely because of their monarchic subject matter, the greatest care was lavished on them.

Although these works form the focus of the individual chapters, it is of course necessary also to consider the broader picture of British culture. In order to contextualize the main objects of study, numerous other artworks in different media will be examined: prints and drawings, easel paintings, sculptures, medals, and last but not least the buildings in or on which the murals were located. Moreover, political, historical, and theological writings of this period must be taken into account.

State of Research

As has become apparent, the works of art discussed here cannot easily be integrated into a history of British art, since many of them were produced by foreigners. Their foreignness may be a decisive reason why they have hitherto been little studied. Until recently, British art historians demonstrated a marked aversion to Baroque “decorative” painting; its exuberance seemed incompatible with British taste.¹⁷ The British Murals Network, founded in 2016, has now set out to explore this long-neglected area of study.¹⁸

The murals at the core of this book were created by Antonio Verrio, Louis Laguerre, and James Thornhill. Back in 1962, Edward Croft-Murray provided the first overview of their work in the form of a summary catalogue.¹⁹ To date, only Verrio has been honoured with a monograph covering his entire oeuvre. De Giorgi’s text dedicates fifty-five pages to Verrio’s sojourn in England, but as they are filled with many large illustrations, the interpretations of individual works are rather brief.²⁰ The exhibition catalogue *Antonio Verrio: Chroniques d’un peintre italien voyageur (1636–1707)* offers equally short essays and catalogue entries on some of Verrio’s works in England.²¹ Richard Johns’s 2004 doctoral dissertation on Thornhill is still waiting to be turned into a book,²² and Joyce Marie Davis’s thesis on Laguerre excludes his large-scale murals, being limited to his panel paintings, oil sketches, drawings, and prints.²³ The exhibition catalogue *Charles II: Art & Power*, edited by Rufus Bird and Martin Clayton, provides a good overview of the period 1660 to 1685 but does not add much new information on the mural paintings.²⁴

In recent years, a number of articles by the members of the British Murals Network have greatly contributed to our understanding of Baroque murals in Britain. Cécile Brett gave new insights into Antonio Verrio’s career, Brett Dolman took a fresh look at his work at Hampton Court, and Richard Johns elucidated the reasons for Verrio’s success at the Restoration court.²⁵ Although Laurel Peterson’s doctoral dissertation on British country houses is still unpublished, a chapter on Verrio’s and Laguerre’s work at Chatsworth has appeared in *Journal 18*.²⁶ Richard Johns and Lydia Hamlett analysed Thornhill’s paintings in the dome of St Paul’s, while Cécile Brett dedicated an article to “Thornhill’s Mythological Scene at Hampton Court.”²⁷ A small exhibition curated by Anya Matthews examined Thornhill’s preparatory drawings for the Royal Naval College and was followed by a multi-author volume on the Painted Hall.²⁸ Lydia Hamlett concentrated on Louis Laguerre, presenting perceptive interpretations of his murals at Petworth and Marlborough House,²⁹ and devised the BP Spotlight exhibition *Sketches for Spaces* at Tate Britain.³⁰

Lydia Hamlett's work began in the context of a research project directed by Mark Hallett and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, *Court, Country, City: British Art and Architecture, 1660–1735*.³¹ This project led to the creation of the database *The Art World in Britain 1660 to 1735* and resulted in an invaluable volume of collected essays that contains numerous fascinating insights into Restoration culture.³² During a visiting professorship at the University of Cambridge in 2018, I enjoyed many inspiring conversations with Lydia. In 2020, her monograph *Mural Painting in Britain 1630–1730: Experiencing Histories* came out, an excellent survey of the large number of murals created in this period. She also contributed an essay on painted interiors to the catalogue of the recent exhibition *British Baroque: Power and Illusion* at Tate Britain.³³

And yet, despite the important initiatives of the British Murals Network, the paintings studied in the present book have never before been the subject of a detailed political reading (except for a pioneering essay from the Warburg school, Edgar Wind's article on Hampton Court).³⁴ The murals examined in chapters 3 to 8 are mentioned only in passing in the literature noted above, in surveys of British art, in monographs on the buildings in which the murals are contained, and in a few other small publications.³⁵ The ephemeral decorations created for the coronation entry of Charles II (chapter 2) have been discussed on several occasions, but crucial issues (like the authorship of the triumphal arches) still remain unexplored.³⁶ The scarcity of literature on these topics is all the more surprising if one considers the fact that Verrio's wall and ceiling paintings for more than twenty rooms at Windsor Castle were certainly meant to be the English equivalent of the decoration of Versailles. But whereas the self-representation of the Sun King is known in every minute detail, the most important commissions of Charles II and his successors have been neglected almost completely.

Apart from the rather limited number of relevant art-historical publications, there exists a more consistent body of historical literature on the decades between 1660 and 1727. The political and social history of this period has been amply discussed,³⁷ as have its confessional con-

flicts.³⁸ Biographies of the individual rulers and their partners often address their art patronage at least in passing,³⁹ and there is no lack of general studies on Restoration and late Stuart culture.⁴⁰ In addition, the print culture of this time has repeatedly been examined through the lens of political dissent and opposition policy.⁴¹

Studies on cultural transfer between Britain and continental Europe have focused on the Netherlands, France, and Italy, with occasional excursions into the wider Mediterranean world,⁴² and of course one can delve into mountains of books on the Grand Tour.⁴³ Besides travellers, other cultural mediators have found less attention: diplomats, courtiers, publishers, translators, and art theorists.⁴⁴ Rather fewer publications address cultural exchange with reference to religious conflict and distinct confessional cultures.⁴⁵ To fill this gap, I organized a conference in 2016 specifically on cultural transfer between Catholic and Protestant cultures.⁴⁶

Approaches to the Topic

In this book, the coronation procession of 1661 and the murals at Windsor Castle, Christ's Hospital, the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, Chatsworth, Hampton Court, and the Royal Naval College will be studied as acts of translation in a double sense: translation between different cultures (Britain and the continent) and translation between different agents within British society (as a means of conflict resolution). How did these works of art construe Britain's past, present, and future in order to create a particular vision of British identity? How were they related to contemporary discourses about the British monarchy and its crises? Which aspects of British history were commemorated, which ones neglected? And how successful were these attempts to inscribe their patrons' views into the nation's cultural memory?

Although several studies on selected aspects of British history during this period have already used visual evidence (mainly prints and medals) as illustrations of their argument,⁴⁷ the works of art themselves deserve to be considered in greater depth. Paintings have the capacity to engage the beholder most forcefully by appeal-

ing to his or her emotions. They can operate on several levels, with several coexisting layers of meaning. Paintings can therefore go beyond the written word, suggesting ideas that would have been too hazardous to put into writing. Precisely for these reasons, a close analysis of the central pictorial figurations of British monarchy in the period 1660 to 1727 is a desideratum and proves particularly fruitful.

As most paintings examined here were created by foreigners, it is illuminating to explore how the artists interacted with their patrons. How did they jointly develop strategies for conflict resolution through visual means? What particular motifs, traditions, or notions stemming from the continental training of these artists shaped the development of the pictorial programmes? In order to shed light on such processes, I bring together research on cultural transfer with that on cultural memory and the psychology of conflict resolution.

Characteristic of the works of art discussed in this book is that they were (and in most cases still are) fixed to an architectural structure. Thus it is not sufficient to view these works as separate, singular entities. The long-standing professional separation between historians of art and architecture must be overcome through an integrated approach, which I would like to designate as *Bild-Raum-Wissenschaft* (studies on spatially embedded art). Only by combining methods from both disciplines can we understand how paintings respond to their architectural settings and how they exploit their given spatial situations to generate meaningful relationships in space. I conceive such constellations in terms of the sociology of space as settings that are meant to condition the actions taking place within them – or in Homi Bhabha’s terminology as a “third space” of intercultural negotiation. Consequently, the performative use of such spaces and their reception needs to be examined.

Building on a wide range of methods drawn from the history of art, architectural history, *Kulturtransferforschung*, cultural history, sociology of space, and psychology, this book explores the ways in which political painting used written and visual sources to comment on contemporary history and to construct visions of a better future for the British nation. As a contribution to an

emerging *Bild-Raum-Wissenschaft*, it explains how architecture and painting interact so as to move the beholder physically, emotionally, and intellectually. In the following pages my methodology for the interpretation of mural paintings will be introduced in greater detail.

Cultural Transfer and the Translational Turn

Definitions of the term “culture” have changed considerably over time, being rather narrow in antiquity and becoming a broader, key concept in eighteenth-century *Kulturgeschichte* as well as in New Cultural History starting in the 1990s.⁴⁸ In this book, culture is understood broadly as an expression of the totality of human activities rather than in the older sense of a “high culture” subsystem of society distinct from politics and economy.⁴⁹ Within the range of cultural activities (e. g. in the fields of popular culture, literature, philosophy, economy, the visual arts, etc.), there are certain characteristic tendencies that allow us to speak of “national cultures.”⁵⁰ Obviously, we must bear in mind that this concept generalizes and simplifies the heterogeneity of cultures within a country – the different lifestyles among different social groups, across urban and rural environments. The notion of a national culture is a construct, just as the nation itself “is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lies the image of their communion.”⁵¹ Paintings can serve as a means of fuelling this common imagination and will be analysed in this book as vehicles of identity-building.

Cultural identity depends on the perception of an Other, i. e. it is developed in exchange with other cultures (both within and outside one’s own country). With reference to Derrida, Laclau, and Butler, Stuart Hall writes:

Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive

formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. [...] Above all, and directly contrary to the form in which they are constantly invoked, identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its *constitutive outside* that the “positive” meaning of any term – and thus its “identity” – can be constructed.⁵²

For this reason it makes good sense to approach pictorial formulations of British identity from the point of view of *Kulturtransferforschung*, seeking to understand these constructions of identity through an analysis of the processes of cultural transfer that shaped them. How was British identity defined with reference to continental allies and enemies, continental styles, motifs, and ideas? And what was the role of continental artists in this process?

The closely related concepts of *Kulturtransfer* and *histoire croisée*, long applied to texts, have only gradually come to be applied also to works of art.⁵³ A case in point, the inspiring 2007 volume on cultural translation edited by Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia omits the visual arts.⁵⁴ But although the translational turn has been driven mainly by cultural studies,⁵⁵ it is useful for art history, too, in broadening the scope of research. While *Kulturtransferforschung* focuses on bi- or trilateral exchanges between different national cultures, research on cultural translation encompasses negotiation processes *within* a national culture (e. g. between cultural minorities and majorities) and looks at strategies for achieving mutual comprehension and consensus.

The broad range of possible applications of the word “translation” necessitates the development of a more precise terminology. Even in text-based translation studies the definition of this term poses a problem.⁵⁶ The present book is one of the outcomes of the research group “*Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit*” (“Early Modern Translation Cultures, 1450–1800”) which has adopted a broad definition of translation. Its

definition comprehends a plurality of signs (textual, visual, auditory) and stresses the purpose of translations, i. e. their aim to overcome linguistic, spatial, temporal, cultural, and/or medial barriers.⁵⁷ While translation studies were for a long time source oriented and “application-ridden,” adhering to the belief that exact translations are possible, more recent research has focused increasingly on the target orientation of translations.⁵⁸ The observation that many early modern translations are actually reworkings of the source text, omitting or adding substantial passages, has led Peter Burke to speak of “transpositions” rather than “translations.”⁵⁹ In a similar vein, the *skopos* theory formulated by Hans J. Vermeer in the 1970s emphasizes the creative role of the translator and the ways in which cultural norms and intellectual trends of the target culture condition the translation process.⁶⁰ Accordingly, Vermeer underlines the close connection between translation and cultural transfer.⁶¹

For the purposes of this book, I will distinguish between transfer and translation, conscious however of the fact that these categories intersect. *Kulturtransferforschung* classically studies three types of transfers: transfer of persons, of objects, and of ideas. Whereas migrating artists clearly belong to the first category and the export/import of moveable works of art to the second, the third category is much more open for discussion, for two reasons. Firstly, a transfer of ideas cannot come about of itself but depends on a transfer of persons or objects (e. g. books, drawings, prints) carrying certain ideas from one country to another. Secondly, a transfer of ideas is equivalent to an act of translation. Thus I aim, instead of speaking about “transfer of ideas,” to differentiate more precisely between various types of translation. I prefer the concept of “translation” to “reception” because reception denotes a passive act, while translation emphasizes the active involvement of the target culture and the process of adaptation.

Each work of art discussed in the following chapters was commissioned by a patron (or a group of patrons) who wished to communicate his views on the British nation to a specific audience. To achieve this, the artist did not simply translate a verbal message into a visual mes-

sage but also drew on literary sources and artistic models. Thus different types of translation were involved.

Speaking in very general terms, a history painting consists of four main elements: its subject matter (the story that is being told), its individual motifs (i. e. figures that are used for telling the specific story), its composition (i. e. the distribution of these motifs on the picture plane), and its pictorial style (the way in which drawing, grouping, colouring, lighting, and brushwork are employed). A translation in the strictest sense of the word would be a copy of the work of one artist by the hand of another artist who seeks to reproduce all four elements as faithfully as possible. Other forms of translation can be distinguished by the degree to which they follow the original model. For instance, some paintings may feature the same motifs but in a different composition, while other paintings may feature a similar composition but with completely different figures.

However, as this book is not source oriented but target oriented, it does not trace the reception of a given source (i. e. the various forms into which a specific painting was translated) but focuses on the artistic productions of the target culture and their models. As Gideon Toury pointed out, translations are often initiated by a target culture when in this culture “there is something ‘missing’ [...] which should rather be there and which, luckily, already exists elsewhere, preferably in a prestigious culture, and can be taken advantage of.”⁶² Therefore, “translation activities and their products not only can, but very often do cause changes in the target culture. Indeed, it is in their very nature. After all, cultures resort to translating precisely as a way of filling in gaps, whenever and wherever such gaps may manifest themselves.”⁶³ From this perspective I will look at the reasons why certain aspects of continental art were translated and combined to tailor paintings to their specific British context.

With reference to the visual arts, it is possible to distinguish between three different types of translation. Firstly, translations can take place within the same medium, e. g. a painting references another painting (*Interpikturalität*).⁶⁴ Such quotations may also occur in architecture when recognizable motifs are borrowed from some exemplary building. Secondly, translations can in-

volve different artistic media, e. g. a painting is based on a drawing, a print, or a literary description, or a statue of a Greek goddess is translated into a painting of the same deity. In contrast to such intermedial translations, the first type of translation may conveniently be called “intra-medial.” Finally, a third form of translation, termed “mediation” by Erll and Rigney, designates the translation of a verbal message into an artistic medium when this message has not previously been formulated in a literary source or a work of art. The point of departure is in this case the spoken word (of the patron) or even a mere thought (as conceptualized by the artist). In this sense, media “play an active role in shaping our understanding of the past, in ‘mediating’ between us (as readers, viewers, listeners) and past experiences, and hence in setting the agenda for future acts of remembrance within society.”⁶⁵

In considering these three forms of translation, we must bear in mind that the first and second types can be broken down into further subcategories according to their proximity to a given source. For instance, one of Louis Laguerre’s murals at Chatsworth is a fairly literal translation of Carlo Maratta’s *Closing of the Temple of Janus* in its subject matter, motifs, composition, and style. In other cases, only specific motifs are borrowed from recognizable sources, while the overall composition and subject matter do not correspond with those of the model. Often several distinct artistic models are combined in one painting. In such instances, translation is a highly creative act in which a variety of sources are interwoven to form a new entity (“transposition” rather than “translation” in Burke’s terminology).

Last but not least, it is worth noting that many acts of cultural translation do not have a material source – especially when negotiations between different social groups are involved. Culture itself can be regarded as a continuous process of translation.⁶⁶ Therefore, the translations discussed in this book are of two different though interrelated kinds: interpersonal and artistic (pictorial) translations. While the latter require a close analysis of the relationship between a painting and its artistic sources, interpersonal translations are acts of negotiation and mediation in which works of art may be used to

divulge certain ideas, address conflicts, map the road to eventual consensus, and visualize ideal futures.

Political Painting: Beyond Iconography

The various kinds of transfer and translation outlined above result in the creation of paintings that are usually referred to as “history paintings.” However, with regard to the works of art discussed in this book I prefer to speak of “political paintings,” for two reasons. Firstly, the term “political painting” stresses the function of these works, which at the time of their creation visualized very recent events and subjects with a topical relevance for the present and the future. Secondly, not all of the paintings treated in the following chapters represent histories in the common sense of the word. Some of them have a predominantly allegorical character that carries a clear political meaning without, however, depicting historical events. Thus “political painting” is a more appropriate generic term than “history painting.”

The objects of my study allow us to see history in the making as the painters and their patrons tried to give permanent form to current political topics, thus committing them to history. They sought to eternalize the present and to prescribe the ways in which future generations would interpret the history of their time.

In recent years, historians have become increasingly aware of the importance of visual evidence. Peter Burke’s *Eyewitnessing* supplied a manual highlighting the chances, challenges, and possible pitfalls in the study of images. And yet the strength of Burke’s book – its very broad scope – is also its weakness, as the author dedicates only a few rather general remarks to history painting and political art.⁶⁷ Similarly, the important studies by Kevin Sharpe and Ulrich Niggemann on Britain’s political culture during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries use images to buttress their argument, but without attempting an in-depth analysis of these works.⁶⁸

In his chapter “Beyond Iconography?” Burke posits that the methods of interpretation developed by Panofsky and the Warburg school are still valid but need to be integrated with other more recent approaches.⁶⁹ That is

precisely what the present book undertakes to do. It builds on the methods for the analysis of complex mural cycles developed at the Bibliotheca Hertziana by Preimesberger, Winner, Kliemann, and Rohlmann,⁷⁰ combines this with political iconography as exemplified in the writings of Martin Warnke’s circle, and adds fresh inspiration drawn from research on cultural transfer and cultural translation, cultural memory studies, the psychology of conflict resolution, and the spatial turn.

The unravelling of a painting’s iconography constitutes only one of many steps towards its interpretation. While Lessing famously opposed the spatial art of painting to poetry that unfolds in time (“the one using forms and colours in space, the other [using] articulate sounds in time”), it has long been recognized that reading a painting possesses a temporal component, too.⁷¹ Not everything is evident at first glance. Composition, colouring, and the use of light serve to guide the eye through the painting and to highlight the main protagonists. Only in successive steps of interpretation do significant details and the deeper meaning of the scene begin to emerge.

In the process of interpretation it is vital to consider what Erll calls “premediation,” i. e. the factors that condition acts of mediation.⁷² In the case of painting, the relevant questions are: Which earlier representations of the subject matter exist? What were the conventions for depicting scenes of this kind? Which particular artistic traditions had the painter absorbed in his training? This involves cultural transfer (the migrating artist bringing specific ideas and traditions with him) and necessitates a close analysis of the various forms of cultural translation outlined above.

In *Metahistory*, Hayden White explains his approach to the study of nineteenth-century historiography as follows: “In order, therefore, to identify the family characteristics of the different kinds of historical thinking produced by the nineteenth century, it is first necessary to make clear what the ideal-typical structure of the ‘historical work’ *might* consist of.”⁷³ Analogously, it is useful to analyse the repertoire of possibilities that existed in the period 1660–1727 for the representation of contemporary history and politics in monumental painting. The

significance of the choices made by individual painters only becomes apparent when viewed against the backdrop of the possibilities from which they were able to choose.

If we consider only single paintings (leaving the interaction of several paintings within a room to a subsequent section of this introduction), we can distinguish between four modes of monumental political painting in the early modern period. Firstly, events from contemporary history could be represented in a seemingly straightforward, documentary manner, featuring portraits of contemporaries in contemporary dress. This mode was employed, for instance, by Vasari in the Florentine Palazzo Vecchio, by Adam Frans van der Meulen in the battle paintings for the Escalier des Ambassadeurs in Versailles, and by Isaac Fuller in his episodes from the life of Charles I, but did not become common in England until the early eighteenth century.⁷⁴ Secondly, the depiction of contemporary events could be combined with supernatural figures visualizing particular virtues, guiding principles, etc., as exemplified most famously by Rubens's Medici gallery in Paris.⁷⁵ Thirdly, events from a remote past (either from history or fiction) could be used as prefigurations of contemporary events. In such cases, the viewer needs to grasp the parallel between contemporary and ancient history. To facilitate this task, the painter may integrate portraits of contemporaries into his representation of the past (as did Raphael in the Vatican *Stanze*).⁷⁶ And finally, contemporary history could be represented in the form of allegory, most notably in the numerous apotheoses that flooded Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁷⁷

Moreover, painters could choose not only from these four modes of representation but also from several literary genres. The desire to lift painting from the status of a mechanical to a liberal art led painters to emulate literature, supported by Horace's well-known dictum "Ut pictura poesis." While Horace had suggested a general similarity between poetry and painting (the latter often being defined as *muta poesis* or "silent poetry"), seventeenth-century Italian painters pondered the matter of whether it was better to imitate epic poetry or tragedy.⁷⁸ In Restoration Britain, tragicomedy proved to be a par-

ticularly appropriate template.⁷⁹ The art of oratory, which had informed art-theoretical writing from its beginnings in the fifteenth century, provided yet another possible literary model. Since rhetoric served as an indispensable tool of court culture, it comes as no surprise that rhetorical devices abound in seventeenth-century history writing and history painting.⁸⁰

The artist's choice of a specific mode of representation can be interpreted as an indicator of the intended purpose of the painting. For instance, a mix of historical and allegorical figures seeks to lift events above the sphere of the contemporary; it can ascribe a superhuman significance to them or aspire to codify certain "eternal truths." Likewise, the choice of the literary genre informs us about the way in which the painter aims to address his audience. Does he wish to move us through examples of epic grandeur? Or to activate the beholder, like an orator who incites his audience to revolutionary deeds?

Once the painter's choice of mode of representation and literary genre has been identified, the interpretation should focus on the particular way in which he presents political events. How does he seek to guide the viewer's response? How does he make clear that the depicted events from the past are relevant to the present and the future? Does the painting intend to glorify an illustrious past (in the sense of Zygmunt Bauman's *Retrotopia*), or is it geared towards providing models for present and future actions?

Conflict Resolution and the Agency of the Image

The three temporal dimensions that a political painting may address (past, present, and future) lead to two further fields of investigation. On the one hand, the past relates to the creation of individual and long-lasting cultural memories – an aspect that will be discussed in the next section of this introduction. On the other hand, paintings can suggest a specific course of action for the present and the future, thereby making a contribution to conflict resolution. This is the subject of the following paragraphs.

According to Clifford Geertz, men and women are born with the potential to lead a thousand different lives, while culture supplies the norms and control mechanisms that inform us of which paths to follow.⁸¹ In the case of art, paintings may visualize exemplary models for correct behaviour and its rewards, or alternatively they may depict the evil consequences of misconduct. Their strength lies in the immediacy of their message. Images can represent positive and negative effects much more efficiently than words, as the visual arts are capable of creating a direct bond between the viewer and the painted protagonists. Facial expressions and gestures communicate their emotions so vividly that the beholder may feel and share their joy or pain.

When Leon Battista Alberti formulated his precepts for painters, he drew on classical rhetoric and claimed that just as the emotions displayed by the orator move the public, so too can the emotions depicted in a painting capture the audience.⁸² The traditional aims of the art of oratory, *docere delectare movere* (to instruct, to delight, and to move), soon became central tenets of the art of painting.⁸³ These “sister arts” both strove to affect their audiences, inciting them to either emulate or avoid the course of action represented in words or in colours and lines, respectively. The means to achieve this was vivacity of expression, both in speech and the visual arts: Consequently, representations should appear as lifelike as possible.

As Caroline van Eck has pointed out, this quality of vividness imbues images with agency and connects the rhetorical tradition to more recent anthropological approaches, most notably Alfred Gell’s *Art and Agency*.⁸⁴ “In Gell’s anthropology of art, the stress is on the art nexus, the network of social relations in which artworks are embedded, and in which they act upon their viewers; that is, on agency. [...] Gell defined art objects in performative terms as systems of actions, intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it.”⁸⁵ Gell’s anthropology of art therefore aims to “explain why social agents in particular contexts produce the responses they do to a particular work of art” and “is built upon a definition of personhood whose defining characteristic is not life in the biological sense, but agency.”⁸⁶

Since paintings can serve as particularly efficient means of communication, they have often been used in diplomatic contexts, e. g. as gifts with a political message.⁸⁷ The approach that I would like to take in this book is to consider them as agents of conflict resolution and mediation. In doing so, I will draw on sociological and psychological theories of conflict resolution developed for twentieth-century intergroup conflicts. Although such modern crises have other backgrounds, participants, and issues than the crises of the past, it is compelling to take these theories as a starting point for determining to what extent they can be applied to early modern political conflicts.

While some definitions of the term “conflict” focus on the tendency to adopt a certain course of action,⁸⁸ I prefer a more comprehensive definition that includes conflicting expectations as well.⁸⁹ According to Ralf Dahrendorf, conflict is the key motor of change in societies.⁹⁰ He developed a model that distinguishes between fifteen different types of conflict.⁹¹ More commonly adopted, however, is a distinction between only three basic types of conflict: conflicts concerning rank, interest (resources), and norms or values.⁹² This can in turn be boiled down to just two fundamental categories, “conflict of interest” and “conflict of values or belief.”⁹³

Together with Kurt Lewin and Muzafer Sherif,⁹⁴ Morton Deutsch counts among the pioneers of socio-psychological research on conflict resolution. Deutsch states that

the characteristic processes and effects elicited by a given type of social relationship also tend to elicit that type of social relationship. Thus cooperation induces and is induced by a perceived similarity in beliefs and attitudes; a readiness to be helpful; openness in communication; trusting and friendly attitudes; sensitivity to common interests and deemphasis of opposed interests; an orientation toward enhancing mutual power rather than power differences; and so on. Similarly, competition induces and is induced by the use of tactics of coercion, threat or deception; attempts to enhance the power differences between oneself and

the other; poor communication; minimization of the awareness of similarities in values and increased sensitivity to opposed interests [...] [etc.].⁹⁵

He concludes: “If one has systematic knowledge of the effects of cooperative and competitive processes, one will have systematic knowledge of the conditions that typically give rise to such processes and, by extension, to the conditions that affect whether a conflict will take a constructive or destructive course.”⁹⁶

Over the course of the last decades, Deutsch and his colleagues have developed an ever more precise set of rules and recommendations for successful conflict resolution. Roger Fisher, William Ury, and Bruce Patton, the founders of the Harvard Negotiation Project, focused on political conflicts (most notably the Camp David negotiations where their techniques were employed), stressing the need to maintain an awareness of common interests even when dealing with opposing interests. They recommend defining multiple options for mutual gain, along with some objective standard as a benchmark for the success of the negotiations.⁹⁷ Above all, they underline the importance of communication, i. e. the necessity to clarify each side’s perception of crucial issues and to be explicit about each party’s feelings regarding these matters.⁹⁸ Moreover, they advise negotiators not to argue about the past but to “talk about what you want to have happen in the future.”⁹⁹

While the so-called Harvard Concept concentrates on negotiations between two parties, other authors have explored the possibilities of mediation, i. e. the positive role that a neutral third party may exercise.¹⁰⁰ As set out in my reflections on the various types of translations, painting is in itself an art of mediation. Therefore, an analysis of political painting benefits from considering the various steps in the process of (political) mediation as defined in schematic representations by Moore and by Montada and Kals, respectively:¹⁰¹ To what extent does the work of art act as an agent that mediates between opposing parties in a situation of crisis? Which stages of the mediation process is a painting most likely to address and to influence?

Recent research has focused on the importance of reconciliation in the peace-building process. According to Valerie Rosoux, reconciliation may take three different forms: “Structural approaches” seek to improve the parties’ situation through political, economic, and cultural mechanisms to permit coexistence, while “social-psychological” and “spiritual” approaches aim to restore a broken harmonious relationship between parties or to forge a new, positive relationship by attempting to change beliefs, attitudes, motivations, and emotions.¹⁰² Evidently, the media can play a central role in this process. With reference to present-day conflicts, Gilboa has stressed the potential of media intervention, distinguishing between a phase of conflict resolution (e. g. reports on negotiations, confidence-building) and the following phase of reconciliation (e. g. propagation of “positive peace” via media coverage).¹⁰³ This final phase moves on from conflict resolution to “conflict transformation,” which involves “transforming perceptions of issues, actions, and other people or groups” as well as “the way conflict is expressed.”¹⁰⁴

Daniel Druckman, editor of a recent standard work on conflict resolution,¹⁰⁵ advocates a “multi-method” approach to conflict research.¹⁰⁶ In my view, the role of paintings as “media interventions” in historic conflicts has been overlooked and needs to be brought into focus. When political paintings address large audiences, they may either highlight the values associated with cooperation (enumerated by Morton Deutsch) or, on the contrary, stress the aspect of competition. Since Deutsch’s research shows that there exists a correspondence between effects and causes,¹⁰⁷ depictions of cooperative behaviour and its benefits have the power to induce cooperation in the present and in the future. The vivacity with which art visualizes such rewards makes cooperation all the more desirable. Political paintings can help to transform perceptions of issues, actions, and enemies and may therefore become vital agents in the peace-making process.

Building on the issues raised by the Harvard Negotiation Project, we must ask how visual representations of certain ideal futures related to the political situation at their time of creation. What were the political aims con-

nected to each particular vision of the future? In what ways did paintings serve to clarify the perception of controversial issues and to express the emotions intertwined with them? And to what extent were such murals conceived as aids in contemporary decision-making?

A useful diagram designed by Eben A. and Patricia Flynn Weitzman visualizes the interrelation between problem-solving and decision-making.¹⁰⁸ The authors conceive conflict resolution as a process that will ultimately lead to a decision to which the participants commit themselves. However, as Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger has shown, early modern mechanisms of decision-making differed markedly from our contemporary practices.¹⁰⁹ Majority votes were for the most part avoided, as were potentially risky decisions themselves: “From a historical perspective, formalized decision-making was therefore more the exception than the rule. Much more common were palaver and dilatory muddling-through.”¹¹⁰

While Stollberg-Rilinger made these observations with reference to the situation in continental Europe, it is worth considering the peculiar balance of power in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain particularly in relation to decision-making. The two Houses of Parliament, Lords and Commons, took votes, but they could still be overruled by the king. Despite royal power being curtailed after 1688, the king (or queen) continued to hold a veto right.¹¹¹ Conflict resolution and decision-making were therefore especially complex issues in Britain – a fact that any commission for large-scale political paintings had to take into account. Consequently, in interpreting such murals, it is of paramount importance to relate the depicted events not only to the underlying conflicts but also to the British strategies for conflict resolution and decision-making with special regard to the often problematic relationship between the king and Parliament.¹¹² It may also be helpful to examine what Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger calls “the blessings of ambiguity” and “the virtues of indecision”¹¹³ – in our case, pictorial means for creating consensus while avoiding clear-cut decisions.

Individual and Cultural Memory

While political paintings seek to convey strategies for conflict resolution and norms of behaviour for the present and the future, they also aim to construct a particular vision of the past. These two aims intersect, as representations of the past are always subservient to the present. Remembering can be seen as a performative act that stages a relationship to the past from a particular point in the present.¹¹⁴ As the psychologist Hans J. Markowitsch puts it, “old memories are recalled in the context of the present and are then re-encoded in the context and mood of the present.”¹¹⁵ Remembering is thus a discursive process since “what we remember is not shaped by what actually happened, but by whatever can be put in the story that we shall later narrate. What is and is not recalled from the past therefore depends not least on the person, the purpose and the situation for whom and for which this story is needed.”¹¹⁶

Memory holds a crucial importance for the formation of identity, both for the individual and for social groups. Autobiographical memory determines, denotes, and secures our ego, while at the same time being shaped by “social formation.”¹¹⁷ As a field of psychology, the Social Representation Theory (SRT) seeks to explain how systems of opinion, knowledge, and belief particular to a given culture or social group condition ways of thinking as well as the behaviour of individuals within that culture or group: “From our youngest age, school, the family, institutions and the media, instill in us certain ways of seeing the world and offer us a particular vision of the things around us, presenting us largely with a ready-made construction of the world in which we grow up.”¹¹⁸ Social representations, understood in the SRT as “a set of cognitive elements relative to a social object,”¹¹⁹ are closely related to collective or social memory. With the aid of various symbolic media such as texts, images, monuments, anniversaries, and commemorative festivals, social groups form a collective memory that perpetuates their collective values and codifies their identity as “we.”¹²⁰ Harald Welzer concludes that “autobiographical memory is thus constituted far more from the ‘outside’ than from the ‘inside.’”¹²¹

The field of cultural memory studies investigates “the ways in which societies (re)construct their past in symbolic forms such as monuments and festivals, according to their present needs and current plans for the future.”¹²² In the course of the last decade, cultural memory has been linked very productively to neurological research on individual memory.¹²³ As the findings of such studies have been formulated in a rather general way, I will focus here on those aspects that are particularly relevant to political painting.

In analysing the various kinds of memory that come to bear on political painting, it is useful to distinguish between two perspectives: on the one hand, the process of artistic creation (pertaining to the intentions of the painter and his patron or patrons) and, on the other hand, the process of reception (the beholder’s side of the story). In the latter case, we must make a further distinction between the intended audience (at the time of the painting’s creation) and later viewers, ourselves included.

Let us turn first to the process of artistic creation. All of the paintings discussed in this book refer to the political situation current at the time of their creation, but not all of them depict current events. As pointed out in the section on modes of representation, events from a remote past could be selected so as to mirror the contemporary situation. Thus different types of memory were involved with respect to the subject matter of political paintings. In some cases – when the patron(s) and/or the painter had personally participated in the depicted events – episodic memory came into play, whereas representations of events from the remote past drew on semantic memory.

Autobiographical memory has many components, e. g. procedural memory (knowing how to do something) and several forms of declarative memory (knowledge of facts).¹²⁴ Under the category of declarative memories, we can distinguish between episodic memories (referring to personally experienced events, places, or things) and semantic memories (“the sum of what we have absorbed not through our own experience but through targeted learning”).¹²⁵ Manier and Hirst explain the difference as follows: “An example of episodic memory would be a

person’s memory of eating toast for breakfast this morning. Other memories, semantic memories, do not possess this temporal or spatial specificity. Many people know that Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo but they no longer remember where they learned this fact. At one time, they presumably possessed a memory of the experience of learning about this battle. Many semantic memories begin as episodic memories. But the episodic memory often fades, leaving behind only the semantic memory of what was learned.”¹²⁶

Several persons experiencing the same event (e. g. the Glorious Revolution) can form a collective episodic memory. People who did not participate personally in the Glorious Revolution, but who know about it, share a collective semantic memory. Nowadays this event is a distant semantic memory, while for an audience of the 1690s it was a lived semantic memory.¹²⁷

As explained above, autobiographical memories are shaped by collective memories. Thus when we consider the particular memories represented in political paintings, it is not sufficient to focus only on the artist and his patron(s). In addition, we should trace previous visual or textual representations of these events to find out in what forms they had already entered the collective memory.

In the case of the painter, the interrelation of individual and collective memory is particularly complex. The individual memories involved in the creation of his work consisted of semantic and/or episodic memories regarding the subject matter of the painting as well as procedural memories (knowledge of how to paint a mural). The latter were obviously conditioned by the cultural traditions in which the painter had been trained. Since many murals discussed in this book were created by painters from the continent, in such works collective memories belonging to continental artistic communities, imported to Britain, intersect with collective memories of British history.

Guided by the wishes of his patron(s), the artist commemorates certain events or “facts” for posterity, thereby inscribing a particular construction of the past into the collective cultural memory. As explained by the SRT, different social groups may have different social

representations (mental images, views, and opinions) of the same object.¹²⁸ A painting can codify a certain view and homogenize social representations. It serves as an exogram, i. e. as “disembodied memory.” The term exogram denotes “external memory content of any kind which is used to cope with current demands and to develop courses of action for the future.”¹²⁹ Individual and collective semantic and/or episodic memories are stored in an external archive (the mural) in order to be kept available.¹³⁰

As such paintings were meant to be relevant for the present and the future, they needed to communicate with the beholder. Painters achieved this by appealing to the emotions of their audiences. It is worth noting that precisely in the period examined in this book “emotional regimes” and concepts of identity were subject to significant shifts. John Locke and Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, introduced new ways of thinking about personal identity, and this led to new forms of social interaction.¹³¹ Consequently, “new” emotions like empathy came to be foregrounded.¹³² In analysing political paintings, it is therefore productive to ask whether these general changes influenced the way in which painters presented issues of history and identity to their audiences. What were the emotions they sought to evoke?

Emotions make memories particularly forceful.¹³³ In some cases, however, emotions are so strong that the memory of them must be repressed.¹³⁴ As in Restoration Britain the trauma of the regicide (the beheading of Charles I in 1649) was a particularly sensitive issue, it is revealing to observe how patrons and painters either addressed or avoided the subject. This question will be discussed in chapters 2 and 5.¹³⁵

Having considered the various memory-related questions regarding the process of artistic creation, I will now turn to the process of reception with respect to both early modern and present-day audiences. In general terms, political paintings serve as visual cues that induce ecphory (an automatic memory-retrieval process engaged when a specific cue interacts with information stored in memory).¹³⁶ They activate collective semantic and/or episodic memories. The beholder’s response to

them is conditioned by his or her actual viewing conditions (both in a physical and a cultural sense): “The remembering and ecphorizing of old information – including traditions and myths – is, however, always a process that depends on an interaction with the present environment and consequently – at least in many instances – with social partners and the cultural context or frame.”¹³⁷

While the above-mentioned definition of an exogram points to its relevance to the present, disembodied memories may become less important over time. Aleida Assmann therefore distinguishes between functional memory and storage memory: “In storage memory sources, objects and data are collected and preserved, independently of whether they are to be used in the immediate present; we might call this society’s passive memory. Functional memory, on the other hand, is the active memory of a we-group. Just as the autobiographical memory underpins the identity of an individual, so the functional cultural memory provides the foundation for the collective identity.”¹³⁸

A viewer of the 1690s may have discovered in a painting of the Glorious Revolution collective episodic memories with massive relevance to Britain’s collective identity. In that case, the image clearly belongs to the realm of functional memory. On the contrary, many modern visitors to royal palaces or country houses do not even recognize the represented events. For them, the murals are receptacles for mere storage memory, without contemporary significance. Since the status of once highly meaningful works of art can diminish in the course of time,¹³⁹ cultural memory requires exegesis to be kept alive, i. e. a continued process of interpretation and commentary.¹⁴⁰ In this process, instances of “overwriting” can occur when an image is invested with new levels of meaning.¹⁴¹

As outlined above, political paintings were created with a view to codifying a particular version of the past with special relevance to the present and the future. However, only by tracing the responses of contemporary beholders can it be ascertained how successful such attempts were. And only by focusing on later responses to the same images can we assess how the perception of

cultural memory changed over time. In the words of sociologist Harald Welzer: “One could say that each present, each generation, each epoch creates for itself that past which has the highest functional value for its future orientations and options.”¹⁴²

Bild-Raum-Wissenschaft: Spaces of Translation, Performativity, Reception

While studies of cultural memory have been concerned with *lieux de mémoire* (spaces of memory), the spatial turn has drawn attention to “third spaces” of intercultural contact. Both of these concepts, developed by Pierre Nora and Homi K. Bhabha respectively, have a strong metaphorical component: In addition to places and monuments, persons, institutions, and texts can also be *lieux de mémoire*,¹⁴³ and “third spaces” may open up in any intercultural dialogue.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, these ideas provide a useful point of departure for an analysis of the interaction between architecture, painting, and people in built environments. Rooms that contain large-scale political murals are, on the one hand, *lieux de mémoire* (codifying a specific vision of the past) and, on the other hand, “third spaces” where acts of cultural negotiation can take place, for instance during audiences at court or during festivals.

Building on classics like Henri Lefebvre and Pierre Bourdieu, in recent years a new sociology of space has emerged studying the ways in which social spaces are constructed.¹⁴⁵ Martina Löw distinguishes between *Ort* (a specific geographical place) and *Raum* (space, defined as a particular constellation of living beings and social goods).¹⁴⁶ According to Löw, space is constituted via two interrelated processes: “spacing” (the positioning of certain social goods, people, or symbolic markers in designated places) and *Syntheseleistung* (a cognitive effort that connects these elements).¹⁴⁷ Depending on individual perspectives, different spaces can coexist in the same place.¹⁴⁸ While sociologists tend to explore this with reference to contemporary urban spaces, their methods can also be applied in analysing early modern sacred and profane spaces.¹⁴⁹

I consider the rooms examined in this book as spaces of translation. Following Löw’s lead, two aspects need to be accounted for: firstly, “spacing” (i. e. the way in which murals and other objects are placed in these rooms) and, secondly, the viewer’s response (*Syntheseleistung*). Translation occurs on both levels, as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

Each room studied in this book contains several paintings. They occupy different places (on walls and ceilings) and have different supports and different degrees of mobility (moveable framed easel paintings on canvas vs. murals on plaster permanently fixed to walls or ceilings). Moreover, their relationship with the beholder differs depending on the level of reality introduced by the painter. One and the same room can contain images that are feigned tapestries, imitations of stone reliefs (in grisaille painting), and framed *quadri riportati* (mural paintings imitating easel paintings), all crowned by a painted open sky teeming with figures that appear to be illusionistically present. Whereas these figures inhabit a space seemingly continuous with the viewer’s own, the protagonists of the other representations are further removed from the beholder’s reality in being clearly identifiable as paintings or sculptures.

An analysis of spacing leads to the following questions of vital relevance for an emerging *Bild-Raum-Wissenschaft*: In what ways does the placement of particular types of paintings in particular locations within a room affect the interpretation of the ensemble? Why are certain events presented on a more remote level of reality than others? How does the distribution of images relate to the architecture, e. g. which painting is placed opposite the main entrance? Which images come into view only successively, and why so? Are there certain elements in the murals that catch the viewer’s attention and lead them from one painting to the next? And did the patron(s) place additional art objects (e. g. easel paintings or sculptures) in the room in order to amplify the messages conveyed by the murals?

Such ensembles are spaces of translation in that they invite visitors to decipher the messages encoded in the paintings. The spacing of the murals seeks to guide the process of interpretation, for instance by presenting im-

ages in a particular sequence or by suggesting meaningful comparisons between paintings placed as pendants. But although the spacing hints at ways of translating the murals, each viewer constructs his or her own history from the elements provided by patrons and painters (*Syntheseleistung*). Thus it is necessary to study individual responses. And in doing so, the functions of the rooms as well as the different roles of the beholders must be taken into account.

Viewers can experience murals in two fundamentally different roles, either as detached visitors on a sight-seeing tour or in a performative context as participants in some form of entertainment or ritual (court ceremonials, festivals, audiences at court, etc.). In the first case, the viewer's attention is focused specifically on the works of art, while in the second case the murals form the backdrop to a particular event. Of course the paintings are perceived differently according to the specific situation. When viewed in a performative context, they may be understood in relation to the particular agenda of the event. For instance, when members of the Order of the Garter gathered in St George's Hall for the Garter feast, they would have seen the mural depicting the triumph of the Black Prince, the son of the order's founder, as a confirmation of their special mission as members of that order. However, when viewed in a sight-seeing context, the paintings themselves can become events: "Das Ereignisbild wird zum Bilder-*ereignis*," as Uwe Fleckner put it.¹⁵⁰

When beholders encountered murals in the context of an audience at court, their perception of the paintings was guided by the functional organization of the so-called apartment. The apartment, a set of rooms of gradually diminishing size reserved for one particular inhabitant, formed the main organizational unit of the Baroque palace.¹⁵¹ The rank and gender of the inhabitant influenced the choice of subject matter for the pictorial decoration. It must be asked how the paintings reflected the status and agenda of the apartment's owner and formed a framework that conditioned the interactions within such gendered spaces.

In addition, the reception of these paintings was linked not only to the rank and gender of their owners but

also to the specific function of the individual rooms. For instance, since the Guard Chamber served as a waiting space, visitors expecting to be ushered in had plenty of time to study the murals at their leisure, possibly drawing some lesson from them that then influenced their "performance" in the audience. On the contrary, in the audience chamber visitors had to concentrate on their own agendas and would have noticed murals only peripherally (if at all). Alternatively, the host may have pointed out particular elements of these paintings to visitors in order to animate political discussions and to highlight certain shared values.

The above-mentioned viewing roles were not mutually exclusive. A diplomat who first encountered murals during an audience would have been given a guided tour of the palace on a successive day, allowing him to understand the pictorial programme more fully than in the performative audience situation. Similarly, painted halls (e. g. at Chatsworth, Christ's Hospital, the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, and the Royal Naval College) could be experienced by one and the same person on both festive occasions and in a sight-seeing mode.

In a performative context, such rooms became spaces of translation par excellence. They hosted events where people from different cultures came together and exchanged their views – either formally during audiences or in a slightly more relaxed way during festivals.¹⁵² In terms drawn from Löw's sociology of space, the interaction of people and artworks constituted a particular space of intercultural dialogue. The murals were meant to condition intellectual exchange in such rooms, providing guidelines or examples that could serve as starting points for manifold discussions.

As Löw has emphasized, a particular cognitive effort (*Syntheseleistung*) is necessary to connect the various elements that form a space of dialogue. But what can we know of the *Syntheseleistungen* of early modern viewers? There are a number of textual and visual sources that inform us about the reception of the paintings in question. Printed or drawn reproductions of murals are indicators of their popularity and sometimes provide further information via inscriptions and comments. In addition, we can look at diaries and travel

journals,¹⁵³ as well as at records of diplomats' visits.¹⁵⁴ Panegyric descriptions and festival books may provide valuable clues, as may newspapers and early modern art-historical writings.¹⁵⁵ Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century guidebooks are often frustrating as they give little information on individual paintings,¹⁵⁶ but precisely this scarcity of detail can prove illuminating: Which aspects of the murals were deemed important enough to be recorded for posterity? Which ones could be omitted and forgotten?

Early Modern Roots of Brexit Debates

Tracing the reception of the murals at Windsor Castle, Christ's Hospital, the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, Hampton Court Palace, and the Royal Naval College at Greenwich finally leads to the question of their continued relevance. To what extent do Verrio's, Laguerre's, and Thornhill's painted visions of British history and their evocations of a national identity still matter today?

Regarding Brexit as "a performative speech act," Rebecca Adler-Nissen, Charlotte Galpin, and Ben Rosamond consider not only its implications for the future but also the ways in which the debates surrounding it reproduce and transform perceptions of the national past: "At times of crisis, political actors seek to make sense of events by evoking existing identities that resonate in their respective national contexts. Crises can therefore reflect identity discourses."¹⁵⁷ They distinguish between two long-standing views of Britain's relationship to the continent: Either Britain is seen as an integral part of Europe, or "British exceptionalism" is stressed. Operating in either of these traditions, current comments on Brexit work performatively to establish a particular national past.¹⁵⁸

Lisa Suckert has studied this phenomenon with reference to Britain's economic identity. Whereas Adler-Nissen et al. do not engage in detail with historical case studies, Suckert traces the positions within the Brexit debates back to the nineteenth century. She analyses the heated discussions about the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) and about the Tariff Reform (c. 1880–1932) and demonstrates how arguments about global free trade vs.

economic nationalism still resonate today.¹⁵⁹ As British history offers two opposing models for economic success, arguing in favour of either option means privileging a particular view of Britain's economic identity that is also bound up with a particular conception of Britain's international contacts. The advocates of economic liberalism generally see other nations as Britain's partners, whereas the proponents of economic nationalism tend to stress the threat exerted by rival economies.

Following this line of thought, the artworks discussed in the present book can complement the studies just mentioned. Indeed, they form part of the reservoir of world views from which current positions in the debate draw their arguments. The roots of the discourse about British exceptionalism vs. Britain as an integral part of Europe reach back a long time. The ways in which seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artists conceptualized the relationship between Britain and the continent are therefore still of vital relevance for us today.

This nexus between research and current politics raises the question of one's own standpoint. Art historians may endeavour to address their objects of study in a neutral, unbiased way and to present interpretations that are soundly based on a critical examination of written and visual evidence, but our perception of the world and consequently of our objects of study is inevitably coloured by our own personal histories and experiences. Since the publication of Hayden White's *Metahistory* back in 1973, it has become indispensable to reflect on how the individual positions of historians condition the way in which they dispose their narratives. Thus I would like to conclude with a few remarks about the personal perspective from which this book is written.

As I approach my fiftieth birthday, I have now spent more than half of my life studying the art and architecture of Italy, France, and Britain and processes of exchange between these cultures. My interest in the connectedness of European cultures is grounded in first-hand experience of many of them. Before graduating from the Freie Universität Berlin in 1994, a scholarship enabled me to spend a formative year at the University of Cambridge that introduced me to an entirely different academic world. As a doctoral student, I was lucky enough to hold

a fellowship at the Bibliotheca Hertziana (Max Planck Institute for the History of Art) in Rome. My first job saw me teaching the history of art as a lecturer at the University of York (1999–2001). As I wished to pursue a career in research, I returned to Rome and held a postdoctoral position at the Bibliotheca Hertziana from 2001 to 2006. This period was followed by fellowships at Villa I Tatti (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies), the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz (Max Planck Institute), and the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles. My receipt of the Otto Hahn Medal of the Max Planck Society resulted in a prolonged stay at the Institut national d'histoire de l'art in Paris. Only in 2009 did I finally settle down in Germany, first at the Philipps-Universität Marburg and from 2015 at the Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg.

During this long European odyssey, I have formed many friendships and a network of international contacts that are still vital for my academic work today. In numerous studies, I have discussed processes of cul-

tural exchange within Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. On a personal level, my experience of different cultures (both in everyday life and in academia) has led me to value the particularities of each nation as well as the importance of intercultural dialogue.

This book addresses cultural translation as its topic but also in its form. It was written in English because I wished to avoid the inevitable distortions of meaning that result from the translation of a German text into English. As the difficulties of the German language prevent many British and American colleagues from reading contributions by German scholars, I aim to bridge this gap, bringing traditions of thought to the study of British art that may well seem “foreign” to an Anglo-American audience. Seeking to keep up optimism that the Brexit controversies will not lead to serious ruptures in the academic environment, I hope that the results of this border-crossing research will stimulate a continued, friendly dialogue across the Channel.

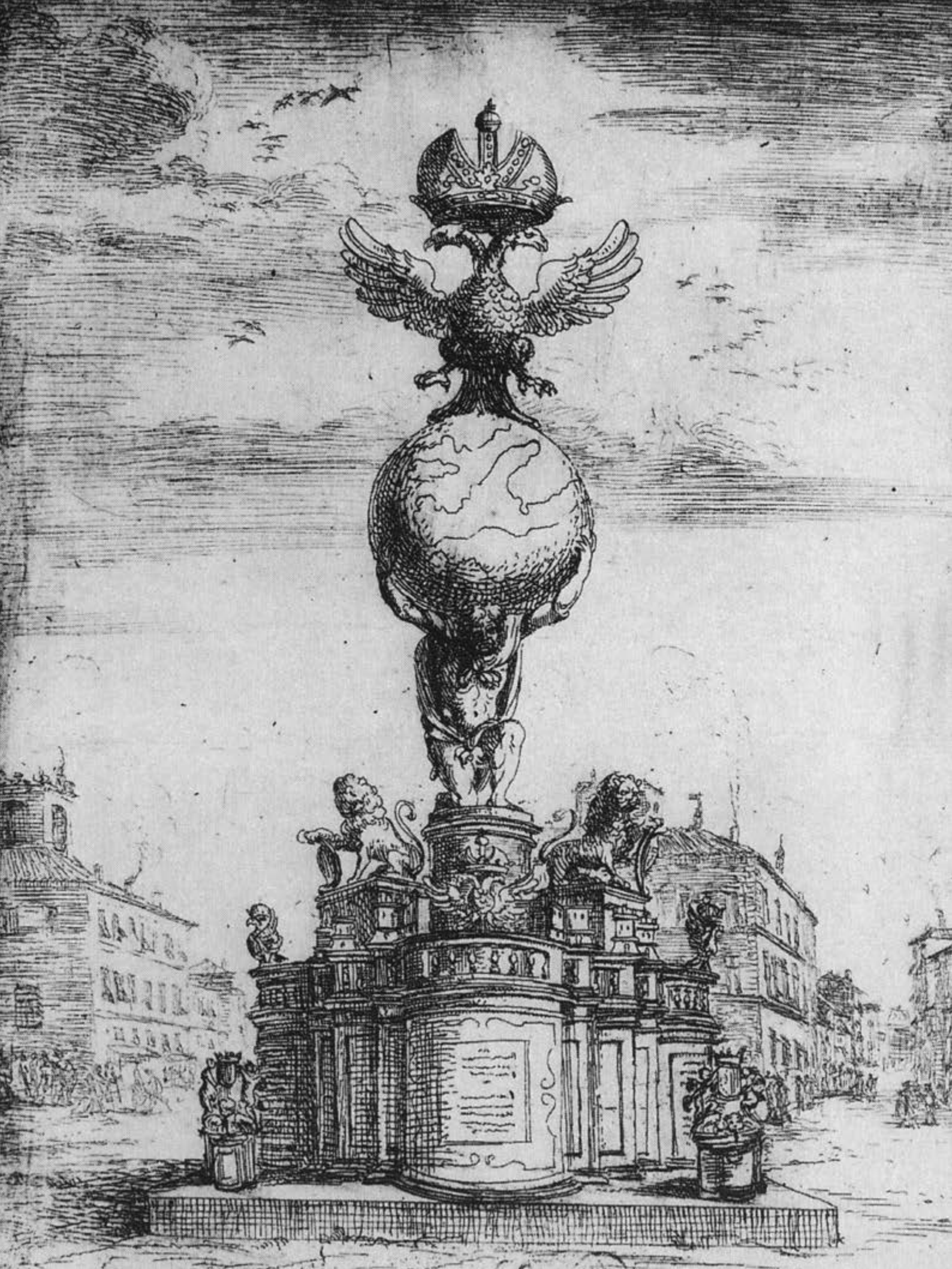
NOTES

- 1 Latham and Hughes 1973, 18; Galloway 1986; Colls 2002, 34. The term “Great Britain” was in use (though rarely) even before James’s accession: Marshall 2000, 13–14; on the kingdom of Ireland: *ibid.*, 16, 20–21.
- 2 Marshall 2000, 9–17, 24–28; on the title “King of Great Britain”: *ibid.*, 25.
- 3 Maurer 2000, 156, 158.
- 4 Maurer 2000, 159, 166.
- 5 Barozzi and Berchet 1863, 440; Kluxen 1991, 346; Bindman 2008a, 22–25.
- 6 See, for instance, Perfect Catalogue 1661a, 34: Charles II as “King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, & c.” On other occasions, Charles styled himself as “King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland”: Hutt 1872, 128–129, doc. 6 (letters patent of 22 December 1681). The Latin inscription on a medal in honour of Charles II reads: “D[ei] G[ratia] Magn[i] Britann[iae] Franc[iae] et Hibern[iae] Rex” (Sharpe 2013, 131, fig. 14). Medals of James II, William III and Mary II, and Queen Anne present slight but insignificant variants of this title in that Mary and Anne are addressed as “Regina” (Queen): *ibid.*, 132 (fig. 15), 280 (fig. 36), 436 (fig. 61), 441 (fig. 62), 607 (fig. 82). The ancient claim to France was only withdrawn in 1783: Bindman 2008a, 27.
- 7 Gregg 1980, 130–131; Colley 1992; Maurer 2000, 189.
- 8 Humphreys 2001; Ayers 2008; Bindman 2008; Arnold and Peters Corbett 2013; Solkin 2015; Barber 2020. The online journal *British Art Studies* accepts contributions “on all aspects of British art, architecture, and visual culture in their most diverse and international contexts,” without any chronological limitations (<https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk/about/journal>, last accessed 19 September 2020). Its inaugural issue opened with a discussion on the proposition “There’s No Such Thing as British Art” (Johns 2015).
- 9 Solkin 1999, 200–202, 234; Bird and Clayton 2017, 10–11.
- 10 Geraghty 2013, 75–81, 101–110.
- 11 Geraghty 2013, 75, 77 (dates the Sheldonian ceiling to “c. 1667–69”).
- 12 See chapters 3 and 4. On Streater’s very limited role at Windsor cf. St John Hope 1918, 1:319. A bill of 1678/79 mentions a payment of £180 to “Robert Streater Serj.t Painter for painters worke done in the Kings Queenes and Dukes Lodgings, and severall other places in and about his Ma.ties new building at Windsor,” while in 1679/80 he received £100 for “painters worke by him done in severall appartm.ts belonging to ye said Castle of Windsor viz.t in ye Kings eateinge roome & laboratory, the Guard House, ye scullery, ye Ushers Larder & buttery, ye Queenes Vestry” (*ibid.*, 120). Antonio Verrio obtained for his work in the royal apartments £2,430 in 1678 and £1,650 in 1679/80, plus a pension of £200 per annum (*ibid.*, 317, 320).
- 13 Hill 1969.
- 14 The following introductory survey is based on Kluxen 1991; Maurer 2000; Kramer 2007; Miller 2017.
- 15 Peter Burke attributes this popular German figure of speech (“Ein Bild sagt mehr als 1000 Worte”) to Kurt Tucholsky: Burke 2001, 9.
- 16 Hamlett 2020b, 4.
- 17 Johns 2013, 89–95.
- 18 <https://www.britishmurals.org/>. I am particularly grateful to its steering committee (Lydia Hamlett, Brett Dolman, and Richard Johns) for having invited me to deliver a paper at the inaugural conference (“Those Wilder Sorts of Painting’: Revisiting Murals in Britain 1600–1750,” University of Cambridge, Murray Edwards College, 16 September 2016).
- 19 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:236–274. For surveys of the painters’ works see also Waterhouse 1988 and Waterhouse 1994.
- 20 De Giorgi 2009a, 100–155. See also De Giorgi 2009b and De Giorgi 2010.
- 21 Hémery 2010.
- 22 Johns 2004. On the projected book see <https://www.york.ac.uk/history-of-art/staff/richard-johns/#research-content>. However, in November 2019 a central part of his thesis was published in Lucas et al. 2019, 67–102.
- 23 Davis 1982.
- 24 Bird and Clayton 2017. The murals are discussed in passing in the chapter “Architectural Patronage” (Bird 2017) and in some of the catalogue entries (*ibid.*, 194–203).
- 25 Brett 2009; Dolman 2009; Brett 2010; Johns 2013; Johns 2016; Brett 2020.
- 26 Peterson 2020. I am very grateful to Lydia Hamlett for alerting me to this publication and to Mark Hallett for pointing me to Laurel Peterson’s dissertation *Making Spaces: Art and Politics in the Whig Country House Interiors 1688–1745*, which is still currently inaccessible.
- 27 Johns 2009; Brett 2012; Hamlett 2012.
- 28 Matthews 2016; Lucas et al. 2019.
- 29 Hamlett 2016a and 2016b.
- 30 <https://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/display/bp-spotlight-sketches-spaces-history-painting-and-architecture-1630> (last accessed 26 July 2019).
- 31 <https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/projects/court-country-city>.
- 32 Hallett et al. 2016; <https://artworld.york.ac.uk/artworld/>.
- 33 Barber 2020; Hamlett 2020a and b.
- 34 Wind 1940.
- 35 Hook 1976; Waterhouse 1994; MacKean 1999, 104–58; Bold 2000 (on Greenwich); Thurley 2003 (on Hampton Court);

- Worsley 2005; Worsley 2007; Liversidge 2008; Vaughan 2008; Burchard 2011; Solkin 2015, 3–11, 48–62.
- 36 The most important publications on this topic are by Van Eerde 1976, 48–64; Knowles 1988; Sharpe 2013, 148–164; Stevenson 2013, 95–117; Murár 2014.
- 37 Holmes 1987; Israel 1991; Kluxen 1991; Trevor-Roper 1992; Mullett 1994; Stone 1995; Sharpe 1997; Miller 1997; Maurer 2000; Knights 2005; Claydon 2007; De Krey 2007; Kramer 2007; Pincus 2009; Sharpe 2013; Lembke 2014; Meiners 2014; Niggemann 2017.
- 38 Burnet 1679–1714; Burnet 1833; Miller 1973; Bossy 1976; Harris et al. 1990; Walsham 1993; Wroughton 1997; Gwynn 2001; Walsham 2006; Claydon and Corns 2011; Lewycky and Morton 2012; Brown 2013.
- 39 On Charles II and Catherine of Braganza: Ollard 1993; Corp 2002; Keay 2008; Linnell 2017; Morton 2017. On James II and Mary of Modena: Miller 1991; Barclay 2002; Speck 2002; Callow 2017. On William III and Mary II: Claydon 2002; Mörke 2007; Wenzel 2013. On Queen Anne: Gregg 1980; Winn 2014; Reverand 2015; Barber 2016; Van Hensbergen 2016. On George I and his “consort” (daughter-in-law) Caroline: Beattie 1967; Hatton 1978; Black 2014; Marschner 2014; Marschner 2017.
- 40 Thomas and Hare 1989; Owen 1996; Levine 1999; Smuts 1999; Payne Fisk 2000; MacLeod and Marciari Alexander 2001; Marciari Alexander and MacLeod 2007; Jenkinson 2010; Airey 2012; Dolman 2012; Herissone 2013; Roberts 2014.
- 41 Harris 1987; Weber 1996; Clayton 1997; Monteyne 2007; Bardle 2012; Vetter-Liebenow 2014.
- 42 England and the Mediterranean Tradition 1945; Saxl and Wittkower 1948; Wittkower 1974; Baarsen 1988; Brown 1993; Chaney 2003; Roding et al. 2003; Tombs 2006; Thomson 2011; Stedman 2013; Strunck 2019c.
- 43 To mention but a few select titles: Chaney 1998; Chard 1999; Babel and Paravicini 2005; Sweet 2012; Kroll and Munke 2014; Morel 2017.
- 44 Evelyn (ed. 2000); Gibson-Wood 2000; Knight 2003; Woodhouse 2005; Darley 2006; Hind 2010; Jacobsen 2011; Duchhardt and Espenhorst 2012; Friedman 2013; Weststeijn 2015.
- 45 Dolan 1999; Haynes 2006; Schilling and Tóth 2007; Morel 2017.
- 46 Strunck 2019a.
- 47 The most eminent recent examples are Sharpe 2013 and Niggemann 2017.
- 48 Daniel 2004, esp. 352; Tschopp and Weber 2007, 4–9; Maurer 2008, 13–32.
- 49 Cf. Espagne and Werner 1988, 15–21; Uhl 2002, 226–229; Schmale 2003, 45–46; Roeck 2010, 9; Assmann 2012, 12–16.
- 50 Assmann 2012, 13; Assmann 2013, 80. For a case study on England and Germany see Maurer 1996.
- 51 Anderson 2006, 6.
- 52 Hall 2012, 4–5 (italics in the original text).
- 53 On *histoire croisée* cf. Werner and Zimmermann 2002, on *Kulturtransferforschung* see Espagne and Werner 1988; Espagne and Middell 1993; Schmale 2003. On *Kulturtransfer* and the visual arts in the Baroque era cf. Fuchs and Trakulhun 2003; Muchembled 2006–2007; Paravicini 2010; Krems 2012; Strunck 2017a; and the publications quoted in note 42 above.
- 54 Burke and Po-Chia Hsia 2007.
- 55 Bachmann-Medick 2010, 238–283.
- 56 Toury 2012, 26–28.
- 57 *Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit* is a transdisciplinary Priority Programme funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) (<https://www.spp2130.de/index.php/en/welcome/>). The group has adopted the following definition of “translation” (*Übersetzung*): “Eine Übersetzung wird definiert als Vermittlung einer sprachlichen Botschaft bzw. von sinntragenden Zeichen aus einer (Ausgangs-)Kultur A in eine (Ziel-)Kultur Z, mit dem Ziel, neue Adressat*innen zu erreichen und sich über sprachliche, räumliche, zeitliche, kulturelle und/oder mediale Grenzen hinweg zu verständigen” (“A translation is the conveyance of a linguistic communication / of meaningful signs from a (source) culture A to a (target) culture Z with the goal of reaching new recipients and communicating across linguistic, spatial, temporal, cultural, and/or medial boundaries.”) Toepfer et al. 2021a, 11; Toepfer et al. 2021b, 40.
- 58 Snell-Hornby 1994, 13; Toury 2012, 18–19.
- 59 Lecture by Peter Burke in the context of the annual meeting of our research group, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Library, 11 September 2019: “Translation as Transposition.”
- 60 Vermeer 1994. See also Vannerem and Snell-Hornby 1994, 203; Toury 2012, 18–20.
- 61 Vermeer 1994.
- 62 Toury 2012, 22.
- 63 Toury 2012, 21.
- 64 On the concept of *Interpikturalität* see von Rosen et al. 2003; Beyer 2016; Kruse and von Flemming 2017.
- 65 Erll and Rigney 2009, 3.
- 66 Bachmann-Medick 2010, 245–254.
- 67 Burke 2001, 59–80, 140–168.
- 68 Sharpe 2013; Niggemann 2017.
- 69 Burke 2001, 169–177; see also *ibid.*, 34–45, 178–189 and esp. 183.
- 70 Particularly relevant for this volume are the publications by Preimesberger 1976; Kliemann 1993; Warnke 1993; Rohl-

- mann 1994, 1996, and 2002; Winner 1997; Kliemann and Rohlmann 2004; Ziegler 2010; Fleckner et al. 2011; and Fleckner 2014a.
- 71 Assmann 2012, 76.
- 72 Erll and Rigney 2009, 8; Erll 2009, 111–114.
- 73 White 1973, 4–5.
- 74 Allegri and Cecchi 1980; Berger 1985, 32–39; Constans 1990; Solkin 1999; Strunck 2002; Sharpe 2013, 112–114; Solkin 2016; Hamlett 2016a.
- 75 Millen and Wolf 1989; Warnke 1993; Winner 1997; Strunck 2017a, 439–488.
- 76 Rohlmann 1994; Rohlmann 1996; Rohlmann 2002.
- 77 Kliemann 1993, 217–220.
- 78 Strunck 2007a, 261–278, esp. 262–265.
- 79 Solkin 1999, 236–240.
- 80 A pioneering work on the study of rhetoric is Baxandall 1988. Recent publications on the topic (with special relevance for the seventeenth century) include Battisti 1984; Kliemann 1993, esp. 43–47; Lindemann 1994; Büttner 1996; Hundemer 1997; Strunck 2007a, 241–261; Van Eck 2007; Preimesberger 2011; Strunck 2017b. On rhetoric in history writing see Stierle 1973; Lyons 1989; Hampton 1990.
- 81 Geertz 1992, 70.
- 82 Alberti (ed. 2000), 94–96, 268–273.
- 83 Blaauw et al. 1998.
- 84 Van Eck 2015, 18–25, 31–66.
- 85 Van Eck 2015, 20.
- 86 Van Eck 2015, 20.
- 87 Cropper 2000.
- 88 Baros 2004, 208: “Unter Konflikt wird das Aufeinander-Stoßen miteinander unvereinbarer Handlungstendenzen verstanden.”
- 89 Bonacker and Imbusch 2004, 196: “Soziale Konflikte bestehen, allgemein gesprochen, aus unvereinbaren Erwartungen wenigstens zweier Parteien.” See also Aubert 2006, 129–131.
- 90 Lamla 2008, 207–215.
- 91 Dahrendorf 1961, 206.
- 92 Giesen 1993, 104–106: “Rangordnungs-, Verteilungs- und Regelkonflikte.”
- 93 Aubert 2006, 131.
- 94 Lewin 1948; Sherif 1966.
- 95 Deutsch 1983, 438.
- 96 Deutsch 1983, 438.
- 97 Fisher et al. 2011, 3–15.
- 98 Fisher et al. 2011, 24–39.
- 99 Fisher et al. 2011, 54–55.
- 100 Cf. Aubert 2006, 139–148.
- 101 Kressel 2006, 736–737 (fig. 32.1), reproduces “Twelve Stages of Mediator Moves” from Moore 1996. Mattenschlager and Meder 2004, 500 (fig. 1), base their representation of twenty-one stages of mediation in six consecutive phases on Montada and Kals.
- 102 Rosoux 2009, 544–545.
- 103 Gilboa 2009, 461–469.
- 104 Gilboa 2009, 467.
- 105 Druckman and Diehl 2006.
- 106 Druckman 2009.
- 107 Deutsch 1983, 432–440.
- 108 Weitzman and Weitzman 2006, 199.
- 109 Stollberg-Rilinger 2016, 5–35.
- 110 Stollberg-Rilinger 2016, 33.
- 111 Gregg 1980, 143–144; Miller 1997, 70–71; Maurer 2000, 177–182 (esp. 181 on the veto rights exercised by William III). See also Appendix III, fol. 151 (“non si può concludere nulla se le dette due Camere, e il Re non siano d’accordo insieme”) and fol. 186 (“I negozj cominciati in una Camera, si portano nell’altra vicendevolmente acciò siano confermati dall’uni, e dall’altri, che quando son concordi fra loro, deve poi passarlo il Re, che quando vien passato da questo si chiama una legge, e non l’approvando il Re è tutto invalido”). This was a continuation of previous practice; cf. Barozzi and Berchet 1863, 449.
- 112 On the relationship between the king and Parliament see, for instance, Sturm 2017, 27–37.
- 113 Stollberg-Rilinger 2016, 9.
- 114 Erll and Rigney 2009, 2.
- 115 Markowitsch 2008, 279.
- 116 Assmann 2012, 177. See also Middleton and Brown 2008, 243.
- 117 Welzer 2008, 290.
- 118 Rateau et al. 2012, 478, 489–490.
- 119 Rateau et al. 2012, 478.
- 120 Assmann 2012, 175. See also Welzer 2008, 286–290.
- 121 Welzer 2008, 293.
- 122 Assmann 2012, 167. See also Maurer 2008, 33–48.
- 123 Manier and Hirst 2008; Markowitsch 2008; Middleton and Brown 2008; Welzer 2008; Assmann 2012, 167–177.
- 124 Welzer 2008, 290. On declarative memory see Manier and Hirst 2008, 256–257.
- 125 Manier and Hirst 2008, 256; Assmann 2012, 171.
- 126 Manier and Hirst 2008, 256.
- 127 On this terminology see Manier and Hirst 2008, 257–258.
- 128 Rateau et al. 2012, 489.
- 129 Welzer 2008, 289.
- 130 Assmann 2012, 172–174. Cf. Assmann 2006, 343–347.
- 131 Assmann 2012, 194–197. On “emotional regimes” see Frevert quoted in the following note.
- 132 Frevert 2011, 12, 149–203, 210, 218.
- 133 Markowitsch 2008, 278.

- 134 Assmann 2012, 175–177. On traumatic cultural memories see esp. Assmann 2016.
- 135 See the sections titled “Past – Present – Future” (in chapter 2) and “Interaction with the Audience: Conflict Resolution and Cultural Memory” (in chapter 5).
- 136 On the concept of *ecphory* cf. Markowitsch 2008, 280.
- 137 Markowitsch 2008, 280.
- 138 Assmann 2012, 173–174.
- 139 On the shifts from functional to storage memory (and vice versa) see Assmann 2013, 82–83.
- 140 Assmann and Assmann 1983; Assmann 2013, 80–83.
- 141 Erll and Rigney 2009, 2. A particularly intriguing case of “overwriting” is examined in chapter 7 in the section titled “Epilogue: A Twenty-First-Century Response to the Painted Hall.”
- 142 Welzer 2008, 295.
- 143 Nora 2005; Bahlcke et al. 2013.
- 144 Bachmann-Medick 2010, 203–206, 297–299.
- 145 Löw 2001; Schroer 2006; Löw 2008; Löw et al. 2008.
- 146 Löw 2001, 159–160, defines *Raum* as “relationale (An)Ordnung von Lebewesen und sozialen Gütern.”
- 147 Löw 2001, 158–161.
- 148 Löw 2001, 201.
- 149 Strunck 2017a.
- 150 Fleckner 2014b, 18–23.
- 151 Baillie 1967; Waddy 1994; Cole 2014; McKean 2014; Thurley 2014.
- 152 On intercultural audiences see esp. Baller et al. 2008; Burschel and Vogel 2014.
- 153 Fiennes (ed. 1995); Pepys (ed. 1970–1983); Evelyn (ed. 2000).
- 154 See Appendices II and III.
- 155 On panegyric writings: Fowler 1994; on George Vertue’s art-historical notebooks: Hallett 2016. For early modern newspapers see the Burney Collection, which is also available online (<https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/burney-collection>). Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) provides an extremely valuable collection of early modern sources: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/>. A festival book to be analysed in detail in chapter 2 is Ogilby 1662.
- 156 E.g. Ashmole 1719; Bickham 1742; Pote 1755.
- 157 Adler-Nissen et al. 2017, 574. See also *ibid.*, 573–576, 586.
- 158 Adler-Nissen et al. 2017, 573, 576–578.
- 159 Suckert 2019.



CHAPTER 2

DAWN OF A NEW ERA: THE TRIUMPHAL ARCHES FOR THE CORONATION ENTRY (1661)

The procession that wound its way through London on 22 April 1661, the day before Charles II's coronation, confronted the citizens with a most impressive multimedia spectacle. Architectures – both permanent and ephemeral – decorated with paintings and sculptures formed a backdrop for the richly attired members of court and city who paraded through the streets on horseback, entertained by orators, actors, musicians, singers, and dancers. Overwhelmed by this unprecedented show, eyewitness Samuel Pepys wrote: “Now after all this, I can say that besides the pleasure of the sight of these glorious things, I may now shut my eyes against any other objects, or for the future trouble myself to see things of state and shewe, as being sure never to see the like again in this world.”¹

Kevin Sharpe has described the procession as “a masque in architecture” in which Charles II played the lead role.² Although political painting had only a secondary part in this festival, it is nevertheless crucial to examine the triumphal arches in the context of this book, as the first large-scale public manifestation of royal imagery since the Restoration. Their decoration provided an arsenal of key statements about British monarchy on which later pictorial programmes could draw. Before analysing these statements in detail, I would like to reflect briefly on the king's involvement. To what extent did Charles II participate in creating this imagery?

On 9 February 1661, Charles communicated his intention to proceed from the Tower to Whitehall “with such magnificence as was due and becoming the Majesty of so great a King.”³ The organization and financing

of the event was left to the City of London.⁴ A committee composed of “nine Aldermen, and fifteen Commoners, and others” oversaw the preparations and asked John Ogilby to supply “the poetticall part,” “consisting in Speeches, Emblemes, Mottoes, and Incriptions.”⁵ Ogilby devised the programme and recorded it in several publications. One of these he dedicated to “the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Committee for the Coronation, And the rest of the Worthy Members of this Honourable City,” stating that he had acted “in pursuit of their Commands.”⁶ However, it may not have been quite as simple as that.

John Ogilby was a man of many trades: a dancing master and theatre impresario, a publisher, translator, and classical scholar.⁷ During the reign of Charles I, Ogilby had participated in court spectacles,⁸ and he was certainly keen to re-establish his link with royalty after the Restoration. In 1660, he dedicated to Charles II his translation of Homer's *Iliad* and a new, particularly lavish edition of the King James Bible, and around the same time he started writing an epic poem on the life of Charles I.⁹ In January 1661, Ogilby received royal permission to use a new kind of “letter and character” imported from France,¹⁰ and there is evidence that in March 1661 he succeeded in his petition to become “Master of the Revels” in Ireland.¹¹ Thus, precisely during the months in which he was working on the programme for the coronation entry, he maintained close contact with the court.

“By His Majestie's Command” of 11 April 1661, Ogilby was given the monopoly on marketing accounts

of the coronation entry.¹² This decision may have been prompted by the publication of the pamphlet *The Cities Loyalty Display'd*, which was clearly written before the event and misrepresented many details of the arches.¹³ Therefore, the 1661 editions of Ogilby's text declare: "By reason of some fictitious Printed Papers of the Manner of His Majesties intended Proceeding [...] lately spread abroad; it is thought fit, for better Satisfaction, to Publish this Copy of that, which is by Authority appointed."¹⁴

Ogilby's description of 1661, which appeared in three only slightly varying editions,¹⁵ was "the official programme book of a great public occasion; that is, a publication issued on the day of the event, and sold to spectators before and during the proceedings."¹⁶ It consisted of but a few pages and lacked illustrations. However, already before 11 April Ogilby had more ambitious plans for an ample, illustrated treatment of the festivities, as the text of the royal privilege mentions his "Conduct of the Poetical part [...], which he intends to set forth in a large Treatise, and Represent in Sculpture."¹⁷ This stately folio edition finally came out in 1662 and was dedicated to the king.¹⁸

Ogilby surely wished to please the king in every way. His programme for the triumphal arches drew on the royal imagery current in poetry, prints, and medals,¹⁹ presupposing that such established strategies of representation already had the king's approval. In order to obtain the royal privilege, Ogilby certainly submitted the whole text to Charles II for his approbation. Perhaps he even received some hints from the king or from leading courtiers as to what was expected. For instance, it is a surprising coincidence that Ogilby chose as the centre-piece for his first triumphal arch an oak studded with royal crowns, as exactly the same motif figured on the official coronation medals.²⁰ This suggests that Ogilby was privy to the preparations at court, just as the court was to his conception of the programme and his plans for a much more grandiose future publication that could be sent abroad to impress foreign dignitaries.

Since the whole point of the procession consisted in showcasing London's joy about the return of the king, it was evident that the triumphal arches had to be commissioned by the City and dedicated to the king as a tribute

from its grateful citizens. Charles II neither could nor wished to intervene directly. However, from the above observations it seems likely that the imagery of the triumphal arches reflected the king's image of himself as much as the City's perception of him.

The imagery of the coronation entry has already been analysed in a number of excellent studies that focus on textual interpretation and discuss the arches one by one in the sequence in which Ogilby describes them.²¹ The present chapter takes a different approach in that it foregrounds art-historical considerations concerning the design of the arches, their architectural models, and the interrelation between urban space, ephemeral architecture, and painting. In addition, the chapter concentrates on some overarching themes of particular relevance for the topic of this book: conflict resolution and the relationship between Britain and the continent. I begin with a brief overview of the spatial layout of the procession in order to highlight the interaction between royal imagery and social space.

Sites and Subjects of the Triumphal Arches

According to Martina Löw, social space is constituted by acts of "spacing," i. e. the positioning of objects, symbolic markers, people, or social goods at specified places.²² In the coronation entry, spacing had a double significance. On the one hand, social order was created and represented by the place held by individuals both within and outside the cavalcade. On the other hand, the positioning of the triumphal arches carried messages relating to the social fabric of the surrounding city. It is therefore important to understand the exact location of the triumphal arches. This can be achieved by mapping Ogilby's indications onto Wenceslaus Hollar's detailed plan of the city of London (fig. 1).²³

While Dirk Stoop's painting of the coronation entry disposes the arches of triumph in a zigzag formation along a winding path,²⁴ the real picture that emerges from the reconstruction of the processional route is quite different. Although Ogilby mentions four different locations (Leadenhall Street, Cornhill, Cheapside, and Fleet-



Fig. 1 Map of London (by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1666) annotated to show the location of various monuments featured in the 1661 coronation procession: 1 = Tower; 2 = Aldgate; 3 = first triumphal arch in Leadenhall Street (Restoration Arch); 4 = East India House; 5 = Leaden Hall; 6 = Standard; 7 = Cornhill Conduit; 8 = Exchange; 9 = second triumphal arch in Cornhill (Naval Arch);

10 = The Stocks; 11 = Great Conduit; 12 = Standard in Cheapside; 13 = third triumphal arch in Cheapside (Arch of Concord); 14 = Little Conduit and entrance to Paternoster Row; 15 = St Paul's Churchyard; 16 = Ludgate; 17 = Fleet Bridge; 18 = Fleet Conduit; 19 = fourth triumphal arch in Fleetstreet (Arch of Plenty); 20 = Temple Bar

street),²⁵ in matter of fact these streets formed one continuous, long road running more or less parallel to the River Thames in an east-west direction. Part of this road had been used for similar occasions in the past, but in 1661 the processional route was significantly extended to start at Aldgate (fig. 1, no. 2). Whereas previous royal entries had moved from the Tower through a number of small and tortuous streets before reaching the Standard (fig. 1, nos. 1 and 6),²⁶ in 1661 all four triumphal arches

were set almost in a row, following the Baroque aesthetic ideal of the enfilade.

The new processional route was not only aesthetically up to date but had the added advantage that the cavalcade could proceed in a more orderly manner. Rather than having to take a number of sharp turns around the angles of small streets, the procession could unfold in one unbroken line, thus giving the spectators a perfect view of the social hierarchy laid out before their eyes. Ed-



Fig. 2 David Loggan after anonymous architect. The first arch of the 1661 coronation entry (the Restoration Arch). Engraving, published in Ogilby 1662



Fig. 3 David Loggan (?) after anonymous architect. The second arch of the 1661 coronation entry (the Naval Arch). Engraving, published in Ogilby 1662

ward Walker, Garter Principal King of Arms, had worked out the precise order in which the participants in the cavalcade were to follow one another, grouping them according to their rank and the rules of court etiquette.²⁷ In Ogilby's folio edition of 1662, a set of etchings by Wenceslaus Hollar illustrated the procession in minute detail,²⁸ thus reproducing and cementing the social order acted out through this "spacing" of people.

The viewers lining the streets were likewise arranged according to pre-established principles: "Along the Streets on the North-side, stand the Companies with their several Trophies, and other Ornaments: disposed nearer or farther from the Triumphal Arches, according to their particular Dignities; opposite to whom (on the Southside) are placed the Trained Bands," explained Ogilby.²⁹ In assigning the north side of the road to the companies of London, they were allocated the place of honour, to the right of the sovereign who crossed the city from east to west. The socially less distinguished trained bands positioned on the south side of the road had helped to quell an anti-royalist insurgence in January 1661, fighting valiantly in the streets.³⁰ It is worth noting that they were not placed on both sides of the processional route. This served as a show of strength, communicating that the monarch could do without all-embracing military protection. Accordingly, Charles II did not enter London in armour but in sumptuous civilian dress.³¹

The first stop on his way was Aldgate, an ancient city gate that had been rebuilt between 1607 and 1609.³² On its outer side, facing east, it presented the statue of "King James the First in gilt Armor, At whose Feet on either side lyeth a Golden-Lyon, and a Chained Unicorn, both Couchant, the First the Supporter for England, and the Second that for Scotland. Their Couching is an Emblem of the Union of the two Kingdoms. As also, it denotes their Awe and Humility in the Presence of so great a Person."³³ Neither in the 1661 nor in the 1662 editions of his description does Ogilby mention this important Stuart imagery, though it may well have been a reason for directing the new processional route through Aldgate. As James I was not only Charles II's grandfather but also the first Stuart monarch to unite England and Scot-

land under his rule, it certainly made sense in the context of a Restoration festival to remember that the City of London had honoured him on one of its gates more than half a century before.

After being "entertained with Musick" near Aldgate, Charles encountered the first triumphal arch in Leadenhall Street "near Lime-street End" (fig. 1, no. 3; fig. 2).³⁴ Just as the cavalcade displayed a hierarchy, so too did the arches. They reproduced the hierarchy of the classical orders that had been codified by architectural theorists since the time of Vitruvius. The first arch is described by Ogilby as being "after the Dorick Order," the second combined the Ionic and Corinthian orders (fig. 3), and the third represented "an Artificial Building of two Stories, one after the Corinthian way of Architecture, the other after the Composite" (fig. 4).³⁵ The orders appeared therefore in their canonical sequence, ascending from the rustic Doric to the most elaborate Composite order. The latter could be read as a climax, especially as the first arch showed signs of apparent decay (fig. 2): "The upper Paintings on the East-side are Ruinous, representing the Disorder the Kingdom was in, during his Majesty's Absence."³⁶ The sequence of the arches extended this metaphor, demonstrating how the ruinous state of the kingdom progressively turned into a well-ordered, ever more ornate realm. The fourth arch formed the point of culmination in that it signalled Britain's flowering prosperity through columns encircled by leaf garlands, evoking the Solomonic order (fig. 5).³⁷

While the triumphal arches of antiquity had only one main storey plus an attic, the four London arches were considerably higher, consisting of two full storeys each. This established a further hierarchy as the upper level was consistently decorated with the "higher" order (Corinthian above Ionic, Composite above Corinthian). Hierarchy was therefore played out in both a vertical and a horizontal sense, through the superposition of orders on the arches themselves and the climactic sequence of the arches in relation to one another. The architectural forms visualized the return to a traditional, top-to-bottom order that was a primary concern of Restoration society. They paralleled the hierarchy embodied in the performative order of the cavalcade.



Fig. 4 David Loggan (?) after anonymous architect. The third arch of the 1661 coronation entry (the Arch of Concord). Engraving, published in Ogilby 1662



Fig. 5 David Loggan (?) after anonymous architect. The fourth arch of the 1661 coronation entry (the Arch of Plenty). Engraving, published in Ogilby 1662

According to this top-to-bottom principle, the representation placed at the centre of the upper level of each triumphal arch has to be regarded as the most important. In a first survey of the arches I will therefore concentrate only on these central images, as they encapsulate the main theme of each arch.

On the arch in Leadenhall Street, a statue of King Charles II formed the focal point, set against a painted backdrop with “the Royal Oak bearing Crowns, and Scepters, instead of Acorns.”³⁸ Charles appeared in full regalia, holding sceptre and orb, symbols of his restoration to power (fig. 2). The central image of the following arch depicted the king as a child, alongside his father Charles I, in front of a ship called the *Sovereign of the Sea* (fig. 3).³⁹ This arch, labelled by Ogilby as “Naval,”⁴⁰ focused on the continued British domination of the seas. Read as a pair, the first two structures thus visualized Charles’s rule over both land and sea.

The third arch introduced a notable variation, as it lacked a central painting (fig. 4). Ogilby explained the statue placed on top of the archway as “a large Geryon with three Heads crowned, in his three right-Hands, a Lance, a Sword, and a Scepter; in his three left-Hands the three Escutcheons of England, Scotland, and Ireland.”⁴¹ The meaning of the terrifying sculpture was clarified by the circular temple that formed the upper storey of this ephemeral architecture, interpreted by Ogilby as the “Temple of Concord.”⁴² Consequently, the third arch posited the unity of Great Britain, which had been disrupted by the quite obviously “monstruous” Commonwealth government.⁴³ Architecture itself became a signifying image, with the Temple of Concord replacing a central painting. Similarly, the fourth arch was crowned by an open loggia, which represented – in Ogilby’s words – “the Garden of Plenty” (fig. 5).⁴⁴ The closed, circular structure of the temple evoked unity, and the open loggia decked with greenery evoked liberty and festive exuberance. It announced an age of prosperity as the “logical” consequence of having overcome civil strife through concord.

The change from painted or sculpted central images (on the first two arches) to a prevailing signifying architecture (on the third and fourth arches) entailed an in-

creasing involvement on the part of the beholder. Whereas paintings and sculptures were clearly detached from the “real world,” the architectural spaces formed a tangible, three-dimensional reality, seemingly open to all. They invited the spectators to enter the Temple of Concord or the Garden of Plenty, offering them the possibility to become part of the Restoration script (at least in their imagination, though access to the arches was of course limited to the participants in the cavalcade).

The figures crowning the four ephemeral architectures must have been hardly visible to the audience, towering c. 25–30 metres above them.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, following the top-to-bottom logic, they provided a visual heading under which the whole message of each arch could be subsumed. The first arch presented the king’s coat of arms as its topmost feature, coupled with the royal crown, which angels seemed to hand down to Charles II (fig. 2). This constellation suggested the role of divine providence in his restoration, while placing the emblem of monarchy well above God’s messengers. The next construction was topped with “an Atlas, bearing a Terrestrial Globe, and on it a Ship under Sail” (fig. 3) – appropriately enough for the so-called Naval Arch.⁴⁶ Similarly, a statue of Concordia stood at the top of the Arch of Concord (fig. 4), depicted in the act of crushing the serpent of discord;⁴⁷ meanwhile, the Arch of Plenty (fig. 5) featured “Plenty, crowned, a Branch of Palm in her right Hand, a Cornucopia in her left.”⁴⁸

The general message of the four arches was simple: Charles’s rule over land and sea restores concord and brings plenty.⁴⁹ However, the placement of the single arches enhanced the message. The Naval Arch was situated “near the Exchange, in Corn-hill” (fig. 1, nos. 8 and 9) and displayed a painting of the London Exchange, the arch acting as a backdrop for actors impersonating Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, who bore “the Arms of the Companies, Trading into those Parts.”⁵⁰ Thus the ephemeral structure possessed a strong link with the surrounding social fabric of the city and suggested that the London merchants expected from the king naval victories that would foster trade.⁵¹

The third arch occupied a site in Cheapside close to the former Cheap Cross, the city’s most important mon-

ument, which had been torn down in 1643 by the “furious and ze[a]lous people,” following the establishment of the parliamentary Committee for the Demolishing of Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry.⁵² Ogilby stressed the history of the site by stating that “the third Triumphal Arch stands near Wood-street end, not far from the Place, where the Cross sometimes stood” (fig. 1, no. 13).⁵³ It was certainly no coincidence that the ephemeral Temple of Concord appeared in a location with echoes of strong religious discord. The juxtaposition of past and present symbolized the king’s wish to heal the wounds of his kingdom – an intention proclaimed on several occasions.⁵⁴ Fittingly, the aldermen greeted the king in front of the Arch of Concord. Sir William Wild, Recorder of London, congratulated Charles II “in the name of the City” and presented him a gift of £1,000 in gold.⁵⁵

On his way through the city, the king was addressed in numerous places. At each triumphal arch, actors and musicians waited to perform a show for him that expanded on the four main themes mentioned above.⁵⁶ In addition, Charles listened to a speech in front of the East India House (fig. 1, no. 4),⁵⁷ admired the nymphs placed on several fountains (nos. 7, 11, 14, 18) and was entertained with music at Leaden Hall (no. 5), Cornhill Conduit (no. 7), the Stocks (no. 10), the Great Conduit (no. 11), the Standard in Cheapside (no. 12), and the entrance to Paternoster Row (no. 14).⁵⁸ At St Paul’s Churchyard (no. 15) the king heard a further speech by a boy from Christ’s Hospital, imploring him to support this charitable institution.⁵⁹ Having passed through Ludgate (no. 16), where the statue of King Lud and “the Effigies of the Kings and Queen Elizabeth” had been freshly gilded and repainted,⁶⁰ Charles II was greeted by further musicians at Fleet Bridge (no. 17) and finally left the city at Temple Bar (no. 20), the western limit of the lord mayor’s jurisdiction.⁶¹ This is where Ogilby’s description ends, although he mentions further entertainment that seems to have been organized by the adjacent City of Westminster.⁶²

The Designer of the Triumphal Arches and His Continental Models

Before 1661, London had rarely seen a comparable coronation entry. This was partly due to the longevity of the monarchs and partly to their stubbornness. Elizabeth I, who had paraded through London before her coronation in 1559,⁶³ ruled England until 1603. In 1604, James I marked the Stuart succession with a most splendid entry,⁶⁴ but when his son Charles I ascended to the throne, he refused the honours offered him by the City, ordering them to dismantle the five arches that had already been erected for his entry planned for 1626.⁶⁵ In 1633, he was greeted in Edinburgh with triumphal arches, but no printed visual record of them remains,⁶⁶ and his entry into London in 1641 did not involve elaborate decorations.⁶⁷ Thus, when Charles II’s coronation entry was being planned in 1661, the most recent precedent to look back to was the entry of 1604. Its seven triumphal arches had been commemorated in a publication with large-scale prints (figs. 6, 7, 8).⁶⁸

Although Stephen Harrison’s publication of 1604 and the texts provided by Thomas Dekker and Ben Jonson were certainly an invaluable help for John Ogilby in his task of devising a suitable panegyric programme,⁶⁹ the Elizabethan forms of the ephemeral architectures must have appeared completely outdated by 1661, to the extent that they could not serve as a model for the new triumphal arches. Some interrelated questions therefore arise: Who designed the triumphal arches? Where did he look for inspiration? And does the architectural vocabulary of the arches tend towards a continental or rather a British idiom? In considering these questions, I will also discuss whether the design and style of the arches can be read as a statement about a particular vision of modernity and Britishness.

Rather surprisingly, the identity of the designer of the 1661 arches has not yet been ascertained conclusively. According to Ogilby, “the Architectural Part” of the entry was handled by “Mr Peter Mills, Surveyor of the City, and another Person, who desires to have his Name conceal’d.”⁷⁰ Since Mills was a rather undistinguished architect,⁷¹ it has always been assumed that the mysterious

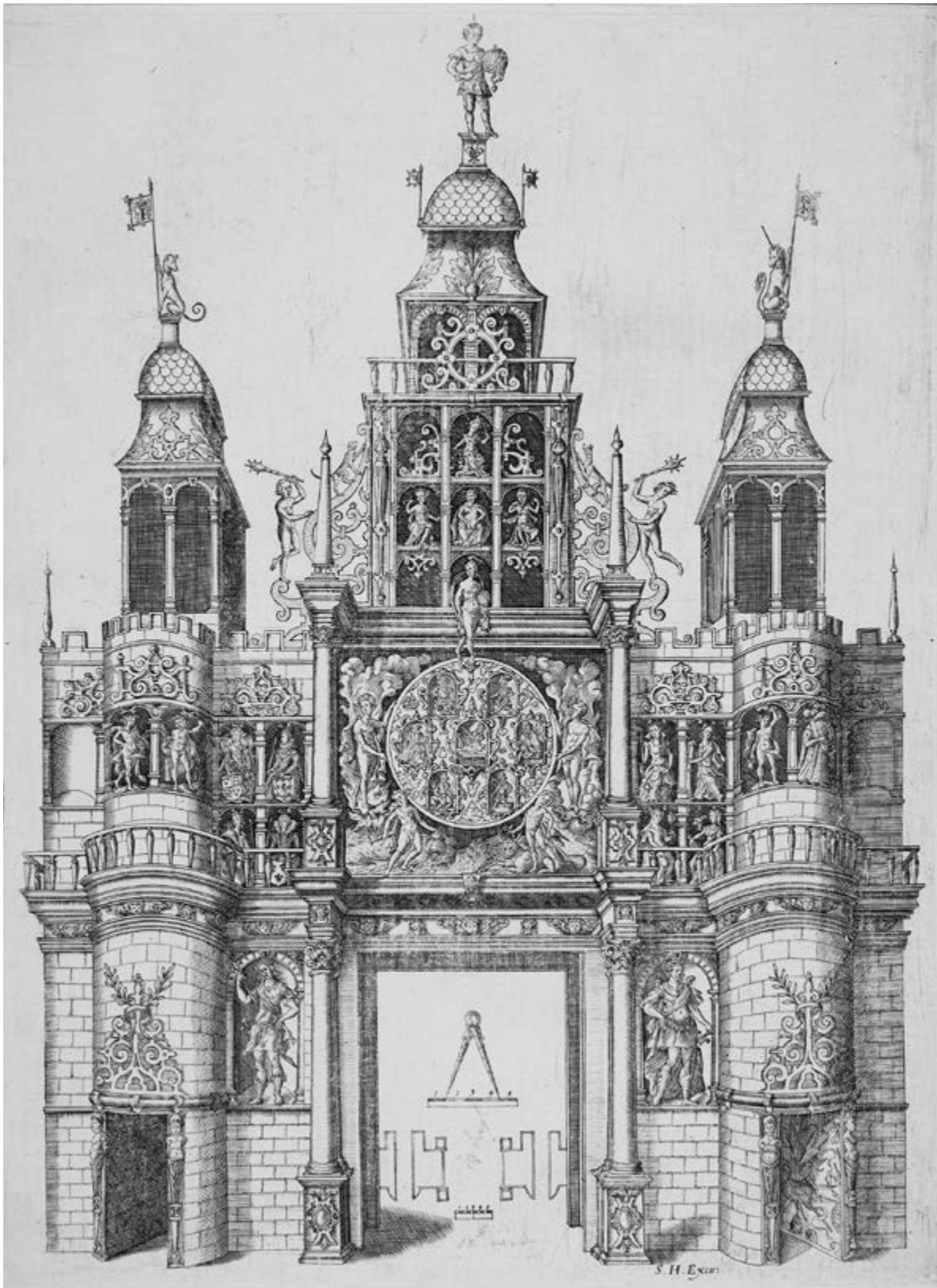


Fig. 6 Stephen Harrison. "The Device called, Cozmoz Neoz, New World," ephemeral architecture erected in London for the entry of James I in 1604. Engraving, published in Harrison 1604

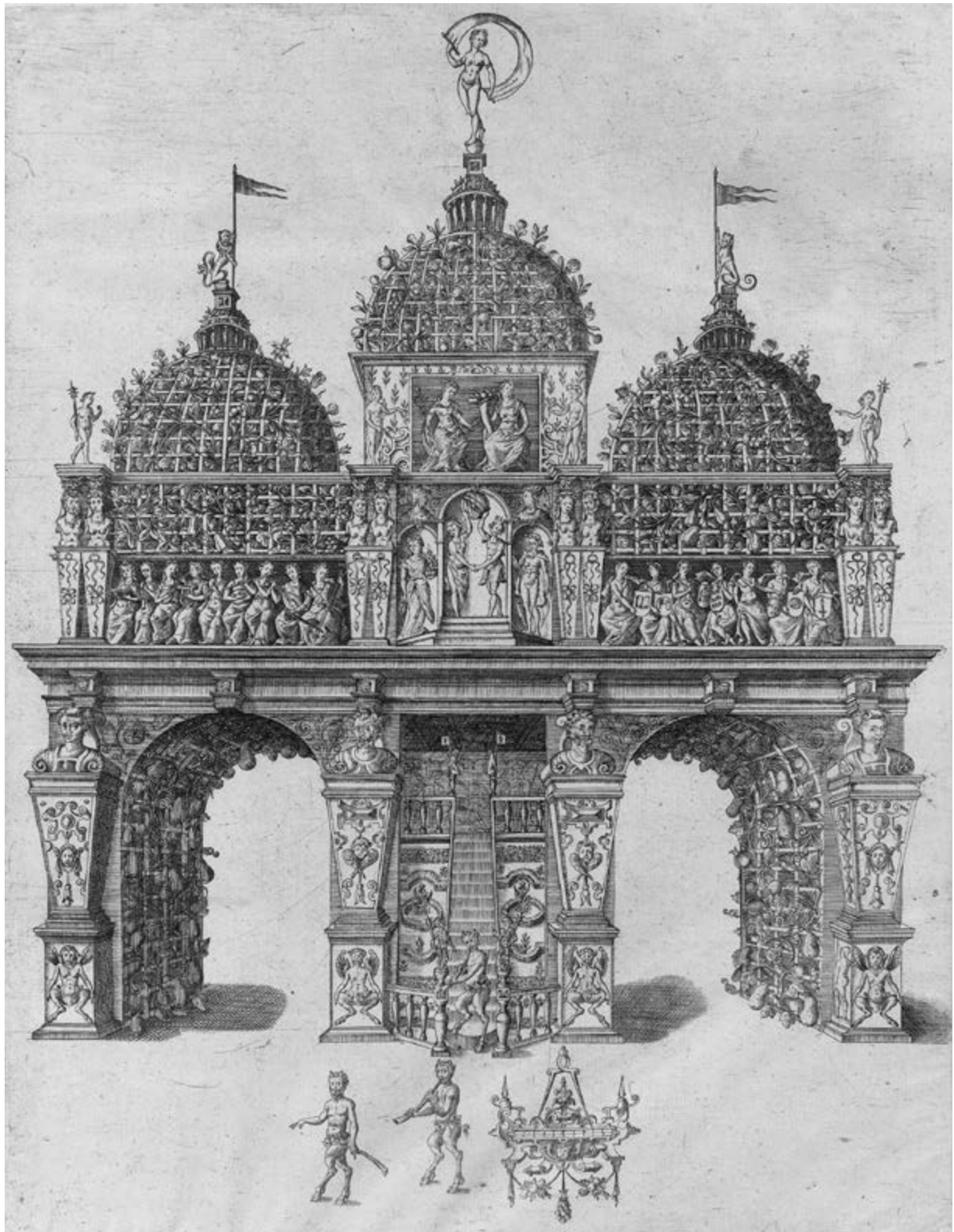


Fig. 7 Stephen Harrison. "The Device called, Hortus Euporiae, Garden of Plentie," ephemeral architecture erected in London for the entry of James I in 1604. Engraving, published in Harrison 1604

“other Person” provided the designs, while Mills saw to their execution.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, George Vertue ascribed the triumphal arches to Sir Balthazar Gerbier, and this has been accepted ever since.⁷² However, the basis for Vertue’s attribution is extremely shaky. He wrote in his notebook: “S.^r Balth: Gerbere [I doubt] [rather In. Jones] designed the Water-Gate at York stairs [N. Stone Senr. Mason. builder] The large room near it 35 foot Square. he design’d – & y^e Triumphal Arches. Londⁿ. at y^e restoration – see his discourse of Magnificent Buildings. pub. Lond. 1662.”⁷³

In Gerbier’s *Brief Discourse concerning the three chief Principles of Magnificent Building* of 1662, the triumphal arches are mentioned but once, in a context that is certainly no straightforward assertion of his authorship. The paragraph reads as follows:

Since the greatness of a Nation consists not in a Husk, but in it self, and in its Sovereign, nothing should be suffered to diminish the appearance of that greatness within or without Doores. A Sovereign and his Retinue, in a too vast Roome in height, width and length, doth appear like a company in a Valley near high Mountains. Whenas a body standing on the brow of a Hill, and seen from below, seems to be a kind of Colosse, which argueth that there must be a great discretion used in making them fit and pleasing. All which I do not Write to undervalue any Modern Works, nor any of the Cavallier-like Operas, every good Talent being commendable. As I am confident there are some that live, who will not deny that they have heard the King of blessed Memory, graciously pleased to avouch he had seen in Anno 1628, (close to the gate of York-House, in a Room not above 35. foot square,) as much as could be represented (as to Sceans) in the great Banquetting Room of Whitehall; and that diverse judicious persons will not deny, that the excellency of the several Triumphall Arches Erected in the City of London, consists not in their bulk.⁷⁴

Since Gerbier was keeper of the duke of Buckingham’s picture collection at York House and responsible for the duke’s entertainments,⁷⁵ the passage may be interpreted as an oblique praise of himself. The reference to “Sceans” at York House seems to relate to some theatrical performance that had been staged by Gerbier and had turned out well despite the rather small space allotted for the stage. He contrasts this site with the large royal Banqueting House (where the masques of his rival Inigo Jones were usually set) in order to make his point that enormous size is not necessarily advantageous.⁷⁶ The beginning of the paragraph (“since the greatness of a Nation consists not in a Husk”) forms a parallel with Gerbier’s concluding judgement “that the excellency of the several Triumphall Arches Erected in the City of London, consists not in their bulk.” If the last sentence indeed implies Gerbier’s involvement (which is by no means evident from the text), it follows that his contribution concerned some aspect of the design *not* related to the architectural shape of the triumphal arches (“their bulk”).

Gerbier does not say what precisely constituted the “excellency” of the arches in his view – presumably either their ornament and/or the overall programme.⁷⁷ Sir Balthazar had acted as a diplomat in the service of the duke of Buckingham and Charles I for two decades and, in 1641, had been promoted to master of ceremonies.⁷⁸ Thus it is quite conceivable that Ogilby sought Gerbier’s advice on suitable subjects for the decoration of the arches. If Gerbier’s contribution concerned the programme, it makes good sense that he would mention the arches in the context of a paragraph that deals with theatrical spectacles – especially since the triumphal arches may be regarded as “a masque in architecture.”⁷⁹

Recent research on Gerbier has concentrated on his role as a diplomat and cultural broker.⁸⁰ Some of his architectural writings have been reissued,⁸¹ yet his creative output as an architect cannot be assessed with any precision. From the documents collected by Howard Colvin it appears that Gerbier was consulted on the remodelling of various buildings but had only a minor share in their overall designs.⁸² Apart from York Water Gate in London, there are no extant buildings that can be linked to Gerbier’s authorship. And just like Vertue (quoted above),

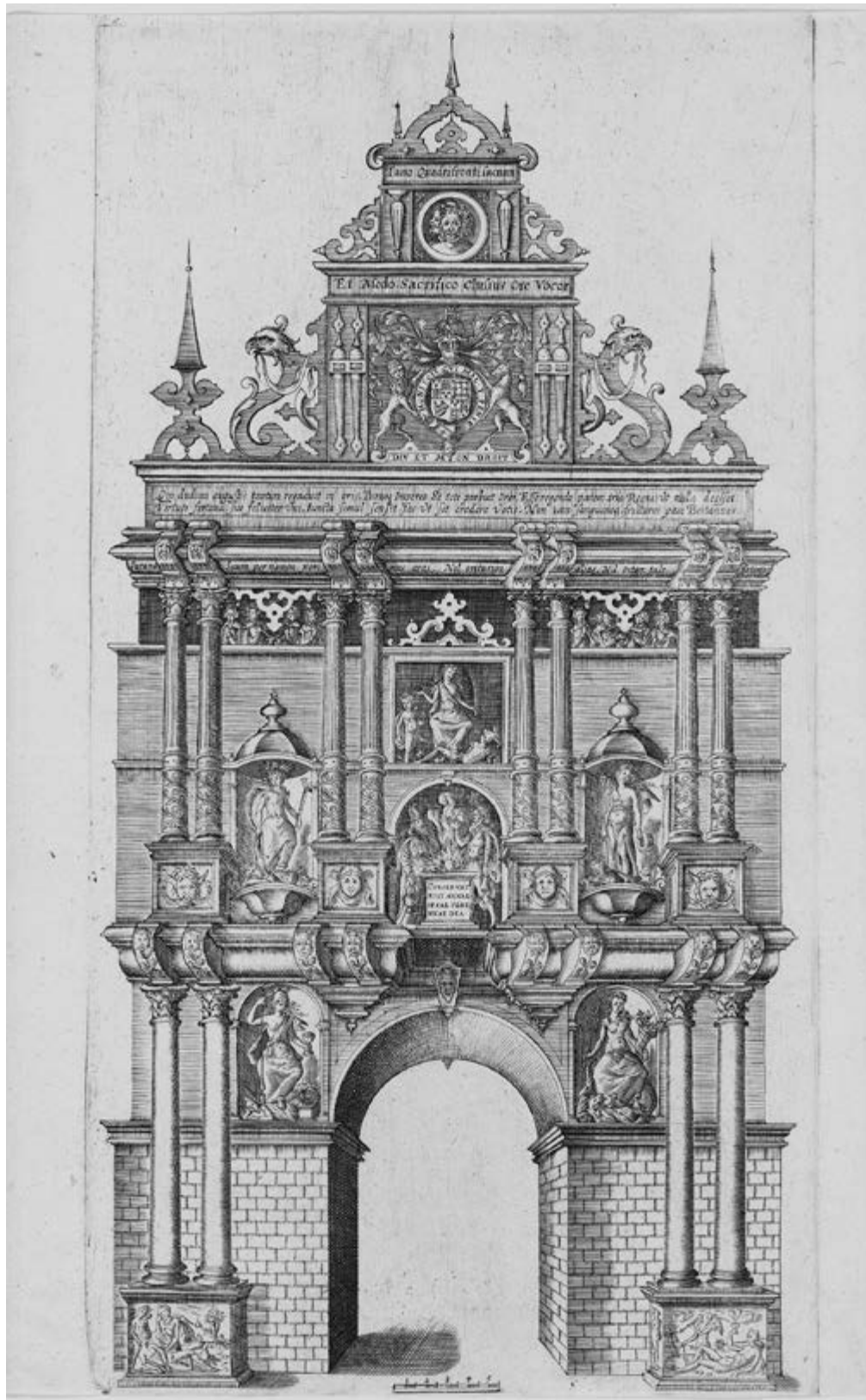


Fig. 8 Stephen Harrison. "The Device called, Templum Iani, Temple of Janus," ephemeral architecture erected in London for the entry of James I in 1604. Engraving, published in Harrison 1604

architectural critics still doubt whether York Water Gate should be ascribed to Gerbier, the other – perhaps more likely – candidate being Inigo Jones.⁸³

It has long been recognized that the curious form of the Arch of Concord (with a cylindrical temple for its upper storey) derives from the *Templum Iani* (Temple of Janus) designed by Rubens for the entry of the cardinal-infante Ferdinand of Spain into Antwerp in April 1635 (fig. 9; cf. fig. 4).⁸⁴ A sumptuous illustrated description of this festival was published by Jean Gaspard Gevaerts in 1641.⁸⁵ Since Gerbier was in Antwerp in the autumn of 1634 when Rubens was working on the designs for his triumphal arches, Knowles sees this as confirmation of Gerbier's involvement in the design of the 1661 arches. He concedes, however, that "Ogilby could have come across the Gevaerts volume independently, by way of his own publishing endeavours and interests."⁸⁶ Indeed, Ogilby had concentrated on producing high-quality illustrated folio editions since the 1650s.⁸⁷ The format and layout of his 1662 description of Charles II's coronation festivities indicate that Gevaerts's *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* was clearly his model.⁸⁸ He must have owned a copy of this book, which he cited explicitly in his own work.⁸⁹ Thus it may well have been Ogilby who showed the inspiring *Templum Iani* to the designer of the 1661 arches.

In my view, it is highly unlikely that Ogilby entrusted Gerbier with the design of the arches. Gerbier had been master of ceremonies for just a few months when a scandal forced him to leave the court in June 1641, tainting his reputation for a long time after.⁹⁰ Following the Restoration, he sought to regain his office, but in December 1660 a royal "Warrant for an order to suspend Sir Balthazar Gerbier from the office of Master of Ceremonies" was issued, and in February 1661 Charles Cotterel took over his position.⁹¹ On 17 May 1661, just a few weeks after the coronation, Gerbier's son George complained about being "an exile and an alien, from being supposed to be the son of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, whose conduct is in such general odium."⁹² As noted above, John Ogilby made every effort to win Charles II's favour.⁹³ Thus, although he may have consulted Gerbier informally about the programme for the arches, he would certainly have

refrained from giving the prestigious task of designing the arches to somebody who was banned from court.

The attribution of the arches is further complicated by four drawings kept at the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). They depict the four triumphal arches but with notable variants, which indicates that they were presentation drawings modified in the course of execution (plates 1–4). As the drawings differ from the prints in numerous ways, they cannot have been produced by the engraver David Loggan, who signed one of the plates.⁹⁴ The drawings are rendered in orthogonal projection, whereas in the prints Loggan used foreshortening to suggest the perspective of a spectator who stands at ground level in front of the arches. The difference is particularly striking when figs. 4–5 are compared to plates 3–4. In the former, Loggan created the impression of a structure towering high above the viewer.

Apart from these differing modes of representation, many differences in detail can be detected. For instance, the proportions of the Restoration Arch – the first arch, situated in Leadenhall Street – became even slimmer and higher in the process of execution, with a large tablet for inscriptions being inserted above either of the lateral ground-floor openings (fig. 2; pl. 1). The upper tier of the building was originally meant to look even more rustic and ruinous than in the definitive version. The spaces reserved for paintings were left blank in the drawing, i. e. the exact programme was probably still being worked out when the drawing was created. This observation is supported by the fact that the final design incorporated more and larger spaces for inscriptions. In addition, the coat of arms of the City of London originally envisaged on the first arch was finally moved to the second ephemeral structure (fig. 3; pl. 1). The few iconographic elements already present in the drawing are the three kings (Charles II flanked by his father and grandfather), the royal coat of arms, and the angels bearing the crown, which goes to show that these were indeed the main themes of the programme for the first arch.⁹⁵

The design for the Naval Arch differs markedly from the executed version (fig. 3; pl. 2). The ship in the background of the central painting is already visible in the drawing, but only one king stands in the foreground (Charles I or

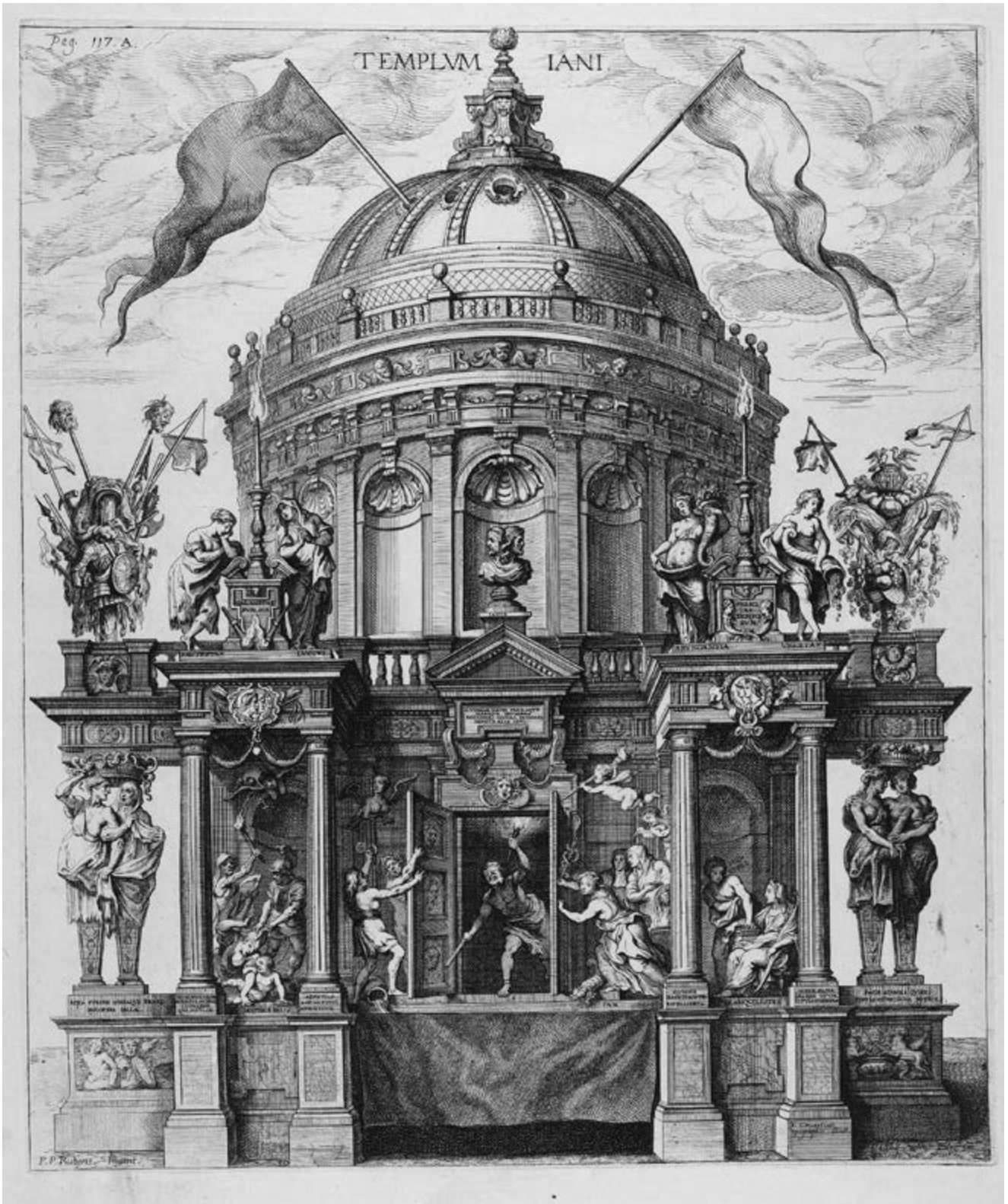


Fig. 9 Theodor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens. "Templum Iani" (Temple of Janus). Engraving, published in Gevartius 1641

Charles II, not both of them). The painting is flanked by two standing figures, one of them denoting America (with a feathered headdress), the other probably Asia, while in the engraving all four of the continents known at the time appear on the façade, with Europe and Asia taking pride of place on the side closest to the painted sovereigns. The crowning Atlas with globe and ship is already in place in the drawing, but the gable below was meant to be filled with a standing patrician figure, framed by allegories of navigation and astronomy. Instead of the Tower and the Royal Exchange, the draughtsman envisaged two port scenes for the lateral paintings on the attic. On the lower level, the position of allegories and coats of arms was reversed, seated figures (a man and a woman) were replaced with two standing males, and the juxtaposition of the royal and London arms was given up; meanwhile, the emblem of the City of London was placed over either of the ground-floor openings.

Similarly, changes introduced in the third and fourth arches regarded mainly iconography. Inscriptions and figures were added; Apollo morphed into Geryon as the central image of the Arch of Concord (fig. 4; pl. 3),⁹⁶ and on the Arch of Plenty blank spaces were filled with paintings of Bacchus and Ceres (fig. 5; pl. 4). The architectural designs, however, remained virtually unchanged, except for minor alterations in the articulation of the surface of the cylindrical temple on the Arch of Concord, plus the introduction of a continuous attic and the substitution of garlanded for rusticated columns on the Arch of Plenty. All in all, it seems that the architect was the leading partner in the design who provided the general outline and the first, guiding ideas, with John Ogilby then filling in the spaces allocated to him.

Following George Vertue's eighteenth-century attribution, the four RIBA drawings were (and still are) ascribed to Gerbier.⁹⁷ However, Fraser and Harris have pointed out that "the architectural details of the RIBA drawings look too correct for Gerbier's full responsibility and should be compared with the inferior draughtsmanship of his designs for the gates of Hampstead Marshall."⁹⁸ To sum up, the documentary evidence for Gerbier's involvement is ambiguous and inconclusive, the drawings do not seem to be by him, there are no buildings securely attributed

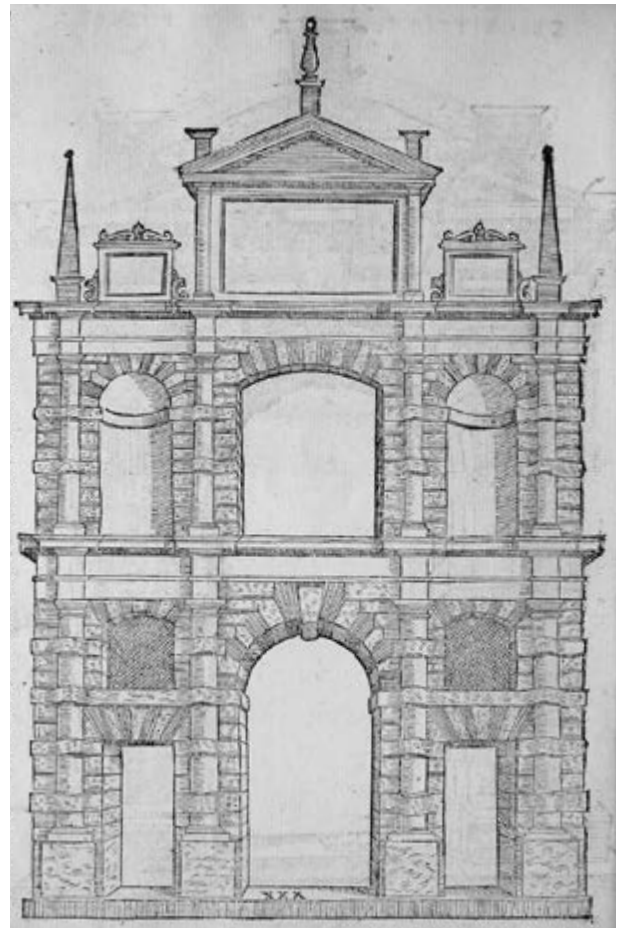


Fig. 10 Sebastiano Serlio. "Arco trionfale di opera Toscana mista" (Triumphal arch of Tuscan work mixed with Rustic). From Serlio 1584, Book 6 ("Libro straordinario"), fol. 17v

to him that can be compared to the arches, and Ogilby would have taken a high risk to collaborate with Gerbier since he was banned from court. Thus it is much more likely that Ogilby cooperated with someone else.

In publications from 2006 and 2013, Christine Stevenson introduced a new name to the discussion: Edward Pearce. While Stevenson still tends to attribute the overall design of the arches to Gerbier, she agrees with Geoffrey Fisher in ascribing the drawings to Pearce.⁹⁹ She does not, however, give reasoning for this attribution except for a personal communication from Fisher, quoting his rather general statement "that their style, as well as certain details shown in them, are far more characteristic of Edward Pearce than they are of Gerbier's other designs of the 1660s."¹⁰⁰ If Fisher's attribution is correct,



Fig. 11 Wenceslaus Hollar after John Webb. Frontispiece to Brian Walton, *Biblia polyglotta*, 1657

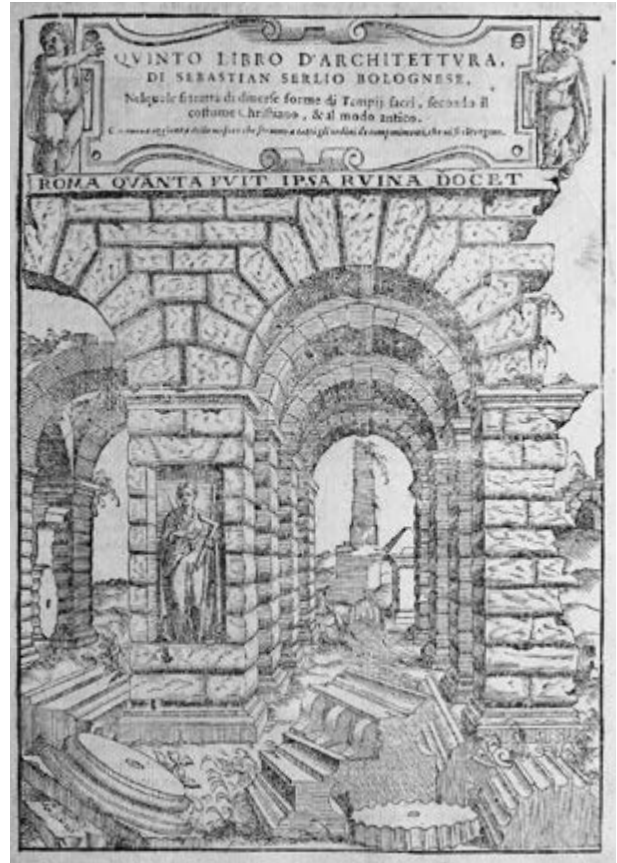


Fig. 12 Sebastiano Serlio. Frontispiece to *Quinto libro d'architettura*, 1584

then the four RIBA sheets “comprise Pearce’s first known drawings.”¹⁰¹ Indeed, there is virtually no information about Pearce’s career before 1665. He may have been apprenticed to a painter-stainer called Edward Bird and may have married in 1661, but the first documented reference to architectural activities is a note of 1665 when Pearce was working as a mason under Roger Pratt at Horseheath Hall.¹⁰² From 1666, Pearce developed “a thriving and wide-ranging business practice in the building boom that followed the Restoration and the great fire of London.”¹⁰³ He was the master mason, or main building contractor, for some of Wren’s churches but seems to have designed mainly smaller pieces of interior furnishing, distinguishing himself above all as a sculptor.¹⁰⁴ As far as I know, there is nothing in his output that bears marked resemblances to the triumphal arches. On the whole, it appears problematic to ascribe the RIBA drawings to him, especially as his activities in 1661 are un-

known and no contemporary drawings by him seem to have survived. Moreover, there exists no reason why Pearce should have wished to conceal his authorship of the triumphal arches in Ogilby’s publication.

In order to approach an attribution of the four mysterious drawings, it is necessary to engage not only with the drawing style but also with the architectonic vocabulary of the arches. Where did the architect look for inspiration and how did he adapt his models? Although there are quite a few publications on the coronation entry, these questions have not yet been addressed.¹⁰⁵

It is immediately evident that the London arches departed from classical precedent. The ancient triumphal arches still visible in Rome were reproduced in numerous architectural treatises, guidebooks, and souvenir albums of the seventeenth century, but because of Rome’s role as the capital of Catholicism, it was problematic to imitate them in Anglican Britain. Almost every pope of



Fig. 13 Theodor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens. “Arcus Philippii pars anterior” (Frontal view of the Arch of Philip). Engraving, published in Gevartius 1641

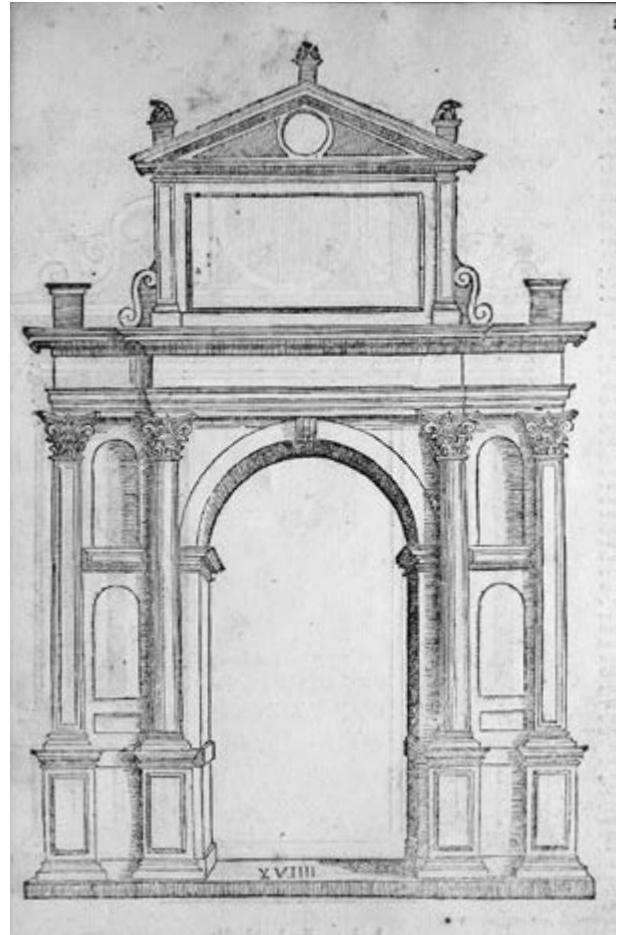


Fig. 14 Sebastiano Serlio. Design for an archway. From Serlio 1584, Book 6 (“Libro straordinario”), fol. 27r

the early modern era staged a triumphal entry, the *posse*, to mark the beginning of his pontificate, and since the popes regarded themselves as successors to the Roman emperors, the ephemeral arches for these entries followed quite naturally the model of the arches that had honoured Titus, Septimius Severus, and Constantine.¹⁰⁶ Thus, in order to steer clear of “popery,” the architect of the London arches needed to find his models elsewhere. Moreover, the streets of London were bounded by rather high edifices that would have dwarfed any single-story construction.¹⁰⁷ It followed that two-tiered structures had to be adopted.

The Restoration Arch (fig. 2) is modelled on a design from Sebastiano Serlio’s *Sette libri* (fig. 10).¹⁰⁸ In both cases, the large central arch is flanked by two rectangu-

lar doors that are each surmounted by a small niche or painted panel. The storey above the plain classical architrave, frieze, and cornice consists of a large central opening, on either side of which is a rounded niche or arch. This second tier is topped with a large panel meant to contain a painting, relief, or inscription. The preliminary design for the Restoration Arch (pl. 1) comes even closer to Serlio’s model in that the upper lateral openings are rusticated and surmounted by square panels, which in Serlio’s design appear above the crowning entablature. In the Restoration Arch, the rustication that pervades Serlio’s design is limited to the upper storey but remains a dominant feature.

Despite the general similarities, there are also a number of notable differences. For instance, the London ar-



Fig. 15 Jean Marot. “Arc de Triomphe eslevé au bout du pont nostre Dame” (Triumphal arch erected at the end of the bridge at Notre-Dame), ephemeral architecture erected in Paris in 1660 for the wedding of Louis XIV. Engraving, published in *Entrée triomphante 1662*

chitect introduced an attic between the two storeys. This enabled him to add a further painting on the central axis and to give more space to the statue of Charles II. The combination of the large ground-floor arch and the surmounting round-topped painting flanked by sculptures is reminiscent of the title page for Brian Walton’s *Biblia polyglotta*, designed by John Webb and engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar in 1657 (fig. 11; cf. fig. 2).¹⁰⁹ In the Restoration Arch, this motif is echoed once again on the upper storey where yet another round-topped painting crowns a second tall central arch. The idea to paint ruins within the lateral arches, as though being glimpsed through these arches, may derive from the frontispiece to Serlio’s *Quinto libro* (fig. 12).

Back in 1960, Fraser and Harris pointed out that the second arch resembles the *Arcus Philippi* (Arch of Philip) of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (fig. 13).¹¹⁰ Indeed, the general structure is similar, although Rubens’s design seems fussy and cluttered in comparison. A number of features do not correspond either with the executed Naval Arch (fig. 3) nor with the related presentation drawing (pl. 2): e. g. the coats of arms in the lower lateral compartments, the standing figures in the upper compartments, and the painting (rather than balcony) above the central arch. The upper tier of the London arch displays a more pronounced verticality. The architectural forms are simpler and more classical, and the crowning ornament is limited to just one figure. All in all, I think the classicizing language of the Naval Arch refers once again to a model by Serlio, which may also have been Rubens’s source of inspiration (fig. 14).¹¹¹

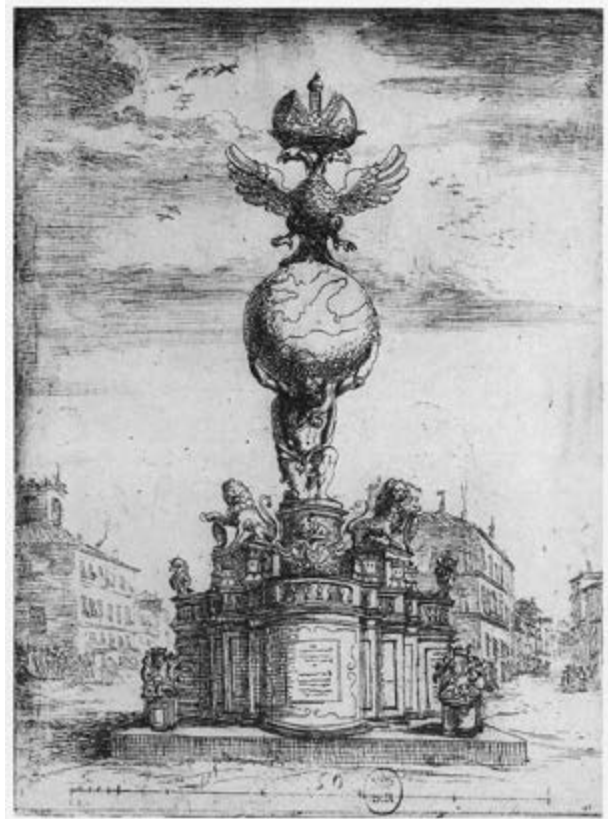


Fig. 16 Claude Lorrain. Ephemeral monument erected in the Piazza di Spagna, Rome, in honour of Ferdinand III in 1637. Etching, published in Bermudez de Castro 1637

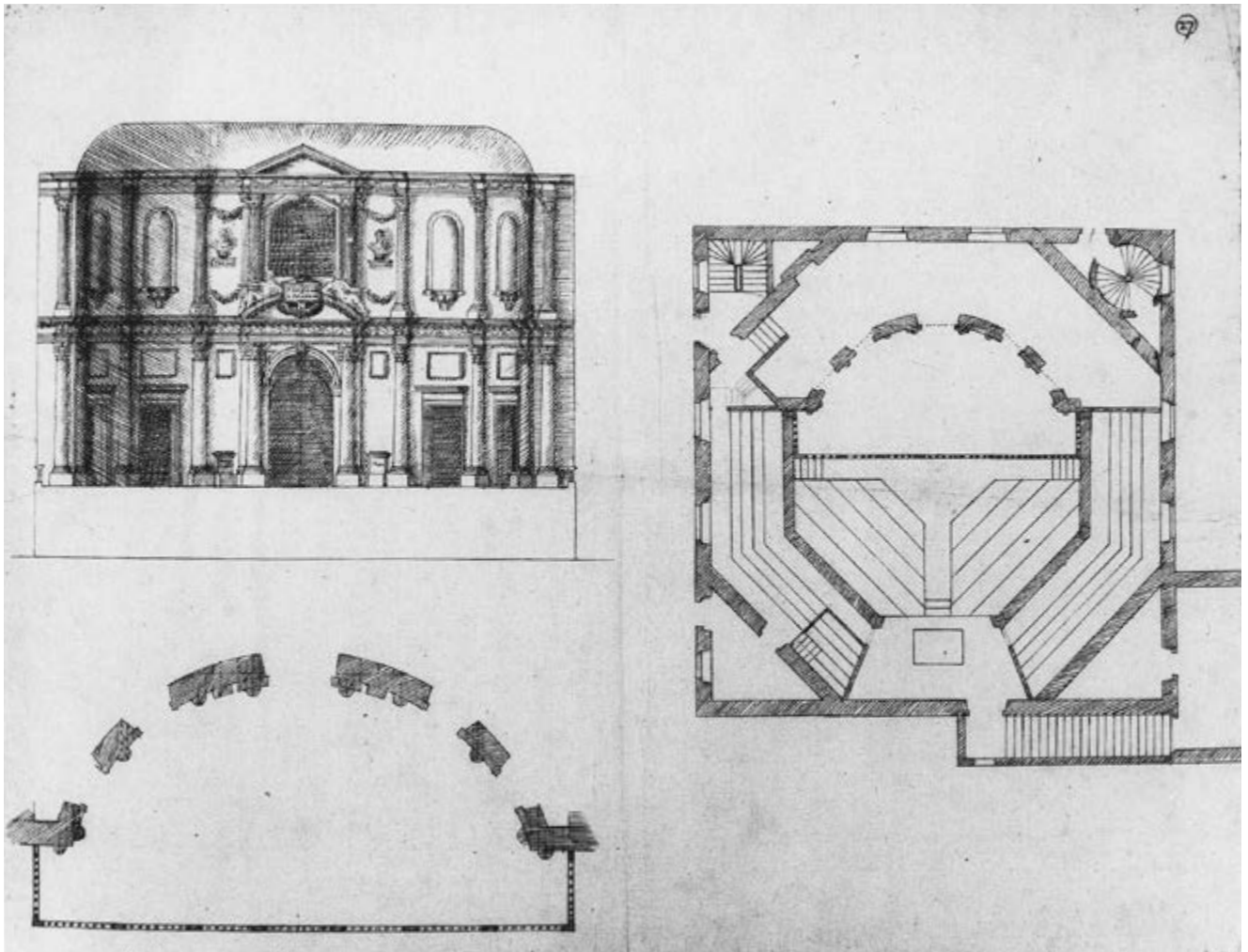


Fig. 17 John Webb. Plan and elevation of the stage of the Cockpit Theatre at Whitehall Palace, 1660

Two design elements of the Naval Arch neither present in the *Arcus Philippei* nor in Serlio's woodcut appear in a triumphal arch that was erected in Paris in 1660 for the wedding of Louis XIV (fig. 15).¹¹² While Rubens's arch is compressed beneath a balcony, here the tall central arch rises up to the entablature and is framed by two figures in the spandrels; moreover, the upper tier is characterized by its marked verticality. In addition, the crowning feature consisting of a small standing figure and two larger reclining personifications reappears in the presentation drawing for the Naval Arch (pl. 2).

The grandiose celebrations in Paris in the summer of 1660 were certainly a model for Charles II, who had spent most of his exile at the court of his cousin Louis XIV.

A contemporary source compares the coronation entry of 1661 to the French precedent and concludes that "even the French quality were forced to acknowledge that the late Nuptial Solemnities at the King and Queen's publick entry into Paris (on their marriage, in 1660) were far inferior to the pomp of this."¹¹³ However, as the illustrated description of the *entrée triomphante* became available only in 1662, the reception of these arches in London in 1661 would mean that the designer had access to drawings made in 1660. This cannot be proven but is not inconceivable as the same process happened vice versa in 1661. An account of the London festivities claimed: "And as for the glories of these renowned Fabricks, prepared against the blessed Coronation, the fame thereof is

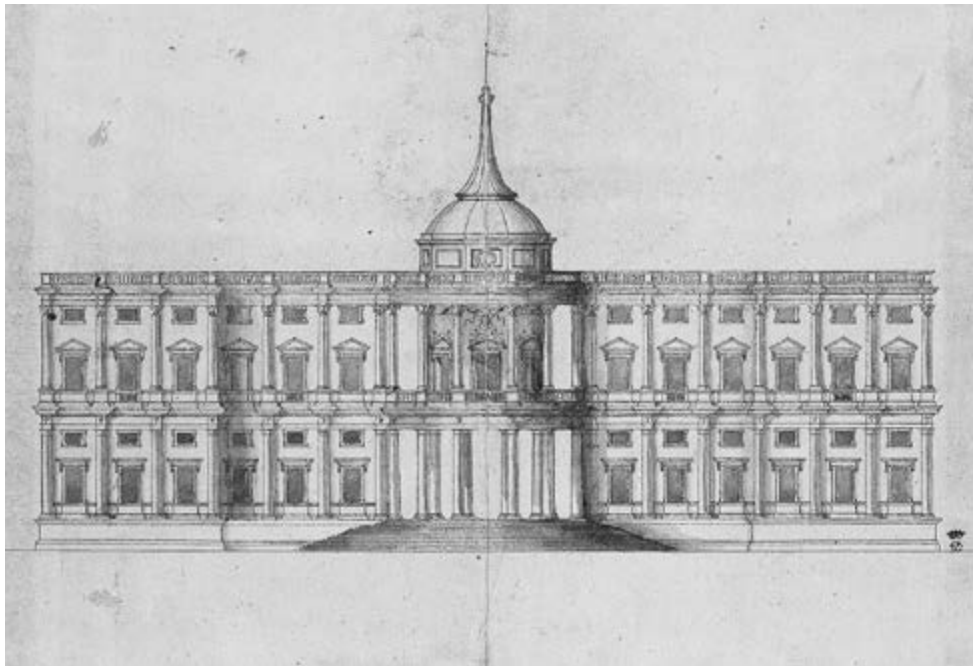


Fig. 18 John Webb. Design for a palace arranged around a principal courtyard; elevation of one of the principal façades featuring a rotunda within the circular colonnade of the entrance portico, undated

sounded throughout all Europe; for I myself have seen a French Limner drawing the figures of them to send to France, for that I perceive we English have not altogether patterns from France, they take some from us, and they are even such, that I believe few in this age did ever see the like.”¹¹⁴

The crowning feature of the Naval Arch, Atlas carrying the globe, was borrowed from a festival organized by the Habsburg party in Rome in honour of Ferdinand III, the son of Emperor Ferdinand II. Claude Lorrain immortalized the ephemeral architectures in a number of etchings that accompanied the printed description published in 1637.¹¹⁵ In front of the Spanish ambassador’s residence had been erected a monument with Atlas supporting the globe, surmounted by the imperial eagle bearing the Habsburg crown (fig. 16).¹¹⁶ The designer of the Naval Arch repeated this grouping but replaced the Habsburg insignia with a ship as symbol of global British power over the seas (fig. 3).¹¹⁷

In sum, the Naval Arch combined motifs drawn from Flemish, Italian, and possibly also French sources, amalgamating them into a stylistic blend that looked altogether more classical than its High Baroque models. The superposition of the two central units (the tall arch below

and the rectangular panel topped with a triangular pediment above) is reminiscent of the *frons scenae* designed by Inigo Jones for the Cockpit Theatre at Whitehall in 1629. In 1660, John Webb received a royal commission for the remodelling of this theatre and produced a drawing that recorded Jones’s design as well as his own alterations (fig. 17). Webb remained faithful to the ideas of Jones, his teacher, creating a link between the eras of Charles I and Charles II.¹¹⁸ In a similar way, the Naval Arch may be seen as a monument to a particularly British brand of classicism.

The Arch of Concord prompts a comparable observation (fig. 4). It quotes the Temple of Janus from the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (fig. 9), but the overall impression is much more restrained and classical without Rubens’s exuberant ornament. Moreover, the upper level of the *Templum Iani* presents a rather broad circular temple of large diameter, while the Temple of Concord appears taller and slimmer. Such slim *tempietti* or turrets occur in several works by John Webb, e. g. in his design for a palace with a semicircular portico (fig. 18)¹¹⁹ and in some of his plans for Whitehall Palace.¹²⁰ Thus, once again, a foreign model was translated into a British idiom.



Fig. 19 Unknown architect. Canterbury Quadrangle, St John's College, Oxford, c. 1635

It has been suggested that the design of the lower floor of the Arch of Concord looks back to a British precedent, the Canterbury Quadrangle at St John's College, Oxford (fig. 19).¹²¹ In this building, created around 1635, a similar segmental arch rests on coupled columns, albeit on the upper tier of the façade.¹²² It is quite possible that the designer of the Arch of Concord knew St John's College, but his ideas are even closer to its yet more classical precedent, the Chiesa Nuova in Rome (fig. 20). There we find on the ground level the segmental arch on coupled columns, plus a pediment filled with narrative sculpture and ornamented with dentils.¹²³ And just as in the case of the Arch of Concord, the order is Corinthian, whereas the façade at St John's presents the Ionic above and the Doric below. In contrast to the somewhat fussy ornamentation of the Canterbury Quadrangle, the portal of the Chiesa Nuova exudes the same calm monumentality as the entrance to the 1661 Temple of Concord.

In the case of the Arch of Plenty, York Water Gate has been identified as a British source of inspiration for its lower level (fig. 21).¹²⁴ This building, ascribed to either Balthazar Gerbier or Inigo Jones, is in its turn a variation



Fig. 20 Fausto Rughesi. Main façade of Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) in Rome, 1605

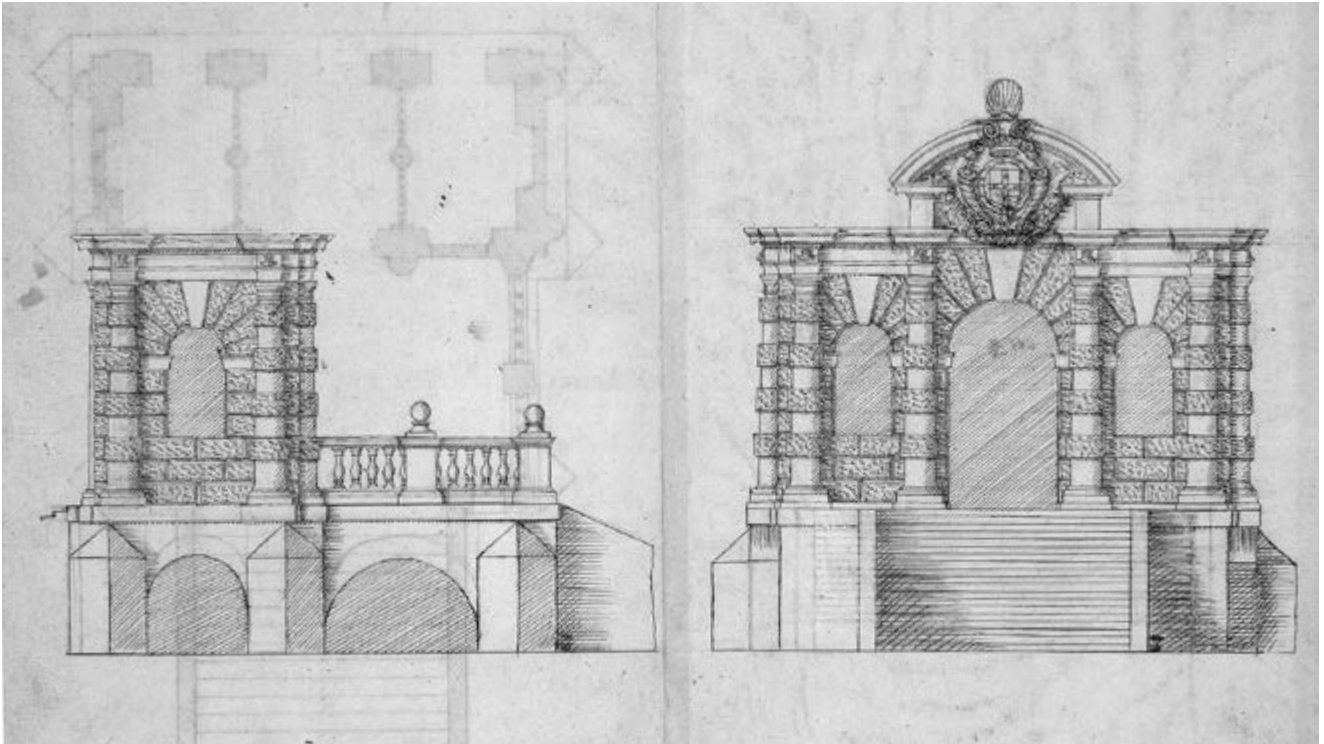


Fig. 21 Inigo Jones or Balthazar Gerbier. Measured design for York Water Gate, London

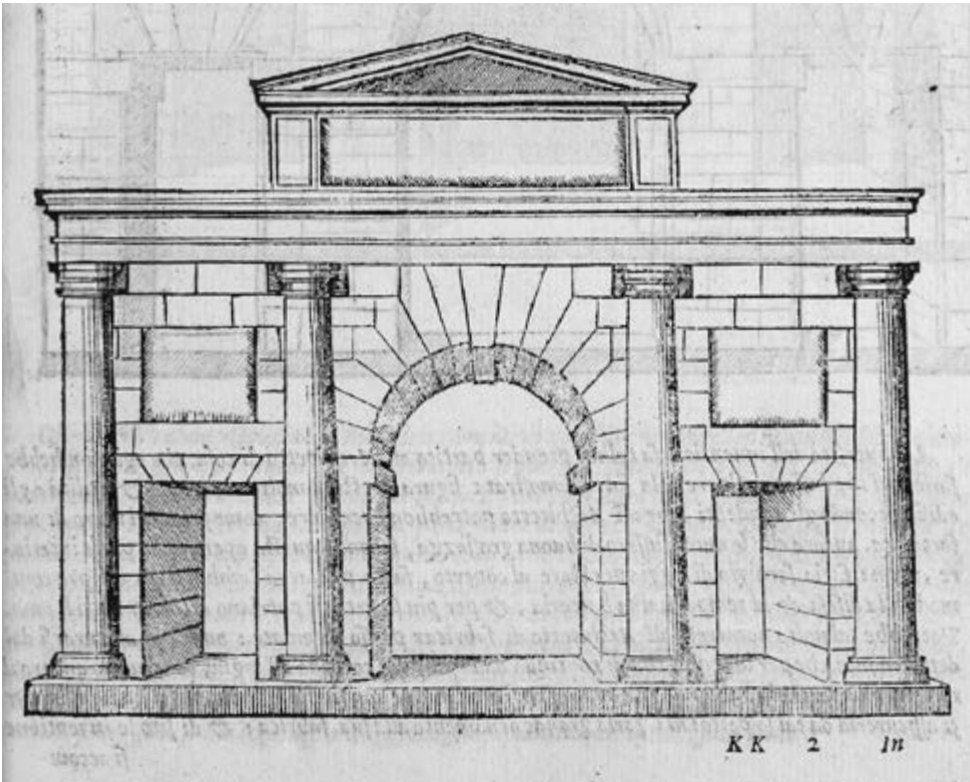
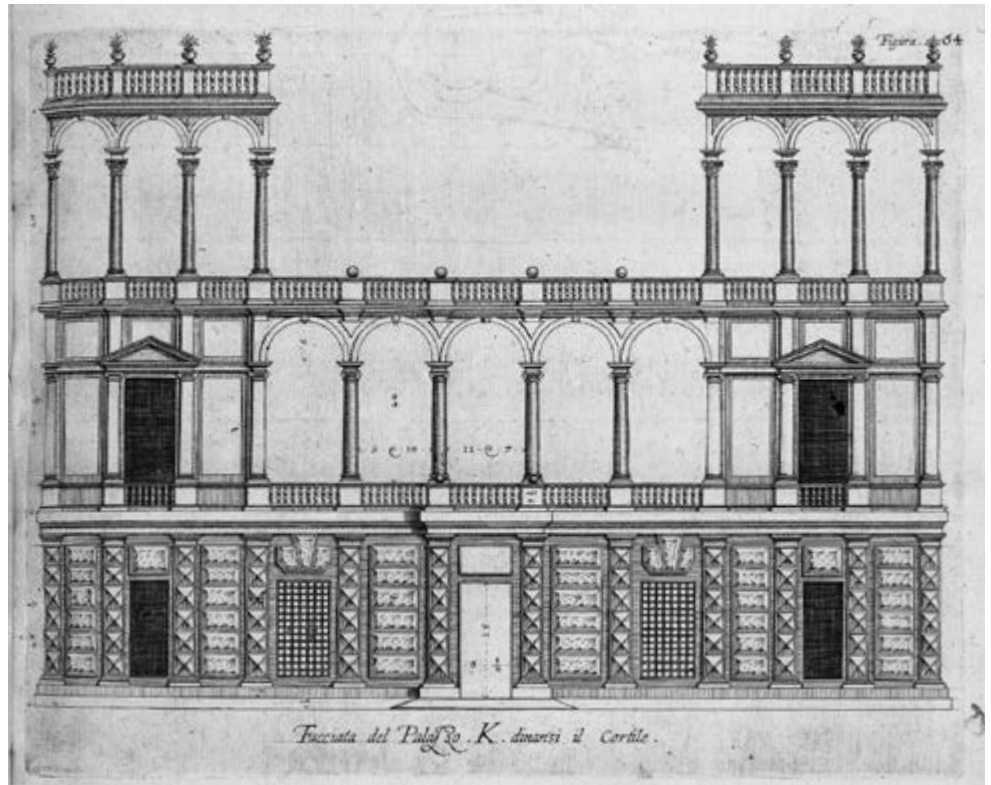


Fig. 22 Sebastiano Serlio. Design for a city gate. From Serlio 1584, Book 4 ("Regole generali di architettura"), fol. 130r

Fig. 23 Peter Paul Rubens.
 “Palazzo K.”. From Rubens
 1622, vol. 1, fig. 64



on yet another design by Sebastiano Serlio (fig. 22)¹²⁵ but introduces the then highly modern element of the arched pediment broken by an inserted cartouche (cf. fig. 5).¹²⁶ The architect of the Arch of Plenty further added a top storey inspired by Rubens’s publication *Palazzi di Genova*, in which open *loggie* are repeatedly set on top of buildings (fig. 23).

As this brief overview has demonstrated, the designer of the four triumphal arches was well informed about classical and modern continental architecture. He not only combined motifs taken from a variety of Italian, French, and Flemish sources but also demonstrated his mastery of Italian architectural theory, using the classical hierarchy of the architectural orders to make a statement about social order in Restoration Britain.¹²⁷ This may be seen as an act of mediation in a double sense: the translation of a theoretical concept into tangible form, mindful of its new cultural context, and at the same time an attempt to mediate within British society, restoring a sense of order to unite the distressed post-Commonwealth community.

These observations further reinforce the notion that Edward Pearce cannot have been the anonymous “other Person” involved in the design of the 1661 triumphal arches. Pearce had not been trained as an architect and did not possess such a broad international outlook. His professional profile only began to emerge from about 1665, and his documented activities remained on a much more modest level.¹²⁸ Therefore, I would like to propose another architect as designer of the arches: John Webb.

Webb was “England’s first trained professional architect,”¹²⁹ having been educated by Inigo Jones on the orders of King Charles I. He was meant to become his master’s successor as surveyor of the king’s works, but as Jones died in 1652 during the Interregnum, these plans came to nothing.¹³⁰ In 1660, Webb prepared Whitehall Palace for Charles II’s return, sought to reunite the king’s dispersed art collection, and petitioned him for the surveyorship, stating that he was qualified to design (among other things) “masques Tryumphs and the like.”¹³¹ Although Charles had already given the survey-

orship to the poet John Denham, he received the petition favourably and granted Webb the reversion of the post.¹³² Since the latter had underlined his capacity as designer of “Tryumphs,” it must have seemed logical to encourage him to prove himself in this task. His proximity to the king might explain why Ogilby mentioned “another Person, who desires to have his Name conceal’d”:¹³³ as the coronation entry was officially organized by the City of London, the king and his architect could participate in the preparations only “under cover.”¹³⁴

John Webb was a highly erudite architect. Inigo Jones had taught him the principles of Italian architecture, and Webb aimed to codify this system in a treatise of his own.¹³⁵ In addition, he edited Jones’s dissertation on Stonehenge and published a lengthy commentary in which he defended his master’s view that the monument was of Roman origin.¹³⁶ Since Stonehenge occupied Webb from the 1650s, his interest in ancient ruins may well have been an inspiration for the innovative idea to conceive the Restoration Arch as a built ruin (pl. 1).

Webb read Italian well enough to produce a translation of Giovanni Tarcagnola’s *Delle historie del mondo*, and he annotated Serlio’s *Sette libri* with copious comments.¹³⁷ He had therefore studied in great detail a crucial source of inspiration for the triumphal arches. But just like Jones, Webb was also interested in contemporary French design and may have undertaken a journey to Paris.¹³⁸ Indirect proof of his knowledge of Louis XIV’s *entrée triomphante* comes from his design for the King’s Bedchamber in Greenwich, in which he reused the unusual motif of the mating palm trees displayed in Paris in 1660.¹³⁹

Although John Webb is usually associated with works in a more classical style, his design for the frontispiece of the *Biblia polyglotta* of 1657 exhibits his familiarity with High Baroque taste (fig. 11). Moreover, the two projecting *portici* flanking the central arch in this frontispiece, which shelter a number of figures, are taken directly from Rubens’s Temple of Janus (fig. 9), thus proving Webb’s knowledge of a further source of inspiration for the 1661 arches. Given that Webb’s design for the *Biblia polyglotta* was engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar,¹⁴⁰ Hollar may have been the person who introduced Webb

to John Ogilby. During the 1650s and 1660s, the Bohemian artist collaborated regularly with Ogilby, who commissioned him to produce prints of the coronation ceremonies that were then published in Ogilby’s 1662 account of the coronation.¹⁴¹ This constellation makes it quite likely that Hollar established contact between the author of the programme and the architect.

Between c. 1650 and 1665, Webb was “the most successful architect in the country.”¹⁴² About five hundred drawings testify to the activity of his office. They are stylistically heterogeneous, as he employed several draughtsmen.¹⁴³ The four drawings for the triumphal arches are comparable to some highly ornate studies ascribed to John Webb,¹⁴⁴ while the heavy cross-hatching that characterizes many of Webb’s drawings (cf. fig. 17) appears only in isolated spots to give more depth to the ornaments and statues on the triumphal arches. It seems therefore possible that Webb and one of his assistants collaborated on the presentation drawings. This attribution is strengthened by the provenance of the four drawings. They belong to the Burlington-Devonshire Collection that contains the nucleus of drawings bequeathed by Jones to Webb, plus the drawings from Webb’s own office.¹⁴⁵

As demonstrated above, the designs for the triumphal arches can be linked to a number of works by both Jones and Webb. Moreover, these designs achieve an architectural synthesis that characterizes the output of both architects, fusing continental models into an innovative, British style.¹⁴⁶ The necessary translation processes occurred partly within the same medium (architecture) and partly in an intermedial exchange (translating prints and drawings into built architecture). Borrowed motifs were successfully adapted to a new political and confessional context. This is particularly striking in the case of the Arch of Concord (fig. 4) where the façade quotes the Chiesa Nuova, a key monument of Roman “Counter-Reformation” architecture (fig. 20) – an allusion that might be read as a reference to the religious tolerance promised by Charles II in the Declaration of Breda.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, the open top-storey loggia, which Italian patricians cherished for climatic reasons, took on a completely new meaning in the context of the corona-

tion entry, suggesting at the Arch of Plenty the liberty of the British people (figs. 5, 23).¹⁴⁸

By producing an innovative synthesis of many continental sources of inspiration, Webb demonstrated his breadth of knowledge and sought to convince the king of his suitability for the surveyorship. He updated the design principles of his teacher Inigo Jones, adding a more Baroque flavour to the classical tradition; yet in comparison to his continental contemporaries, Webb's style remained notably more restrained. By looking back to Inigo Jones and the sources of his classicism, he forged a link with the era of Charles I and created Restoration architecture in a double sense: not only a triumphant architecture for the restored monarch Charles II but also an architecture symbolizing continuity with the reign of the previous king. The four triumphal arches can therefore be read as a forceful statement about modern British architecture, defined as a style that is up to date in its knowledge of continental trends yet recognizably different and nurtured by British traditions.

Britain and the Continent in the Coronation Entry

Having discussed the ways in which the design of the triumphal arches responded to continental architecture, it is now the logical next step to look at the messages broadcast by the imagery of the arches: How was the relationship between Britain and the continent portrayed in the programme devised by John Ogilby?

As a report on artistic espionage indicates, in 1661 there was strong nationalist feeling in the air. An anonymous commentator stated proudly that British artists had stopped imitating their French colleagues and now provided models for French art in turn.¹⁴⁹ Several eyewitnesses claimed that the London coronation festivities surpassed any spectacle on the continent,¹⁵⁰ and of course the maypole erected in the Strand was the tallest in Europe.¹⁵¹ The king himself encouraged British nationalism by including in the coronation entry courtiers dressed up as dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy, implying that these French territories were still subject to the

crown of England.¹⁵² Rivalry with France manifested in a performance of the king's violin band, newly formed on the French model of the *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi*,¹⁵³ and not surprisingly this competitiveness also permeated Ogilby's text.

It is illuminating to compare Ogilby's programme with that of the royal entry staged in 1604 for the accession of James I. On that occasion, both the Italian and the Dutch communities honoured the sovereign with their own triumphal arches. They delivered speeches in which they expressed their good wishes for the king, and the overall atmosphere suggested friendly cooperation between members of different nations residing in London.¹⁵⁴ By 1661, however, the climate had changed markedly. Foreigners did not participate in the planning of the coronation festivities and were probably not welcome to do so. Ogilby's lyrics embodied outright nationalist aggression when he made a group of sailors sing in front of the Naval Arch:

King Charls, King Charls, great Neptune of the
Main!

Thy Royal Navy rig,

And Wee'll not care a fig

For France, for France, the Netherlands, nor Spain;

the Turk, who looks so big,

We'll whip him like a Gig

About the Mediterrane

His Gallies all sunk, or ta'ne.¹⁵⁵

Although Charles II had spent most of his exile at the French court, France was now regarded as the main rival. This is also evident from a contemporary poem on the coronation festivities that ends with the author's wish that the king will drive "The Conquering St Georges Crosse, into the heart of France."¹⁵⁶

As explained above, the coronation festivities sought to outdo the sumptuous festival held in Paris in 1660 for the wedding of Louis XIV and Maria Theresa of Austria. Since this festival had boastfully appropriated Virgil's line "Imperium sine fine dedi" to describe the rule of the French kings,¹⁵⁷ a British response was needed. Ogilby, who had recently translated into English Virgil's *Ec-*

logues, his *Georgics*, and his *Aeneid*,¹⁵⁸ sought to demonstrate that “Imperium sine fine” (Empire without end) had in fact been granted to Britain rather than France.¹⁵⁹

Ogilby’s narrative proceeded in stages that unfolded from the ground level to the top of the Naval Arch. Following the hierarchical logic of the arches, the loftiest messages were displayed on the upper levels, while the lower levels, near to the reality of the beholders, addressed earthly concerns. Reading the Naval Arch (fig. 3) according to the ascending order of its messages, the spectators first encountered the coats of arms of London over the lateral openings of the arch. These were surmounted by images of Mars and Neptune respectively, which referred to war at sea – i. e. to the same topic acted out by the singers dressed up as seamen, who greeted the king with their martial song.¹⁶⁰ However, war in itself is not a desirable end, and thus the inscription placed underneath Mars was a dedication to “Marti Pacifero,” the peace-bringing god of war.¹⁶¹ As Ogilby explained in his description of 1662, “War is therefore undertaken, that a secure Peace may be enjoyed.”¹⁶²

The imagery on the next level of the arch expanded on this concept. A painting of the Tower of London, a site of imprisonment and of many executions, was coupled with the inscription “Clauduntur Belli Portae.”¹⁶³ This referred to the closing of the Temple of Janus, an act signifying the end of war.¹⁶⁴ The pendant picture, a view of the London Exchange with the inscription “Generis Lapsi Sarcire Ruinas,” alluded to the fruits of peace and the restoration of commerce. In his explanatory booklet produced for the event, Ogilby gave his own translation of the lines from Virgil’s *Georgics* from which he had taken the Latin quotation:

How much by Fortune they exhausted are,
So much they strive the Ruins to repair
Of their fal’n Nation, and they fill th’Exchange,
Adorning with the choicest Flow’rs their Grange.¹⁶⁵

These verses created a link with the Restoration Arch, whose painted ruins alluded to “the Disorder the Kingdom was in, during his Majestie’s Absence,”¹⁶⁶ and ex-

plained the connection between the end of war and the economic prosperity evoked by the pendant images of Tower and Exchange.

While the two topographical paintings on the attic were related to London, the next level of the arch put London in a global perspective through personifications of the four continents. They bore “the Arms of the Companies, Trading into those Parts”¹⁶⁷ in order to visualize the interdependence of London’s economic well-being and its global trade.

Who guaranteed and protected global trade? The monarch of course. He was celebrated on an even higher level of the arch, in the painting centred there. It represented “King Charles the First, with the Prince, now Charles the second, in His Hand, viewing the Sovereign of the Sea.”¹⁶⁸ Charles I had commissioned the ship called the Sovereign of the Sea in the context of an international controversy about dominion of the seas. In a treatise of 1609 called *Mare Liberum*, the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius had asserted that the seas were open and not exclusively the property of any one nation.¹⁶⁹ On behalf of James I, John Selden replied with the treatise *Mare Clausum* in which he claimed absolute maritime sovereignty for the English monarch. His text was published in an expanded edition at the request of Charles I in 1635, and the imagery placed on the Sovereign of the Sea reflected Selden’s arguments by referencing King Edgar, who had styled himself as “Lord of the Sea.”¹⁷⁰

The central inscription on the Naval Arch alluded to this ongoing controversy and stated that Charles II, “the British Neptune,” held the power to decide whether the seas were open (*liberum*) or closed (*clausum*): “Neptuno Britannico, / Carolo II, / Cujus Arbitrio / Mare / Vel Liberum, vel Clausum.”¹⁷¹ In his explanation of 1662, Ogilby quoted Selden and underlined Britain’s superiority over other European nations:

And sure, if any Nation may plead Prescription for this Title [i. e. “Governour of Sea, and Land”], the king of England may, having had a longer uninterrupted Succession in the Dominion of the Brittish Seas, then the Romans in the Mediterranean, or any other Nation, that History has acquainted us

with. [...] it evidently appears, that the Dominion of the Brittiſh Seas belong'd to the Kings of England time out of mind, even before Edward the Firſt, and was ſo acknowledged by other Neighbouring Nations; out of which we ſhall onely extract ſo much as may ſerve for our preſent purpoſe, viz. That the Procuratours of the Admiral of the Sea of England, and of other places, as of the Sea Coaſts, as of Genoa, Catalonia, Spain, Almain, Zealand, Holland, Freezland, Denmark, and Norway, do ſhew that the Kings of England, time out of mind, have been in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Seas of England.¹⁷²

Ogilby further ſtressed Britain's ſuperiority by portraying the rivers of continental Europe as "tributaries" to the Thames.¹⁷³ Moreover, he contextualized the ſuppoſed precedence of Britain by citing ancient examples, eſtablishing a link between the great empires of antiquity and Great Britain.¹⁷⁴ The perſonifications of the continents that flanked the image of the Sovereign of the Sea viſualized a claim to global dominion. This was particularly relevant in the context of current colonialiſt expansion. Charles's colonial poſſeſſions included the New England and Chesapeake colonies in America as well as Barbados and Jamaica,¹⁷⁵ and through his marriage to the Portuguese infantina Catherine of Braganza he ſought to enlarge his empire even further, acquiring with her dowry Bombay and Tangier.¹⁷⁶

Britain's main competitor both within Europe and in colonial trade was the Dutch Republic.¹⁷⁷ In 1651, Parliament had paſſed the Navigation Act, which prohibited the Dutch from carrying ſouthern European products to English ports and outlawed Dutch commerce in the English colonies of the Caribbean.¹⁷⁸ In the enſuing Firſt Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654), the British reported a number of ſtunning victories but had to make peace without obtaining great gains.¹⁷⁹ However, in 1658 they were able to annex Dunkirk and remained in poſſeſſion of this continental stronghold until Charles II ſold it to Louis XIV in 1662.¹⁸⁰ The Dutch were anxious to eſtablish a friendly relationship with the reſtored monarch and in November 1660 diſpatched an embaiſſy extraordinary

with an enormously generous gift conſiſting of art objects of high material and ſymbolic value.¹⁸¹ They hoped for an abrogation of the Navigation Act but in vain – Charles II confirmed this mercantiſt legiſlation of the Commonwealth Parliament.¹⁸²

The ſong performed by the ſeamen in front of the Naval Arch recalled the long-ſtanding enmity across the Channel in the following words:

We, who ſo often bang'd the Turk,
Our Broad-ſides ſpeaking Thunder,
Made Belgium ſtrike, and proud Dunkirk,
Who liv'd by Pride, and Plunder.¹⁸³

Ogilby's lyrics proudly referred to military victories that had taken place during the Interregnum, thus eſtablishing a continuity between Commonwealth and royal naval policies. However, it was unthinkable to include protagonists of the Commonwealth in the imagery of the arch. Only Charles I and Charles II were viſualized as the champions of British naval ſovereignty. Both appeared dressed in ancient garb, with Charles I's armour *all'antica* likening him to the emperors of antiquity.

The top level of the Naval Arch was crowned by Atlas carrying the globe, coupled with the inſcription "Unus non ſufficit" (One is not enough). This inſcription had a number of poſſible meanings. On the one hand, it could be underſtood as a reference to the ſucceſſion from Charles I to Charles II, while on the other hand it could hint at the cooperation between Charles II and his brother James, Admiral of the Fleet, who was depicted on the back of the Naval Arch "habited a l'antique, like Neptune, ſtanding on a Shell drawn by Sea-Horſes."¹⁸⁴ The parallel conveyed that juſt as Hercules had helped Atlas in his onerous taſk, ſo too James would ſupport Charles.¹⁸⁵

As Knowles has pointed out, the motto "Polus non ſufficit unus" was part of the programme for Ferdinand of Spain's entry into Antwerp in 1635. In alluding to the two poles, i. e. the two hemiſpheres of the globe, the motto proclaimed an ideal of worldwide commerce that was, however, only wiſhful thinking in the current ſituation of the Low Countries. According to Knowles, Ogilby appro-

priated this motto and turned it into “an affirmation of the rival English claim to universal mercantile empire.”¹⁸⁶

This is certainly convincing, but I think there remains still one more level of meaning to be discovered. On the Naval Arch, the inscription “Unus non sufficit” was framed by two armillary spheres (fig. 3). The curious doubling of the same representation of the cosmos indicates that the subject of “Unus non sufficit” might indeed be the world, i. e. “One world is not enough.” This conceit, originally applied to Alexander the Great, the conqueror for whom one world was not enough, had been recycled to flatter Henry II of England¹⁸⁷ and was well known to a seventeenth-century audience through the “nec pluribus impar” device of Louis XIV.¹⁸⁸ Ogilby thereby likened Charles II to Alexander and suggested his universal rule, surpassing Louis XIV for whom “Imperium sine fine” (Empire without end) had been claimed in 1660.¹⁸⁹

The pronounced rivalry with the powers of continental Europe would have come across even more strongly for those who knew that the figure of Atlas with the globe was modelled on a monument honouring Emperor Ferdinand III (fig. 16).¹⁹⁰ In place of the imperial crown at the top of the Antwerp monument, on the Naval Arch Ogilby and Webb put a ship, the Sovereign of the Sea, symbolizing British preeminence. A contemporary poem by James Howell very aptly summarized Britain’s challenge to the supremacy of continental powers:

’Twas by a Charles, France once the Empire got:
’Twas by a Charles, Spain also drew that lot:
Why may not Britain challenge the next Call,
And by a Charles be made Imperiall?¹⁹¹

Past – Present – Future

When Charles Stuart sailed across the Channel in May 1660, he travelled back in time in a double sense: firstly, in that he went to restore monarchy in his country and, secondly, in that he crossed the threshold between the Gregorian and the Julian calendar. Since Britain had refused to accept the calendar reform promoted by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, the continent was several days

ahead of the British Isles.¹⁹² Thus when Charles entered Dover, he had to readjust the style of datation to which he had become accustomed during his years of exile. He departed from Scheveningen on 2 June and arrived at Dover on 25 May.¹⁹³ He insisted on entering London on his thirtieth birthday (29 May 1660),¹⁹⁴ even though according to the continental calendar he had already turned thirty ten days before – and had indeed been duly celebrated on 30 May at the Mauritshuis in The Hague.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, the date chosen for his coronation (St George’s Day, 23 April 1661) carried symbolic meaning only in Britain, whereas for the continental audience the event fell on 3 May, as an Italian description of the coronation pointed out.¹⁹⁶

The implications of this readjustment of time went even further. As soon as Charles set foot on English soil, he insisted that 1660 was the twelfth year of his reign.¹⁹⁷ To a certain degree that was justified, as royalists had proclaimed him king after the beheading of his father in January 1649. However, this claim was accepted only by the Puritan Scots, who crowned him at Scone Palace on 1 January 1651.¹⁹⁸ After being forced to leave Britain following the Battle of Worcester in September 1651, Charles upheld his claim to the throne, though his powers to “reign” in exile were limited to his immediate court.¹⁹⁹

By pretending on the eve of the Restoration that he had already been in power for twelve years, Charles sought to obliterate the memory of the Commonwealth, to erase it and rewrite history. If 1660 was the twelfth year of his reign, then parliamentary rule had never existed. Correspondingly, on 1 June Charles II promised his subjects a “Bill for Pardon and Oblivion” in order to “ease his good people from their fears and doubts.”²⁰⁰ This Act of Oblivion, finally issued in August 1660, granted indemnity “for all misdemeanors on all sides since 1637.”²⁰¹ By September 1660, statues of Charles I and Charles II had been placed at the London Exchange, with the statue of Charles II carrying a shield that bore the word “Amnestia.”²⁰² With reference to “the interstice between the death of the old and coming in of the present king,” Samuel Pepys wrote that “all that time is swallowed up as if it hath never been.”²⁰³

How did Ogilby's programme for the triumphal arches address the thorny question of finding ways to deal with the immediate past? And how did he construe the relationship between past, present, and future? To answer these questions, it is helpful to take a brief look at the literary conventions that guided him in his task.

Ogilby was a man of letters who referenced more than 130 literary sources in the 1662 description of the coronation entry.²⁰⁴ He certainly knew that the appropriate literary genre for such an event was epideictic speech. According to ancient literary theory, the art of oratory falls into three main categories: *génos dikanikón* or *genus iudiciale* (speeches at the law court), *génos symbuleutikón* or *genus deliberativum* (political speeches discussing the pros and cons of an impending decision), and *génos epideiktikón* or *genus demonstrativum* (speeches giving praise or assigning blame). While the first two categories deal with decision-making and thus with differing viewpoints, the perspective of epideictic speech is clear from the start: It singles out an object of praise (or much more rarely, of censure) and proceeds to elaborate on this object in highly ornate language.²⁰⁵

Epideictic speech can take various forms, e. g. as *epinikion* (speech extolling a victory) or *epitaphios* (funerary speech). Most relevant for the early modern courtly speech, however, are the *enkomion* and *panegyricus*.²⁰⁶ The term *enkomion* designates a speech in praise of a person²⁰⁷ and *panegyricus*, in its original sense, a speech delivered on a festive occasion.²⁰⁸ These two types of speech have very similar rules, such that their names are often used interchangeably.²⁰⁹ For instance, both the *enkomion* and the *panegyricus* praise the descent, education, physical and intellectual gifts, virtues, and deeds of a certain individual.²¹⁰

Starting in antiquity, panegyric (laudatory) elements began to permeate other literary genres, e. g. epic poetry or history writing, and in the early modern period they became a key ingredient in courtly festivals and in courtly art, including permanent painted or sculpted imagery.²¹¹ John Evelyn's "Panegyric to Charles the Second," delivered on the day after the coronation, exemplifies the relevance of this literary genre in Restoration Britain.²¹² Accordingly, Ronald Knowles has already stressed the rhe-

torical, epideictic character of Ogilby's programme.²¹³

However, it is also relevant to note in what ways Ogilby departed from the classical rules. For instance, praising the noble lineage and illustrious deeds of a ruler and his predecessors was a standard element of the encomium.²¹⁴ In the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, already identified as one of the models for the 1661 coronation entry, genealogy and history played a lead role. Several ephemeral architectures presented the long line of Habsburg emperors, depictions of the felicitous marriages by which they had enlarged their territories, and paintings of past and recent heroic deeds.²¹⁵ Even dynasties that could not boast an illustrious pedigree comparable to that of the House of Austria, like the Medici family in Florence, used the same mix of genealogy and history painting for their triumphal entries.²¹⁶

Notably, Ogilby refrained from applying this scheme to the Restoration setting. He did not muster the long line of Stuart kings but limited himself to referencing Charles's immediate predecessors, James I and Charles I, the only two members of the Scottish dynasty to have been kings of England and Scotland.²¹⁷ In this way, Ogilby may have intended to downplay the Scottish roots of the sovereign, which had given cause for much dissatisfaction in the past.²¹⁸ Moreover, Ogilby shied away from narrative history painting, the only exception being the depiction of Charles's arrival at Dover over the southern (left) opening of the first arch (fig. 2). Other paintings created by William Lightfoot and Andrew Dacres referred to recent historical events in a more oblique way, e. g. through the trophy of heads over the northern portal of the Restoration Arch and the allegorizing compositions placed in the central positions of the Restoration Arch and the Naval Arch (figs. 2, 3).²¹⁹ The iconography of the Restoration Arch will be discussed in greater detail in the following section; at this point it is sufficient to note that modern history obviously presented a problem to Ogilby. He alluded to the victories of the Commonwealth navy in the song performed in front of the Naval Arch, but he did not include pictorial representations of them. In marked contrast to the rules for an encomium and the model of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Ogilby avoided episodes from Charles's biography prior to the landing at

Dover, let alone depictions of the deeds of his controversial father Charles I. In the same way that Charles II issued an Act of Oblivion, Ogilby, too, sought to steer clear of the problematic aspects of the recent past.

He seems to have found it safer to refer to the remote past. Ogilby likened London to ancient Rome and repeatedly compared Charles II to Augustus, following the rhetorical strategy of *amplificatio*, a typical component of any encomium.²²⁰ By putting the king on the same level as the Roman emperor, Ogilby magnified his role. This was already evident in the imagery and inscriptions on the triumphal arches but became even more so in the expanded 1662 description.²²¹ Classical antiquity also provided Ogilby's overall historical model: The programme of the arches proclaimed that the Golden Age was about to return. This commonplace of early modern European pageantry was fittingly announced on the Restoration Arch through the motto "Redeunt Saturnia regna,"²²² and the concluding Arch of Plenty (fig. 5) evoked the state of bountiful liberty with which the Golden Age was commonly associated.²²³ It presented a vision of a blissful future.

The Arch of Plenty probably took inspiration from James I's triumphal entry of 1604, in which one of seven arches was "The Device called, *Hortus Euporiae*, Garden of Plentie" (fig. 7). Stephen Harrison's design featured open pergolas on the upper level, filled with a large cast of actors impersonating the nine Muses and the seven "liberall Sciences" (*artes liberales*). In the central pavilion were seated Peace and Plenty and below them "two other persons, representing Gold and Silver, supporting the Globe of the world betweene them."²²⁴ In a similar way, Ogilby associated the Golden Age with a garden setting, alluding to the effortless prosperity of an age when mankind was supposedly not required to work, being nurtured by nature.²²⁵

In marked contrast to Harrison's design, Ogilby limited the imagery on his Arch of Plenty to paintings of Ceres and Bacchus, the gods protecting the production of bread and wine respectively (fig. 5, over the lateral openings). Ceres, "Goddesse of Corne," had already figured in the 1604 pageant,²²⁶ while Bacchus was a newcomer hinting at the liberality of the City, which for the

occasion of the 1661 entry made the fountain at the Great Conduit run with wine (fig. 1, no. 11).²²⁷ By presenting an empty loggia on top of the arch, Ogilby and Webb drew the spectators in, inviting them to enter this space in their imaginations and to experience the liberty suggested by the openness of the structure.

The central inscription stated that as "the fire of civil war" had been extinguished and the Temple of Janus closed (signifying peace), the senate and citizens of London dedicated a "most exalted altar" to Plenty.²²⁸ Since the structure was expressly designated as "ara" (altar), the bread and wine symbolized by Ceres and Bacchus may even have held sacramental connotations. The wording "aram celsissimam" was ambiguous as the adjective could be interpreted as either "most noble" or "located in an elevated position." This implied that the altar should be imagined on the upper level of the ephemeral architecture.

The song with which the personification of plenty addressed the king extended the curious intermingling of pagan and Christian imagery. According to Ogilby's lyrics, the star that had been seen at Charles's birth, often paralleled with the Star of Bethlehem, "presaged" the "glitt'ring Plenty of this golden Age."²²⁹ "The three smiling Seasons of the Year," represented by actors standing on top of the arch, greeted the king, and the song concluded: "Thus Seasons, Men, and Gods their Joy express; / To see Your Triumph, and our Happiness."²³⁰

While Harrison's "Garden of Plentie" had been positioned as the fifth of seven ephemeral architectures, Ogilby made the Arch of Plenty the triumphal conclusion to his programme. He thereby strengthened the message already broadcast by the Naval Arch, i. e. that the Restoration would bring renewed prosperity. Faced with a problematic past, one that he addressed in rather oblique ways, Ogilby chose to concentrate on the future and particularly on an image of Plenty that he expected would draw the consensus of London's citizens. Thus, he adopted the same strategy as his ancient role model Virgil, whose writings he had been translating for many years: Ogilby proclaimed a new Golden Age, just as Virgil had when Augustus ended the civil war that followed Caesar's assassination.²³¹ Since Augustus was Caesar's

(adopted) son, Ogilby paralleled this pair with Charles I and Charles II. After the execution of Charles I and a period of civil war and political upheaval during the Commonwealth, Charles II appeared as a new Augustus. With this parallel, Ogilby laid the foundations for the so-called Augustan age in British history.²³²

Conflict Resolution

Ogilby followed the model of the 1604 entry not only in evoking a “Garden of Plentie” but also in placing a celebration of monarchy at the beginning of the coronation entry, just as Harrison had.²³³ However, whereas in 1604 it had been possible to praise “*Monarchia Britannica*” in straightforward terms, Ogilby found himself in a less comfortable position. Recent history (the civil war, the beheading of Charles I, and the Interregnum) demanded a statement about the causes and effects of the re-establishment of monarchy in Britain. Although the Restoration enjoyed much popular support,²³⁴ not everybody was convinced of this solution to the Commonwealth crises. An armed uprising at the beginning of 1661 demonstrated strong dissent.²³⁵ Ogilby was therefore tasked with addressing conflicts that were only partially resolved and with making the Restoration look as logical and acceptable as possible.

As outlined above, the structure of the coronation entry and of the individual arches emphasized the reinstatement of traditional social hierarchy. In my discussion of the Naval Arch, I have already demonstrated that the loftiest messages were displayed on its top level. In contrast to previous studies, I thus propose a reading of the Restoration Arch from top to bottom.

The royal coat of arms, supported by a lion and a unicorn as symbols of England and Scotland respectively, formed the visual heading for the Restoration Arch (fig. 2).²³⁶ Underneath, two angels holding the royal crown visualized God’s intervention in the Restoration – a reference to divine providence that had already become commonplace in accounts of Charles’s return to power.²³⁷ Ogilby seems to have taken this motif from a badge worn by those who wished to showcase their loy-



Fig. 24 Badge with Charles II and two angels supporting a crown, undated

alty to the king (fig. 24).²³⁸ Medals coined in 1660 had given further currency to the idea that the king was being reinstated by God’s intervention.²³⁹

On the Restoration Arch, the two angels appeared to crown a statue of King Charles II in royal regalia, set against a painted backdrop with “the Royal Oak bearing Crowns, and Scepters, instead of Acorns” (fig. 25).²⁴⁰ The tree referred to the oak in Boscobel Wood that had sheltered Charles when he escaped his enemies after the Battle of Worcester in 1651. Upon his return to Britain, Charles told the story of his escape with great relish.²⁴¹ Numerous accounts of his almost miraculous salvation were published in 1660, providing the basis for later pictorial representations of this highly popular episode.²⁴² Moreover, the royal oak, a symbol of “Britishness, antiquity, traditional hierarchy, and nature, all united on behalf of the royalist cause,”²⁴³ appeared on a coronation medal (fig. 26) as well as on a small medalet “struck probably for sale in the streets at the time of the coronation.”²⁴⁴

On both the medal and the medalet the oak bears three crowns, signifying the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Ogilby probably knew the iconography of these commemorative works well before the coronation entry, as he chose to include an oak studded with crowns and sceptres in his design (fig. 25).²⁴⁵ The Virgilian inscription “*Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma*” (Leaves unknown / Admiring, and strange Apples not her Own) drew attention to the unnatural “fruits” that

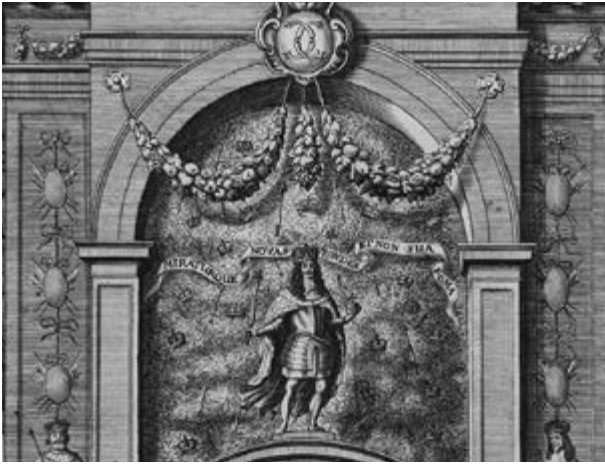


Fig. 25 Detail of the Restoration Arch: Charles II with the royal regalia in front of the Royal Oak

embodied the special role of the Boscobel oak, construed not as a normal tree but as an instrument of divine providence.²⁴⁶ This aspect had already been underlined in earlier accounts of the episode and was thus a fitting addition to the providential iconography of the Restoration Arch.²⁴⁷ The motto “Redeunt Saturnia regna” further associated the golden fruits of the Royal Oak with the return of the Golden Age.²⁴⁸

In order to bring about a new age of peace and prosperity, Charles had to overcome his enemies. According to the top-to-bottom logic of the arches, a painting of Charles’s victory appeared just below his triumphant statue (fig. 2). Ogilby labelled the scene “the King pursuing Usurpation” (fig. 27) and described it as follows: “The Painting over the Middle Arch represents the King, mounted in calm Motion, Usurpation flying before him, a Figure with many ill-favoured Heads, some bigger, some lesser, and one particularly shooting out of his Shoulder, like Cromwell’s; Another Head upon his Rump, or Tayl; Two Harpies with a Crown chased by an Angel; Hell’s Jaws opening.”²⁴⁹ The related Latin motto referred to the passage or even “revolution” of time that was needed to achieve the desired end.²⁵⁰

In this painting, created by William Lightfoot and/or Andrew Dacres, the Cromwellian personification of usurpation disappeared into flames leaping up from the jaws of a monster, signifying hell (fig. 27).²⁵¹ The largest part

of the composition was given over to the king on horseback, moving from right to left. As the direction of European script, from left to right, is usually interpreted as moving “forward,” the painters’ choice of the opposite direction of movement implied going “backward,” i. e. the king seemed to drive the evil back to where it came from. The painting thus subtly characterized Usurpation as a hellish force.

The biblical overtones of the allegory were strengthened by likening Charles II to a modern St George, clad in armour on horseback, facing a fiery dragon. St George was the patron saint of the Order of the Garter, which Charles had restored shortly before the coronation.²⁵² Through reinstating this ancient chivalric order and creating twenty-four new knights, Charles manifested his re-establishment of traditional order in society. Several publications of 1661 celebrated the Order of the Garter and its patron saint.²⁵³ The coronation was explicitly timed to coincide with St George’s Day and was appropriately celebrated as *Festa Georgiana*.²⁵⁴

By characterizing Charles II as a modern St George, Ogilby drew on a well-established strand of popular iconography.²⁵⁵ However, General Monck had been likened to St George, too – and perhaps with greater legitimacy.²⁵⁶ It was Monck who had descended with his army from Scotland to London and peacefully taken the capital, thereby laying the foundations for Charles’s return. David Lloyd’s account of the Restoration, written in 1660, stressed the cooperation among many civil and military protagonists²⁵⁷ – but the painting on the Restoration Arch did not show the king with any helpers. He alone vanquishes Usurpation. He does not even need to employ a



Fig. 26 Coronation medal, 1661, published in *Medallion History* 1790



Fig. 27 Detail of the Restoration Arch: Charles II pursuing Usurpation

weapon – a mere command with his baton is sufficient to make Usurpation jump into the jaws of Hell (fig. 27).

In the same vein, the main inscription of the Restoration Arch, placed below this painting, celebrated the king alone as “P.P.” (Pater Patriae), “Extinctor Tyrannidis,” “Fundator Quietis,” and “Restitutor Libertatis.”²⁵⁸ According to the inscription, the grateful people of London dedicated the triumphal arch to the “Father of the Fatherland” for having overcome tyranny, re-established peace, and reinstated liberty. The abolishment of the Commonwealth government was thus not presented as a collaborative effort but rather as the king’s personal merit.

Significantly, Ogilby’s coronation booklet of 1661 only translated selected Latin inscriptions. For instance, the epithet “Restitutor Libertatis” remained unexplained. By addressing Charles II as “Restorer of Liberty,” the restoration of monarchy was curiously equated with a renewal of “liberty.” However, this potentially controversial statement could only be understood by the educated classes since no translation was provided for the broader public.



Fig. 28 Detail of the Restoration Arch: Charles II greeting his loyal subjects upon his arrival at Dover

While the imagery on the upper levels of the Restoration Arch referred exclusively to the king, his relationship with his subjects was addressed on its lower, down-to-earth register, where a painting surmounted either of the lateral openings of the arch (fig. 2). The one on the left depicted the joyous greetings received by Charles upon his return (fig. 28), and the one on the right showed “a Trophy with decollated Heads” (fig. 29).²⁵⁹ Ogilby explained that the latter represented “the late Example of Gods Justice upon the Rebels, who committed [sic] that most horrid Murther upon his Majesties Royal Father of blessed Memory.”²⁶⁰ He need not say more, as the horrid punishment of the “rebels” was still fresh in everybody’s memory.

Although Charles II had issued an Act of Oblivion, pardoning “all misdemeanors on all sides since 1637,”²⁶¹ he insisted that some persons needed to be excluded from this general amnesty. Those who had been closely involved in the trial and execution of Charles I were prosecuted and severely punished. Charles II even saw to the chastisement of the dead: The bodies of Cromwell, Ire-



Fig. 29 Detail of the Restoration Arch: the decapitated heads of Charles's enemies

ton, and Bradshaw were exhumed, sentenced, and hanged and their severed heads exhibited on Westminster Palace.²⁶² To balance these posthumous punishments, Charles also accorded posthumous honours to royalists who had suffered at the hands of their enemies. For instance, he granted a state funeral to James Graham, Marquess of Montrose, entailing that his body be reassembled, as he had been quartered in 1650.²⁶³ In this way, the king demonstrated his “justice” by re-establishing the pre-Commonwealth hierarchies and enforcing a traditional social “order.” He took pains, however, to involve the Parliament in such decisions so as to make them seem like the result of common consensus.²⁶⁴

The frontispiece to Giles Duncombe's *Scutum regale* (The Royal Buckler), published in 1660, illustrates this point (fig. 30). The frontispiece consists of four hierarchically arranged tiers. The topmost tier shows King Charles II in the House of Lords; the one below that, the House of Commons presided by its speaker; and the third, the Anglican bishops assembled around the Book of Common Prayer.²⁶⁵ In the bottommost tier, traitors are “rewarded” and “sectaries reiected.” These acts of punishment obviously emanate from the assemblies shown above. The unison of the secular and spiritual governing bodies is suggested by the similarity of the three compo-

sitions, while the strong vertical axis emphasizes the king's control over all four spheres. The print bears an inscription drawn from Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*: “Iam redit Astraea, Redeunt Saturnia regna, / Iam nova progenies, caelo Demittitur alto” (Justice returns, returns old Saturn's reign, / With a new breed of men sent down from heaven).²⁶⁶ This passage, part of which was repeated on the Restoration Arch,²⁶⁷ is extremely significant in that it combines three powerful motifs: It announces the return of the Golden Age (“Saturnia regna”), glorifies “a new breed of men sent down from heaven” (which could be interpreted as a celebration of Christianity or of divinely ordained Stuart rule), and associates this new age with Astraea (goddess of justice).²⁶⁸

Justice was a prominent Restoration topic. It figured on a royal medal of 1660, paired with the inscription “Felicitas Britanniae” suggesting that the return of justice procured Britain's happiness.²⁶⁹ The design of the Resto-



Fig. 30 Richard Gaywood or Wenceslaus Hollar (attributed to). Frontispiece to Giles Duncombe, *Scutum Regale*, 1660

ration Arch went a step further and replaced the conventional personification of justice with the king himself as judge: The orb and sceptre in his hands proclaimed his power of judgement (fig. 25). Seen from this perspective, the pendant paintings on the lower level of the arch demonstrated how he related to good and bad citizens respectively, rewarding them with his grace or meting out punishment (figs. 28, 41).

Some well-travelled viewers may have realized that the design of the Restoration Arch resembled contemporary continental church façades (fig. 31).²⁷⁰ Indeed, the whole concept of this structure had sacred overtones, communicated through the presence of both heaven (angels) and hell (in *The King Pursuing Usurpation*). Only months after the Restoration, David Lloyd had paralleled Charles II, as “the God on Earth,” with “the God in Heaven,” and one of the poems published on the occasion of the coronation wished Charles “That both belov’d and fear’d, he like a god / On Earth, may live lov’d here, and fear’d abroad.”²⁷¹ In accordance with the image of a God-like king, Charles’s mise-en-scène on the Restoration Arch resembled that of Christ the Judge in representations of the Last Judgement. Just as in images of the latter subject, in which the blessed stand to the right and the damned to the left of the Saviour, so too in the Restoration Arch the good citizens appear to the right and the villains to the left of the sovereign.²⁷²

As mentioned above, Webb’s design for the central portion of the Restoration Arch was inspired by his frontispiece for the *Biblia polyglotta* (fig. 11). In the latter, he crowned his fictive architecture with seated figures of St Peter and St Paul (recognizable by their attributes, keys and sword). On the Restoration Arch, in place of these prominent saints were standing figures of James I and Charles I, labelled as “Divo Jacobo” and “Divo Carolo” (fig. 2). Ogilby’s description reported the inscriptions but did not translate them²⁷³ – perhaps cautious of the rage of citizens who might have objected to the deification of kings. The predecessors of Charles II appeared as saintly intercessors, holding the positions reserved for Mary and St John in representations of the Last Judgement.

Since Charles I had long been regarded as a martyr in his sufferings,²⁷⁴ it was logical to accord saintly status to



Fig. 31 Giovanni Antonio De Rossi. Santa Maria in Publicolis, Rome, 1604–1642

him, especially as in 1661 an Act of Parliament had instituted a special “Form of Common Prayer” commemorating the anniversary of his beheading (30 January).²⁷⁵ However, James I could not present a similar claim to holiness. In his case, the title “divo” alluded to the deified emperors of antiquity and the ancient ceremony of apotheosis.²⁷⁶ The reference to James I as a deified king emphasized the growing gulf between the common people and their rulers, which had become manifest during the reigns of James I and Charles I.²⁷⁷ Ogilby may therefore have been wise to omit both a translation of “divo” and a commentary on this aspect of his programme.

The vernacular play staged in front of the Restoration Arch informed the audience of what was expected of them – above all, unwavering support of their sovereign.

An actress disguised as “Rebellion, mounted on a Hydra [...], a Crown of Fire on her Head, a bloody Sword in one Hand,” accompanied by a personification of confusion, presented herself to the king with the words: “I am Hell’s Daughter, Satan’s Eldest Childe, / When I first cry’d, the Pow’rs of Darkness smil’d [...]” She stated her aims in no uncertain terms: “I hope, at last, to march with Flags unfurl’d, / And tread down Monarchy through all the World.” However, she was driven away by “Britain’s Monarchy” and its attendant, a personification of loyalty, who promised Charles: “Henceforth Your People onely shall contend / In Loyalty each other to transcend [...]”²⁷⁸

The play translated the complex message of the arch into plain English. It constituted the lowest level of the hierarchically structured imagery – a level on which conflict appeared in its most dramatic, most realistic form. The actors of the play submitted to the same order that structured the whole design. While the inferior left side was allocated to the villains (Rebellion and Confusion), loyal citizens were rewarded with a place at the monarch’s right.²⁷⁹ According to the top-to-bottom logic of the ephemeral architectures, the imagery on the higher levels of the arch became increasingly abstract, moving from contemporary history painting to allegorical statements visualizing the covert workings of Divine Providence that had brought about the defeat of Rebellion and Usurpation.²⁸⁰

As an essay on conflict resolution, the Restoration Arch employed several interrelated strategies. It visualized the social order, headed by God and the king, to which the nation was expected to submit. Charles II was presented as God’s deputy on earth, exercising his powers of judgement, deciding about reward and retribution for his good and evil subjects. The likening of the king to Christ suggested the infallibility of the former’s judgement. On the arch, he alone appeared as the saviour of the country, favoured by divine providence. This argument left no space for doubt: The restoration of Stuart monarchy was divinely sanctioned and the only possible way to overcome rebellion and to secure a prosperous future.

Ogilby’s programme for the Restoration Arch was highly authoritarian. He posited a clear opposition be-

tween good (monarchy) and bad (Commonwealth), without allowing for more nuanced views. His version of history portrayed God and the king as the sole agents of change, neglecting the contributions of soldiers, politicians, and merchants. Ogilby’s approach to conflict resolution did not comprise a discussion and synthesis of several distinct opinions. Instead, he urged his fellow citizens to submit to the authority of the king and to trust in his superior knowledge.

The play that formed an integral part of the arch’s programme offered an excuse on behalf of those who had held different views in the past. The personification of rebellion possessed “a charming Rod” (wand) and stated that she had bewitched the nation: “I Sorc’ry use, and hag Men in their Beds, / With Common-wealths, and Rotas fill their Heads [...]”²⁸¹ Thus, just as Ogilby negated the citizens’ political agency, he also negated their responsibility for their past actions.

The following three triumphal arches expanded and modified the messages of the Restoration Arch. As I have already discussed them in detail, I will now focus only on the ways in which they approached conflict resolution.

The Naval Arch, the second in the entry’s proceedings, referred to an ongoing international conflict about dominion of the seas and stressed Charles’s “arbitrio,” i. e. his power of judgement enabling him to control the situation.²⁸² As a proven strategy of conflict resolution, aggression was channelled towards common enemies, the French and the Dutch, thus shifting attention away from internal conflicts.

The Naval Arch’s presentation of war as a prelude to peace and economic growth announced the themes of the next two arches. The main inscription on the third arch made clear that the ephemeral architectures were meant to be read as a narrative sequence. Referring to the subject matter of the first two arches, the Latin text stated that by Charles’s return Britain had been pacified on land and sea and that therefore the British people wished to honour him with the erection of the Temple of Concord.²⁸³ The third ephemeral structure, based on Rubens’s Temple of Janus, was thus presented as a logical consequence of the events eulogized in the preceding arches.

In classical history, the closing of the Temple of Janus signified the end of war. Both for the entry of James I in 1604 and that of the cardinal-infante Ferdinand in 1635, temples dedicated to Janus had been constructed.²⁸⁴ In 1604, the *Templum Iani* formed the triumphal conclusion to the processional route (fig. 8).²⁸⁵ However, the arrangement had a logical flaw, as the arch needed to be open for the procession to pass through, but only the closed Temple of Janus denoted peace. This consideration seems to have prompted Rubens in 1635 to construct his *Templum Iani* as a stage prop to be passed by (fig. 9). He was thus able to stage a dramatic conflict in front of the temple, visualizing the difficulties in closing the doors (i. e. in reaching peace).

Ogilby explicitly referred to the Temple of Janus in his programme²⁸⁶ but decided not to represent it (probably because of the logistical complications this would have presented via its barred doors). By instead envisaging a temple of Concord, he encouraged Webb to design an open, welcoming edifice (fig. 4). In his treatise of 1662, he explained that it had been an ancient custom to erect a temple to Concord after the end of a civil war. The temple was therefore in itself a means of conflict resolution:

There arose a dangerous Feud, which continued for some Years, between the Senate, and People of Rome: whereupon Furius Camillus, turning himself to the Capitol, desired of the Gods, that he might speak, and act that, which might tend to the benefit of the Commonwealth, and reconciliation of the two dissenting Parties; and to that end vowed a Temple to Concord. [...] The like Vow was made by L. Manlius, upon a Mutiny of the Army under his Command [...]. So in the Sedition of Gracchus, who encamped on the Aventine, and refused the Conditions offered him by L. Opimius Consul, the Consul immediately vowed a Temple to Concord; and after his Victory over those seditious Conspirators, dedicated it in Foro.²⁸⁷

Webb's Temple of Concord was placed in the vicinity of the destroyed Cheap Cross and thus at a site that reso-



Fig. 32 Detail of the Arch of Concord: the personification of concord

nated with Commonwealth conflicts.²⁸⁸ Accordingly, on top of the temple stood a personification of concord treading on a serpent, which in Ogilby's words symbolized "Enmity, and War" as well as "Hostility, and Dissension" (fig. 32).²⁸⁹ With its religious overtones, this configuration, particularly reminiscent of the iconography of the Immaculate Conception, visualized the act of conflict resolution – though in a highly abstract fashion. As in the Restoration Arch, the numerous human protagonists who had mediated between opposing parties were passed over in silence; instead, conflict resolution was ascribed to a superhuman, heavenly power (Concord), characterizing the end of civil strife as an act of Divine Providence. The compromises that had been reached thus seemed less debatable.

In its cylindrical interior, the temple hosted a further highly significant play devised by John Ogilby.²⁹⁰ Personifications of concord, love, and truth addressed the king as "the King of Peace," magnifying his authority by yet another biblical allusion.²⁹¹ They expressed their confidence that "Peace, and Concord, never poor, / Will make with Wealth this City shine, / Ships freight with Spice, and Golden Ore, / Your fields with Honey, Milk, and Wine [...]"²⁹² This song combined and prefigured leitmotifs from the second and fourth arches, promising economic prosperity as a result of the king's return. It referenced the Royal Oak on the Restoration Arch through a "Corona

Civica” made of oak leaves, which the king received from “a Man in a Purple Gown, like a Citizen of London.”²⁹³ As Ogilby explained in 1662, Caesar and Augustus had been honoured with just such a crown “as dedicated to the Saviour of his Countrey.”²⁹⁴ Consequently, Charles was eulogized once again as “Pater Patriae” (Father of the Fatherland).²⁹⁵ This honorary title from classical antiquity carried additional religious significance since it cast the young king as the “Father” of his people (as in the Lord’s Prayer), implying the sanctity of his rule.²⁹⁶

As discussed above, the last ephemeral structure (fig. 5) projected Ogilby’s vision of a happy future.²⁹⁷ The play staged in front of the arch conflated classical and biblical imagery in order to present the king as champion of heaven and harbinger of a new Golden Age.²⁹⁸ The central Latin inscription underlined the logical nexus between this building and the preceding ones: The civil war having ended, the citizens of London now erect an altar to Plenty.²⁹⁹ Prosperity appeared therefore as the ultimate goal of conflict resolution. By focusing on this concluding image, which he expected would gain widespread consensus, Ogilby applied a well-tried strategy of negotiating dissent: “talk about what you want to have happen in the future.”³⁰⁰

Reception

Even before the coronation entry on 22 April 1661, the triumphal arches aroused much interest, as is apparent from the diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn. Both went into town expressly to catch a glimpse of them before their official unveiling. Evelyn thought them “of good Invention & architecture.”³⁰¹ Pepys found the arches “very fine” and expressed particular interest in “the picture of the ships and other things [...], set up before the East Indy-house.”³⁰² Moreover, he complained that “all the way is so thronged with people to see the Triumphall Arches that I could hardly pass for them.”³⁰³ The ephemeral architectures were reportedly drawn by a spying French artist and, in addition, were described in an anonymous pamphlet peppered with mistakes, which its author hoped to market on the day of the procession.³⁰⁴

John Ogilby, too, had his booklet ready for sale by 22 April. As his text was the only officially licensed one, it formed the basis for an article in the *Kingdomes Intelligencer*.³⁰⁵ *Mercurius Publicus* did not publish a reportage on the event, probably as the *Kingdomes Intelligencer* had already done so.³⁰⁶ For their eyewitness accounts, Pepys and Evelyn seem to have relied on Ogilby’s text as well as on a list giving the order of the cavalcade.³⁰⁷ Neither Pepys nor Evelyn discussed the imagery on the arches. The latter was especially impressed by the “magnificent Traine on horseback, as rich as Embroidery, velvet, Cloth of Gold & Sil: & Jewells could make them & their pransing horses.”³⁰⁸ Samuel Pepys likewise commented first of all on “the glory of this day – expressed in the clothes of them that rid – and their horses and horse-cloths. Imbrodery and diamonds were ordinary among them.”³⁰⁹ He concluded: “So glorious was the show with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it – our eyes at last being so much overcome with it.”³¹⁰

According to Malcolm Smuts, it was precisely this richness that constituted the main message of a royal entry, in that it “asserted the monarch’s position as the greatest lord in the realm, through an idiom rooted in the neo-feudal conventions of great medieval households.”³¹¹ However, some eyewitnesses to the 1661 event abhorred such lavishness. The reverend Ralph Josselin mocked the “stately vanity” of the show,³¹² William Petty spoke of “these mistaken and distasted vanities,”³¹³ and Roger Coke supposed that “the Poor Orphans Money in the Chamber of London must pay the greatest Part.”³¹⁴ James Ralph criticized the superficiality of the event: “tho’ outside Shew serves to dazzle those who regard Outside only, it will not convince those who carry their enquiries to the Heart.”³¹⁵

Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England, reported to the doge and senate that the coronation was “certainly the most conspicuous solemnity that has ever been seen in this realm.” He mentioned in passing the “delightful” decoration of the city but concentrated on the attitude of the citizens “who have left nothing undone to show their zeal and love for their sovereign.” Giavarina described a festive climate in which “all men [were] vieing with each other to express their satisfac-

Fig. 33 William Marshall.
Frontispiece to *Eikon*
Basilike, 1649



tion with the solemnity, which passed without the slightest disorder and amid universal admiration, both of the natives and of foreigners, who were present in great numbers.”³¹⁶ Samuel Pepys, too, recorded happy feasting and “joy everywhere.”³¹⁷ It seems, then, that John Ogilby had been right to stress the loyalty of London’s citizens: His programme for the festivities expressed and amplified a positive feeling that must have been widespread.³¹⁸

An echo of the iconography of the arches can be found in the pages of James Heath’s *The Glories and Magnificent Triumphs of The Blessed Restitution of His Sacred Majesty King Charles II* (London 1662). In his description of the coronation entry, Heath dwells with particular emphasis on the Restoration Arch.³¹⁹ The way in which he discusses Charles’s punishment of the “horrid Regicides” seems to be inspired directly by the religious overtones of this arch. He identifies “the radiancy of his Justice” as the “cheife Gem” in Charles’s crown³²⁰ and

even goes so far as to compare the state funeral of the marquess of Montrose to the resurrection of the dead at the Last Judgement and Charles II to Christ the Judge³²¹ – a clear reference to the Restoration Arch.

The imagery displayed on the triumphal arches continued to be popular for a long time. A case in point is the print “Augustus Anglicus,” which updates the famous frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike* with motifs taken from the coronation entry (figs. 33, 34). *Eikon Basilike*, a text made up of prayers and royal self-justifications supposedly written by Charles I during his captivity, appeared in numerous editions after the king’s execution. It opened with an engraving that presented the king in contemplation of his future martyrdom and heavenly glory (fig. 33).³²² Shortly after the Restoration, a biography of Charles II likewise bore the title *Eikon Basilike*,³²³ stressing the bond between father and son as well as their shared imitation of the Lord as implied by the title.³²⁴ The print “Augustus Anglicus,” created by Frederik



Fig. 34 Frederik Hendrik van Hove. “Augustus Anglicus,” 1686

Hendrik van Hove, elaborated upon this parallel (fig. 34).³²⁵ Hove reused the general composition of the earlier engraving (fig. 33) but introduced elements borrowed from Ogilby’s programme, such as the comparison of Charles II to the emperor Augustus, the angel crowning the king, the oak tree with three crowns and, within the tree’s branches, an image of the king. Last but not least, the epithet “Europae Arbitrator,” inscribed on a scroll in the lower left corner of the image, had a counterpart on the Naval Arch where Ogilby emphasized Charles’s claim to global dominion by presenting him as “arbiter” (judge).³²⁶

The king himself seems to have been pleased with Ogilby’s and Webb’s endeavours, as he planned to reuse

the triumphal arches for the entry of his bride Catherine of Braganza in August 1662.³²⁷ However, a thunderstorm in February 1662 damaged some of the ephemeral architectures, which meant that they were subsequently dismantled and their materials sold off.³²⁸ While this was under way, John Ogilby completed his folio edition of *The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II, in His Passage Through the City of London to His Coronation*, published in the summer or autumn of 1662.³²⁹

Although Ogilby had authored the programme of the triumphal arches, his book of 1662 has to be classified as an act of reception. By adding and omitting certain elements, Ogilby produced a new version of the event, conditioning the way in which his audience perceived the coronation ceremonies. As Murár remarked with reference to Hollar’s prints of the cavalcade produced for this volume, the book became a reality of its own. It was meant to constitute the king’s “semiotic body.”³³⁰

While Ogilby’s booklet of 1661 had been dedicated to the lord mayor and the chief representatives of the City of London, the 1662 edition appeared with a dedication to Charles II.³³¹ The large format and high quality of the lavishly illustrated book reflected the king’s prestige. The royal focus explains why certain episodes were omitted from the account. The 1662 edition does not contain the speeches with which Sir William Wilde, Recorder of London, and a pupil from Christ’s Hospital addressed the king, nor does it describe the pageant commissioned by the East India Company.³³² It seems that these acts of civic homage were too local in character to be included. Ogilby did not endeavour to give a complete overview of the festivities but concentrated on his own contribution, which aimed to provide a general picture of British monarchy. The 1662 publication was clearly designed to impress not only British readers but, above all, foreign courts. Its layout imitated the folio edition of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, rivalling a particularly opulent product of continental court culture.³³³

Previously, continental audiences had been informed by translations of Ogilby’s 1661 booklet.³³⁴ The Italian translation, dedicated to the Venetian envoy Pietro Mocenigo, is particularly intriguing in that it added new elements: a rather pompous title (*Il Trionfo d’Inghilterra*,

i. e. The Triumph of England) and a lengthy description of the cavalcade preceding the translation of Ogilby's account of the arches.³³⁵ This reflected the preferences of his audience. As noted above, the spectacular material display of the cavalcade commanded much more attention than the triumphal arches. Moreover, for a foreign audience a description of the cavalcade provided an invaluable source of information about the composition and hierarchical order of the English court.

Similarly, Ogilby's publication of 1662 aimed to offer a more comprehensive picture of the festivities. It included Elias Ashmole's detailed account of the coronation ceremonies in Westminster Abbey, revised by Edward Walker, Garter Principal King of Arms.³³⁶ Numerous illustrations by Wenceslaus Hollar, both of the cavalcade and the proceedings in the abbey, completed the beautiful volume.³³⁷

The triumphal arches still formed the core of the 1662 publication, now visualized through David Loggan's high-quality engravings (figs. 2, 3, 4, 5).³³⁸ Ogilby revised his 1661 description by interspersing it with lengthy digressions explaining how the represented classical gods and personifications had been described and depicted in antiquity. This served to blow up the volume to an impressive size of 192 pages.³³⁹ By adding long quotations from classical literature, Ogilby underlined his standing as a scholar and translator of Latin texts. Numerous references to the imagery of ancient coins and medals strengthened the parallel between Charles II and Augustus that had already been a prominent feature of the 1661 entry.³⁴⁰ However, Ogilby's

"windy dissertation" did not add more information on the meaning of the arches.³⁴¹ He provided a mine of iconographic lore but left it to his readers to excavate the message.

Strikingly, a new edition of Ogilby's 1662 treatise was issued in 1685, the precise year in which Charles's successor James II was crowned.³⁴² In the same year, Dryden included Ogilby's triumphal arches in the setting of his opera *Albion and Albanus*.³⁴³ Thus the memory of Charles's coronation entry was revived at a moment when the popularity of Britain's monarchy had reached a particularly low point. During the Exclusion Crisis, James's succession had been fiercely opposed on the grounds of his Catholicism.³⁴⁴ Due to Charles's support, James finally became king, but from London's citizens he could not count on the same loyalty with which they had greeted Charles II. Probably for this reason it was decided not to stage a coronation entry through the city in 1685,³⁴⁵ and indeed the 1661 royal entry with triumphal arches remained the last spectacle of its kind in British history.³⁴⁶

In the following chapter the triumphal arches will be a recurring presence, as Ogilby formulated a number of key concepts that kept reappearing in British political painting of the Restoration period. As outlined above, Ogilby drew on established Restoration imagery that had already been circulated in texts and prints as well as on medals. However, by assembling this imagery in one large visual compendium, Ogilby's publication of 1662 became a particularly important point of reference for later pictorial programmes.

NOTES

- 1 Pepys (ed. 1970–1983), 2:88.
- 2 Sharpe 2013, 158.
- 3 Halfpenny 1959, 20.
- 4 The accounts were published by Halfpenny 1959, 28–34.
- 5 Ogilby 1661, text of the royal privilege opposite the title page and pp. 17–18 (list of the members of the committee); Halfpenny 1959, 31 (payment to Ogilby).
- 6 Ogilby 1661, dedication (no pagination).
- 7 Van Eerde 1976, 15–69.
- 8 Van Eerde 1976, 18–20.
- 9 Van Eerde 1976, 20, 41, 43–44, 48.
- 10 Van Eerde 1976, 62.
- 11 Van Eerde 1976, 63.
- 12 Ogilby 1661, text of the royal privilege opposite the title page.
- 13 The Cities Loyalty 1661.
- 14 Ogilby 1661, 33; Halfpenny 1959, 21; Van Eerde 1976, 59.
- 15 Van Eerde 1976, 52–53. The edition I have used is the one that contains a dedication to the lord mayor and a list of the members of the steering committee. A copy of this edition is kept at the British Library and can be accessed online in a digitized version (http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=V119190).
- 16 Halfpenny 1959, 21.
- 17 Ogilby 1661, text of the royal privilege opposite the title page.
- 18 Ogilby 1662, dedication (no pagination).
- 19 See below, e. g. notes 237–239, 244, 266.
- 20 Ogilby 1661, 6; Hawkins et al. 1885/1969, 475–476, no. 83.
- 21 Reedy 1972; Van Eerde 1976, 53–58; Knowles 1988; Jenkinson 2010, 47–74; Sharpe 2013, 153–160; Stevenson 2013, 95–117.
- 22 See the section of chapter 1 titled “Spaces of Translation, Performativity, Reception.”
- 23 On the Hollar map see Turner and Bartrum 2009–2012, 7:8–9, cat. 1916. In identifying the placement of the conduits not represented by Hollar, I have relied on the diagram provided by Manley 1995, 226–227.
- 24 See Stevenson 2013, 103, fig. 50.
- 25 Ogilby 1661, 2, 11, 21, 29.
- 26 Cf. the diagram in Manley 1995, 226–227. See also Harrison 1604 and Smuts 1989.
- 27 Walker (ed. 1820).
- 28 Turner and Bartrum 2009–2012, 6:193–202, cat. 1789–1795; cf. Murár 2014.
- 29 Ogilby 1661, 38.
- 30 Howell 1712, 274: “In the beginning of January following [1661], whilst his Majesty was accompanying his Royal mother and Sister Henrietta Maria, part of their Journey to France, an inconsiderable number of the Fifth Monarchists raised a great Disturbance in London, killing some of the City-Watch, and two Nights with great desperateness opposing the Trained-Bands and other Force.”
- 31 Pepys (ed. 1970–1983), 2:82. In this way, Charles’s entry differed from Van Dyck’s equestrian portrait of his father Charles I, who presented himself on horseback and in armour under a triumphal arch. Cf. Shawe-Taylor 2018, 143.
- 32 Smith 2001, 103.
- 33 Stow, *Survey of the Cities*, quoted from Smith 2001, 104.
- 34 Ogilby 1661, 2.
- 35 Ogilby 1661, 2, 21.
- 36 Ogilby 1661, 6.
- 37 On the Solomonic order see Naredi-Rainer 1994 and Tuzi 2002.
- 38 Ogilby 1661, 4, 6. The iconography of the Royal Oak will be discussed in greater detail below.
- 39 Ogilby 1661, 13.
- 40 Ogilby 1661, 11.
- 41 Ogilby 1661, 22.
- 42 Ogilby 1661, 21.
- 43 Ogilby 1662, 114–115, interpreted Geryon as a monster to be overcome.
- 44 Ogilby 1661, 29. The three figures standing atop the pedestals on the attic are not identified by Ogilby. He writes that there were “On the Corners, four living Figures; above, the four Seasons of the Year” and four figures “representing the four Winds” in niches (ibid., 30). None of this appears in Loggan’s engraving (fig. 5). The preparatory drawing for the arch (pl. 4) does not envisage figures on the upper storey. In his edition of 1662, Ogilby did nothing to clarify the matter. He discussed personifications of three winds (Boreas, Auster, and Zephyrus), but as he described them as male and winged, they cannot be identical with the three figures represented by Loggan (Ogilby 1662, 159–164). Most probably, the three females personified spring, summer, and autumn, as these were mentioned in the song performed in front of the Arch of Plenty: “See! the three smiling Seasons of the Year / Agree at once to bid You Welcome here.” The flags that the women hold seem to depict typical occupations of these seasons.
- 45 According to Stevenson’s calculations, the arches were between 80 and 100 feet (24–30 metres) high. Stevenson 2013, 98.
- 46 Ogilby 1661, 13.
- 47 Ogilby 1661, 22.
- 48 Ogilby 1661, 31.
- 49 Cf. Knowles 1988, 32.
- 50 Ogilby 1661, 11, 12.
- 51 Cf. Jenkinson 2010, 64–65; Stevenson 2013, 106.

- 52 Stevenson 2006, 50–51; Stevenson 2013, 34, 37, 43, 46–48, 103.
- 53 Ogilby 1661, 21.
- 54 In the “Declaration of Breda” issued shortly before his return, Charles spoke of the “desire and longing, that those wounds which have so many yeers [sic] together been kept bleeding, may be bound up” (Myers 2013, 174). In December 1660, Charles II gave a speech “wherein he used these memorable Expressions: That this Parliament should be called to all Posterity, *The Healing and Blessed Parliament*” (Howell 1712, 274). Lloyd 1660, 42, mentions a Restoration sermon on the words “They heal the wounds of the daughter of my people slightly.” See also Ogilby 1661, 25: The king “Brings healing Balm, and Anodines, / To close our Wounds, and Pain aßwage.” In panegyric writings, Charles appeared as “*medicus regni*” and “*salus populi*,” i. e. as healer and benefactor of his people: Knowles 1988, 39.
- 55 Ogilby 1661, 38; Walker (ed. 1820), 77; Halfpenny 1959, 20. The custom of presenting the sovereign with a “Costly purse of gold, and in it a thousande marks” began in the early sixteenth century with Anne Boleyn: Manley 1995, 247.
- 56 Ogilby 1661, 7–9, 14–19, 25–27, 31–32. These shows will be discussed in greater detail below.
- 57 Ogilby 1661, 9–10. On the East India House see *New View of London* 1708a, 602–604, where its address is given as “Leaden Hall Street.” Its precise location is not known to me, but from Ogilby’s description it appears that it must have been located between Lyme Street and Leaden Hall.
- 58 Ogilby 1661, 10, 20, 28
- 59 Ogilby 1661, 38; Hewlett 1661.
- 60 *The Cities Loyalty* 1661, 3; Smith 2001, 101–102; Stevenson 2013, 103.
- 61 Ogilby 1661, 28, 32.
- 62 Ogilby 1661, 32: “His Majesty, having passed the four Triumphant Arches is, at Temple Bar, entertained with the View of a delightful Boscage, full of several Beasts, both Tame, and Savage, as also several living Figures, and Musick of eight Waits. But this being the Limit of the Citie’s Liberty, must be so likewise of our Description.” The jurisdiction of the city of London ended at Temple Bar (Stevenson 2013, 43). Edward Walker’s account provides additional information on the king’s reception by the “Head Bayliffe of Westminster, & high Conestable of that Liberty”: Walker (ed. 1820), 77–78.
- 63 Withington 1963, 1:198–203.
- 64 Withington 1963, 1:222–226; Stevenson 2006, 39–46.
- 65 Stevenson 2006, 48. It seems almost like compensation that Charles I commissioned a portrait from Van Dyck that presented him in armour on horseback under a triumphal arch; see the illustration in Shawe-Taylor 2018, 143.
- 66 Entertainment 1633; Withington 1963, 1:236–237.
- 67 *Englands Comfort* 1641; Withington 1963, 1:238–239; Stevenson 2013, 38.
- 68 Harrison 1604; Griffiths and Gerard 1998, 44–45.
- 69 On Dekker’s and Jonson’s texts see Dutton 1995, 19–115.
- 70 Ogilby 1661, 32.
- 71 A list of Mills’s works can be found in Colvin 2008, 695–697.
- 72 Fraser and Harris 1960, 48–49; Croft-Murray, Hulton, and White 1960, 1:330; Lever 1973, 18–19; Knowles 1988, 12; Wood 2004, 950; Stevenson 2006, 72–74; Colvin 2008, 416. Stevenson 2013 is undecided between an attribution to Gerbier and Pearce (see below).
- 73 *Vertue* (ed. 1932), 49.
- 74 Gerbier (ed. 2008), 41–42. See also Wilsford and Gerbier (ed. 1969), 41–42.
- 75 Betcherman 1961, 331; Betcherman 1970; Wood 2004, 948–949.
- 76 On Jones’s court masques at the Banqueting House see Orgel and Strong 1973; on the rivalry between Gerbier and Jones: Colvin 2008, 415.
- 77 Gerbier (ed. 2008), 43: “Nor is it the quantity of Timber or Stone, that speaks love in an Arch; but rather when it is composed of the hearts of Loyal Subjects, which surpasseth all that can be made.” This indicates that for Gerbier the “excellency” of the triumphal arches consisted in their message of loyalty to the king.
- 78 Wood 2004, 949–950.
- 79 On the “masque in architecture” see Sharpe 2013, 158. Balthazar Gerbier’s participation in the development of the programme may also account for the fact that his son George produced an Italian translation of Ogilby’s festival book: *Trionfo d’Inghilterra* 1661.
- 80 Howarth 2001; Keblusek 2003; Akkerman 2011; Peacey 2012.
- 81 Wilsford and Gerbier (ed. 1969); Van Eck and Anderson 2003, 71–73, 77–79, 192–195; Gerbier (ed. 2008).
- 82 Colvin 2008, 414–416.
- 83 Summerson 1993, 136–137; Colvin 2008, 415. See also <https://www.architecture.com/image-library/ribapix/image-information/poster/measured-drawings-of-york-water-gate-victoria-embankment-london-elevations/posterid/RIBA22922.html> (last accessed 16 October 2019).
- 84 Fraser and Harris 1960, 108; Stevenson 2013, 106. On Rubens’s design see Martin 1972, 162–169 and fig. 82.
- 85 Gevartius 1641; on the date of publication see Knaap 2013, 6.
- 86 Knowles 1988, 12–13.
- 87 Van Eerde 1976, 26–47.
- 88 Apart from the large format and the spacious layout – with large font, broad margins, and full-page engravings of the arches – a further shared characteristic of both editions con-

- sists in their reproduction of numerous ancient coins and medals throughout the text.
- 89 Knowles 1988, 12.
- 90 Keblusek 2003, 78; Stevenson 2006, 72–73.
- 91 Green 1860, 415, 522.
- 92 Green 1860, 589–590. On George Gerbier see Haresnape 2004, 748–749.
- 93 See above notes 9–11 and 19–20.
- 94 Fraser and Harris 1960, 107. On Loggan see Tyack 2004, 321–322. Griffith and Gerard present prints relating to the coronation and Loggan’s work in general without, however, discussing the four triumphal arches. Griffiths and Gerard 1998, 193–216.
- 95 See the above section titled “Sites and Subjects of the Triumphal Arches.”
- 96 The rays of light surrounding the head of the statue in pl. 3 indicate that it must have been meant to represent the Sun God. On Geryon see above notes 41 and 43.
- 97 Fraser and Harris 1960, 48–49, 107; Lever 1973, 18–19. See also the entries on the four triumphal arches in the RIBApix database: <https://www.architecture.com/image-library/RIBApix.html?c-architectdesigner=gerbier> (last accessed 17 August 2019).
- 98 Fraser and Harris 1960, 107.
- 99 Stevenson 2006, 56, 72–74; Stevenson 2013, 99, 104, 115.
- 100 Stevenson 2006, 71 (note 124), 73.
- 101 Stevenson 2006, 73.
- 102 Eustace 2004, 277–278; Colvin 2008, 791–792.
- 103 Eustace 2004, 278.
- 104 Beard and Knott 2000; Eustace 2004, 277–279; Colvin 2008, 791–793; and the list of his drawings at <https://stlukeslondonsculpture.wordpress.com/2013/09/10/edward-pearce/> (last accessed 18 August 2019). See also the drawings by Pearce on RIBApix (<https://www.architecture.com/image-library/RIBApix.html?c-architectdesigner=pearce%2C%20edward>, last accessed 18 August 2019), in Sir John Soane’s Museum (http://collections.soane.org/drawings?ci_search_type=ARCI&mi_search_type=adv&sort=7&tn=Drawings&t=SCHEME511, last accessed 19 August 2019), and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/398995?&searchField=ArtistCulture&sortBy=Relevance&what=Drawings&ft=Edward+pearce&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>, last accessed 19 August 2019). I am grateful to Dr Stefan Morét for having discussed this attribution with me.
- 105 Cf. Reedy 1972; Van Eerde 1976, 53–58; Knowles 1988; Jenkinson 2010, 47–74; Sharpe 2013, 153–160; Stevenson 2013, 95–117; Murár 2014.
- 106 On the *possessi* preceding the 1661 London entry see Fagiolo dell’Arco 1997, 252–253, 330–333, 373.
- 107 Stevenson 2013, 31, 34, 36 (fig. 14), 37 (fig. 15), 43 (fig. 20).
- 108 Serlio 1584, book 6 (*Libro straordinario*), fol. 17v.
- 109 Cf. Bold 1989, 37; Turner and Bartrum 2009–2012, 6:16, cat. 1637–1643 and illustration on p. 18.
- 110 Fraser and Harris 1960, 108; cf. Martin 1972, 66–100 and figs. 16, 17.
- 111 Serlio 1584, book 6 (*Libro straordinario*), fol. 27r; Serlio 1584, book 6 (*Libro straordinario*), fol. 27r.
- 112 Entrée triomphante 1662, illustration between pp. 18 and 19. The entry took place on 26 August 1660. See Möseneder 1983, 11, 101–106.
- 113 Nichols 1831, 74.
- 114 The Cities Loyalty 1661, 3.
- 115 Bermudez de Castro 1637; Fagiolo dell’Arco 1997, 289–294.
- 116 Fagiolo dell’Arco 1997, 289, 291, 292.
- 117 On the meaning of the ship see below notes 168–170.
- 118 On Webb’s remodelling of the Cockpit Theatre see Orrell 1985, 90–112; Bold 1989, 177–180.
- 119 Fig. 18 is RIBA29009. See also RIBA16896 (the print based on this design). The design was formerly ascribed to Inigo Jones, but “now thought to be by John Webb.” Cf. <https://www.architecture.com/image-library/ribapix/image-information/poster/principal-front-of-a-palace-with-circular-portico/posterid/RIBA16896.html> and <https://www.architecture.com/image-library/ribapix/image-information/poster/design-for-a-palace-arranged-around-a-principal-courtyard-elevation-of-one-of-the-principal-facades-/posterid/RIBA29009.html> (last accessed 16 October 2019).
- 120 Bold 1989, 114, 123.
- 121 Stevenson 2013, 99.
- 122 Summerson 1993, 162–163; Hart 2011, 217, 222.
- 123 Cf. Schlimme 1999, 108, 110.
- 124 Fraser and Harris 1960, 108.
- 125 Serlio 1584, book 4 (*Regole generali di architettura*), fol. 130r.
- 126 Summerson 1993, 136.
- 127 See the above section titled “Sites and Subjects of the Triumphal Arches.”
- 128 See above notes 102–104.
- 129 Bold 1989, 1.
- 130 Bold 1989, 1–4.
- 131 Bold 1989, xviii, 13, 180–181.
- 132 Bold 1989, xviii, 4–5, 182.
- 133 Ogilby 1661, 32.
- 134 See the introduction to the present chapter.
- 135 Bold 1989, xvii, 14–35.
- 136 Bold 1989, 47–51.
- 137 Bold 1989, 36; Skelton 2009, 231, fig. 3. Although Webb did

- not add notes to Serlio's designs referenced above (figs. 10, 12, 14, 22), his copy of Serlio's treatise is prolific in annotations to the books (4 and 5) in which these designs were published, i. e. he certainly studied them intently; see Serlio (ed. 1964).
- 138 Bold 1989, 10 (note 42), 11, 125, 144.
- 139 Bold 1989, 144–145, fig. 98; cf. Möseneder 1983, 91–100, fig. 30.
- 140 Bold 1989, 37.
- 141 Van Eerde 1976, 44, 52, 57, 61, 96, 98, 105; Godfrey 1994, 21, 142, cat. 107; Turner and Bartrum 2009–2012, 5:46–53 (cat. 1365–1395); 6:128 (cat. 1731–1734), 139–146 (cat. 1744–1751), 193–202 (cat. 1789–1795); Murár 2014.
- 142 Bold 1989, 1.
- 143 Bold 1989, 9–10, 134 (note 86).
- 144 See, for instance, RIBA22940 (<https://www.architecture.com/image-library/ribapix/image-information/poster/wilton-house-wilton-design-for-the-ceiling-of-the-cabinet-room/posterid/RIBA22940.html>) or RIBA22970 (<https://www.architecture.com/image-library/ribapix/image-information/poster/designs-for-greenwich-palace-greenwich-london-completed-ceiling-plan-for-the-kings-presence-chamber/posterid/RIBA22970.html>, last accessed 16 October 2019).
- 145 Fraser and Harris 1960, 83–85; Harris 1972, 7.
- 146 On Webb's reception of continental architecture see also England and the Mediterranean Tradition 1945, 122–130, and Saxl and Wittkower 1948, 44, 48.
- 147 Howell 1712, 270.
- 148 On this interpretation of the Arch of Plenty see the preceding section.
- 149 See above note 114.
- 150 The Cities Loyalty 1661, 3–4; Nichols 1831, 74; Pepys (ed. 1970–1983), 2:88.
- 151 The Cities Loyalty 1661, 5: “the Seamen themselves do confess, that it could not be built higher, nor there is not such a one in Europe beside, which highly doth please his Majesty, and the Illustrious Duke of York.”
- 152 Halfpenny 1959, 25; Pepys (ed. 1970–1983), 82.
- 153 Halfpenny 1959, 35.
- 154 Harrison 1604, “The Italians Pegme” and “The Pegme of the Dutchmen” (no pagination), illustrates and describes the arches and transcribes the speeches.
- 155 Ogilby 1661, 18.
- 156 Festa Georgiana 1661, 8.
- 157 Möseneder 1983, 105.
- 158 Van Eerde 1976, 29–30, 35–40.
- 159 Josselin (ed. 1908), 138; Knowles 1988, 31–36.
- 160 Ogilby 1661, 12, 14–16.
- 161 Ogilby 1662, 53. As one of the ancient examples quoted by Ogilby testified, this title could be associated with the ancient emperors and thus be understood as a reference to Charles II (*ibidem*, 56).
- 162 Ogilby 1662, 57.
- 163 Ogilby 1661, 12.
- 164 Ogilby 1662, 66.
- 165 Ogilby 1661, 12. Cf. Knowles 1988, 37.
- 166 Ogilby 1661, 6.
- 167 Ogilby 1661, 12.
- 168 Ogilby 1661, 13.
- 169 Knowles 1988, 33.
- 170 Knowles 1988, 33–34.
- 171 Ogilby 1661, 11. Cf. Reedy 1972, 27–28.
- 172 Ogilby 1662, 52–53.
- 173 Ogilby 1662, 62–63: “The Skeld, the goodly Mose, the rich and Viny Rhein, / Shall come to meet the Thames in Neptune's watry Plain. / And all the Belgian Streams, and neighb'ring Floods of Gaul, / Of him shall stand in aw, his Tributaries all.”
- 174 Ogilby 1662, 51–52.
- 175 De Krey 2007, 49.
- 176 Barozzi and Berchet 1863, 441; Maurer 2000, 194; Sharpe 2013, 162.
- 177 Claydon 2007, 132–152.
- 178 Israel 1995, 714–715.
- 179 Israel 1995, 715–722.
- 180 Barozzi and Berchet 1863, 422, 425, 456; Wroughton 1997, 78–79. Cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sale_of_Dunkirk (last accessed 28 August 2019).
- 181 Israel 1995, 748–751; Broekman and Helmers 2007.
- 182 Israel 1995, 750; Wroughton 1997, 17; Israel 1997, 305–318 (chapter 13: “England's Mercantilist Response to Dutch World Trade Primacy, 1647–74”), esp. 309–310; Broekman and Helmers 2007, 242.
- 183 Ogilby 1661, 15.
- 184 Ogilby 1661, 13.
- 185 The parallel with Atlas/Hercules was repeatedly used to express the support of Italian cardinals for the pope; cf. Merz 1994.
- 186 Knowles 1988, 33.
- 187 Zwierlein 2004, 604.
- 188 Lavin 1973, 435, on the meaning of the motto “*nec pluribus impar*,” which appeared in Louis's device above a globe: “this world is small for Louis, who is great enough to rule many.” In 1665, Gianlorenzo Bernini planned to present a bust of Louis XIV on top of a globe with the inscription “*piccola basa*,” implying that one world was too small for so great a king. See Del Pesco 2007, 344, 366–367. On the plans for the pedestal see also Rosenthal 1976, 231–234, and Zitzl-

- sperger 2006, 405–408. The “nec pluribus impar” device had first been used in 1658: Ziegler 2010, 23.
- 189 See above note 157. The motto was later reappropriated for a medal celebrating the accession of George I: cf. Weiß 2011, 236–242.
- 190 Fagiolo 1997, 289, 291, 292. On the ancient custom of placing imperial busts or symbols atop a globe see Lavin 1972, 180–181.
- 191 Quoted from Knowles 1988, 32.
- 192 Steinmetz 2011, 120–122, 400–402. Britain accepted the Gregorian calendar only in 1751: *ibid.*, 403–405.
- 193 Knowles 1988, 11; Broekman and Helmers 2007, 237.
- 194 Keay 2008, 82.
- 195 Broekman and Helmers 2007, 236.
- 196 Trionfo d’Inghilterra 1661, 6: “fù anche risoluto di terminare la gloriosa Incononazione di Sua Maestà il giorno di 23. Aprile festa di S. Giorgio Patron d’Inghilterra, il qual giorno conforme al stile Romano è li 3. di Maggio.”
- 197 Kluxen 1991, 345. See for example the title of Perfect Catalogue 1661b.
- 198 Wroughton 1997, 15; Keay 2008, 47.
- 199 Keay 2008, 45–79.
- 200 Lloyd 1660, 59–60.
- 201 Lloyd 1660, 61, 64; Stevenson 2013, 89.
- 202 Lloyd 1660, 68; Stevenson 2013, 89; Bird and Clayton 2017, 336.
- 203 Quoted from Stevenson 2013, 89.
- 204 Knowles 1988, 10, 50–51.
- 205 Matuschek 1994, 1258–1262.
- 206 Matuschek 1994, 1258, 1264–1265.
- 207 Vallozza 1994, 1152.
- 208 Mause 2003, 495.
- 209 Vallozza 1994, 1152–1158; Mause 2003, 495–500.
- 210 Vallozza 1994, 1154, 1157; Mause 2003, 497.
- 211 Möseneder 1983, 147–151; Mause 2003, 495. A particularly inspiring analysis of a painted encomium (Vasari’s frescoes in the Roman Cancelleria) can be found in Kliemann 1993, 39–51.
- 212 Evelyn 1661; see also Evelyn (ed. 1955), 3:284 (24 April 1661): “I presented his Majestie with his Panegyric in the Privy Chamber, which he was pleasd [sic] most graciously to accept: &c. also to the L. Chancelor & most of the noble men who came to me for it.” In his analysis of Ogilby’s *Entertainment*, Knowles (1988) cites many other contemporary panegyrics that elaborated on similar topics.
- 213 Knowles 1988, esp. 21, 39.
- 214 Vallozza 1994, 1154, 1156–1157.
- 215 Fehrenbach 2013, 132–138.
- 216 Starn and Partridge 1992, 267–304; Saslow 1996, 189–197; Strunck 2017a, 55–58, 66–76.
- 217 James I and Charles I appear on the Restoration Arch, flanking Charles II (fig. 2); Charles I is also present in the central painting of the Naval Arch (fig. 3).
- 218 Smith 2001, 92–96, discusses the cult of the deceased Elizabeth I as an implicit criticism of Scottish rule and quotes a contemporary source that expressly declares: “After a few years, when we had experience of the Scottish government, then – in disparagement of the Scots and in detestation of them – the queen did seem to revive. Then was her memory much magnified [...]” (*ibid.*, 94).
- 219 The names of the painters are recorded in Ogilby 1661, 32. The central painting on the Naval Arch does not depict a documented historical event (like a joint visit of Charles I and II to the wharf in which the Sovereign of the Sea was built) but has an allegorizing character in that it presents Charles II as successor to his father with reference to their dominion of the seas. Its non-documentary character is underlined by the protagonists’s ancient dress.
- 220 Knowles 1988, 18, 20–21. On *amplificatio* see Möseneder 1983, 150–151; Mause 2003, 497.
- 221 In 1661, the reference to classical antiquity was evident in the Latin inscriptions on the arches, which alluded to the Roman foundation of London through the abbreviation SPQL (Senatus Populusque Londinensis), in analogy to the Roman SPQR (Senate and People of Rome). Moreover, in the images on the first two arches the king was clad in ancient dress (figs. 2, 3), and the inscriptions “Adventus Augusti” and “Redeunt Saturnia regna” (Ogilby 1661, 3, 6) could easily be linked to Augustus. On further references to Augustus in 1662 see below note 340. On the pride regarding London’s classical past cf. Stevenson 2013, 64–67, 72–75.
- 222 Ogilby 1661, 6. On this motto see Knowles 1988, 24, 31, and notes 266 and 268 below.
- 223 Gatz 1967; Parry 1985; Mund 2015.
- 224 Harrison 1604, description of “The Device called, *Hortus Euporiae*, Garden of Plentie” (no pagination).
- 225 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.80–110. Cf. Ogilby 1662, 38, where he translates Ovid’s description of the Golden Age.
- 226 Harrison 1604, description of “The Device called, *Hortus Euporiae*, Garden of Plentie” (no pagination).
- 227 Ogilby 1661, 20.
- 228 Ogilby 1661, 29: “Uberitati Aug. / Extincto Belli Civilis Incendio / Clusoq. Jani Templo / Aram Celsiss. / Construxit / S. P. Q. L.”
- 229 Ogilby 1661, 31–32. Cf. Knowles 1988, 30–31; Jackson 2016, 3–11.
- 230 Ogilby 1661, 32.

- 231 Knowles 1988, 20–21.
- 232 Knowles 1988, 41.
- 233 Harrison 1604 (no pagination): “The Device called Londinium,” which opened the 1604 entry, contained “12 personages, of which she that had the preeminence to sit highest, was cald [sic] *Monarchia Britannica*.”
- 234 Barozzi and Berchet 1863, 424 (report of the Venetian ambassador Morosini, 1661); Howell 1712, 271; Sharpe 2013, 150–151.
- 235 Howell 1712, 274; Stevenson 2013, 86–89.
- 236 See note 33 above.
- 237 Knowles 1988, 18–26; Weber 1996, 25–49.
- 238 Hawkins et al. 1885/1969, 1:437, 439–440 (no. 7).
- 239 Hawkins et al. 1885/1969, 1:455–456 (no. 44) with motto “Soli Deo Gloria” (To God alone the glory), 457–458 (no. 48) with inscriptions stating “Heaven itself being propitious” and “I live by the providence and mercy of God,” 459 (no. 51: “Two palm branches, crossed, within a crown of thorns, and beneath the Eye of Providence”) and 464–465 (no. 62) with inscription “Magnalia Dei” (The wondrous works of the Lord).
- 240 Ogilby 1661, 4, 6. The iconography of the Royal Oak will be discussed in greater detail below.
- 241 Weber 1996, 26–27.
- 242 Weber 1996, 25–47; Solkin 1999, 219, fig. 74: “Charles II and Colonel Careless Hiding in the Royal (Boscobel) Oak” by Isaac Fuller, c. 1662. The fact that the king had had to disguise himself contributed greatly to the popularity of this episode and “humanize[d] an otherwise aloof presence, engendering an audience’s sympathy” (Weber 1996, 28; see also Solkin 1999, 211–212). Perhaps the strange nudity of Charles’s feet in Loggan’s engraving (fig. 25) alludes to the humility that the king had to endure during his flight.
- 243 Solkin 1999, 218.
- 244 Hawkins et al. 1885/1969, 1:475–476 (no. 83) and 476–477 (no. 84) with reproduction.
- 245 On the curious naked feet of the king see note 242 above.
- 246 On the inscription and its translation see Ogilby 1661, 6.
- 247 On the providential interpretation of the Boscobel episode in contemporary literature see Weber 1996, 25–47.
- 248 Ogilby 1661, 6. On this motto see also notes 222, 266 and 268.
- 249 Ogilby 1661, 4.
- 250 Ogilby 1661, 4. On this motto and the “revolution” of time see Knowles 1988, 19, 26–32.
- 251 On the authorship of the paintings see Ogilby 1661, 32.
- 252 Evelyn (ed. 1955), 3:276; Sharpe 2013, 160.
- 253 Perfect Catalogue 1661a; George of Cappadocia 1661; Manner of Electing 1661.
- 254 Festa Georgiana 1661; Knowles 1988, 14; Sharpe 2013, 153.
- 255 The publications quoted in note 253 created a strong link between Charles II and St George. Moreover, already in 1660 the saint had appeared on the reverse of a medal that represented the king: Hawkins et al. 1885/1969, 1:461 (no. 55). See also Knowles 1988, 14–15.
- 256 Festa Georgiana 1661, 4; Knowles 1988, 15.
- 257 Lloyd 1660, “To the Reader” (no pagination), summarizes the contents of his account as follows: “The Third [Book] containing his Majesties Restauration, begun by the private endeavours of some Loyal Persons, acting secretly upon all Revolutions (by direction from his Majesty) in England and Scotland: And the Parliaments in R. Cromwells time; and compleated by that incomparable expedition of his Excellency the Lord General Monk, with the severall Mysteries of State thereunto belonging, unto the beginning of July, 1660.” See also Memorials 1682, 700–704.
- 258 Ogilby 1661, 5.
- 259 Ogilby 1661, 3.
- 260 Ogilby 1661, 3.
- 261 Lloyd 1660, 61, 64; Stevenson 2013, 89.
- 262 Heath 1662, 173–176; Sharpe 2013, 153; Stevenson 2013, 89–93.
- 263 Heath 1662, 176; Sharpe 2013, 153.
- 264 Charles was reluctant to take personal responsibility for these acts. For instance, the beheadings referenced on the Restoration Arch were interpreted as “Gods Justice upon the Rebels” (Ogilby 1661, 3). See also Howell 1712, 272–274.
- 265 See https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3019027&partId=1 (last accessed 18 October 2019).
- 266 Translation from <http://classics.mit.edu/Virgil/eclogue.4.iv.html> (last accessed 18 October 2019).
- 267 Ogilby 1661, 6: “Redeunt Saturnia regna.”
- 268 For a more extended discussion of these lines from Virgil, which would also come to be referenced in the Painted Hall at Greenwich (pl. 113), see chapter 7, especially the sections titled “Britain and the Continent II: Conflict and Cooperation” and “Epilogue: A Twenty-First-Century Response to the Painted Hall.” The religious interpretation of Virgil’s text was based on the fact that the fourth *Eclogue* celebrates the arrival of a very special “boy” (which could be taken to mean Christ).
- 269 Hawkins et al. 1885/1969, 1:460 (no. 53).
- 270 Further examples: Schlimme 1999, 18 (S. Caterina da Siena), 128 (Oratorio del Crocefisso), 129 (SS. Domenico e Sisto), 131 (S. Giuseppe a Capo and S. Nicola dei Lorenesi).
- 271 Lloyd 1660, Epistle Dedicatory (no pagination); Festa Georgiana 1661, 8, stanza XIV.
- 272 As in the liturgy, these directions refer to the perspective of

- Christ, i. e. to the right of Christ means to the left of the viewer who faces the altar. Analogously, the good citizens who greet Charles II appear to the right of the statue of the sovereign (i. e. to the left of the viewer), while the decapitated bad citizens are placed to his left. Such a liturgical reading of left and right explains the placement of the scenes much more convincingly than Knowles's assumption that the arch should be read counter-clockwise: Knowles 1988, 20.
- 273 Ogilby 1661, 4.
- 274 See fig. 33, where Charles I accepts the crown of thorns as a sign of his impending martyrdom.
- 275 Stewart 1969, 176–177. The first sermons referring to the king's execution had already been delivered in 1649: Randall 1947, 137–144. The earliest instances after the Restoration date from January 1660 [= 1661]: Stewart 1969, 176, note 2. According to Howell 1712, 272, already in the summer of 1660 Parliament had decided "That the 30th of January should to all Posterities be observed a Day of Humiliation."
- 276 Cf. Ogilby 1662, 34. On the ancient ceremony of apotheosis see also Strunck 2018, 430–434.
- 277 On the absolutist tendencies of James I and Charles I, which increased the distance between them and their subjects, see Smuts 1989, 82–89.
- 278 Ogilby 1661, 2, 7–9.
- 279 In this context, "left" and "right" are again to be understood in a liturgical sense; cf. above note 272. Rebellion and Confusion awaited the king "On the North-side, on a Pedestal before the Arch" (Ogilby 1661, 2), i. e. to the left of the central statue of the sovereign; Monarchy and Loyalty were placed opposite "On the South Pedestal."
- 280 "Charles's arrival at Dover" (over the southern portal of the arch) was a contemporary history painting, while the corresponding image over the northern portal only alluded to contemporary history by way of a stillife (a "Trophy of Heads"). Both events, the landing at Dover and the punishment of Charles's enemies, had already been represented in medals, using an allegorical visual language: Hawkins et al. 1885/1969, 1:457–458 (no. 48) and 458–459 (no. 50). Ogilby did not imitate these allegorical compositions, probably because he wanted to create a hierarchical contrast between the two pendant paintings over the lateral openings (rendered in a realistic pictorial idiom) and the allegory of Charles II pursuing Usurpation placed on the next, higher level of the arch.
- 281 Ogilby 1661, 2, 8.
- 282 See the above section titled "Britain and the Continent in the Coronation Entry."
- 283 Ogilby 1661, 21.
- 284 Harrison 1604 (no pagination); Martin 1972, 162–169 and fig. 82.
- 285 Harrison 1604, "seventh and last Pegme" (no pagination).
- 286 Ogilby 1661, 27, 29. See also Ogilby 1662, 140–143.
- 287 Ogilby 1662, 111–112.
- 288 See above notes 52 and 53.
- 289 Ogilby 1661, 22; Ogilby 1662, 115–119.
- 290 Ogilby 1662, 126, explicitly says that the interior of the lower storey was circular though this is hardly recognizable from the print (fig. 4).
- 291 Ogilby 1661, 25; Knowles 1988, 30.
- 292 Ogilby 1661, 26.
- 293 Ogilby 1662, 126. The "purple gown" is most likely an allusion to the typical robe of the aldermen of London.
- 294 Ogilby 1662, 129.
- 295 Ogilby 1662, 126. The same title (P.P. = Pater Patriae) had been applied to the king on the Restoration Arch: Ogilby 1661, 5.
- 296 This title had already appeared on one of the Restoration medals of 1660: Hawkins et al. 1885/1969, 1:460–461 (no. 54).
- 297 See the above section titled "Past – Present – Future."
- 298 Ogilby 1661, 31. See above note 229.
- 299 Ogilby 1661, 29.
- 300 Fisher et al. 2011, 54–55.
- 301 Evelyn (ed. 1955), 3:278.
- 302 Pepys (ed. 1970), 2:77.
- 303 Pepys (ed. 1970), 2:81.
- 304 *The Cities Loyalty* 1661, esp. 3 (on the spying French artist). Both the subtitle of the publication and the text itself make clear that this was written before the event.
- 305 Halfpenny 1959, 22.
- 306 Halfpenny 1959, 22.
- 307 Halfpenny 1959, 21–22; Evelyn (ed. 1955), 3:278, note 4, and 281, note 2 (giving the *Kingdomes Intelligencer* as Evelyn's source, when in fact it was Ogilby's text); Pepys (ed. 1970), 2:82, note 7.
- 308 Evelyn (ed. 1955), 3:280.
- 309 Pepys (ed. 1970), 2:82.
- 310 Pepys (ed. 1970), 2:83.
- 311 Smuts 1989, 71–72.
- 312 Josselin (ed. 1908), 138.
- 313 Petty quoted from Knowles 1988, 41.
- 314 Coke quoted from Knowles 1988, 17.
- 315 Ralph quoted from Knowles 1988, 41.
- 316 Hinds 1931, doc. 340 (6 May 1661).
- 317 Pepys (ed. 1970), 2:87.
- 318 On the Londoner's joy about the Restoration see also Sharpe 2013, 150–151. The city administration even collected money "for ye charge of building a new Shipp for his Majesties ser-

- vice to be named ye Loyall London”: *Halfpenny* 1959, 28, Appendix.
- 319 Heath 1662, 186–188.
- 320 Heath 1662, 172–173.
- 321 Heath 1662, 179–180.
- 322 *Eikon Basilike* 1649. See also Lincoln 2015, 47, cat. 8.
- 323 Lloyd 1660.
- 324 “*Eikon Basilike*” means literally “royal portrait.” This title is ambiguous since it can refer either to the text (as a portrait of Charles I) or to the king himself (who in his suffering is the royal, earthly portrait of Christ).
- 325 The print was mentioned and reproduced by Sharpe 2013, 138–139, who did not, however, comment on its date and relationship to the iconography of the triumphal arches. The engraving accompanied an eponymous publication; see *Augustus Anglicus* 1686.
- 326 See above note 171.
- 327 Heath 1662, 256.
- 328 Stevenson 2013, 95. Cf. *Halfpenny* 1959, 34: The sale began in September 1662 and continued into the first months of 1663.
- 329 The volume appeared sometime between 13 June 1662 and 3 November 1662: Van Eerde 1976, 61.
- 330 Murár 2014, esp. 516–520, 525. On the concept of the semiotic body see also Strunck 2019e, 211–213.
- 331 See above notes 6 and 18.
- 332 The two speeches were mentioned in Ogilby 1661, 38, but not transcribed. The 1662 edition does not refer to them. They were published separately: Hewlett 1661; Wilde 1661. Ogilby 1661, 9–10, describes the play in front of the East India House “made by a Person of Quality,” but does not inform his readers about the stage set, which according to Samuel Pepys consisted of “the picture of the ships and other things [...], set up before the East Indy-house.” Cf. Pepys (ed. 1970), 2:77. Ogilby 1662, 42–43, omits the reference to the entertainment at the East India House completely.
- 333 Gevartius 1641. Comparable features are the size, the font, the spacious distribution of text on the page, the inclusion of numerous reproductions of ancient medals in the text, and the addition of full-page, high-quality illustrations.
- 334 *Trionfo d’Inghilterra* 1661. *Halfpenny* 1959, 22, mentions further translations.
- 335 *Trionfo d’Inghilterra* 1661, 3–4 (dedication to Pietro Mocenigo, “Ambasciatore Ordinario della Sereniss. Republica di Venetia, alla Maestà di Carlo Secondo, Rè della gran Bretagna, &c.”), 7–10 (description of the cavalcade).
- 336 On the controversy between Ashmole and Walker, the latter of whom had authored his own account of the coronation ceremonies (Walker, ed. 1820), see Van Eerde 1976, 59–61, and Knowles 1988, 15–16.
- 337 On Hollar’s prints see Turner and Bartrum 2009–2012, 6:193–202, cat. 1789–1795; Murár 2014.
- 338 On Loggan’s oeuvre see Griffiths and Gerard 1998, 193–203.
- 339 Ogilby 1662 contains an introductory chapter on “the Custom of erecting Triumphal Arches among the Romans” (pp. 2–12), an expanded description of the 1661 triumphal arches (pp. 13–165), and a description of the coronation, including the coronation procession (pp. 169–192).
- 340 Some examples of references to Augustus: Ogilby 1662, 21, 25–26, 119, 121, 129–130, 140, 143.
- 341 The epithet “windy dissertation” comes from *Halfpenny* 1959, 27.
- 342 Ogilby 1685.
- 343 Dryden (ed. 1976), 2, 29, 373; Knowles 1988, 24.
- 344 This will be discussed in detail in chapter 3, especially in the section titled “Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot.”
- 345 Sandford 1687 contains numerous images of the procession that accompanied James II to Westminster Abbey. For a reproduction see Lincoln 2015, 252, cat. 138. However, from the plan and description published by Sandford 1687 (57–80 and print between pp. 56 and 57) it is apparent that the procession only begun at Westminster Hall and did not feature triumphal arches.
- 346 According to Smuts the decline of the royal entry was caused by a combination of mutually reinforcing circumstances. Financial constraints obviously played a role, but even before the Interregnum the ceremony had become “increasingly out of step with dominant aristocratic attitudes” (Smuts 1989, 88). Yet the 1661 entry (not discussed by Smuts) consciously sought to revive this tradition, certainly because of the Restoration imperative to reinstate time-honoured customs.



CHAPTER 3

A POLITICAL READING OF ANTONIO VERRIO'S MURALS FOR THE ROYAL RECEPTION SPACES AT WINDSOR CASTLE

Immediately following the Restoration, Charles II established a new position at court, appointing James Howell as his “historiographer Royal.”¹ Howell’s initial duties consisted in defending government policies via polemical pamphlets, but he soon set himself a more ambitious task: the monograph *Proedria Basilikè: A Discourse Concerning the Precedency of Kings*. Published in 1664, it sought to prove that Britain’s king had precedence over every other Christian monarch, especially those of France and Spain. A Latin edition of the text was expressly produced for a foreign audience and informed continental Europe about the arguments undergirding Charles’s claim to precedence.²

As a logical consequence of his purported superiority, Charles had to invest in conspicuous consumption. Indeed, he had to demonstrate his superior standing on every conceivable level. Works of art and architecture were indispensable as status symbols. It is no wonder that precisely in 1664 the king pondered Christopher Wren’s grandiose and wholly unrealistic designs for a complete rebuilding of Whitehall Palace. Only Inigo Jones’s Banqueting House was to be retained, with Wren planning to replace everything else with a new, symmetrical structure reminiscent of the Louvre.³ After producing a wooden model of this lofty project in 1665 (no doubt for purposes of show), Wren set off to Paris where he met Gianlorenzo Bernini and François Mansart in order to inform himself about the latest trends in continental architecture.⁴

The idea to destroy almost the entire existing seat of government was soon shelved, and Charles began to concentrate his ambitions on a new palace in the Ba-

roque style, to be built at Greenwich.⁵ John Webb was able to realize only one of its wings, which became “the first Baroque building in England.”⁶ The king even managed to get Louis XIV’s head gardener André Le Nôtre to design for Greenwich a new formal garden and cascade.⁷ Nevertheless, work came to a halt in 1669, both for financial and political reasons.⁸ Charles II “could not, at this time, comfortably appear to harbour absolutist thoughts,”⁹ and therefore a palace modelled on the architecture of French absolutism was deemed unsuitable so near to the capital.¹⁰

In the 1670s, the king’s thoughts turned to Windsor Castle. The medieval castle enclosed a royal palace in a spectacular setting, even if the palace itself was somewhat dilapidated. Further, the site resonated with a long and proud, entirely English royal tradition. In 1674, Charles decided to restructure the palace, and in 1676 the Italian Antonio Verrio was hired to decorate the newly built spaces in a High Baroque style that was a great novelty in contemporary Britain.¹¹

As the surviving accounts attest, between 1676 and 1684 Verrio painted the ceilings of fifteen rooms in the King’s and Queen’s Apartments, plus four staircases, the façades of Horn Court and an adjacent portico, as well as the King’s Chapel and St George’s Hall.¹² Moreover, he decorated a staircase in the nearby house of the king’s mistress Nell Gwynn and painted the walls and ceilings in Henry VIII’s Chapel.¹³ After Charles II’s death in 1685, Verrio continued to work at Windsor for James II and his wife Mary of Modena. He finished Henry VIII’s Chapel with a ceiling painting representing James II among alle-

gorical figures and decorated the queen's rooftop "round banqueting room."¹⁴

According to Simon Thurley, "the new royal lodgings were designed for a more private way of life than those at Whitehall or Hampton Court."¹⁵ But although there is evidence that Charles II enjoyed hunting and fishing at Windsor, the castle was also made ready for great occasions. It contained "the principal royal chapel in the kingdom" and Britain's "most magnificent space available for royal audiences and receptions."¹⁶

The privacy of the king's and queen's rooms varied depending on whether they were placed in the inner or outer zone of the royal apartments. Nevertheless, most of them served as royal reception spaces. This chapter will focus on the ceiling paintings created during Charles II's reign, analysing their political messages. How did they seek to condition the audiences that took place underneath them? How did they manipulate visitors' perceptions of the king and queen? How did they communicate Britain's alleged superiority within Europe? And how did they address potential conflicts?

Verrio conceived his paintings for a rather mixed audience. Firstly, there were the numerous courtiers who surrounded the king and his consort Catherine of Braganza day after day. They had plenty of time to observe and interpret the paintings. Secondly, there were British citizens and noblemen who came to petition the king on certain occasions. They were probably too busy to look at paintings during the audiences themselves, but they could have studied the ceilings at their leisure as they waited their turn in various antechambers. Thirdly, and most rarely, foreign visitors and ambassadors came to the castle. After their official audience with the monarch, a courtier would show them around and point out certain aspects of the paintings that seemed particularly pertinent or worthy of note.

Consequently, the murals had the dual purpose of addressing a national and an international audience. By giving visual form to an ideal social and political order, they were intended to stabilize British society, helping to create the same kind of order they purported to represent. In addition, the paintings were meant to familiarize foreigners with the British monarch's self-perception,

completing and augmenting the information these visitors received during an audience.

Recent research on audiences has stressed the need for bilateral investigations that take into account both sides' expectations and underlying values.¹⁷ However, to my knowledge there are no edited reports on official audiences at Windsor Castle for the period between 1678 (when the decoration of the King's Apartment was finished) and Charles's death in 1685. The final volume of the *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice* concludes with 1675,¹⁸ precisely when the rebuilding of Windsor Castle began. Edited sources on Britain's relations with other states are even more restricted in their temporal scopes.¹⁹ No Venetian embassies to Britain took place between 1671 and 1685,²⁰ nor did Tuscany have an official ambassador in Britain at that time.²¹ There exists a lengthy report by Girolamo Zen and Ascanio Giustinian, who were sent as *ambasciatori straordinarii* to James II in 1685, but despite their two audiences with the king (on 30 December 1685 and 10 January 1686) they left no record of the ceremonies with which they were received, nor of their impression of the royal palaces and apartments.²² The reception of the papal nuncio in St George's Hall in 1687 was recorded in just a few words that offer few stimuli for further investigation.²³

In the absence of accessible documentation, only the British side of such exchanges can be explored. By analysing Verrio's ceiling paintings, we can reconstruct the way in which Charles II wished to be perceived by foreign ambassadors. Further archival research would be needed to understand how the latter actually reacted to the ceremonial setting at Windsor Castle – but that lies outside the scope of this book.

My study will concentrate on Verrio's painted discourse on the British monarchy, a topic hitherto neglected. As audiences served to represent (and negotiate) a certain social and political order, the setting in which this happened was carefully planned: "Events of presentation display social order quite as their creators understand this – as determinate images that mirror collective or elite perceptions of what the mind-sets and the feeling states of participants ought to be."²⁴

Seventeenth-century art relied on a highly standardized repertoire of allegories and mythological figures that was universally understandable and thus perfectly suited to encode messages aimed at British and foreign visitors alike.²⁵ It provided an ideal medium of translation between different cultures. As audiences themselves were acts of intercultural translation,²⁶ it needs to be asked what the murals contributed to such highly sensitive events. How did Verrio's paintings prepare ambassadors and other visitors for the sovereign they were to encounter? How did they define his role within Britain and the world?

Although Verrio's works at Windsor constitute "the largest and most impressive series of baroque decorative paintings ever created in the British Isles,"²⁷ surprisingly little has been written about them. His murals held the same importance for the British court as did Charles Le Brun's ceiling paintings for Louis XIV and the court at Versailles, and yet many aspects of Verrio's work have never been studied to this day. Not even a complete critical analysis of the various sources pertaining to his paintings has ever been undertaken. This chapter constitutes the very first attempt to elucidate the political significance of Verrio's murals in the historical context of their time of creation.²⁸

The Rebuilding and Redecoration of Windsor Castle

"Windsor Castle was of particular significance to the restored monarch in three different ways. First, alone among his palaces it was also a fortress which could be effectively garrisoned. Secondly, the castle housed St George's Chapel and St George's Hall and was the headquarters of the Order of the Garter, England's prime order of chivalry, which the Stuart monarchs fostered with especial enthusiasm. Finally, it had the personal significance of being the burial place of his martyred father, Charles I."²⁹ But even despite these important factors, the rebuilding of the medieval castle started only in the mid-1670s, more than a decade after the Restoration.

As Simon Thurley has pointed out, during the 1660s Charles II showed little interest in the building, which had been "roughly treated" during the Commonwealth and was unfit for royal habitation. Late in 1669, the king decided to restore the park and, in 1670, he resumed hunting there.³⁰ From May to August 1674, the court was in residence at Windsor for the first time in Charles's reign, staying for a total of 109 days. During that time, the plan to restructure the castle ripened, and on 21 July 1674 it was reported that the king had "given orders to make several additions and alterations to the castle and park, to make it more fit for his summer's residence every year."³¹ However, only after the court's visit in the summer of 1675 did the building process begin – no doubt facilitated by the fact that in May 1675 it had been decided to use the remainder of the queen's dowry for the works at Windsor. Additional funding came from the subsidy paid to Charles by Louis XIV under the Secret Treaty of Dover.³²

A large part of the accounts concerning the rebuilding and decoration of the castle were transcribed and published by William St John Hope in his three-volume work *Windsor Castle: An Architectural History Collected and Written by the Command of Their Majesties Queen Victoria, King Edward VII. & King George V.*³³ Building on this fundamental study, the no less fundamental *History of the King's Works*, by Colvin, Crook, Downes, and Newman, gave a detailed account of the restructuring and provided a very useful reconstruction of the royal lodgings under Charles II (fig. 35).³⁴ Kerry Downes focused on the role of Hugh May, who was responsible for the building as comptroller of the works.³⁵ Most recently, the monumental volume *Windsor Castle: A Thousand Years of a Royal Palace* (2018) brought together contributions from many specialist researchers, including the most comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of Charles II's works, by Simon Thurley.³⁶

From these studies, it has emerged that the restructuring of the royal lodgings proceeded in two main phases. Between the summer of 1675 and 1678, new apartments for the king and queen were constructed in the north range of the Upper Ward, and in 1678–1680 the King's Chapel and St George's Hall were rebuilt.³⁷

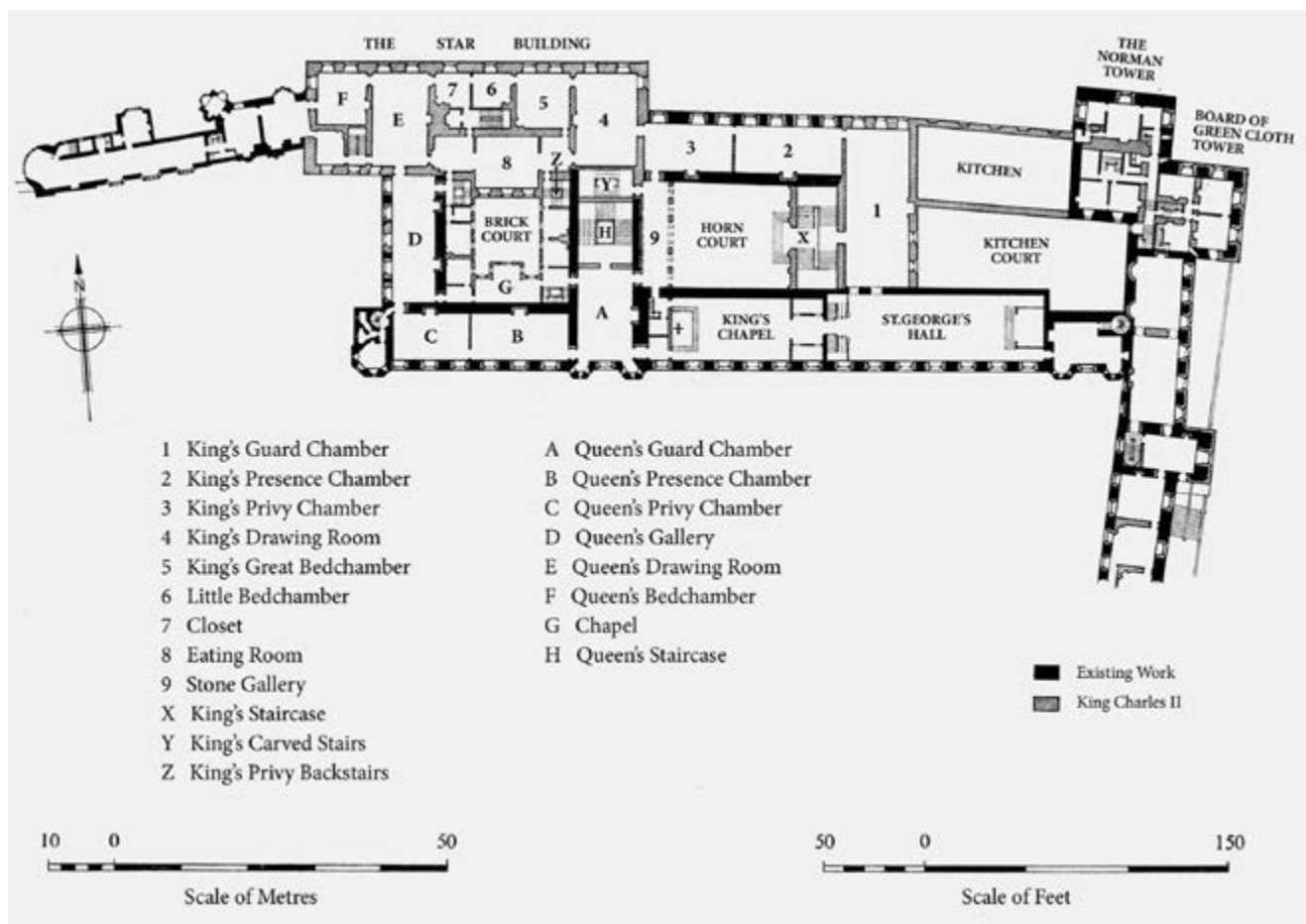


Fig. 35 Plan of the first floor of Windsor Castle. From Colvin et al. 1976, 319 (with additional labelling by CS)

When May's work is compared and contrasted with previous building phases, it becomes evident just how drastically he altered the existing structures. From the time of Edward III, the King's Great Chamber had faced south and overlooked the Upper Ward, while the Queen's Great Chamber was located in the north range (fig. 36). Elizabeth I reversed this arrangement. As monarch in her own right, she did not occupy the rooms of the queen consort but rather the king's lodgings (fig. 37).³⁸ May left the previous distribution of spaces basically intact, i. e. Queen Catherine of Braganza's rooms remained on the south and west sides of the building block where Elizabeth I had resided (fig. 35). However, the plan and sequence of the rooms were remodelled according to Baroque court etiquette, and above all the king received a completely new set of rooms on the site of the former queen consort's lodgings (along the north front).

Simon Thurley has suggested that Hugh May developed this new scheme in cooperation with the king and Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington and Lord Chamberlain.³⁹ "Much of the medieval fabric was retained, but a large section of the medieval north front was demolished to make way for a new block, the Star Building, housing the king's privy or inner chambers."⁴⁰ The Star Building was "an uncompromising three-storeyed block over a semi-basement, its ten bays divided into pairs, the centre pair of windows spaced more widely than the rest to give room for the solitary embellishment, a gilt star 12 feet in diameter" (fig. 35, between nos. 6 and 7).⁴¹

The pictorial decoration of the new spaces began in 1676. Here, too, Arlington had an important share, contracting his protégé Antonio Verrio, who was chosen to paint the ceilings of the state apartments.⁴² From 1674, Verrio had been living near Arlington House in London

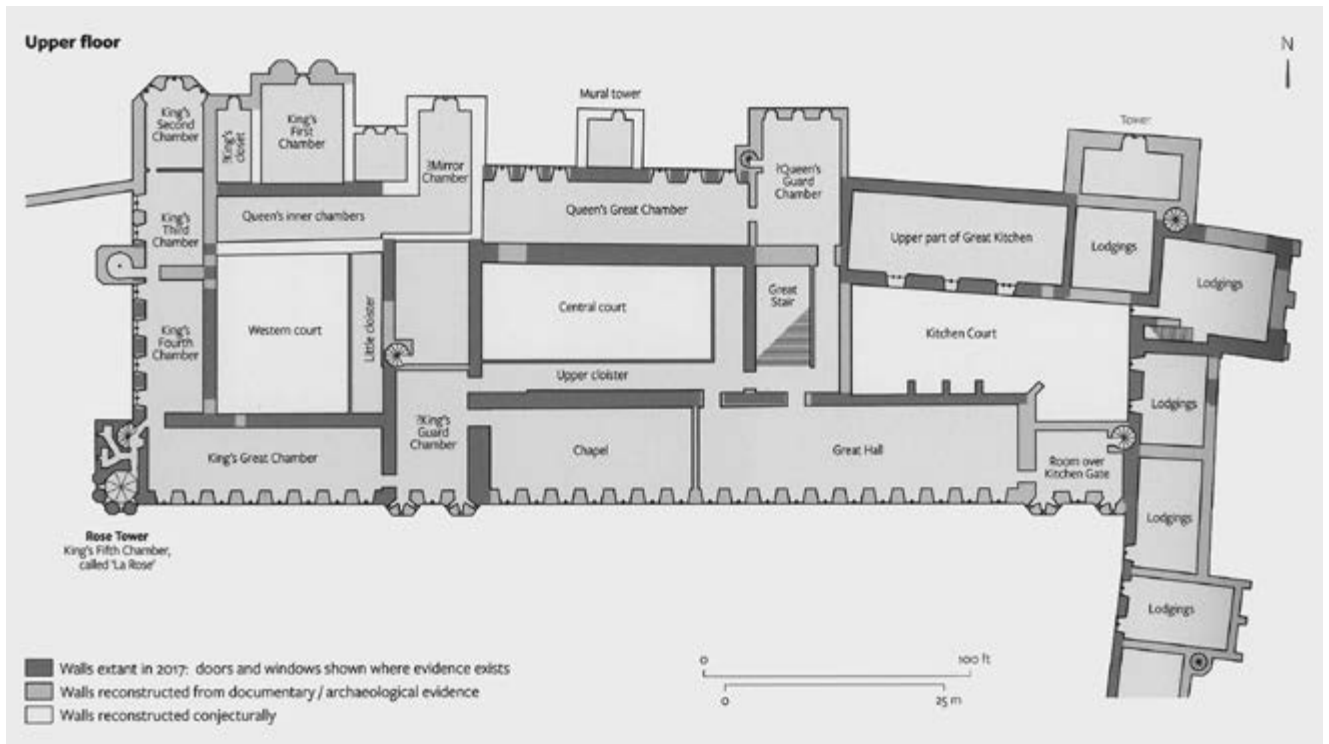


Fig. 36 Upper floor of the royal lodgings in the Upper Ward as rebuilt in 1361–1365, Windsor Castle. From Brindle 2018b, 108

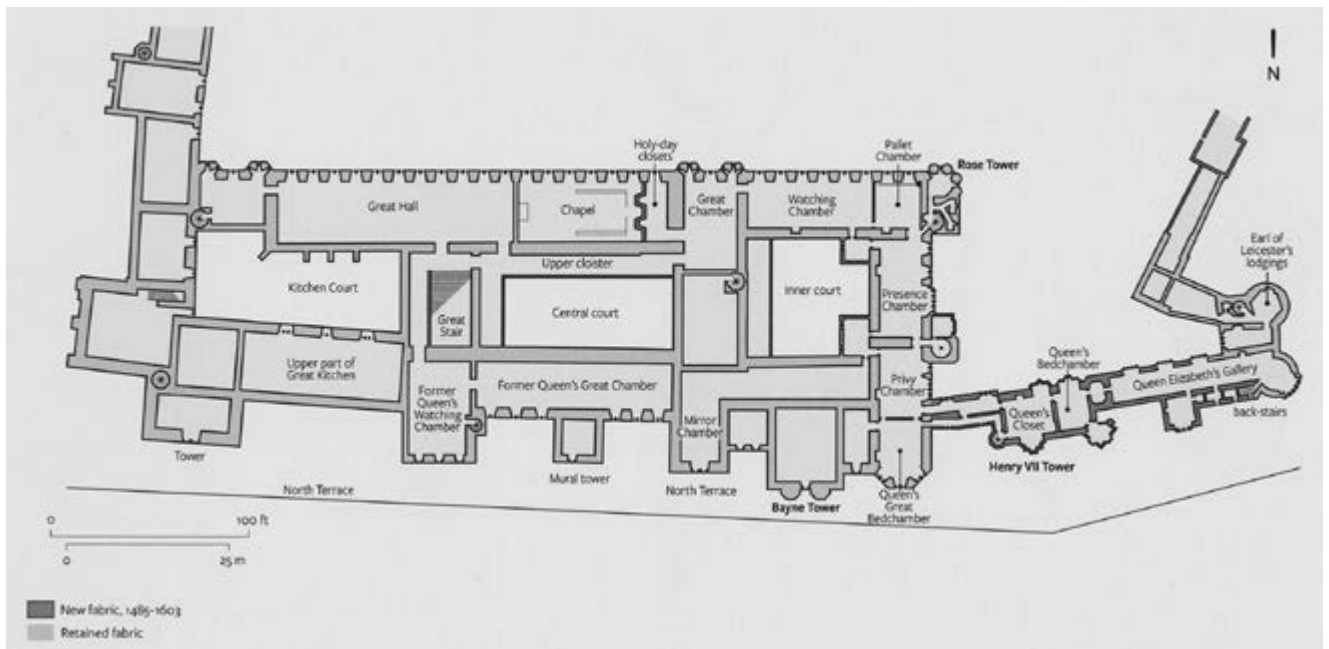


Fig. 37 Conjectural plan of the first floor of the royal lodgings of Windsor Castle under Elizabeth I. From Thurley 2018a, 183

where he was employed by his benefactor.⁴³ According to George Vertue, Charles II came to inspect his work there, and it seems to have impressed him. The artist was “denizened” on 5 May 1675, confirming the king’s intention of employing him.⁴⁴ Verrio’s *Sea Triumph of Charles II* (pl. 5) is usually regarded as a trial piece for the Windsor commission.⁴⁵

On 29 May 1676, Arlington allocated a room at Windsor Castle to Verrio.⁴⁶ The artist commenced work in the King’s Guard Chamber (fig. 35, no. 1), “perhaps experimentally to judge the effect.”⁴⁷ He completed his task as early as August 1676, obviously to his patron’s satisfaction, and moved on to decorate the rest of the King’s Apartment, completing thirteen ceilings by August 1678.⁴⁸ The payments to Verrio, listed by Hope, clarify that these thirteen rooms included the King’s Guard Chamber, Presence Chamber, Privy Chamber, Drawing Room, Great Bedchamber, Little Bedchamber, Closet, Eating Room, and the King’s Privy Backstairs (fig. 35, nos. 1–8, Z), as well as the Queen’s Bedchamber, Drawing Room, Gallery, and Chapel (fig. 35, D–G).⁴⁹

The paintings executed between October 1678 and September 1680, of which Hope gives a summary overview, can be dated with more precision on the basis of an account book still kept at Windsor Castle.⁵⁰ According to this document, Verrio painted “The Kings Carved Staires next the Kings with=Drawing Roome,” “The Queenes Privie Chamb(er),” “The Kings greate Staires goeing into ye Guardchamb(er),” and “The Queenes Presence Chamber” before August 1679 (fig. 35, B, C, X, Y),⁵¹ while “The Queenes Greate Staires,” “The Queenes Guard=chamber,” “The Paved Galary,” and “The Courte” followed suit between August 1679 and September 1680 (fig. 35, A, H).⁵² The last two entries refer to the façades of Horn Court and the open portico underneath the Stone Gallery (fig. 35, no. 9).⁵³

By April 1680, the King’s Chapel and St George’s Hall had been remodelled.⁵⁴ Originally, these spaces did not communicate, as the altar was placed at the east end of the chapel.⁵⁵ The King’s Chapel had seven bays, the Great Hall eleven (figs. 36, 37). Hugh May moved the altar to the west side of the chapel, which enabled him to open a door between the two spaces (fig. 35). He also

enlarged the chapel, such that its size almost equalled that of St George’s Hall.⁵⁶ Verrio and his *équipe* decorated the King’s Chapel in 1680/81 and the hall between 1681 and 1683/84.⁵⁷ Hope and Gibson published excerpts from the relevant documents.⁵⁸

Most of Verrio’s paintings were destroyed during the early nineteenth century. Between 1800 and 1804, James Wyatt replaced the Queen’s Staircase with a neo-Gothic *entrée*.⁵⁹ The King’s Staircase was demolished in 1805, and from 1806 to 1814 Wyatt constructed a two-storey gallery lining all four sides of Horn Court, thereby covering Verrio’s murals.⁶⁰ Several state rooms had already been remodelled during George III’s reign,⁶¹ and his successor George IV continued this process from 1828.⁶² His architect Jeffrey Wyattville converted Horn Court into a new top-lit state room, transformed the King’s Guard Chamber into a ballroom, and merged the old King’s Presence Chamber and Privy Chamber to form a larger throne room.⁶³ Initially there were attempts to preserve the King’s Chapel and St George’s Hall in their Baroque splendour, but – after restorations carried out in 1824 proved even more detrimental to the already damaged ceilings – in 1827 the decision was made to create one large neo-Gothic hall instead.⁶⁴ Thus Verrio’s murals disappeared in 1828.⁶⁵

Today only three of Verrio’s ceiling paintings can still be studied *in situ* in the Queen’s Presence Chamber, the Queen’s Privy Chamber, and the Eating Room respectively (fig. 35, B, C, no. 8). This means that research on the Baroque state apartments must rely to a large extent on archival sources, prints, contemporary descriptions and guidebooks recording the eighteenth-century reception of the murals. Particularly useful are George Bickham’s *Deliciae Britannicae; Or, the Curiosities of Hampton-Court and Windsor-Castle* (1742), Joseph Pote’s guidebook *Les Delices de Windsore* (1755), and the colour prints in William Henry Pyne’s *The History of the Royal Residences* (1819). The latter prints, produced after watercolour views by Charles Wild and James Stephanoff, document the appearance of the rooms in the nineteenth century but sometimes offer glimpses of ceilings of which no other visual records exist.

While the Baroque rebuilding of Windsor Castle has been explored in great detail, Verrio’s murals remain cu-

riously neglected. Pyne and Hope summarized the interpretations given in the above-mentioned guidebooks, and these continue to be perpetuated to this day.⁶⁶ There are less than a handful of studies that have engaged more seriously with aspects of Verrio's works. Single articles by Gibson and Burchard respectively explored St George's Hall, while MacKean and Hamlett concentrated on the state apartments. Hamlett argued that John Denham developed a pictorial programme based on the court masque *Coelum Britannicum* staged in the Whitehall Banqueting House in 1634, whereas MacKean focused on "the seeing of space."⁶⁷

I agree with Andrea MacKean that the murals ought to be analysed with reference to the functions of the individual spaces. Our discussions of the paintings thus have a common point of departure yet proceed in different directions. I will study the rooms in the sequence in which a visitor would have encountered them and will combine research on courtly ceremony with the methods of political iconography. A critical analysis of the available evidence can correct many time-honoured mistakes, allowing a much more complete picture of the royal apartments to emerge. Many elements of these paintings have never been identified before. As will be demonstrated, the ceilings mirrored and sought to condition the events that took place in the King's and Queen's Apartments.

A Visit to the King's Apartment

Even before their arrival in the royal lodgings, the king's guests were symbolically greeted by a bronze equestrian statue of Charles II. It stood in the centre of the eastern courtyard, the so-called Upper Ward, facing the Round Tower and visitors coming from that direction.⁶⁸ The statue had been donated by Tobias Rustat, a courtier whom John Evelyn described as "a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature."⁶⁹ As Rustat had been Charles's valet during his exile,⁷⁰ his commission of the statue was not only a monument to the king but also a symbol of the enduring loyalty of his courtiers and a reminder of the favours he bestowed on them.⁷¹ In 1677,

Charles had made his choice for the statue from three models, picking the one that showed him *all'antica* – "almost naked," as contemporaries remarked with amazement.⁷² The statue was executed in 1679 by Josias Ibach (one of Grinling Gibbons's collaborators, "a German" who came from Stade near Bremen) and was placed in the Upper Ward in 1680.⁷³ It stood over the cistern of Samuel Morland's new pumping machine,⁷⁴ an engineering feat that was a source of great pride.⁷⁵ As Charles II appeared in the garb of an ancient Roman emperor, imperial tradition and avant-garde technology converged in this monument.

The statue in the Upper Ward set the tone for the visit, as it suggested Britain's equality with or even superiority to ancient Rome. In his celebratory poem *Windsor Castle*, published in 1685, Thomas Otway evoked the same parallel:

Thus, when the happy World Augustus sway'd,
Knowledge was cherish'd and Improvement made;
[...]
Though when her far stretch'd Empire flourish'd
most,
Rome never yet a Work like this could boast:
No Caesar e'er like Charles his Pomp express'd,
Nor ever were his Nations half so blest.⁷⁶

On the north side of the Upper Ward was a "great gate" through which seventeenth-century visitors entered the royal palace.⁷⁷ It led into a vestibule situated underneath the Queen's Guard Chamber (fig. 35, A). In the vestibule, which is no longer extant, "four pairs of Ionic columns formed aisles, with Ionic pilaster responds against the walls and niches between."⁷⁸ This three-aisled structure may have been inspired by the famous vestibule of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome (fig. 38).⁷⁹ In any case, the classical order continued the Roman theme of the Upper Ward – in marked contrast to the medieval architecture of the castle. "Some antique Bustos in the several Niches" completed the decoration of this space.⁸⁰

Through the vestibule a visitor reached Horn Court, named after "a pair of stagg [sic] horns of a very extraordinary size" that hung on its west side.⁸¹ The court gave



Fig. 38 Vestibule behind the main entrance. Palazzo Farnese, Rome

access to the Queen’s Staircase (on the west side) and to the King’s Staircase opposite (fig. 35, H, X). The walls of Horn Court were elaborately decorated with mural paintings by Antonio Verrio. Their classical style and subject matter must have been most surprising for guests coming from the medieval Upper Ward. The paintings created the impression that visitors had entered a completely different, more dignified realm.

An eighteenth-century drawing (fig. 39) records only part of these decorations, but George Bickham described them in great detail. The north wall featured four figures in arched niches, “representing Mars, the God of War, Juno, the Queen of Heaven, Jupiter, the God of Gods, and Neptune, the God of the wide Ocean.”⁸² This was the first wall that came into view for a visitor entering the court from the vestibule to the south. Jupiter and Juno were obvious allusions to the king and queen, flanked by the deities that had been chosen as the main mythological protagonists of the Naval Arch in 1661.⁸³ Read as a pair, Mars and Neptune referred to war at sea,

and accordingly “in the Front on the same Side, in a Square Nich” was “the Representation of a Roman Naval Engagement.”⁸⁴ The large rectangle on the upper storey of the north wall is still visible on the left side of the drawing (fig. 39); meanwhile, the four statues in painted niches would probably have flanked the two lateral windows. The opposite (south) wall was decorated with episodes from the life of Alexander the Great, “perform’d in Stone-Colour.”⁸⁵ Thus the murals in Horn Court alluded to both ancient Greek and ancient Roman military valour. Contemporaries may have associated the naval battle with events from the recent Anglo-Dutch Wars.

The west side of Horn Court was dedicated to sacred themes: “King David, playing on his Harp, with a Variety of other Musicians,” surrounded by painted statues representing “Christian Fortitude,” “Fervency of Devotion,” “Divine Meditation,” and “Divine Inspiration.”⁸⁶ These topics were probably chosen because the Stone Gallery on the west side of the court (fig. 35, no. 9) served as a passageway through which the king could reach the organ gallery behind the altar of the King’s Chapel.⁸⁷

The opposite (east) side of the court constituted the focal point of the whole composition (as is evident from fig. 39, in which the east wall appears at the top of the drawing). Hugh May “designed quite a grandiose façade, with giant Corinthian columns carrying a high panelled attic, and in the centre a flight of five broad steps leading up to an arched opening about 24 feet high, lofty enough to open an unimpeded view through to the upper level of the King’s Great Staircase, which rose behind the façade in two straight flights and returned in a second pair of flights to the central landing” (fig. 35, X).⁸⁸ May’s architecture obviously alluded to a classical triumphal arch, thereby elaborating on the military theme of the north and south walls.

While the decoration of Horn Court referenced ancient Greece and Rome, the murals of the King’s Staircase went back even further in time in depicting four episodes from the Trojan War, two on either side of the staircase.⁸⁹ In addition, there were grisaille paintings of the Grecian and Trojan fleets, and “on the Dome” a representation of “the Battle of the Giants.”⁹⁰ This battle, described by Ovid,⁹¹ resulted from the rebellion of the

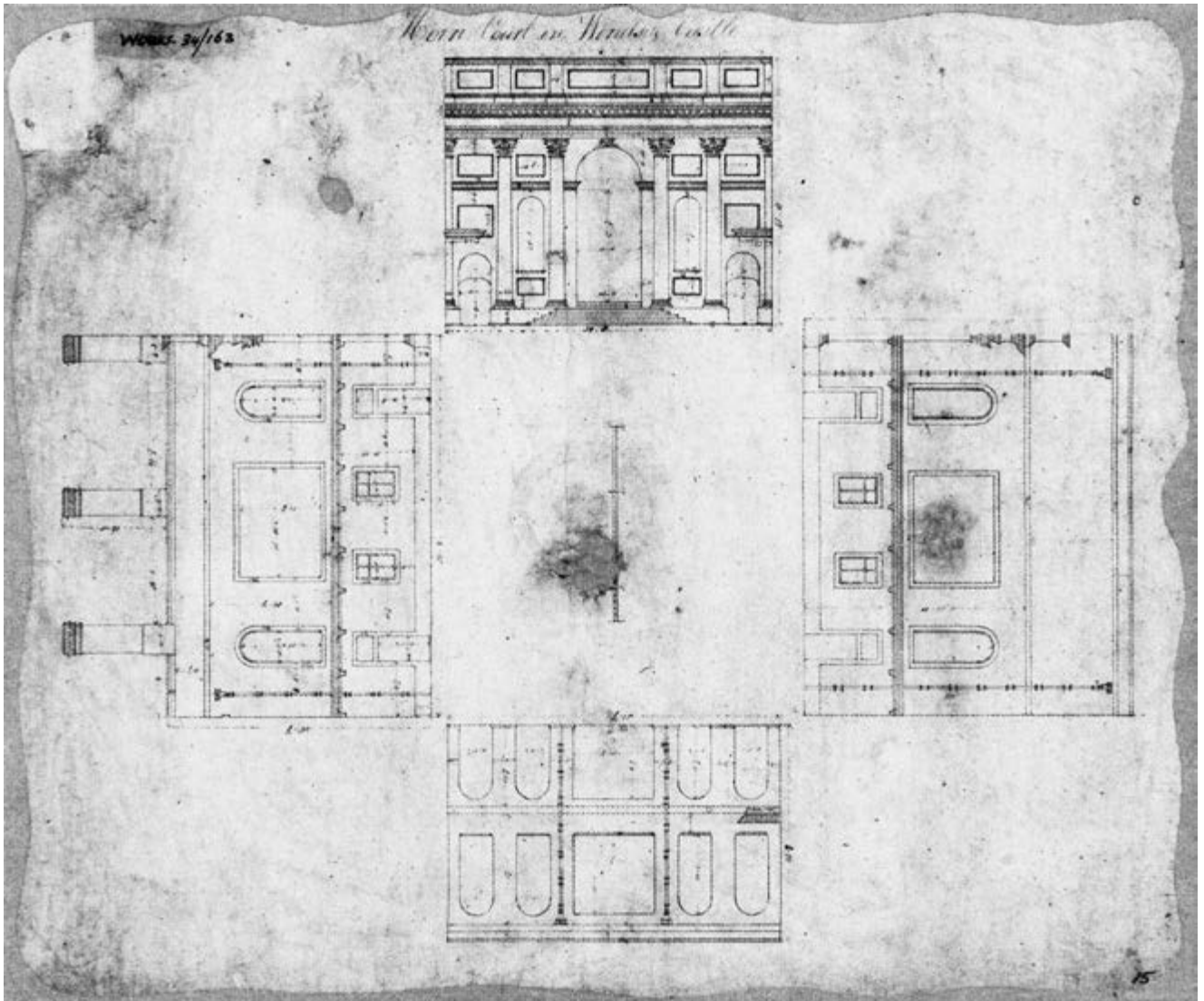


Fig. 39 An eighteenth-century survey drawing of Horn Court

Giants against Jupiter and might therefore be understood as a veiled reference to the English Civil War. According to Ovid, Jupiter's thunderbolt sent the Giants down from Olympus – a most fitting theme for a cupola.

In the 1670s when Antonio Verrio decorated the King's Staircase, painted domes were a complete innovation in Britain.⁹² Unfortunately, no visual documentation of this certainly most impressive space has survived.⁹³ However, it may be reasonable to assume that Verrio's contemporaries perceived the ascent on the staircase as just that: a rise towards a climax, topping their previous visual experiences on the ground floor. As

they climbed the stairs, they rose literally above the level of the Trojan, Greek, and Roman heroes. This implied the superiority of Restoration Britain and of King Charles II, whose apartment was located on the first floor.

The King's Staircase opened onto the King's Guard Chamber (fig. 35, no. 1), a space documented in one of Charles Wild's watercolours (pl. 6). It was lit by three windows on its north side, re-evoking the triumphal arch motif visitors had already encountered in the courtyard. As the Guard Chamber was the space where the yeomen of the guard controlled access to the royal apartment,⁹⁴ the walls were accordingly decorated with ornamental dis-

plays of arms.⁹⁵ In 1670, Charles's artistically minded cousin Prince Rupert, Constable of Windsor Castle, had created the first British display of this kind in his own Guard Chamber in the Round Tower.⁹⁶ Between 1677 and 1679, Rupert co-supervised the decoration of the King's Guard Chamber with the architect Hugh May, and in 1681 a new pattern was installed with the collaboration of Colonel George Legge, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.⁹⁷

The ceiling of the Guard Chamber had a central octagonal top light that was flanked by two circular illusionistic openings (pl. 6). A guidebook of 1755 gave the following account: "In one Circle is Peace and Plenty, and in the other Mars and Minerva. In the Dome is a Representation of Mars [sic], and the whole Room is decorated with Instruments of War adapted to the Chamber."⁹⁸ As two representations of Mars on the same ceiling seem illogical, George Bickham's description of 1742 is probably more correct: "In the Center of the Ceiling there is a Dome, on the Top whereof are Jupiter and Juno, seated on a Celestial Throne; with Mercury, the Messenger of Heaven, in Waiting, underneath them. The Ceiling below the Dome is likewise gayly decorated. On one side of it, is the Goddess Iris, richly array'd, and seated in all her Grandeur on her Bow, which strikes the Eye, in the most agreeable Manner, with its variegated Colours; on the other Side of the Dome are Mars, and Bellona, the God and Goddess of War, with other suitable Decorations."⁹⁹

It can be inferred from these texts that Jupiter and Juno (symbolizing the royal couple) presided over the room and claimed the highest and most exalted place in the "dome." One of the lateral roundels alluded to war (featuring Mars and either Bellona or Minerva, both of them goddesses usually portrayed in arms), while the other extolled peace and plenty via the image of Iris on her rainbow. Iris's attribute might be read as an allusion to the Old Testament because after the Deluge God had visualized the peaceful new covenant with a rainbow.

The iconography of the Guard Chamber formed a logical sequence to the King's Staircase. Just like the defeat of the Giants, the Deluge, too, hinted at a phase of chaos and rebellion that had been overcome. Thus both spaces referred to the civil war, the central trauma of Restoration

Britain, and celebrated the victory of the monarchy. The display of arms, Mars, and Bellona in the Guard Chamber affirmed the king's readiness to defend himself against all future aggressions, while the imagery of peace and plenty represented the positive effects of his good government. A similar visual argument (economic prosperity as a consequence of the Restoration) had already been developed on the Naval Arch in 1661.¹⁰⁰

"Mercury, the Messenger of Heaven, in Waiting" may have been a subtle reference to the staff on duty in the Guard Chamber. According to the *Ordinances made by King Charles the Second for the Government of His Household*, forty yeomen of the guard were to be "in constant wayting" in the Guard Chamber, and the yeoman usher was to dispatch messengers to the Presence Chamber if unauthorized people wished to speak to a certain member of the court.¹⁰¹

"Persons of good fashion and good appearance that have a desire to see Us at dinner" were usually admitted to the King's Presence Chamber (fig. 35, no. 2).¹⁰² Traditionally, the Presence Chamber had been the main audience room of a royal palace. "Here stood the throne under its canopy, bowed to even when empty and guarded by the second palace guard, the Gentlemen Pensioners."¹⁰³ Charles II ordered his staff expressly to make sure that "no person of what degree soever shall presume to stand under Our Cloth of Estate."¹⁰⁴ He tended to dine in public in the Presence Chamber, served by "the Gentleman Usher, the Cup-bearer, Carver, and Sewer, who are to waite."¹⁰⁵

During these ceremonious meals, nobody ate but the king (and, occasionally, the odd lucky foreign ambassador).¹⁰⁶ This meant that the onlookers had plenty of time to study the ceiling painting. Verrio's decoration of the King's Presence Chamber at Windsor was deemed so important that its central unit came to be recorded in a contemporary engraving (fig. 40) – perhaps as a souvenir for those who had been allowed to attend the king's dinner.

As in the preceding Guard Chamber, the ceiling of the longitudinal room was divided into three sections but in inverted order: Two octagonal murals flanked a mural in the shape of an oval (pl. 7). In the latter, Mercury, "the Messenger of Heaven" who had already been introduced

Fig. 40 Peter Vandrebanc after Antonio Verrio. Mercury showing a portrait of Charles II to the four continents. Engraving based on the ceiling painting in the King's Presence Chamber, Windsor Castle



in the Guard Chamber, reappeared “with the Portrait of King Charles the IId, in his Hands, shewing it, with Transport, as it were, to the View of the four Quarters of the World” (fig. 40).¹⁰⁷

The four known continents are clearly visible on the left side of the engraving recording the mural that stood in the middle of the ceiling. Europe, with her horse and crown, holds the privileged position nearest to the effigy of Charles II. She embraces Asia (with the cornucopia); meanwhile, Africa (crowned with an elephant’s head) and America (with a feathered headdress) occupy the hierarchically inferior positions at the far left. A comparison with Stephanoff’s watercolour (pl. 7) shows that Vandrebanc’s print does not reverse the original painting, i. e. just like the engraving, the painting had to be

read from left to right, culminating in the image of Charles II.¹⁰⁸ When the mural came to be destroyed in the nineteenth century, the royal portrait was preserved, and it is still kept at Windsor Castle.¹⁰⁹

The guidebook of 1755 provides some additional information, explaining that the continents are presented to the monarch by Neptune while Fame with her trumpet declares “the Glory of the Prince.” A personification of time drives away “Rebellion, Sedition and their Companions.”¹¹⁰ This latter information does not seem to be entirely correct, since in the engraving only one other figure can be seen next to Time, with his scythe. Nevertheless, it is credible that the group on the right side of the print alludes once more to political conflicts successfully overcome by the sovereign.

The very centre of the composition consists of an enigmatic constellation not mentioned by any of the sources: A putto holding a curved staff, a star suspended over his head, stands in front of two swans. The two lateral octagonal paintings offered some clues for understanding this group. The painting at the eastern end of the Presence Chamber depicted “Venus in a Sear-carr, drawn by Tritons and Sea-Nymphs,” and the octagon over the throne (on the west side) represented “Justice in Stone-colour shewing the Arms of Britain to Thames and his River Nymphs, with the Star of Venus, and this label, *Sydus Carolinum*.”¹¹¹ The star in the central painting therefore equally signified the Star of Venus – an allusion made more explicit by the accompanying swans, which were well-known attributes of Venus.¹¹²

The star held particular significance for Charles II because at his birth on 29 May 1630 a brilliant star (now thought to be either the planet Venus or the remnants of a supernova) shone brightly in the daytime skies over London.¹¹³ This was regarded as a positive omen comparable to the Star of Bethlehem and was widely exploited in courtly panegyrics.¹¹⁴ It had of course also been alluded to in the coronation entry of 1661.¹¹⁵ At Windsor, a gilt star of 12 feet in diameter dominated the north façade of the new Star Building.¹¹⁶ This could have been understood as a reference to the Garter Star, but since it sat on the exterior of the king’s most private rooms (fig. 35, between nos. 6 and 7),¹¹⁷ its relation to the king himself must have been evident at least for courtiers.

In the Presence Chamber, the star was expressly labelled as *Sydus Carolinum*, “the Caroline star” or “Charles’s star.” The curved staff held by the boy at the centre of the main painting (fig. 40) is the ancient *lituus*, an instrument used by augurs.¹¹⁸ The combination of these symbols obviously meant that the Star of Venus held good prognostications for the king and heralded his future success, a success admired in turn by the four continents and glorified by the personification of fame. The lateral painting, in which the star shone on Justice displaying the royal arms to the River Thames, probably alluded to Charles’s return to London after his exile. The Restoration was thus interpreted as an act of Justice that had been favoured by the heavens (symbolized by the

king’s lucky star) – again motifs familiar from the coronation entry of 1661.

The iconography of the painting that stood in the middle of the ceiling referred to the function of the Presence Chamber. Firstly, it emphasized the almost superhuman status of the king, expressed in the furnishing of the room by the canopy reserved only for him. And secondly, it instructed visitors from all parts of the world how they were to behave, as the continents demonstrated via their gestures and glances their raptured admiration of Charles II.

If an audience at court is considered an act of translation, Verrio’s painting provided a universally understandable language for British and foreign visitors. It confronted the continents with a portrait of the king (as a picture within a picture) and depicted their (desired) reaction. The real guests watching the king’s dinner would have noted the fundamental difference between this mural and the scene before their eyes – as the name of the Presence Chamber implied, they were admitted into the real presence of the king. If the continents appeared overawed by a simple portrait of the king, the response expected of contemporary beholders must have been incomparably stronger. Verrio’s mural therefore served to condition the audience situation. It sought to instil in visitors respect and even reverence for Charles II.

The following room, the King’s Privy Chamber (fig. 35, no. 3), was a second audience space for more privileged guests. Originally, the Privy Chamber had been private, reserved only for the sovereign and his closest entourage, but in the course of the seventeenth century it became the principal room of audience.¹¹⁹ It contained a second canopy, as recorded by Charles Wild’s watercolour (pl. 8).¹²⁰ Unfortunately, this view is the single extant visual documentation of the room and does not show the ceiling. We can therefore rely only on textual sources.

Ashmole described the ceiling very briefly as “Charles II. supported by Peace and Victory,”¹²¹ while Bickham seems to have encountered some difficulties in interpreting the scene: “On the Ceiling is depicted Britannia, treading, in a triumphant Manner, on the Head of a Lion, with a vast Variety of other Emblematic Figures round about her.”¹²² Only the guidebook of 1755 pro-



Fig. 41 Peter Vandrebanc after Antonio Verrio. “The Restoration of King Charles.” Engraving based on the ceiling painting in the King’s Drawing Room, Windsor Castle

vides more extensive information: “On the Ceiling is represented the Establishment of pure Religion in these Nations, on the Restoration of King Charles II. in the Characters of England, Scotland, and Ireland, attended by Faith, Hope, Charity, and the Cardinall Virtues; Religion triumphs over Superstition and Hypocrisy which are drove by Cupids from before the face of the Church; all which appear in proper attitudes, and the whole highly finished.”¹²³

According to this description, the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland formed the centrepiece of the ceiling – very fitting for an audience chamber, as these kingdoms visualized the extension of Charles’s territory. They were surrounded by the three religious virtues, plus the four cardinal virtues (prudence, fortitude, justice, and temperance). This panorama of virtues, then considered the basis of every good government, was

completed by a personification of religion triumphing over “Superstition and Hypocrisy” (terms that in post-Reformation British usage denoted Catholicism).¹²⁴ As “Defender of the Faith” Charles II had introduced much pro-Anglican legislation, and therefore the presence of Religion on the ceiling must have appeared entirely justified.¹²⁵

During ceremonial dinners, the King’s Presence Chamber offered ample opportunities for contemplating the rather enigmatic iconography of its three ceiling paintings. By contrast, in the Privy Chamber a visitor’s attention had to focus entirely on the king. Its ceiling seems therefore to have had – as far as may be judged from the eighteenth-century sources – a fairly straightforward, decidedly more conventional pictorial decoration. It celebrated the virtues that were to inform the decisions made by the king during his audiences.

The following space, the King's Drawing Room (fig. 35, no. 4), was used for more relaxed social gatherings and informal receptions.¹²⁶ Drawing rooms were a relatively new feature of royal apartments, having been introduced in the early seventeenth century.¹²⁷ Access to the drawing (originally withdrawing) rooms of royal residences was at first extremely limited, but Charles II used them as reception spaces for larger parties, following the precedent set by his mother Queen Henrietta Maria.¹²⁸ The relatively public character of the Drawing Room of Windsor Castle was reflected in the fact that it could conveniently be reached via a separate staircase (fig. 35, Y), without crossing the other rooms of the apartment. Due to its function as a space for social entertainment, its pictorial programme was much more complex than that of the Privy Chamber. The guests admitted into the King's Drawing Room had time and occasion to appreciate and discuss the ceiling painting.

While the rather boring mural in the King's Privy Chamber was not deemed worthy of reproduction, Verrio's painting in the Drawing Room became the subject of a very large engraving (fig. 41).¹²⁹ It was printed from two copperplates so as to capture a maximum richness of detail.¹³⁰ At the top of the engraving, the title "The Restoration of King Charles" and the lengthy inscription sought to explain the iconography to a wide audience.

To visitors to the King's Apartment the painting must have appeared as a great visual surprise. It differed markedly from the ceilings of the outer rooms (Guard Chamber and Presence Chamber), in which feigned architectures surrounded several figurative paintings in individual painted frames. In the Privy Chamber, there was only one central frame, but it filled a relatively small part of the ceiling (pl. 8). By contrast, in the King's Drawing Room Verrio treated the whole ceiling as one illusionistic opening. As James Stephanoff's watercolour proves (pl. 9), the engraving reproduces the entire ceiling – whereas the print of the King's Presence Chamber only shows a small part of the composition (fig. 40; pl. 7).

There was yet another characteristic that set the King's Drawing Room apart from the preceding spaces. While the other rooms of the apartment featured classical deities and allegories, here the king was glorified in per-

son. In contrast to the King's Presence Chamber, where Charles appeared in a fictive print (as a picture within the picture) held aloft by Mercury, in the Drawing Room the king became an active protagonist of the scene. By his crown, sceptre, and wig, he was easily recognizable. Seeming to drive his chariot through the open skies, he created a most spectacular visual impression.

Bickham explained the scene as "King Charles the Ild, riding in a triumphant Car, and trampling under his Feet the Figures of Envy and Ignorance."¹³¹ The guidebook of 1755 and the inscription on the print are more useful for unravelling the multifaceted iconography.¹³² According to the latter, the print represents "the Chariot of the Sun, driven by Appollo," while the former speaks of "King Charles II. in a triumphal Carr, drawn by the Horses of the Sun." As the portrait exists to this day,¹³³ it is unquestionable that the key protagonist was Charles II. Apollo, identified by his attribute, the laurel wreath, was seated in front of the king as his divine coachman – a configuration that suggested Charles's superiority over the pagan sun god. Apollo driving his chariot through the skies was an established symbol for the dawn of a new age¹³⁴ and, in this case, signified the beginning of the Restoration era. Accordingly, "The Morning Star w(hi)ch is ye Prelude of approaching day introduces ye King." As the morning star could be identified with the planet Venus,¹³⁵ the bright luminary on the left of the painting alluded once again to Charles's personal lucky star, the *Sydsus Carolinum*.

While Charles illuminates the world by guiding the chariot of the sun, "Lightning from Heaven encrease the Fury & Horrors ye Regicidess are possess with at sight of the Restoration." Thus the terrified men encircled by a flash of lightning refer to those who had been responsible for the execution of Charles I in 1649, and to the right of them "Hercules with his Club is bruising Ambition y had snatch ye Crown."¹³⁶ The guidebook of 1755 explains the same scene as "Hercules driving away Rebellion, Sediton and Ignorance; Britannia and Neptune properly attended, paying obedience to the Monarch as he passes."

Britannia and Neptune can be recognized on the left side of the engraving. Britannia is seated on a cloud in

the lower left corner, accompanied by the English lion. Cybele, the goddess with a castellated headdress next to her, recommends Britain to Charles; meanwhile, Britannia's gesture expresses veneration. Neptune kneels on the cloud above, encircled by other gods and goddesses. As the trident and rudder indicate, all of them are associated with the sea. Three sea gods offer sea-shells to the king. This tribute from the sea is complemented by the flowers being showered on Charles II as a gift from the earth (Cybele).¹³⁷ Seen as a pair, Britannia and Neptune stand for Charles's rule over land and sea – a topic addressed by the first two triumphal arches of the coronation entry in 1661. Moreover, the king's triumph over Rebellion and Ambition evokes the image of Charles II "pursuing Usurpation" on the Restoration Arch (fig. 27).¹³⁸

The two Labours of Hercules integrated into the painted cornice expand on the military theme. The oval on the left depicts Hercules's victory over the Lernaean Hydra, a common image of rebellion;¹³⁹ its pendant on the right shows Hercules's triumph over the Nemean lion. The lion reappears in the four corners of the cornice, both as symbol of Britain and attribute of Hercules. This strengthens the king's association with the warrior hero, who (like Apollo) acts in the ceiling painting as the king's helper.

The victorious king is attended by Fame and Peace, who hover behind his chariot.¹⁴⁰ "The Zephyrs sprinkling Flowers, the Hymen with lighted Torches, the Bird of Jupiter rising with the Doves of Venus and bearing [olive] branches are all expressive of Peacefull Time."¹⁴¹ Hymen, the wedding god, and the conjunction of Jupiter's and Venus's birds allude to Charles's marriage, the peaceful union of Britain and Portugal celebrated in the Queen's Privy Chamber.¹⁴²

Only during times of peace can the arts flourish, and thus "the Polite Sciences" appear on the right side of the engraving. The personifications of painting and sculpture both look at Charles II as they "are Imitating his Likeness." Architecture, to be recognized by her L-square, is relegated to the background, seated next to a female who seems to be studying a celestial globe (Astronomy).¹⁴³

As the King's Drawing Room offered a space for peaceful conversation and relatively informal audiences, the pictorial programme reflected this function. It provided a large number of topics for discussion, stressed the role of peace and the arts, and pointed to the ancient ideal of *ars et mars*, according to which a ruler had to be equally versed in the arts of war and peace.¹⁴⁴ Placed in a compositional triangle with Charles, Apollo and Hercules appeared as two different facets of the king's personality, symbolizing the arts and war respectively. Verrio thus evoked the classical Hercules Musagetes or Hercules Musarum (the Muses' Hercules). Since he unites Apollonian and Herculean traits and protects the arts, Hercules Musagetes offers an ideal role model for kings.¹⁴⁵

From the Drawing Room, the king and his guests were able to access the Eating Room (fig. 35, no. 8). It contains one of Verrio's murals still *in situ* (pl. 10). The central ceiling painting, based on Raphael's *Wedding Feast of Cupid and Psyche* in the Villa Farnesina,¹⁴⁶ depicts a celestial banquet of the gods. On the left side of the table are seated Jupiter and Juno, with their respective attributes, the eagle and the peacock, in front of them. Jupiter is served by his cup-bearer Ganymede. The two Olympian couples in the middle of the table do not display conspicuous attributes, but the group on the right can be identified as Cupid (with his quiver and bow) and Psyche. Psyche and the woman to her right point to a small jar that a putto presents on a tray. This alludes to the pyxis in which Psyche brought a dose of Proserpina's beauty from the underworld.¹⁴⁷ As in Apuleius's *Asinus aureus* Venus asked Psyche to procure the special item,¹⁴⁸ the beautiful woman seated next to Psyche is probably Venus, accompanied by her brawny lover Mars. The fourth couple appears to represent Neptune (with a blue cloak and a wreath made of reed) and his wife Salacia / Amphitrite. Thus the four couples may also stand for the four elements.

Higher up in the sky are the Three Graces (on the right) and Apollo (on the left), the Muses, and Pan, who plays his panpipes. The scene refers to the musical contest between Apollo and Pan described in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. According to Ovid, Apollo severely punished

King Midas for daring to prefer Pan's performance.¹⁴⁹ The goddess on the left of the painting gestures both to Pan and to the viewer, inviting beholders to establish a link between themselves and the painted scene. This was probably meant as a warning to courtiers to be cautious in their judgements – especially as the king's meals were indeed accompanied by music. The two small lobbies to the east and west of the Eating Room served as music rooms for the "royal strings."¹⁵⁰

The banquet of the gods is set in a painted architecture richly decorated with grapes (around the central painting) and with wreaths containing flowers, fruit, game, fowl, and fish (in the four covings). In the corners of the ceiling, Verrio feigned luxurious tables with displays of plate, flanked by the appropriate Olympian gods (Bacchus, Pomona, Ceres, Flora).¹⁵¹ The iconography was obviously related to the room's function, but it also echoed the Arch of Plenty that concluded the coronation entry in 1661, visualizing the prosperity brought by the Restoration (fig. 5).

In Simon Thurley's view, the King's Eating Room substituted the King's Presence Chamber as a place for dining in public.¹⁵² However, this would have been contrary to court ceremonial because, in his *Ordinances*, Charles II had decreed that a large number of people from different social strata ("persons of good fashion and good appearance that have a desire to see Us at dinner") were welcome to attend the ceremony.¹⁵³ Consequently, public dining took place in the outermost, easily accessible space of an apartment. Court ceremonial depended on the subtle distinctions in rank that were established by controlling access to the inner spaces of the lodgings: The more privileged a guest was, the deeper he or she was allowed to penetrate the apartment. It would therefore have been illogical to let almost anybody pass into the King's Eating Room. Instead, I think this space served a purpose analogous to that of the King's Little Bedchamber. Public functions were held in the King's Great Bedchamber and the King's Presence Chamber; for the actual sleeping and for relaxed meals, special, more secluded places were set aside (the Little Bedchamber and the Eating Room respectively). The iconography of the ceiling painting seems to confirm this, as Jupiter does

not dine on his own while watched only by his courtiers, as the king would have been in the Presence Chamber, but rather shares the table with some of his friends.

To the north of the Eating Room were three more spaces belonging to the King's Apartment. Here, the King's Great Bedchamber (fig. 35, no. 5) bordered on the King's Drawing Room. As the name indicates, the adjacent Little Bedchamber (no. 6) served as Charles's sleeping quarters, while the Great Bedchamber contained a bed of state and hosted special audiences.¹⁵⁴ Although the king's bedchamber had traditionally been a private room with most restricted access, Charles II used it as one of his reception spaces: "This may have been due to his stay in France but also to his policy of being accessible to as many people as possible."¹⁵⁵ Soon after the Restoration, Charles had created a new state bedchamber at Whitehall Palace "based on models from France and the Hague, which he knew well from his time in exile," containing John Michael Wright's mural *Astraea Returns to Earth*.¹⁵⁶

Unlike Wright's ceiling painting, nowadays kept at Nottingham Castle,¹⁵⁷ Verrio's mural in the Great Bedchamber at Windsor was not preserved and is only partly documented in Charles Wild's watercolour (pl. 11). As in the King's Drawing Room, it presented Charles II as a demigod in an open illusionistic sky but in a much more formal manner, with the king enthroned under a dark canopy, being paid homage by kneeling personages. The identity of these figures is uncertain. The 1755 guidebook interpreted them as the four continents,¹⁵⁸ while Bickham described only one of them, "a Figure, drest in a Mantle, embroider'd with Flower-de-luces, representing France, as a humble Supplicant, kneeling at his [Charles's] feet."¹⁵⁹ This led Sebastian Edwards to conclude that the ceiling depicted "the Four Continents, led by the figure of France, offering their riches to a god-like King Charles. The choice of this highly optimistic scene for his state bedchamber supported the king's need to assert his personal opposition to the French after his previous disastrous alliance with them against the Dutch."¹⁶⁰

A close look at the colour print does not support this explanation (pl. 12). None of the figures have any attrib-

utes known from the well-established iconography of the continents. Moreover, the homage of the four continents was already represented in the King's Presence Chamber (fig. 40) – so why would the same theme have been repeated?

The guidebook of 1755 provides some important clues: “The Ceiling is King Charles II. in the Robes of the Garter, under a Canopy supported by Time, Jupiter, and Neptune, with a wreath of Laurel, over the Monarch's head: Also, attended by the Deities in different Characters, paying obedience to the Monarch, are Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, properly represented. The Bed of State is of fine blue Cloth, richly embroidered with Gold and Silver, set up in the Reign of King Charles II.”¹⁶¹

Except for the four continents, this description matches Wild's illustration rather well. Over the king's head, there are three figures. The one with the watery-blue loincloth may be identified as Neptune and the one with the red drapery likely as Jupiter (associated with imperial red in his function as head of Olympus). The two of them crown Charles with a laurel wreath. The white-clad figure above might well be a personification of time, as suggested by the guidebook. The “Deities in different Characters” stand on either side of the king. They are clad in classical dress, but only some of them have attributes that facilitate an identification (e. g. Mercury with his winged helmet, Diana with her crescent). A figure in a blue mantle kneels at the king's feet. His cloak is decorated with yellow ornaments that may equally well be read as stars (rather than fleurs-de-lis). His monastic tonsure differs markedly from the long curly wigs of seventeenth-century French fashion, ruling out any allusion to Louis XIV.

The “properly represented” four continents are nowhere to be seen. I would like to suggest instead that the figures surrounding Charles II evoke the four elements. The man with the starry cloak and monastic haircut stands for the highest sphere of the heavens (fire), i. e. Christianity, Jupiter represents the zone below, i. e. the pagan Olympus (air), Neptune is synonymous with water, and the kneeling figure in a brown cloak may be understood as the earth. If this interpretation is correct, the painting was conceived as a climax to the image in the

King's Presence Chamber: Not only did the four continents accept Charles's sovereignty, but so did the four elements. A similar idea had been visualized by Antonio Verrio in his well-known *Sea Triumph of Charles II* (pl. 5), in which an inscription implied that Charles's rule extended over all four elements (“Let the boundary of his empire be the ocean and the limits of his fame be the stars”).¹⁶²

The guidebook of 1755 contains a second important clue in that it records a coordinated colour scheme: The blue bed, the blue colour of the king's Garter mantle,¹⁶³ and the painted blue cloths that decorated the corners of the room all echoed one another (plates 11, 12). I suppose that this colour-coordination not only served to create aesthetic unity but also to forge a meaningful link between the king's bed of state and the ceiling painting.

Every state bed is a symbolic representation of the monarch. At Windsor, the bed was clad in the same colour as was Charles II in the ceiling painting, visualizing his role as sovereign of the Garter. The ceiling painting underlined his authority by presenting him in an extremely formal, centralized composition, enthroned under a canopy that paralleled the canopy over the king's bed. Thus the mural augmented the impression of sovereignty and dignity communicated by the state bed.

Again, the image corresponded to the room's function. When the king knighted his subjects, he often did so in the Great Bedchamber.¹⁶⁴ Its dignified character made it the right site for all sorts of ceremonies. For instance, in 1681 Samuel Morland, the creator of the above-mentioned pumping machine, received in the Great Bedchamber at Windsor Castle the honorary title “Master of Mechanicks,” and very occasionally chapters of the Order of the Garter took place there.¹⁶⁵

By the 1680s, Charles II held a formal *lever* each morning and a *coucher* each evening before he retired to bed.¹⁶⁶ These ceremonies, developed at the court of Louis XIV, emphasized the sacrosanct character of the king's body. He was revered by his courtiers in the bedchamber – just as in the ceiling painting the four elements and the Olympic deities (Jupiter's “court”) paid their tribute to the sovereign. The cosmological imagery



Fig. 42 Peter Vandrebanc after Antonio Verrio. Jupiter and Leda, 1711. Print based on the ceiling painting in the King's Closet at Windsor Castle

of the ceiling corresponded to the solar symbolism of the *lever* and *coucher*, as these ceremonies paralleled the rising and setting of the sun.

The last two rooms of the King's Apartment, the Little Bedchamber and the Closet (fig. 35, nos. 6 and 7), were decorated with erotic episodes from classical mythology that emphasized the private character of these spaces. The Little Bedchamber seems to be identical with the King's Dressing Room described by eighteenth-century guidebooks; its ceiling featured the love story of Jupiter and Danae.¹⁶⁷ Jupiter, the king's classical alter ego, also dominated his closet. Both Bickham and *Les Delices de Windsor* record that the King's Closet contained a ceiling painting of Jupiter and Leda.¹⁶⁸ However, Vandrebanc's engraving of the mural (fig. 42) is labelled "Conclave Reginae" (The Queen's Closet) and repeats the same information even in English: "Painted on ye Cieling [sic] of her Majesty's Closet, in her Royall Pallace of

Windsor." As the print was created in 1711, its inscription probably reflects the fact that Queen Anne had moved in to Charles II's apartment.¹⁶⁹

Despite the rather straightforward depiction of Jupiter's lovemaking (in the guise of a swan) the Closet was not entirely reserved for the sovereign's pleasures but fulfilled more serious functions, too. It served as the king's study where he transacted business and received his ministers.¹⁷⁰ "A remark of James Vernon, on becoming Secretary of State in 1697, 'What figure I shall make in the House and the Bedchamber...,' seems to confirm that the attendance of Ministers was not so much at the *Lever* as waiting for admission to the King's Closet, which was his study and the effective seat of government."¹⁷¹ For nineteenth-century taste, Verrio's ceiling painting in the King's Closet appeared too frivolous and was replaced with a chaste representation of St George.¹⁷²

The Queen's Apartment

A staircase situated to the west of Horn Court led to the queen's lodgings. The King's and Queen's Staircases (fig. 35, H, X) were not only located opposite each other and designed similarly (both being domed)¹⁷³ but echoed each other in their pictorial decorations, too. The domes of both staircases illustrated scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The King's Staircase featured the rebellious Giants being expelled from Olympus by Jupiter, while in the dome of the Queen's Staircase Phaethon was represented "petitioning Apollo for leave to drive the Chariot of the Sun."¹⁷⁴ However, Phaethon did not manage to restrain the horses of the sun and caused so much havoc on earth that Jupiter killed him with his thunderbolt.¹⁷⁵

The punishment of hubris was therefore the subject matter of both the King's and Queen's Staircases. In both cases Jupiter, the king of Olympus, restored just order by sending the offenders down from the heavens to which they had aspired. Both pictorial programmes alluded to Charles's triumph over his opponents. In a poem of 1666, Edmund Waller had told the story of Phaethon's fall as a simile for the defeat of the Dutch navy in the Second Anglo-Dutch War.¹⁷⁶ However, the same episode could be related equally well to the civil war, with Phaethon signifying the "usurpers," whose "ambition" had made them strive for powers exceeding their own capabilities.¹⁷⁷

Although the general theme of the decoration of both staircases was similar, it was treated with gender-specific differences. The King's Staircase represented a world of chaos and war that had to be checked by Jupiter's supreme power. Whereas its wall paintings depicted ancient battles, those of the Queen's Staircase visualized more tranquil themes: the metamorphoses of Phaethon's grieving sisters into trees and Cynus into a swan, further consequences of Phaethon's fall from heaven.¹⁷⁸ In addition, each wall contained two figures "being painted in Umber, and heightened with Gold" that appeared to the eye "like Brass Statues": Geography, Comedy, Tragedy, Epic Poetry, Sculpture, Painting, Music, and Mathematics.¹⁷⁹ Thus the Queen's Staircase

evoked a harmonious vision of the cosmos under the direction of Apollo, the sun god and protector of the arts. Consequently, personifications of the four elements, the four winds, and the signs of the zodiac – all symbols of cosmic order – completed the pictorial programme.¹⁸⁰

Via the Queen's Staircase a visitor entered the Queen's Guard Chamber (fig. 35, A). As in the King's Guard Chamber, its walls were decorated with ornamental displays of arms (pl. 13).¹⁸¹ "The Ceiling of this Room, which was painted by Verrio, (as indeed all the other Ceilings are in general throughout the whole Palace) represents Britannia, in all her Glory, seated on a Globe; and Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, paying their Court to her."¹⁸² This was a variation on the King's Presence Chamber, with one decisive difference. While in the King's Apartment the four continents paid homage to a portrait of Charles II (fig. 40), in the Queen's Apartment they honoured Britain rather than the queen herself – a subtle reminder of her inferior position.

Verrio's ceiling painting in the Queen's Presence Chamber is still *in situ* (fig. 35, B). At its centre he portrayed Catherine of Braganza under a large canopy, surrounded by four female figures (pl. 14). According to Bickham, these are "the graces,"¹⁸³ but from their attributes they can easily be recognized as the four cardinal virtues. Justice (with a sword) and Fortitude (with a column) look admiringly at Queen Catherine, while Prudence (with a mirror and snake) and Temperance (pouring water into wine) are seated in front of her. The archangel Michael, recognizable from his sword and scales, chases from the heavens a number of evil-looking personifications, described as "Justice driving away Sediton, Envy, and other evil Genii."¹⁸⁴

The guidebooks do not comment on the rest of the ceiling painting; nor are recent publications any more detailed.¹⁸⁵ However, most of the figures can be clearly identified by their attributes. Neptune presides over the left side of the mural, probably accompanied by his wife Salacia / Amphitrite. Below him, a group of Olympian gods have assembled, namely Mars (with a spear), Minerva (with a shield featuring the image of Medusa), and Diana (with a crescent). The two gods to the right of this group, a man and a woman without attributes, could be

Pluto and his wife Proserpina, the lords of the underworld, because below them two putti ride on the three-headed Cerberus, with one of the putti presenting Pluto's typical attribute, the bident.

On the right side of the mural, the panorama of Olympian gods continues. Following courtly hierarchy, the royal couple Jupiter and Juno occupy the highest position. Below them are a man and a woman without attributes, along with Apollo (the sun god with a halo and lyre) and Mercury (with a winged helmet and caduceus). Still lower down, Bacchus (with vine leaves) and Hercules (with his club) are seated, watched by a sphinx. Mercury, the male messenger of the gods, speaks to his female counterpart Iris (seated on a rainbow) and points out to her two putti who fly in the air above. One of the putti waves the uroboros (symbol of eternity) and a scythe, the latter of which he seems to have stolen from the winged personification of time who holds up the canopy. This configuration signifies that Time is powerless, i. e. Catherine's fame will not become obscured but rather will last in eternity.

In each of the four corners of the framing architecture is a pair of stone-coloured personifications of victory holding a laurel wreath. These emphasize the theme of the main group, i. e. the triumph of the queen's virtues over any evil. The personification of divine providence and the presence of the archangel Michael suggest that it is God himself who wills this.¹⁸⁶

The Olympian gods were a pictorial counterpart for the courtiers who assembled in the Queen's Presence Chamber. As in the King's Presence Chamber, the ceiling painting conditioned the audiences held in this space by showing visitors how they were expected to behave: with admiration for the queen. The whole composition centres on Catherine of Braganza, with almost every god or goddess looking or gesturing towards her. Opposition to her wishes is clearly inappropriate, as demonstrated in the vices' punishment and expulsion from Olympus (from the court).

Just like Charles II, Catherine of Braganza had two main reception rooms, the Presence Chamber and the adjacent Privy Chamber (fig. 35, C). The composition of the ceiling painting in the Queen's Privy Chamber resem-

bles that in the King's Drawing Room in that it presents Catherine of Braganza on a triumphal chariot (figs. 41; pl. 15). Because the iconography of this mural has been completely misunderstood, I will discuss it in detail in a subsequent section.¹⁸⁷ For the moment, suffice it to say that in this case, too, there existed links to the corresponding room of the King's Apartment. While the King's Privy Chamber immortalized his role as defender of the Anglican faith, the Queen's Privy Chamber highlighted her adherence to Catholicism. Both audience rooms visualized the virtues and beliefs that respectively informed the king's and queen's decisions. Appropriately, Catherine's Catholic chapel could be accessed from the Privy Chamber.¹⁸⁸

The Queen's Gallery (fig. 35, D) did not have a counterpart in the King's Apartment. It was situated between the Queen's Privy Chamber and the Drawing Room (fig. 35, C, E). George Bickham, writing in 1742, and the guidebook of 1755 called this space "The Ball-Room," but it is unlikely that this reflects the original use of the longitudinal room, which the building accounts designate as the "Gallery," i. e. as a room for promenades and the display of paintings.¹⁸⁹ As Anna Keay has pointed out, the social activities of the court centred on the Queen's Drawing Room where Catherine of Braganza held her "circle."¹⁹⁰ The circle was the equivalent of the French *salon*, an evening assembly for conversation and social games attended by the king and other senior members of the court. The French ambassador told Louis XIV that no self-respecting courtier was ever absent from Catherine's circle.¹⁹¹ One of its main attractions consisted in the fact that "all sorts of gentlemen and ladies who simply looked respectable enough to pass the ushers' eye could gain access."¹⁹² Well over a hundred people usually attended.¹⁹³ Therefore, the Queen's Gallery probably served as an extension of the Drawing Room so as to accommodate the large number of participants.¹⁹⁴

The Queen's Drawing Room was important for Charles II because "for the king to have this freedom of movement it was necessary that he should not be the host. By attending his wife's gathering he could resign the formalities largely to her without leaving the walls of

his own palaces.”¹⁹⁵ This allowed him a flexibility of communication that was impossible in the formal surroundings of his own apartment.

Grand Duke Cosimo III’s secretary reported regarding his master’s visit to London that he attended Catherine of Braganza’s circle “because it enabled him to meet great company of court without jeopardizing the unofficial status of his visit. Just as he was able to meet foreign diplomats so long as it was in a ceremonially neutral space (such as the lodgings of a third party), ‘his highness appeared at different times [in the queen’s circle] as in the third place.’”¹⁹⁶

Rather strikingly, the concept of the Queen’s Drawing Room and even the terminology used by Cosimo’s secretary indicate that this room was a seventeenth-century precursor to the “third space” of intercultural negotiation discussed by Edward Soja, Homi Bhabha, and others.¹⁹⁷ While in his own apartment the king had to assert his sovereignty, in the Queen’s Drawing Room he could mingle with people from different socio-cultural backgrounds and explore modes of interaction that were unthinkable in his own space.

Since the Queen’s Gallery probably served as an extension of the Drawing Room and provided a place for informal social intercourse, the ceiling painting (pl. 16) commanded particular attention and may have furnished material for discussion. *Les Delices de Windsore* of 1755 gave the following description: “On the Ceiling is represented in the Character of Perseus and Andromeda, Europe delivered, or made free by King Charles II. Over the head of Europe is wrote in a Scrowl *Europa Liberata*; on the Shield of Perseus is inscribed *Persius Britannicus*, Mars attended by the Heavenly Deities offering the Olive Branch. On the coving of this Chamber is the story of Perseus and Andromeda, the four Seasons, and the signs of the Zodiack; the whole finely hightned in gold.”¹⁹⁸

The addition of inscriptions testifies to the importance of this mural: Verrio and his patrons wished to make sure that the audience understood its meaning. Even for people without any experience in reading Baroque iconography, it must have been evident from the simple Latin texts that “the British Perseus” (Charles II)

had liberated Europe. But what did this message mean?

Although Britain was involved in quite a few military conflicts during Charles II’s reign,¹⁹⁹ none of the victories attributed to him was so groundbreaking that it would have justified the title of Europe’s liberator. According to Gibson, Verrio’s painting “referred to Charles’s arbitration which led to the Treaty of Nijmegen, signed in August 1678, bringing a welcome peace to Europe.”²⁰⁰ However, we need to bear in mind that the Queen’s Gallery belonged to the rooms decorated by Verrio before August 1678 and that the Treaty of Nijmegen marked a particularly low point in Britain’s international prestige.²⁰¹

In my view, Verrio’s representation of *Europa Liberata* had a more general and timeless meaning. When, in his 1664 treatise *Proedria Basilikè*, the “historiographer Royal” James Howell had sought to prove Britain’s precedence over the other European states, to buttress his argument he had apostrophized England’s monarch as “Liberator Orbis” (Liberator of the World).²⁰² This was based on the idea that Britain’s dominion over the seas enabled it to assure a balance of power between the two great continental forces, the king of France and the emperor from the House of Habsburg, thereby acting as “Arbiter of all Christendom.”²⁰³ This position as “Holder of the Balance” constituted the “greatest point of honour that a Prince can attaine,” because it guaranteed the freedom of continental Europe from oppression by either France or the Habsburgs.²⁰⁴

The mural in the Queen’s Gallery curiously amalgamated this political message with a love story drawn from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.²⁰⁵ The chivalric romance of Perseus freeing the distressed damsel Andromeda may have been regarded as particularly appropriate for Windsor where the Order of the Garter resided. It is impossible to judge from Wild’s watercolour how Andromeda was represented, but usually she appears completely naked.²⁰⁶ If Verrio’s painting followed this convention, its erotic connotations would have added a special allure to the queen’s circle, in which “the men and women of the court might mingle freely.”²⁰⁷

In comparison to the decoration of the gallery, the programme of the much smaller Queen’s Drawing Room

seems to have been less important and was poorly documented. Apart from Wild's watercolour (pl. 17) there exists only a very brief description in *Les Delices de Windsor*, and Bickham does not mention the ceiling painting at all.²⁰⁸ Although this data does not suffice for any iconographic discussion, Anna Key is certainly right to stress the link between the room's function and decoration: "the major building works of the mid-1670s reconfigured the queen's withdrawing room, installing a large ceiling canvas by Antonio Verrio depicting, appropriately, a great assembly of the gods."²⁰⁹ As in the Queen's Presence Chamber, the Olympian gods mirrored the Caroline court.

Unlike the king with his Great and Little Bedchamber, Catherine of Braganza had only one bedchamber (fig. 35, F). The room was furnished in a manner similar to the king's private sleeping quarters (Little Bedchamber).²¹⁰ It may thus be inferred that the queen did not use her bedchamber for audiences.²¹¹ As in the early nineteenth century James Wyatt extended the Queen's Bedchamber by annexing a small staircase and anteroom to the south, Stephanoff's watercolour cannot document Verrio's original mural.²¹² Similarly, the adjacent "Beauties Room" and Dressing Room were combined. In the newly created spaces, Francis Rigaud and Matthew Cotes Wyatt painted the ceilings to match Verrio's originals.²¹³ I will therefore refrain from discussing these later additions.

Verrio's Murals as Agents of Conflict Resolution

As has become apparent from my analysis of the king's and queen's reception spaces, opposition and conflict were recurring themes. Before embarking on a discussion of a particularly telling case of pictorial conflict resolution, I would like to summarize the general approach to conflict resolution that found its expression in the murals studied in the two preceding sections.

The King's Guard Chamber framed the king and queen (Jupiter and Juno) with a set of diametrically opposed options for domestic and foreign policy alike: war and peace, conflict and conciliation. The two circular

paintings that contained these allegories seemed like the pans of a giant scale: in perfect equilibrium, suggesting that the royal couple held the right balance but also that it depended on each visitor's behaviour to what side the balance might tip.

Similar messages were encoded in the King's Drawing Room and the Queen's Gallery. The king is peaceful like Apollo and at the same time a warrior like Hercules or Perseus; as a contemporary Hercules Musagetes, he unites the arts of war and peace and is thus well equipped for any challenge that might present itself. Consequently, he can act as "Arbiter of all Christendom." By holding the balance of power between the main continental forces, he overcomes conflicts and brings Europe peace as a "British Perseus."

The king's superior powers were emphasized by several pictorial strategies. He appeared as a demigod in the skies (in his Drawing Room and Great Bedchamber), the *Syodus Carolinum* visualized his divine protection (in the Presence Chamber and Drawing Room), props such as a painted canopy and a triumphal chariot underlined his authority (fig. 41; pl. 11), and the homage of the four continents and the four elements suggested his superhuman importance for the destiny of the whole world (in the Presence Chamber and Great Bedchamber). In addition, Verrio's murals in Horn Court and the King's Staircase put Charles II in historical perspective by implying his superiority to the rulers of Troy, Greece, and Rome.

The paintings in the King's Apartment visualized two fundamentally opposed ways of approaching the sovereign, corresponding to the dichotomy of war and peace. On the one hand, Verrio's works repeatedly referred to those who had sought conflict and rebelled against the king. They had received their just punishment as demonstrated by the murals of the King's and Queen's Staircases and the King's Presence Chamber and Drawing Room. On the other hand, Verrio's paintings depicted those who sought a positive relationship with the sovereign and admired him. Their behaviour was presented as a model for the king's visitors (in his Presence Chamber and Great Bedchamber).

The ceiling paintings clearly served to influence the way in which courtiers, visitors, and foreign ambassa-

dors perceived the king, thereby seeking to condition the course and outcomes of audiences. The murals suggested that opposition to the king's wishes was pointless because of his almost superhuman power and his numerous victories over those who had dared to rebel against him. Verrio's works warned visitors to refrain from criticism (by alluding in the King's Eating Room to Midas's destiny) and showed them how to react to the sovereign (with admiration and reverence). Paintings were particularly well suited for this task, as they could be understood by visitors from every nation, regardless of their language skills. The murals can therefore be regarded as mediators in an act of cultural translation.

The pictorial programme might seem repetitive, given that the same themes appeared in several contexts (triumph over rebellion, admiration for the superhuman powers of the king). However, in my view that was precisely the intention behind the murals. Repeated over and over, these messages became firmly inscribed into viewers' memories. Verrio's works constituted a painted discourse on the British monarchy, conditioned the official image and self-perception of the court, and strove to become self-fulfilling prophecies: By claiming that opposition to the king was pointless and never successful, the murals sought to minimize conflicts.

The focus on rebellion was an obvious reference to the English Civil War, but I would like to suggest that it held a deeper meaning in that it reflected the ongoing conflict between Charles II and Parliament. As explained in chapter 2, in 1660 the king had been welcomed with public joy but also with great expectations. From the start of his rule, Charles was forced to accept demands from Parliament that ran counter to his own wishes and convictions.²¹⁴ Particularly controversial subjects were his foreign policy, the Third Anglo-Dutch War, tolerance towards Catholics, and – due to the lack of legitimate sons – the question of who would eventually become Charles's successor.²¹⁵ Consequently, during the 1670s and 1680s many debates in Parliament irritated and frustrated the king. Seen in this context, the emphasis on Charles overcoming opposition held additional topical significance: It could be read as a warning to parliamentarians not to overstretch his patience.

In fact, there is at least one documented instance in which Charles II used his newly decorated state apartment to intimidate his opponents. In 1683, the Tuscan diplomat Francesco Terriesi reported that on 18 June a delegation of aldermen and citizens headed by the lord mayor of London had gone to see the king at Windsor Castle because they wanted to protest against his plans to revoke the privileges of London codified in the city's charter. According to Terriesi, the king received them "sedendo nel suo privato consiglio" (literally "sitting in his private council").²¹⁶ John Evelyn gave an even more precise description of the audience:

I was present, & saw & heard the humble Submission & Petition of the Lord-Major Sherifs & Aldermen in behalfe of the City of London, upon the Quo Warranto against their Charter, which they delivered to his Majestie in the presence Chamber: It was delivered kneeling; & then the King & Counsel, went into the Council-Chamber, the Major & his Brethren attending still in the Presence: After a short space, they were called in, & my Lord Keeper made a speech, to them, exaggerating the disorderly & roytous behaviour in the late Election [...] & so they tamely parted, with their so antient priveleges, after they had dined & ben [sic] treated by the King &c.²¹⁷

It is significant that the delegation was made to wait in the Presence Chamber, where they could study Verrio's ceiling painting featuring a personification of opposition/rebellion being chased away under the triumphant image of the king (fig. 40). Afterwards, the delegates were called into the "Council-Chamber." The room in question was probably the Great Bedchamber, in which occasional council meetings are documented to have taken place.²¹⁸ In order to reach this space, the delegation must have crossed the King's Drawing Room, in which Charles's victory over rebellion was spelled out most triumphantly. In the adjacent Great Bedchamber, the delegates were then confronted by the king in all his majesty, enthroned both in person and on the ceiling (fig. 35, nos. 4 and 5; pl. 11). It was certainly hard to

maintain one's stance in the face of such oppressive royal power. In the end, the lord mayor and aldermen lost their case; in October 1683 the charter was forfeited and London "became a country village, legally speaking."²¹⁹

Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot

As the king's rooms were the first to be decorated, they could serve as a model for the queen's. Many motifs in her apartment echoed those on the king's side.²²⁰ The following case study examines the decoration of her main reception spaces, namely the Queen's Presence Chamber and Privy Chamber (fig. 35, B, C). How did the murals in these rooms address the conflicts faced by Queen Catherine of Braganza?

Charles II had married the Portuguese infanta primarily for financial reasons – although in the end his hopes for a rich dowry were thwarted, as Catherine's relatives did not keep their promises.²²¹ When the king announced the marriage in Parliament on 8 May 1661 "no contemporary English diarist notes any public expressions of pleasure or, indeed, any other response."²²² Upon Catherine's arrival in August 1662, the court was disappointed by her unfashionable looks, and her Catholic faith made her even less attractive for most British contemporaries.²²³ As was customary at the time, the king preferred his mistresses, and Catherine's position became increasingly precarious because she failed to produce the desired heir.²²⁴ In the 1670s, this gave rise to speculations about Charles's future successor. The next in line to the throne was his brother James, Duke of York, but because of his Catholic leanings, a large part of the public disapproved of this option. The ensuing severe crisis of the British monarchy was perceived as partly Catherine's fault; her greatest enemies even suggested that the king should divorce her and remarry in order to sire a legitimate Protestant heir.²²⁵

Charles II himself seems to have had Catholic sympathies, probably inspired by his Catholic mother Queen

Henrietta Maria and his long exile at the French court. In the Secret Treaty of Dover, signed in 1670, Charles promised Louis XIV that, at an unspecified time, he would reconcile with the Church of Rome and reinstate Catholicism as the national faith of his country.²²⁶ In 1672, he improved the situation of Catholics in Britain through the Declaration of Indulgence.²²⁷ In the same year, it became publicly known that his brother James was a committed Catholic, who wished to withdraw from the Church of England.²²⁸ Things were made worse by James's decision to marry the Catholic princess Mary of Modena.²²⁹

The British public was appalled by these developments.²³⁰ Shortly before James's wedding in 1673, a procession mocking Catholicism and culminating in the burning of an effigy of the pope was staged in London. From then on, such processions occurred annually.²³¹ Due to widespread discontent with the pro-Catholic Declaration of Indulgence, Charles II was forced to withdraw it in March 1673.²³² Moreover, Parliament passed the Test Act. This piece of legislation required all holders of government offices to denounce Catholicism and to take Anglican communion at least once a year.²³³ Consequently, the duke of York had to step down as Lord High Admiral.²³⁴

Whig politicians stirred up anti-Catholic sentiment because they sought to prevent James's succession.²³⁵ In 1678, the so-called Popish Plot, a fictitious Jesuit conspiracy, caused a wave of anti-Catholic mania;²³⁶ several "witnesses" claimed that the conspirators had planned to kill Charles II so that James would inherit the throne and reconvert England to Catholicism.²³⁷ The false allegations ultimately served to gain support for the Exclusion Bill, discussed in some highly dramatic sessions of Parliament between 1679 and 1681. Charles resisted the attempts to exclude his brother from the succession and dissolved Parliament in 1681.²³⁸ Meanwhile, Catherine faced the greatest crisis of her life when she was accused of being the chief conspirator behind the Popish Plot.

In the following pages, I will argue that the murals in the Queen's Privy and Presence Chambers may be read as Catherine's response to the Popish Plot. However, before this hypothesis can be examined in detail, it is nec-

essary to establish a precise date for Verrio's ceiling paintings. As explained above, the royal apartments were decorated in two phases, with the queen's reception spaces belonging to the second phase.²³⁹ Verrio's painting on "ye ceiling of ye Privy Chamb.r" is mentioned in an account roll covering the years 1678 to 1680, under the heading "Sundry Extraordinary painted & gilded & carv'd workes performed in his Ma.ties new buildings at Windsor between ye [blank] of October 1678 and ye [blank] of Sept. 1680 by forreigne Artists."²⁴⁰ The commencement of these works can be dated more precisely with the help of the treasury books, which mention on 31 October 1678 "works to be done at Windsor Castle," including "Signor Verrio to paint the Queen's lodgings and the two large staircases leading to the King and Queen's apartment."²⁴¹ Therefore, Verrio embarked on the murals in late October or early November 1678.

According to the Windsor account book, between this date and August 1679 four spaces were decorated.²⁴² The account lists the works in the order in which Verrio executed them, beginning with "The Kings Carved Staires next the Kings with=Drawing Roome," followed by "The Queenes Privie Chamb(er)," "The Kings greate Staires goeing into ye Guardchamb(er)," and "The Queenes Presence Chamber" (fig. 35, B, C, X, Y).²⁴³ It can thus be inferred that the King's Carved Stairs were painted in November/December 1678,²⁴⁴ before Verrio moved on to the Queen's Privy Chamber (decorated approximately in January/February 1679). As the King's Great Staircase boasted both wall and ceiling paintings, it would have required more time (March to May 1679). The Queen's Presence Chamber is likely to have followed in June/July 1679.

With these dates in mind, we can now turn to consider the chronology of events that Queen Catherine went through. On 13 August 1678, a certain Christopher Kirkby informed the king that a Benedictine and a Jesuit lay brother had vowed to shoot him, "and if this failed Sir George Wakeman, his wife's physician, was to poison him."²⁴⁵ The chief witness, Titus Oates, brought his accusations before a justice of the peace, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, who was found dead in October 1678.²⁴⁶ As "papists" were suspected of his murder, there was a

wave of panic in London. During the inquiries into his death, William Bedloe, a professional criminal, testified on 8 November 1678 that Godfrey had been killed in the queen's London residence, Somerset House, which was subsequently searched.²⁴⁷

On 13 November, the king granted a private audience to Titus Oates in order to question him about the queen's involvement in the plot. In a further hearing on 24 November, Oates claimed to have seen a letter from Wake-man in which he stated that his mistress (the queen) would assist in the king's murder; he also reported to have overheard a discussion at Somerset House in which a woman, demonstrably Catherine of Braganza, had said "that she would not take these affronts any longer that had been done unto her, but would revenge the violation of her bed."²⁴⁸ In addition, Oates stated that the queen had given £5,000 to the Society of Jesus as a fee for Charles's assassination.²⁴⁹ However, he was unable to show the room in Somerset House where the above-mentioned discussion had allegedly taken place. This seems to have convinced Charles of his wife's innocence. He told Bishop Gilbert Burnet that the queen was "a weak woman, and had some disagreeable humours, but was not capable of a wicked thing; and considering his faultiness towards her in other things he thought it a horrid thing to abandon her."²⁵⁰

On 28 November 1678, both Oates and Bedloe publicly accused the queen of conspiring to kill the king. Bedloe corroborated Oates's testimony, claiming that he had been present at Somerset House when the queen presided over a meeting of the conspirators Coleman, Belasyse, and Powis and that she had "wept at what was proposed there, but was over-persuaded to consent."²⁵¹ Moved by this "evidence," on the same day the House of Commons proposed to ban the queen from London, yet the House of Lords defeated their motion.²⁵² In January 1679, the Tuscan envoy Salvetti reported that Miss Crane, one of Catherine's maids of honour, had been arrested "sotto l'accusa di aver danzato intorno al cadavere del Godfrey" (accused of having danced around Godfrey's body).²⁵³

"Catherine's life may now justly have been said to hang on a hair. Could the like evidence be brought for-

ward by other lying informers as had already been produced, there was no rescue for her from the scaffold.”²⁵⁴ In this extremely critical situation, the queen turned to her Portuguese relatives for help. According to the Tuscan envoy, by February 1679 rumours had spread in Portugal that Catherine was incarcerated in the Tower, awaiting her trial; this caused such public commotion that English people in Lisbon feared for their lives.²⁵⁵ In the same month, the Portuguese court decided to send an ambassador to protect Catherine. Henrique de Sousa Tavares, Marquês de Arronches, left Lisbon in February and had his first audience with Charles II on 19 May 1679.²⁵⁶ A letter from Catherine to her brother, dated 17 March 1679, reflects the anguish of both queen and court: “News comes that we may expect the Ambassador in a few days now, This Court be(ing) in such state of Turmoil I fear lest he be not receiv’d with that Acclaim I could desire.”²⁵⁷

Charles II was under immense pressure. “Fearing the Fury of Parliament,” he sent his Catholic brother James abroad²⁵⁸ while Parliament was preparing the Exclusion Bill that sought to ban the latter from the succession.²⁵⁹ Moreover, in June/July 1679 the king had to deal with a rebellion in Scotland,²⁶⁰ in addition to the trial against the queen’s physician George Wakeman, who threatened to accuse Catherine of complicity in the plot.²⁶¹ During the trial, which opened on 18 July 1679, Oates repeated his evidence on the conduct of the queen at Somerset House.²⁶² In the end, however, Wakeman was found not guilty, and the royal couple received him at Windsor Castle “con molta benignità.”²⁶³ As Wakeman’s acquittal helped to improve Catherine’s situation, rumours circulated that the verdict had been “bought” by the Portuguese ambassador.²⁶⁴

During the months of acute crisis, the king supported his wife without hesitation. “At once, when the first whisper of the tempest began to be heard, he had sent for her from Somerset House, and insisted that she should occupy her long-deserted apartments beside him. He showered on her open marks of respect and admiration.”²⁶⁵ As the queen’s enemies sought to discredit her by claiming that Charles had been married to the mother of his illegitimate son, the duke of Monmouth, the king

made two public proclamations (in March and June 1679) “that he never gave or made any contract of marriage, nor was married to any woman whatever but to his present wife Queen Catherine.”²⁶⁶ After Wakeman’s acquittal, he redoubled his attentions for Catherine and publicly showed on every occasion how complete the affection and confidence was between them.²⁶⁷ When, in November 1679, Lord Shaftesbury moved that “a bill of divorce might pass, which, by separating the King from Queen Catherine, might enable him to marry a Protestant consort,” Charles personally visited Shaftesbury’s allies to entreat them to vote against the measure.²⁶⁸ However, Catherine’s tribulations were not over, and as late as 1681 she wrote to her brother “my life at present is in great danger.”²⁶⁹ Only after Shaftesbury’s arrest in 1681 was she finally cleared from suspicion of conspiracy.²⁷⁰

By correlating the dates of Verrio’s works with these historical events, it is evident that the queen’s two main reception rooms at Windsor Castle were decorated almost immediately after she had been accused of plotting to murder her husband. Moreover, the Queen’s Presence Chamber was completed in the month of Wakeman’s acquittal (July 1679), i. e. its pictorial programme must have been finalized in the nerve-racking months preceding his trial. So, to what extent did the murals respond to the severe crisis faced by Catherine of Braganza during the last months of 1678 and the first half of 1679?

In decorating the queen’s reception spaces, Verrio adopted the same mode of representation that had already been chosen for the King’s Apartment: He staged complex allegorical statements and suggested their contemporary significance by including portraits of the king and queen respectively. This mode was advantageous precisely because of its ambiguity. A straightforward depiction of contemporary history could soon become embarrassing if the course of events changed in unforeseen ways or if recognizable persons depicted in the scenes fell out of favour.²⁷¹ By contrast, the more general, plurivalent character of allegories made them ideally suited for decorations meant to be preserved for decades or even centuries. They could encode messages of topical relevance without becoming obsolete in future ages. In addition, rather than just depicting a

certain historical moment, allegorical paintings prompted viewers to reflect on the underlying causes of events and thus topped the expressive potential of “mere” history painting.

The Queen’s Presence Chamber provides a good example of this strategy of representation. As explained above, the ceiling painting portrays Catherine of Braganza amid the cardinal virtues and an admiring celestial court while personified vices are expelled by St Michael (pl. 14, 18).²⁷² Since the allegory celebrated the queen’s virtuousness in general terms, it was a perfectly appropriate, timeless decoration for her audience chamber; even successive queens could relate positively to this image.²⁷³ However, Catherine’s contemporaries would certainly have noticed the topical references to Wakeman’s trial and to the charges against the queen. Implicit in her physician’s alleged plan to poison the king was an accusation of the queen herself as head of the conspiracy. Verrio’s mural responded to such allegations by visualizing Catherine’s superiority: Through her virtues she overcomes her vicious enemies.

When Verrio embarked on the design for the painting, Wakeman’s trial had been in preparation for quite some time but had not actually taken place.²⁷⁴ Thus Catherine’s painted triumph over her adversaries was an expression of wishful thinking, even a self-fulfilling prophecy, proclaiming her innocence by associating her with the virtues of temperance, prudence, fortitude, and above all justice. Justice holds the most prominent place directly beneath Catherine’s right hand and looks at her adoringly, while Fame points her trumpet towards Justice’s sword (pl. 14). This configuration indicates that the queen’s fame, based on her virtues, will be defended by Justice.

By opposing virtues and vices, Verrio sought to visualize the forces that shaped the current conflict. Catherine of Braganza herself saw her situation precisely in these terms. In a letter to her brother, written on 17 March 1679, she did not comment on the political motivations of her enemies but evoked a fight between innocence and the forces of evil: “I am most sure of my Innocence of all those things which Malicious Reports do impugne against me; likewise I am sure the King alsoe doth

hold me innocent of them, and all those who are fair-minded; but for the Evil-minded there be no greater crime than Innocence; my trust is that the Almighty will establish the Truth, ‘tis to His Hands I commend myself, desiring nothing save to conform to His Will. See to it that Special Prayers and pious deeds are continu’d that it maye help us in being heard.”²⁷⁵

Catherine’s appeal for God’s help found its direct visual counterpart in the ceiling painting. The archangel Michael, equipped with a sword and scales as attributes of justice, chases the rebellious vices from the queen’s presence. Cerberus, hell’s watchdog, barks at them as they disappear into Hades (pl. 14). Moreover, a statue personifying divine providence, placed above the queen’s head, suggests that all this will happen according to God’s will.²⁷⁶

The parallels between Catherine’s letter and Verrio’s mural corroborate the queen’s personal participation in defining the pictorial programme. Verrio’s designs certainly had to be approved by the king before they came to be executed, and it is highly likely that at least the preparatory drawings for the Queen’s Apartment were discussed with Catherine of Braganza, too. It is unknown who actually authored the pictorial programme for Windsor Castle,²⁷⁷ but according to Jacobsen and Thurley, the earl of Arlington may have been involved.²⁷⁸ From 1674, Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, was Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and in 1681 his wife became Groom of the Stole to the queen.²⁷⁹ His close proximity to both royal protagonists, his literary interests, and his previous experience as a diplomat and secretary of state certainly qualified him very well for the task of devising the pictorial programme.²⁸⁰ I suppose that Arlington drew up the first ideas for the programme, which were then refined and readjusted in consultation with Verrio and his patrons.

As mentioned above, the pictorial programme of the royal apartments has a somewhat repetitive character. This indicates that it had not been worked out in every detail from the start of the decorative campaign in 1676 but evolved in successive phases. The topical references in the Queen’s Presence Chamber are a case in point, and one may wonder whether the decoration of the

King's Great Staircase was an afterthought, too. Verrio painted this staircase between approximately March and May 1679, after the rest of the King's Apartment had been completed. The subject matter (Jupiter vanquishing the rebellious Giants) can be read as a reference to the Restoration, but the Restoration had already been immortalized in the King's Drawing Room (fig. 41). Thus, for Charles, the Giants may actually have signified the Parliament that caused him so much trouble in 1679.²⁸¹ In that case, the painted triumph over his adversaries was (just as in the Queen's Presence Chamber) wishful thinking rather than accomplished fact. The ambiguity of allegory permitted the creation of a painted self-fulfilling prophecy that motivated the king to proceed with all rigour against his opponents, but the pictorial language was so diplomatic that nobody needed to feel attacked or take offence.

While connections between the events of 1678/79 and the decoration of the Queen's Presence Chamber and the King's Staircase can be detected fairly easily, the pictorial programme of the Queen's Privy Chamber is more complicated to decipher. In 1755, the guidebook *Les Delices de Windsore* offered the following explanation of the painting created during the first months of 1679 (pl. 15): "On the Ceiling is Britannia represented in the Person of Queen Catherine, in a Carr drawn by Swans to the Temple of Virtue, and attended by Flora, Ceres, Pomona & c. with other decorations heightened with Gold."²⁸² This minimal and partly erroneous interpretation has been repeated ever since, and no attempt has been made to identify the numerous other figures.²⁸³ My interpretation will be based on the two standard manuals with which every seventeenth-century Italian artist was familiar: Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* and Vincenzo Cartari's *Immagini delli dei de gl'antichi*.²⁸⁴

The main protagonist of Verrio's painting, placed at the centre of the ceiling on a triumphal chariot, certainly represents Catherine of Braganza (fig. 43). This figure resembles contemporary portraits of the queen²⁸⁵ and is visually associated with the English and Portuguese coats of arms, held aloft by putti; she wears a crown as a sign of her noble birth, and one of the Three Graces hands her the English royal crown. However, the tradi-

tional identification of Catherine with Britannia is unfounded, as she does not bear any of Britannia's usual attributes.²⁸⁶ Instead, she displays a flaming heart as a symbol of the loving union between Britain and Portugal achieved through her marriage to Charles II.

According to Ripa's *Iconologia*, the swans drawing Catherine's chariot and the Three Graces standing behind her are typical companions of Venus.²⁸⁷ An attractive, almost naked young blonde is seated at the queen's feet, next to a pair of putti with a dove. As the dove is a further standard attribute of the goddess of love, I interpret this blonde woman as the earthly Venus (signifying *amor profano*), who has been dethroned by the chaste, celestial Venus (*amor sacro*), the virtuous Queen Catherine of Braganza, at whom she now looks admiringly.²⁸⁸

Catherine's chariot moves towards a circular temple located on the left (western) side of the ceiling (pl. 15). Three allegorical figures and several putti hover in front of the sacred building. Cupid, the beautiful winged youth, bears the torch of Hymen, god of marriage.²⁸⁹ The olive branch and cornucopia held by the other two figures are both attributes of Peace.²⁹⁰ The whole group thus suggests that peace and plenty result from the marriage of Charles II and his Portuguese wife.

Peace was regarded as an essential prerequisite for abundance because only in times of peace were people free to cultivate the land. Verrio expressed this idea through two putti who water the soil, placing the four seasons right next to them. According to the guidebook quoted above, Queen Catherine is "attended by Flora, Ceres, Pomona & c."²⁹¹ Flora (with a wreath of flowers) personifies spring, Ceres (with a sheaf of corn) summer, and Pomona (the goddess associated with the care of *pomi*, the fruit that fills her cornucopia) autumn. The old lady warming her hands by a fire is winter – and, at the same time, Pomona's lover Vertumnus in disguise.²⁹²

Through their gazes and gestures, Flora and Pomona establish a link with Catherine of Braganza. In offering her fruit and flowers, they allude not only to the fertility of Britain's soil but also to that expected of the queen. The six little heads framing Flora's wreath may well have been intended to immortalize Catherine's dead children since she had suffered several miscarriages.²⁹³ Stillborn



Fig. 43 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Detail of the ceiling painting: the triumph of Queen Catherine of Braganza. Queen's Privy Chamber, Windsor Castle

babies and children who had died in infancy were often included in group family portraits as little cupids.²⁹⁴ By drawing attention to her miscarriages, the queen may have wished to imply that Britain's dynastic crisis was not entirely her fault: She had indeed fulfilled her duties as a wife, but fate had not meant her children to live.²⁹⁵

While the left half of the ceiling painting visualizes Catherine's role as the king's wife, the right half is dedicated to her personal virtues. The three personifications seated on the upper band of clouds form a sequel to the preceding Queen's Presence Chamber, complementing the four cardinal virtues with these three theological virtues. They are easily identifiable by their attributes: green-clad Hope with her anchor, Charity in red, attended by the children whom she cares for, and Faith in pure white, with a cross and chalice and the scriptures. Below Faith sits Temperance, who pours water into wine. The three allegories next to her bear attributes that Ripa associates with the virtues of chastity, obedience, and the patient endurance of sorrow: respectively a white veil, a yoke, and a crown of thorns and scourge.²⁹⁶ As the scourge was widely used in Catholic devotional practice, it also served as a visual reminder of the queen's Catholic faith. By associating herself with personifications of seven virtues embodying essential Christian values, Catherine sought to present herself as an ideal wife – in marked contrast to Charles's lascivious mistresses.

The allegorical composition is framed by a painted balustrade on which rest twelve golden vessels and golden vases filled with flowers. In each corner, two golden putti place the royal crown atop two large letter C's that face each other (the initials of the royal couple Charles and Catherine). In addition, the putti bear attributes that refer to the cardinal virtues: mirror and snake (Prudence), scales (Justice), column (Fortitude), and vessels with wine and water (Temperance). Prudence and Justice occupy the most prominent positions at the lower edge of the painting. This painted frame suggests that the virtuous union of Charles and Catherine brings wealth and may even usher in a new golden age – a reference to Portugal's legendary riches that had motivated the marriage.²⁹⁷

The corners of the balustrade are decorated with feigned reliefs depicting Janus bifrons (two conjoined bearded heads looking to either side). This detail provides a clue for interpreting the temple on the left side of the ceiling painting, which has been wrongly identified as a "temple of virtue."²⁹⁸ In ancient Rome, the temple of the two-faced god Janus (Janus bifrons) symbolized the two opposed states of war and peace: Its doors were flung open in times of war and closed in times of peace. This was well known in Restoration England, not least because in the official publication on Charles's coronation entry John Ogilby had explained the significance of the Temple of Janus, linking it to the end of the civil war and England's peaceful state under Charles II.²⁹⁹ The placement of Peace (with an olive branch) in front of the closed temple in Verrio's mural supports its interpretation as the Temple of Janus.³⁰⁰ Moreover, its circular form referenced the circular structure that topped the Arch of Concord in 1661, which had been inspired by Rubens's *Templum Iani* (figs. 4, 9).

Verrio's mural is skilfully adapted to its spatial setting and seeks to involve the beholder. A seventeenth-century visitor usually entered the room from the Queen's Presence Chamber (fig. 35, B, C). As the doors were placed close to the windows, Verrio positioned the bottom of his mural on the opposite (north) side so that the ceiling painting could be taken in from the main entrance to the Privy Chamber. Catherine's triumphal chariot moves in the same direction as the beholder who enters the room, i. e. from right to left (from east to west). Thus visitors seemingly belong to the entourage that follows the queen. Like her, they approach a temple signifying peace and concord: a movement that implied a desired development, a need for conciliation.

Like the ceiling painting in the Queen's Presence Chamber, Verrio's mural in the Queen's Privy Chamber comprises two levels of meaning. On a general level, it is a timeless allegory visualizing the happy marital union between England and Portugal and the virtues of the queen, while on a second level Catherine's contemporaries could detect topical references to her specific situation in 1678/79. The crown of thorns, scourge, and yoke emphasize suffering and obedience and hint at the

acute crisis the queen had to endure. A rising diagonal unites the crown of thorns, the royal crown, and the flaming heart in Catherine's hand, the latter holding the highest position. This implies that through her suffering and, above all, her love she deserves the royal crown. As the heart is placed even above the crown, the painting suggests Catherine's unwavering loyalty to her husband. By propagating the image of a happy marriage, the mural stresses the absurdity of the accusation that Catherine wished to murder her husband. Instead, her aims appear to be peace and concord, symbolized by her movement towards the temple – and the painting invites the court to follow her on that route.

Evidently, Verrio's murals in the Queen's Presence Chamber and Privy Chamber were meant to act as agents of conflict resolution. Seen against the backdrop of the actual situation of the British monarchy in 1679, they presented extremely bold statements. The artist did not portray the status quo but visualized an ideal; he showed how matters ought to be rather than how they were. Though Catherine felt in danger of being imprisoned, Verrio invested her with traditional symbols of authority (the huge canopy and the triumphal chariot). He created a visual discourse intended to bring about the situation that the painting described: By stressing Catherine's virtues, he sought to assert her authority. St Michael's intervention against the personified vices in the Queen's Presence Chamber and the triumphal chariot on which Catherine appears in her Privy Chamber indicate that she will ultimately rise above opposition and triumph over her enemies – painted prophecies in the rather tense and unstable situation in which the murals were created.

Confessional Issues in the King's Chapel

In November 1678, in the wake of the so-called Popish Plot, Parliament renewed the Test Act of 1673. This meant that Catholic MPs (except for the duke of York) were expelled from Parliament and Catholic office-holders lost their jobs.³⁰¹ Most of the queen's Catholic servants had to leave the country; "the only exception re-

corded was in favour of Antony Verrio and his assistants, plus a French gilder, a Flemish stonecarver and two Flemish woodcarvers, assistants to Grinling Gibbons, all of them 'employed in painting and adorning Windsor Castle.'³⁰²

Considering the anti-Catholic mania of the period, it is rather surprising that the Roman Catholic Verrio was employed to paint the Royal Chapel at Windsor in a style reminiscent of continental Catholic churches (pl. 19). This raises a number of questions: Why was Verrio chosen for this task? How do his paintings relate to Italian Baroque prototypes? And above all, how did the artist adapt the High Baroque pictorial idiom originally developed within a Catholic context for new purposes in an Anglican society?

Early modern Anglicanism defined itself through its opposition to "Popish superstition," and it especially abhorred the Catholic cult of images.³⁰³ In 1563, the *Second Book of Homilies* explicitly stated that "images placed publicly in temples, cannot possibly be without danger of worshipping and idolatry."³⁰⁴ The typical Anglican church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was therefore a church without figurative paintings.³⁰⁵ During the reign of Charles II, Bishop Thomas Barlow vigorously repeated the official position of the Anglican Church on religious imagery: "The Church of England absolutely condemns all images of the Trinity, or any person in it, (Father, Son, or Holy Ghost) as absolutely unlawful, and expressly condemned in Scripture. Such images are not to be tolerated neither in nor out of Churches. No images of our Blessed Saviour, of any Saints and Martyrs [...] are, in the judgement of our Church, to be tolerated in our temples, or any place of God's public worship. For if they be, it will be to the great and unavoidable danger of idolatry."³⁰⁶

These words were written in 1685. Bishop Barlow would certainly have been shocked to see the Royal Chapel at Windsor Castle, decorated in 1680/81 (pl. 19).³⁰⁷ Although the room was destroyed in 1828, its appearance is recorded by several descriptions, a painting, and a watercolour.³⁰⁸ Verrio's work was an absolute innovation: Never before had an Anglican church or chapel been decorated like this.³⁰⁹ Recent scholarship

has mentioned this work only in passing, without reflecting on Anglican scruples regarding religious imagery.³¹⁰

As Clare Haynes and Richard Johns have demonstrated, more positive attitudes towards images in the Anglican Church were beginning to emerge in the course of the 1680s.³¹¹ The crucial role of the Royal Chapel at Windsor Castle has not yet been analysed in this context, however. Since the Church of England explicitly condemned all images of the Saviour, how could King Charles II, Supreme Governor of the Church of England, commission such an exuberant pictorial scheme? And why did he do so?

The decoration of the chapel dates from the crucial years of the Exclusion Crisis. It was a time of conflict characterized by strong anti-Catholic feeling, during which the king backed his Catholic brother and eventually converted to Catholicism on his deathbed.³¹² But is it conceivable that Verrio's paintings were meant as a pro-Catholic statement?

As Simon Thurley has pointed out, the various royal chapels remodelled during Charles II's reign looked increasingly Catholic. According to Thurley, the king needed to demonstrate his Anglicanism in London (for instance, at Whitehall Palace),³¹³ while at Windsor he was free to create "a new chapel in an uncompromisingly Counter-Reformation, not to say, Jesuit, style."³¹⁴ Thurley suggests that this indicated Charles's growing closeness to Catholicism: "For Charles an appearance of Anglicanism could be maintained at the chapel at Whitehall whilst at Windsor he could do as he wished."³¹⁵

However, Windsor was certainly no private retreat. From 1680, the castle served as the official summer residence of the court.³¹⁶ The King's Chapel was a public space, located between the King's and Queen's Apartments, close to the main stairway and accessible to each member of the court as well as to foreign visitors (fig. 35). Daily morning and evening prayers for the royal household were held in the chapel.³¹⁷ The king attended services on Sundays and feast days, accompanied by a formal procession of his courtiers.³¹⁸ Such processions had paramount importance, as they expressed the order of court society.³¹⁹ Because the chapel functioned as a highly official space of worship, administered by Angli-

can clergy,³²⁰ it is unlikely that the paintings could have been intended as a pro-Catholic statement. Therefore, the crucial question is: How could their highly unusual iconography be reconciled with Anglican theology, given that the Church of England condemned religious imagery?

As I will argue in the following pages, the key to this mystery lies in a discourse on idolatry published by Thomas Tenison in 1678.³²¹ Tenison was one of the king's chaplains and later became archbishop of Canterbury.³²² As chaplain, Tenison was required to preach at all the court services (in turn with the other chaplains).³²³ He dedicated his lengthy text to "Robert Earl of Manchester, One of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bedchamber."³²⁴ Thus both the author and the dedicatee were close to Charles II and certainly had access to the state rooms at Windsor Castle.

When Tenison's book appeared in 1678, the chapel was still awaiting its decoration,³²⁵ but it evidently needed to be equally as ornate and impressive as the royal apartments. It was therefore only natural for Chaplain Tenison to ponder the proper ornament for this significant and spacious new place of worship. Tenison's text can be viewed as a kind of prolepsis, justifying the religious imagery that was already envisaged by the king and his painter.

In the dedicatory epistle, Tenison declares himself opposed to a "fierce and indiscreet zeal against Popery."³²⁶ Consequently, right from the beginning he takes a conciliatory attitude in a diplomatic attempt to reconcile Anglican and Catholic forces at court. Throughout the book "he holds a middle position [...]. While anxious to expose the Roman Catholic position, he is equally anxious not to fall into the iconoclastic position of the Dissenters."³²⁷ In Tenison's view, religious images are not as such to be condemned; only the worship of images is to be avoided.³²⁸ Accordingly, he criticizes those "who, in our late unhappy Revolutions, defaced such Pictures and brake down such Crosses as Authority had suffered to remaine entire, whilst it forbad the worship of them."³²⁹

In the chapter on "the cure of idolatry," Tenison introduces a crucial term of his argument, the "Shechinah" of

God. He explains the term as follows: “It pleased then the wise and merciful God, to shew to the very eyes of man, though not his spiritual and immense substance, or any statue or picture of it, properly so called; yet his Shechinah, or visible glory, the symbol of his especial Presence. This divine appearance, I suppose to have been generally exhibited in a mighty lustre of flame or light, set off with thick, and, as I may call them, solemn Clouds.”³³⁰ He then postulates that this glory or Shechinah is not effected by God the Father but by Jesus Christ, “the King and Light of the World.”³³¹

In a subsequent chapter, Tenison points out that it is legitimate to paint Christ’s glory: “If anything of the Divinity be to be portraied, we learn from hence what it may be, not the Godhead but the Shechinah: That is visible, and the expressing of it with the best lights and shadows of Art may therefore be not unlawful, though I know not whether I ought to plead for the expediency of it in common use.”³³² Tenison hesitates to recommend such images for “common use,” distinguishing between two classes of viewers: Whereas images are dangerous for the uneducated, who might transform them into “objects of worship,” the more discerning (courtly) public is able to handle religious imagery correctly, without succumbing to idolatry.³³³ Thus the royal palace was certainly a suitable venue for a majestic Shechinah.

Verrio’s ceiling painting in the King’s Chapel gave visual form to the Shechinah described by Tenison: the risen Christ in glory (pl. 19). A close look at the watercolour shows that the decoration of the coved ceiling comprised two layers. The lower layer consisted of a feigned architecture that formed an arch over the entablature of the western (short) side of the chapel. In this fictive opening, Christ’s tomb was placed against a backdrop of open sky. A feigned stucco decoration of square fields, filled with rosettes, appeared to cover the rest of the vault but was partly overlapped by the second layer of the decoration: an oval opening in the ceiling oriented around the figure of the risen Christ. Radiant beams of light emanated from the Redeemer while the surrounding angels seemed to come down into the chapel proper. Further figures sat on the cornice, placed illusionistically in front of the painted architecture of the vault.³³⁴

This decorative scheme imitated Giovanni Battista Gaulli’s almost contemporary ceiling painting in the Jesuit mother church Il Gesù (pl. 20).³³⁵ In 1672, Gaulli had been commissioned to decorate the entire ceiling space of the Roman church with fresco paintings. The vault of the nave was covered with a stucco decoration consisting of square fields filled with rosettes, while the central oval contained Gaulli’s *Adoration of the Name of Jesus*, painted between 1677 and 1679.³³⁶ It centred on Christ’s monogram IHS, topped by the Cross and surrounded by rays of light. In its novel cross-media approach, the heavenly scene seemed to continue beyond its frame, as painted figures and stucco angels overlapped the stucco rosettes. Gaulli wished to involve and affect his audience by suggesting that they were witnessing a miraculous moment in which heaven’s inhabitants entered their church. Verrio was obviously well informed about the latest Roman trends and recreated the same effect at Windsor.

The Royal Chapel differed from Il Gesù in that its walls were decorated with paintings, too. Depictions of Christ’s earthly deeds graced its west and north walls: the Last Supper over the altar (pl. 19) and a miracle scene on the long wall (pl. 21).³³⁷ The literature on the latter emphasizes the similarity of the painted architecture to the spiral columns in Raphael’s *Healing of the Lame Man* and interprets the scene as a generic “healing Christ.”³³⁸ However, a more specific identification of the event is possible. While the scene depicted by Raphael takes place in front of the Temple of Jerusalem and does not feature Christ but Peter and John as its protagonists, Verrio’s miracle scene is set in a portico surrounding the Pool of Bethesda. At the centre of the painting, Christ is flanked by two men. He commands the lame man on the left to “Stand, take your bed and go!” (John 5:8), while the man on the right is already healed and carries his bed.

The events at the Pool of Bethesda were a popular subject for Baroque church painting, particularly in southern Italy. Antonio Verrio, who began his career in Naples before moving on to Rome and Florence, certainly knew Giovanni Lanfranco’s monumental depiction of the so-called *Probatica piscina* (pl. 22) and had himself

painted a similar mural in Naples.³³⁹ It is therefore possible that the idea to select a multi-figure healing miracle for the long side of the chapel came from the painter rather than from the patron.

The pictorial composition of Verrio's mural is clearly more indebted to Lanfranco than to Raphael.³⁴⁰ Raphael's tapestry cartoons, to which *The Healing of the Lame Man* belonged, had been bought by Charles I in 1623 but were stored in strips at Whitehall until they were glued together in the early 1690s and exhibited at Hampton Court Palace from 1699.³⁴¹ Thus it is far from certain whether Verrio knew Raphael's healing scene. The particular form of the columns in Verrio's mural may not be derived from Raphael but rather from St Peter's in Rome where Bernini had employed the venerable ancient spiral columns (supposedly *spolia* from King Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem) in his design of the crossing and produced monumental copies of them for his *baldacchino*.³⁴² The spiral columns and the palm trees visible in the lower third of the wall decoration (pl. 19) were regarded as characteristics of the Solomonic Temple.³⁴³ By including these features so prominently, Verrio implied that his patron Charles II was the contemporary Christian equivalent of the wisest ruler in the Old Testament. Just a few years later, in 1685, Thomas Otway underlined the parallel in his poem on Windsor Castle: "Thus when to Charles, as Solomon, was given / Wisdom, the greatest gift of Bounteous Heaven; / A house like his he built, and Temple rais'd, / Where his Creatour might be fitly prais'd."³⁴⁴

Whereas the spiral columns flanking the altar of the Royal Chapel alluded to Bernini's *baldacchino*, the altarpiece had a certain precedent in St George's Chapel in the Lower Ward of Windsor Castle. Since the 1660s, a tapestry copying Titian's *Supper at Emmaus* formed the backdrop to its altar.³⁴⁵ Verrio's *Last Supper* in the Royal Chapel focused on the Eucharist, too, a subject matter regarded as "safe" in English debates about idolatry. In fact, when the stained glass decoration for St Leonard Shoreditch in London had been discussed in the 1630s, the Last Supper was preferred to the Crucifixion because the former "had never been the object of adoration, wherefore it could not be scandalous."³⁴⁶

During Charles I's reign, Bishop Laud had emphasized the desirability of the dignified outfitting of churches.³⁴⁷ The Chapel Royal at Whitehall, where a particularly grand ceremonial was maintained, served as a model for such initiatives.³⁴⁸ In the 1630s, Charles I had embellished the Whitehall chapel with stained glass and organs.³⁴⁹ As during the civil war paintings, stained glass, and organs in churches had been destroyed,³⁵⁰ Charles II was eager to follow his father's example and to resume the "elaborate ritualism" advocated by William Laud.³⁵¹ According to Laud's precepts, the new altar of the Windsor chapel stood in north-south direction and was railed in (pl. 19).³⁵² Moreover, Verrio integrated an organ most ingeniously into his *Last Supper*: "The Room, which our Lord and the Apostles are suppos'd to be in, has a Dome, thro' which is seen the Real Organ belonging to the Chappel."³⁵³

Although according to Bishop Barlow "no images of our Blessed Saviour, of any Saints and Martyrs [...] are, in the judgement of our Church, to be tolerated in our temples,"³⁵⁴ such images were expressly justified by Tenison's discourse of 1678: "However, seeing Christ was made in the form of a man, I know not why that form which appeared to the eye might not be painted by St Luke himself without any immoral stain to his Pencil. He that found no fault with the Image of Caesar stamped on his Coin, hath said nothing which forbiddeth his own representation; with respect, I mean, to his state of manhood here on earth."³⁵⁵ Accordingly, both Verrio's *Miracle at the Pool of Bethesda* and his *Last Supper* were perfectly legitimate adornments for the King's Chapel. They could be seen as a continuation of the Laudian tradition, providing an up-to-date elaboration on the aesthetics of church decoration advocated by Charles I.

All in all, it is very likely that the royal chaplain Thomas Tenison wrote his discourse on idolatry precisely because the king wished to decorate his chapel at Windsor in a highly ornate manner with figurative images. Despite his Catholic faith, Verrio was entrusted with this work, as stylistic unity was more important than confessional issues. A chapel in the traditional Anglican style would have been far too sober and too unimpressive in comparison to the exuberant state rooms. Even the sacred spaces

decorated in the 1630s according to Bishop Laud's ideas about the "beauty of holiness" in no way came near the magnificence achieved at Windsor. Tenison therefore authored the theological justification that was needed for the king's wishes to be fulfilled.³⁵⁶ "This lavish baroque interior was unprecedented in English protestantism and represents a ringing endorsement by the supreme governor of a sumptuous reading of the beauty of holiness."³⁵⁷ It was met with rather positive responses, despite its unusual iconography.³⁵⁸

While Tenison's text helps to explain why seemingly Catholic images were acceptable in an Anglican chapel, the selection of the specific episodes deserves a closer look. Why did Charles II opt for these particular scenes? And what was the message he wished to convey? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to expand the field of enquiry and to consider the adjacent St George's Hall, decorated by Antonio Verrio between 1681 and 1683/84.³⁵⁹

Throne and Altar: St George's Hall and Its Relationship to the Chapel

Since the Middle Ages, St George's Hall had served as the largest and most prestigious space for reunions, banquets, and Garter feasts.³⁶⁰ In the remodelling of 1678–1680, Hugh May opened a door between the previously separate spaces of the chapel and the hall (fig. 35). This reconfiguration of the spatial arrangement was deemed so important that it overrode liturgical considerations: In order to connect the spaces, the altar had to be transferred from the east to the west wall of the chapel.³⁶¹ Although it has already been pointed out that the chapel and the hall were closely related,³⁶² their relationship deserves a more extensive analysis.

The pictorial programme of St George's Hall referred to the Order of the Garter, which had been founded at Windsor Castle in 1348.³⁶³ A nineteenth-century watercolour recorded Verrio's High Baroque wall and ceiling paintings before their destruction in 1828 (pl. 23).³⁶⁴ The circular windows were surrounded by Garter bands and the two octagonal ceiling paintings displayed Gar-

ter insignia, thus establishing a link with the knights who assembled in this hall on special occasions.³⁶⁵ The oval painting in the middle of the ceiling depicted "an apotheosis of Charles II as the current Sovereign of the Order."³⁶⁶

Like the King's Chapel, St George's Hall had a strongly Italian flavour. A room of comparable magnificence had never before been created in Britain. The only earlier British reception space that achieved a similarly rich effect was the Banqueting House decorated by Peter Paul Rubens, but both its architecture (with two lateral galleries) and the ceiling decoration (consisting of nine canvases set into a flat wooden structure) differed markedly from those of St George's Hall. Verrio obviously had to seek inspiration elsewhere. It has hitherto gone unnoticed that St George's Hall was in fact modelled on the Galleria Colonna in Rome (plates 24–26).

According to Raffaele De Giorgi, Verrio spent 1664/65 in Rome as one of Pietro da Cortona's assistants.³⁶⁷ Precisely during these years, Giovanni Paolo Schor, Cortona's most important collaborator at the time, designed the ceiling fresco for the main hall of the Galleria Colonna.³⁶⁸ Subsequently, the architecture of the gallery underwent important changes due to Gianlorenzo Bernini's intervention in 1674: At the far end of the gallery, he added a throne room for Prince Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, framed by colossal marble columns.³⁶⁹ Verrio created a similar configuration in St George's Hall. Although Wild's watercolour documents the alterations brought about by the installation of the organ loft in 1805 (pl. 23), it can easily be recognized that Charles II's throne was originally flanked by monumental painted columns.³⁷⁰

As at the Galleria Colonna, the south wall of St George's Hall was articulated by coupled pilasters between the windows.³⁷¹ The structure and illusionist treatment of the ceiling further resembled those of the Galleria Colonna. Set into an architectural framework, three large paintings succeeded each other on the main axis of the room, with the central one being emphasized by its larger format. All of them were conceived as fictive openings that offered a view of the sky, with further figures placed illusionistically on the cornice.³⁷² In both rooms, the central ceiling painting was oriented in such



Fig. 44 John Francis Rigaud (?). Copy after Antonio Verrio's ceiling painting in St George's Hall (detail), c. 1805

a way that it could be taken in from the main entrance – in marked contrast to the contemporary gallery at Versailles, in which Charles Le Brun's paintings were placed sideways, facing the sides of the vault.

The illusionist conception of the ceiling in St George's Hall has obvious affinities with the decoration of the King's Chapel and with the latter's model *Il Gesù*, but the tripartite structure of the vault and the fictive architecture of St George's Hall, with its monumental columns, indicate that Verrio must also have known the Galleria Colonna. Since both *Il Gesù* and the gallery were decorated during the second half of the 1670s, Verrio or one of his assistants probably took a trip to Rome at that time and recorded his impressions in drawings that served as a basis for the decoration of Windsor Castle.

The image in the middle of the ceiling is documented in a drawing attributed to John Francis Rigaud who specialized in the restoration of Baroque ceiling paintings

(fig. 44).³⁷³ Surrounded by numerous allegorical figures, Charles II is placed slightly above the centre of the oval, along with personifications of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who crouch at his feet.³⁷⁴ Two winged personifications are seated on either side of the sovereign. A male youth signifying war presents him with the helmet of Mars; meanwhile, Charles's sceptre points towards the winged woman who offers him an olive branch as symbol of peace. Thus, once again, as in the state apartments, Charles II appears as the arbiter upon whose judgement the fate of his kingdom depends.

A close look at Rigaud's drawing reveals that Charles, War, and Peace are seated on a semicircular band that spans the breadth of the oval. As is evident from the watercolour (pl. 23), this band represented a rainbow. Katharine Gibson has already pointed out that the rainbow "suggested both his [Charles's] judicial supremacy and his divinity, because it was the allegorical position of Ripa's *Giuditio*, and the usual seat of Christ the Judge."³⁷⁵ A hitherto unrecognized model for this iconography can be found at the Pitti Palace in Florence where Verrio had worked in 1665.³⁷⁶

In the Sala di Bona of the Palazzo Pitti, the Florentine grand duke Cosimo I appears on a rainbow framed by princely virtues (pl. 27).³⁷⁷ This motif was derived from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, in which Ripa had placed *Giuditio* (Judgement) on a rainbow (fig. 45). The geometrical instruments held by *Giuditio* and Cosimo signify that they know how to measure and therefore how to judge things correctly.³⁷⁸ Ultimately, this refers to depictions of the Last Judgement, in which Christ frequently appears on a rainbow.³⁷⁹ Both Cosimo I and Charles II were likened to Christ in order to suggest the infallibility of their judgement. For instance, Charles had been presented as a Christ-like judge on the Restoration Arch of 1661.³⁸⁰ As the royal portrait was preserved when the ceiling came to be destroyed in 1828, we know that the king himself took the position of Christ the Judge.³⁸¹ Accordingly, in 1685 Thomas Otway's poem on Windsor Castle celebrated Charles II as "Of mortal mould, but in his Mind a God."³⁸²

The iconography of Charles II as judge related to the King's Chapel, in which Christ's tomb was painted in the

coving above the altarpiece and the risen Christ dominated the ceiling (pl. 19). The three paintings seemed to form a continuous narrative that illustrated the well-known lines of the Anglican creed “he suffered death and was buried. / On the third day he rose again / in accordance with the Scriptures; / he ascended into heaven / and is seated at the right hand of the Father. / He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead, / and his kingdom will have no end.”

The notion of an almost Christ-like king was reinforced by the large wall painting in the chapel depicting Christ as healer (pl. 21).³⁸³ Throughout his reign, Charles II demonstrated his divinely sanctioned status by healing the sick. When the king was at Windsor Castle, this ceremony took place in the Royal Chapel.³⁸⁴ As Anna Keay has pointed out, Verrio’s wall painting created a visual parallel between the king as healer and Christ as healer.³⁸⁵ Apart from referring to the cure of the so-called “king’s evil,” this parallel may have held a deeper significance for those of Charles’s contemporaries who knew that back in 1661 he had been celebrated as the thaumaturgus sent to heal the whole kingdom of the wounds created during the civil war.³⁸⁶

The corresponding painting on the long wall of St George’s Hall is only known through descriptions and a loosely sketched drawing (pl. 28).³⁸⁷ It represented a triumphal procession of the so-called Black Prince, the son of the founder of the Order of the Garter King Edward III, with the prince bringing the vanquished kings of France and Scotland before Edward’s throne.³⁸⁸ Verrio emphasized the relationship between the murals in the chapel and those in the hall by adopting a similar pictorial composition for both, a frieze-like band of figures placed under a portico. Read as a pair, the two large wall paintings pointed to two different aspects of the monarchy: on the one hand, its military duties and, on the other hand, the spiritual duties of the king as healer.³⁸⁹ This juxtaposition alluded to the two offices of the king as secular ruler and supreme governor of the Church of England.

The privileged spiritual position of the king was reflected in the liturgy in that he received communion alone, apart from the rest of the congregation.³⁹⁰ Verrio’s



Fig. 45 Cesare Ripa. *Giuditio* (Judgement), 1603

altarpiece depicting the Last Supper highlighted precisely this ceremony of communion. The altar that stood beneath the painting was enclosed by rails to mark its sanctity. In this context, it is fruitful to consider the polemical treatise *Altare Christianum* by John Pocklington, one of the chaplains of King Charles I. He stressed the dignity of the altar by calling it “the Saviour’s Chaire of State upon Earth.”³⁹¹ The parallel between altar and throne is even more explicit in a paragraph in which Pocklington informs his readers about divine services at Windsor Castle: “the Author sees the Kings most sacred Majesty, and the honourable Lords of the most noble Order of the Garter, performe most low and humble reverence to Almighty God before the most holy Altar, the Throne in earth of that great Lord, from whom their honour proceedeth.”³⁹²

Although Pocklington’s text predates Verrio’s work, it helps us recognize that this painting represents more than the Last Supper. It shows Christ enthroned among his apostles, visualizing the role of the altar as Christ’s throne on earth. As is evident from the ground plan, the altar in the chapel was placed directly opposite the king’s throne in St George’s Hall, thus establishing a fur-



Fig. 46 Michael Burghers. Charles II enthroned, after c. 1675

ther and highly significant link between the two spaces (fig. 35). When the doors were thrown open, both structures were visible at the same time.

Unfortunately, there exists no image documenting the original form of the throne.³⁹³ Although the organ loft installed in 1805 cut right across the columns that flanked the throne, we can easily see that the painted columns were originally just as tall as the pilasters on the side walls (pl. 23). The king's throne was therefore framed in a manner similar to the altar.³⁹⁴ Moreover, the curved cornice behind the painted *baldacchino* created the illusion that the throne was placed in a concave niche.

Just as the Lord seemed to be seated within a painted apse (pl. 19), the king, too, was originally enthroned in

front of a monumental painted niche. Verrio thereby quoted the architectural vocabulary of the ancient basilica, in which the apse had been the seat of the secular judge and ruler.³⁹⁵ In Constantine's time, this structure had been adopted for churches in order to stress the parallel between Christ and ruler³⁹⁶ – a parallel forcefully restated at Windsor Castle. The throne mirrored the altar and vice versa.

Back in 1640, the earl of Strafford had been able to state (with reference to Charles I) that “King's [sic] on the throne are sacred pictures of divine Majesty.”³⁹⁷ From the beginning of his reign, Charles II revived this imagery.³⁹⁸ In 1660, the duke of Newcastle had given him the following advice: “shew yourself gloriously to your people, like a God [...]. Certainly, there is nothing [that] keeps up a king more than ceremony and order, which makes distance, and that brings respect and duty.”³⁹⁹ Rather unsurprisingly, several prints stressed Charles's close ties to God (figs. 34, 46).⁴⁰⁰

Both the central ceiling painting in St George's Hall and the setting for the king's throne suggested his role as a Christ-like judge. Although this message had a timeless quality, it was deeply rooted in the Exclusion Crisis that vexed Charles II between 1679 and 1681. In May 1679, the duke of York wrote to the prince of Orange: “Unless something very vigorous is done within a very few days, the monarchy is gone.”⁴⁰¹ After almost two tumultuous years, the king finally ended the crisis in March 1681 by deciding to reign henceforth without calling further Parliaments.⁴⁰² He was so exasperated by its demands to remove his brother from the succession that he barred any further interference from parliamentarians.

The dissolution of Parliament in 1681 and Verrio's designs for St George's Hall were therefore not only contemporary but also closely linked to each other. In this respect, the king followed the example of his father Charles I, who had commissioned Rubens to depict the English monarch's claim to absolute power on the ceiling of the Banqueting House after dismissing Parliament for good in 1629.⁴⁰³ Similarly, Verrio's pictorial programme suggested that Charles II was second only to Christ and certainly not accountable to Parliament.

Models from England, France, Italy? Cultural Transfer and Pictorial Translation

Antonio Verrio was a particularly cosmopolitan artist. He had worked in Lecce, Naples, Rome, and Florence before moving to France where he was active in Toulouse from 1666 and arrived in Paris around 1670.⁴⁰⁴ There he met the British envoy Ralph Montagu, a diplomat and connoisseur with strong connections to Lord Arlington, “the minister most closely involved with foreign negotiations,” for whom Montagu acquired art in Paris.⁴⁰⁵ In May 1671, Verrio petitioned to become a member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture but seems to have been rejected.⁴⁰⁶ Probably at the beginning of 1672, Montagu convinced Verrio to settle in England where he received his first commissions from Arlington.⁴⁰⁷ It was reputedly at Arlington’s house that Verrio first met Charles II.⁴⁰⁸

As Charles had spent a large part of his youth at the French court, he introduced many French fashions to Britain, aided by his mistress Louise de Kéroualle.⁴⁰⁹ Seen from this perspective, Verrio’s employment at Windsor is commonly regarded as an attempt to emulate Louis XIV.⁴¹⁰ But does that hold true?

Although it has repeatedly been suggested that Verrio participated in the decorative campaign undertaken by Louis XIV at Versailles, there exists no proof for this claim.⁴¹¹ In fact, his surviving murals in Paris differ markedly from French decorative schemes.⁴¹² As Edward Corp has shown, Catherine of Braganza patronized Italian artists because she wished to develop a cultural profile of her own, distinguishing herself from the king’s French mistress.⁴¹³ Lord Arlington belonged to the queen’s pro-Catholic circle, and it was he who made the contract with Verrio for the decoration of Windsor Castle.⁴¹⁴ Therefore, it appears that the queen’s pro-Catholic party engineered Verrio’s employment at Windsor, seeking to promote an Italian alternative to French cultural models.

The King’s and Queen’s Apartments at Versailles were arranged symmetrically and received an equally symmetrical decoration focusing on the planetary deities. Each ceiling painting created during the 1670s was organized according to the same principle: A central, rel-

atively small painting, set into a richly gilt stucco frame, depicted a single planetary deity and was surrounded by a number of smaller, separate narrative scenes in the coving.⁴¹⁵ Only after 1680 was this partitioning of the vaults abandoned at Versailles, starting in the Salon de l’Abondance.⁴¹⁶ Verrio, on the contrary, followed the model of the grand illusionist ceiling paintings he had been able to study in Rome and Florence.⁴¹⁷ From about 1677, he tended to treat the whole ceiling space in unity, as one large opening to the sky (fig. 41; plates 14, 15, 16, 19).⁴¹⁸

Verrio’s works differed from the paintings realized at Versailles during the same period not only in their general conception but also in an important particular: The Italian artist included recognizable portraits of his patrons (figs. 40, 41, 43; plates 12, 14). By contrast, the royal apartments at Versailles featured only personages from mythology or ancient history. Visitors to the palace were supposed to know that Apollo stood for the so-called Sun King, but Louis XIV himself was absent from the decorations of his apartment.

A major change occurred when the pictorial programme for the newly created Galerie des Glaces came to be devised. The plan at first was to decorate the gallery with images of Apollo’s or Hercules’s deeds.⁴¹⁹ Only after August 1678 (probably in winter 1678/79) was the decision made to illustrate the king’s biography.⁴²⁰ Between 1678/79 and July 1680, Charles Le Brun created the preparatory drawings, and in 1680–1684 he executed them with the help of his assistants.⁴²¹ One of Le Brun’s designs, a study for his *Le Passage du Rhin*, is strikingly similar to the print after Verrio’s ceiling painting in the King’s Drawing Room (figs. 41, 47).⁴²² In both cases, the king in person, crowned by a female allegorical figure, rides an open chariot and traverses the sky from right to left while Hercules with his club chases the king’s enemies from the ceiling. As Verrio had finished the King’s Drawing Room before August 1678 (most likely in 1677),⁴²³ the Windsor mural must have served as inspiration for Le Brun – rather than the other way round.⁴²⁴

This observation is not only relevant for *Le Passage du Rhin* but has much wider implications. Le Brun’s de-



Fig. 47 Charles Le Brun. Preparatory drawing for *Le Passage du Rhin* in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles, c. 1678–1680

signs for the Galerie des Glaces mark the beginning of a new mode of decoration in France, as they combine portraits of Louis XIV with mythological and allegorical figures that magnify and comment on the king's deeds.⁴²⁵ The chronology of Verrio's works at Windsor Castle proves that this mode originated in England rather than in France. When the decoration of the Galerie des Glaces began in 1680, that of the King's Drawing Room, Great Bedchamber, and the queen's reception spaces had already been completed, all of them in the same innovative manner (fig. 41; plates 11, 14, 15).

As is well known, there were certainly earlier examples of the combination of portraiture, mythology, and allegory in seventeenth-century mural paintings and tapestries. For instance, Rubens had decorated the Galerie du Luxembourg in Paris and the Banqueting House in London in this manner. However, the Galerie du Luxembourg did not have ceiling paintings, and the ceiling of the Banqueting House consisted of nine separate canvases set into wooden frames. Therefore, Verrio's inno-

vation consisted in applying this mode of representation to large-scale illusionist ceiling painting in Britain.

In my view, Verrio's source of inspiration was once again the Palazzo Pitti in Florence where the artist had worked in 1665.⁴²⁶ The summer apartment of the Pitti Palace, frescoed between 1637 and 1641 by Angelo Michele Colonna and Agostino Mitelli, contains a ceiling painting that deifies their patron Ferdinando II by placing a recognizable portrait of the grand duke in the skies. Jupiter yields his crown and sceptre to Ferdinando, whose identity as a member of the Medici family is proclaimed by the heraldic *palle* (red balls) on his golden cloak (pl. 29).⁴²⁷ In contrast to Rubens's Banqueting House, this ceiling presents a unified illusion. It resembles Verrio's Windsor murals in that it evokes one large opening towards the skies, framed by painted architecture.

Although Verrio certainly did not invent the pictorial deification of contemporary rulers, he managed to enliven the genre. By taking *The Apotheosis of Alexander*

the Great at the Palazzo Pitti as his starting point (pl. 30),⁴²⁸ he created a dramatic image of Charles II riding through the skies. This seems to have captured Le Brun's imagination, especially as the military tension inherent in the image was easy to adapt for Louis XIV's *Passage du Rhin*.

In conclusion, Verrio did not aim to copy Versailles but developed an alternative mode of representation based on Italian models. Whereas contemporary French ceilings were characterized by numerous separately framed spaces painted with images from mythology or ancient history, Verrio presented recognizable images of the king and queen in large, unified allegorical compositions, allowing him to convey more complex messages through the great number of figures he was able to include in his painted skies.

The illusionistic mode of decoration reinforced the spectators' involvement, heightened the emotional appeal of the painted messages, and thus sought to win consensus.⁴²⁹ In addition, by referencing the latest achievements in Italian art, Verrio suggested that Britain was culturally up to date. It must have been evident to every visitor that the splendour of Charles's court could compete with that of any continental monarchy.

Considering the large number of Italian works of art referenced by Verrio,⁴³⁰ Giles Worsley's attempt to explain the Windsor murals as a continuation of a particularly British tradition appears unconvincing.⁴³¹ British models were important for Verrio on a conceptual rather than aesthetic level. As explained above, his murals refer in many ways to the themes of Charles's coronation entry in 1661 and to the political agenda that lay behind Rubens's ceiling paintings in the Banqueting House.⁴³²

In my view, it is particularly illuminating to note how Verrio adapted his Italian models for a British and Anglican court. The skopos theory of translation developed by Hans J. Vermeer emphasizes the creative role of the translator and the ways in which cultural norms and intellectual trends of the target culture condition the translation process.⁴³³ Verrio's murals at Windsor Castle are a

good case in point. Building on the model of the Florentine *Apotheosis of Alexander the Great* in the King's Drawing Room and the Queen's Privy Chamber, Verrio used pictorial formulae and stock figures from Italian Baroque painting, but he recombined them in such a way that they addressed specifically British topics (the Restoration and the Popish Plot, respectively). In St George's Hall, he reinterpreted the structure of the Galleria Colonna but filled it with new, British content. Though the central ceiling painting was based on that of the Sala di Bona of the Palazzo Pitti, it expanded the rather straightforward allegory of Cosimo I on a rainbow so as to communicate a much more complex message about Charles's triumph over his enemies.

Il Gesù provided the point of departure for the Royal Chapel, but Verrio introduced a significant change. Rather than copying the IHS motif (or replacing it with the Hebrew name of God that was more acceptable in Protestant circles),⁴³⁴ he replaced it with an image of the risen Christ. This could be legitimated by Tenison's treatise and was probably motivated by a desire to establish a visual parallel between Christ and Charles II, the latter dominating the ceiling of the opposite St George's Hall. Verrio placed the two central images in such a way that Christ and king seemed to face each other, just as he used visual means to emphasize the relationship between altar and throne.

As Hans Lange and Veronica Biermann have pointed out, only Protestant princes were allowed to place their seat opposite or even above the altar because they held the function of the *summus episcopus* (the highest-ranking bishop in a given region).⁴³⁵ The British monarch was equally entitled to this special position vis-à-vis the altar in his capacity as supreme governor of the Church of England. Catholic rulers, on the contrary, were subject to the pope, so they usually had special seats or galleries to the side of the main altar.⁴³⁶ Therefore, the confessional status of the British (Anglican) sovereign enabled Verrio to create his conceptual masterpiece, a juxtaposition of throne and altar that had no precedent in Italy.

Modes of Reception, Layers of Meaning, and the Blessings of Ambiguity

Thomas Otway's poem *Windsor Castle* of 1685 counts among the earliest texts documenting the ways in which Verrio's contemporaries perceived his murals.⁴³⁷ For Otway, it was evident that the mythological and allegorical subject matter of the ceiling paintings referred to the king's deeds: "Through all the lofty Roofs describ'd we find / The Toils and Triumphs of his Godlike mind."⁴³⁸

As a courtly panegyric dedicated to Charles's successor James II, Otway's text pursues a celebratory and nationalist agenda. It depicts Britain as "the Awe and Envy of the Nations round,"⁴³⁹ favoured by God Almighty: "For Heav'n resolv'd, that much above the rest / Of other Nations Britain should be Blest."⁴⁴⁰ Accordingly, Otway abhors continental influence. With reference to the soldiers depicted in the *Triumph of the Black Prince* on the north wall of St George's Hall he writes:

In our own Climes our vig'rous Youth were nurst,
And with no foreign Educations curst.
Their Northern Mettle was preserv'd with Care,
Not sent for soft'ning into hotter Air.
Nor did they as now from fruitless Travels come
With Follies, Vices and Diseases home;
But in full Purity of Health and Mind
Kept up the Noble Vertues of their Kind.⁴⁴¹

In this context, it comes as no surprise that Otway highlights Britain's superiority to France. He describes St George's Hall as "that lofty monumental Hall, / Where England's Triumphs grace the shining Wall, / When she led captive Kings from conquer'd Gaul."⁴⁴² In his view, the *Triumph of the Black Prince* is "a Lesson" for posterity and an inspiration for future conquests:

Here may they see how good old Edward sate
[printed note in the margin: "Edw. III"]
And did his Glorious Son's Arrival wait, [printed
note in the margin: "The Black Prince"]
When from the Fields of vanquish'd France he
came,

Follow'd by Spoils, and usher'd in by Fame.
In Golden Chains he their Quell'd Monarch led,
Oh, for such Laurels on another Head!⁴⁴³

As demonstrated in the preceding section, artistic rivalry with France was certainly an important factor in the remodelling of Windsor Castle. Does Otway's poem therefore provide a key for understanding Verrio's painted messages? Did the authors of the pictorial programme wish to make an anti-French statement?

From the late 1660s, the British public perceived France as its chief foreign enemy.⁴⁴⁴ However, Charles II's attitude to France was much more complex – and Lord Arlington, who is likely to have been involved in designing the Windsor programme,⁴⁴⁵ displayed an equal adaptability in the face of shifting political alliances. Before becoming Lord Chamberlain in 1674, he had been Charles's secretary of state, in charge of his foreign policy, from 1662.⁴⁴⁶ In 1667/68, Arlington took a decidedly anti-French position and sponsored the publication of texts that warned against France's aspiration to universal monarchy,⁴⁴⁷ but from 1669 he supported the alliance with France that led to the Secret Treaty of Dover in 1670.⁴⁴⁸ The subsidy granted by Louis XIV actually helped to finance the rebuilding of Windsor Castle.⁴⁴⁹ Nevertheless, in 1677 the king made another U-turn by marrying his niece Mary to William of Orange, thus siding with the Dutch arch-enemy of Louis XIV and renouncing his financial aid.⁴⁵⁰ Finally, in 1681, Charles returned on Louis's payroll. The French king compensated him with generous subsidies for calling no further Parliaments and made sure that Britain refrained from opposing French interests.⁴⁵¹

This brief overview goes to show that during the decoration of Windsor Castle a groundbreaking political shift took place. The King's and Queen's Apartments were painted between June 1676 and September 1680, i. e. in a period that came to be characterized by anti-French politics, while St George's Hall dates from a phase when Charles II was actually allied with Louis XIV. Accordingly, although it is possible to detect anti-French references in the decoration of the apartments,⁴⁵² Otway's reading of St George's Hall seems to be an expres-

sion of his own personal Francophobic opinions rather than of the king's intentions. Nationalist visitors to the hall could certainly see the Black Prince's triumph in terms of an anti-French message, but was that the key reason for choosing this subject matter? Did the pictorial programme of St George's Hall indeed aim to demonstrate Britain's superiority over France?

John Dryden's opera *Albion and Albanus* of 1685 provides a clue for answering this question. Dryden's work is another early instance of the reception of the Windsor paintings because the stage set for the last scene featured "a Vision of the Honors of the Garter, the Knights in Procession, and the King under a Canopy: Beyond this, the upper end of St George's Hall."⁴⁵³ In this setting, Albion triumphed over his enemy, the rebellious Lord Shaftesbury.⁴⁵⁴ Elias Ashmole, who had extensive insider knowledge about the court of Charles II,⁴⁵⁵ confirmed the link between St George's Hall and the overcoming of opposition within Britain. In his three-volume study *The Antiquities of Berkshire*, printed posthumously, he gave a lengthy description of the castle and commented on the ceiling painting of the hall as follows: "On the Cieling [sic] are painted the Triumphs of King Charles II. over Faction, Rebellion, and Sedition, where the Painter has put the Picture of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Chancellor in that Reign, representing Sedition with Libels in his Hand, a Man, who served all Times and Parties, according to his Interest, and was named as one of the King's Judges, though he had the Wit not openly to appear."⁴⁵⁶ The 1755 guidebook perpetuated the information that among the figures being cast out of the central oval was a portrait of Lord Shaftesbury (cf. fig. 44).⁴⁵⁷

Shaftesbury had been the driving force behind the Exclusion Crisis, seeking to exploit the Popish Plot for his own political purposes.⁴⁵⁸ He managed to turn a large part of Parliament against the king and his brother James. Suspected of high treason, he was arrested in 1681, then released due to the partiality of the Whig jury, and fled to Holland where he died in January 1683.⁴⁵⁹ As Antonio Verrio completed the ceiling of St George's Hall in 1683 or 1684, he may indeed have included a likeness of Charles's deceased enemy.

If the ceiling painting referred to domestic rather than foreign politics, then Otway's interpretation of the *Triumph of the Black Prince* needs to be re-examined. Is it conceivable that it had some relation to the Exclusion Crisis, too?

According to Otway's poetic description, the mural depicted "captive Kings from conquer'd Gaul."⁴⁶⁰ It is significant that he used the plural because Elias Ashmole mentioned two kings, too: "On one Side of the Hall is painted King Edward III. sitting on a throne, receiving his triumphant Son Edward the Black Prince, with the Kings of France and Scotland Prisoners, full as big as the Life."⁴⁶¹ Although the mural was repainted around 1700 and we only have a visual documentation of its subsequent state (pl. 28),⁴⁶² from Otway's text it can be inferred that the original composition featured the same main protagonists, i. e. Edward III, the Black Prince, and two kings.⁴⁶³ However, the presence of the Scottish king did not fit with Otway's nationalist agenda, so he only commented on the French king.

The Scottish king David II had become Edward III's prisoner in 1346, well before John II of France was captured at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. Verrio's painting may have referred to a tournament held at Windsor on 23 April 1358 in which the two kings, the Black Prince, and Edward III participated.⁴⁶⁴

King Edward, the founder of the Order of the Garter, was an experienced military commander famous for his success in battle.⁴⁶⁵ It would have been a logical choice to depict either one of his victories or his founding of the order that held its Garter feasts traditionally in St George's Hall.⁴⁶⁶ Why did his eldest son, the Black Prince, instead take centre stage?

Although Charles II's marriage to Catherine of Braganza did not produce any surviving children, he had an illegitimate son by a former mistress. This boy, James, born in 1649, had been knighted in 1663. From his marriage to Scotland's richest heiress in the same year, he was known as the duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch.⁴⁶⁷ During the Exclusion Crisis, he came to be considered a potential successor to the throne. The earl of Shaftesbury in particular backed his claim to the crown.⁴⁶⁸ As Monmouth was a Protestant, an excellent military leader,

and a charismatic person, many would have preferred him to the Catholic duke of York.⁴⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the king continued to support his brother, whom he regarded as his legitimate heir.⁴⁷⁰

In 1678, Charles made his illegitimate son captain general of the army in England and Scotland and, in June 1679, entrusted him with the command of the troops sent to quell a rebellion in Scotland.⁴⁷¹ Monmouth won a sweeping victory at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge on 22 June. “There was something Napoleonic about the Scottish campaign. So rapid a march, battle and victory had seldom been seen.”⁴⁷² In July 1679, Monmouth returned to Windsor to inform the king of his victory.⁴⁷³ Verrio’s *Triumph of the Black Prince*, with the vanquished Scottish king David II in the prince’s retinue, may have been perceived by contemporaries as an allusion to that event. However, those who knew British history would have been aware of the fact that, despite his military valour, the Black Prince never became king.

Seen from this perspective, the wall and ceiling paintings in St George’s Hall both referred to the Exclusion Crisis. The *Triumph of the Black Prince* implicitly honoured the achievements of Charles’s natural son, but it also implied that he would not succeed his father. Instead, by presenting himself as arbiter and Christ-like judge in the central ceiling painting, Charles II insisted on his own good judgement in his choice of successor (i. e. his brother James). The painting suggested that the king stood well above any parliamentary opposition and could not fail in his decisions, aided by his superhuman powers. Precisely because Verrio created his murals at Windsor Castle during a period of intense crisis, he made the monarchy appear sacrosanct.⁴⁷⁴

As the examples of Otway, Dryden, and Ashmole demonstrate, Verrio’s contemporaries were able to read quite different messages in his murals. While Otway preferred a nationalist, Francophobic interpretation, Dryden and Ashmole focused on the king’s struggle with Parliament. In addition, it is possible that viewers of an older generation who had first-hand knowledge of Charles I’s court culture may even have related Verrio’s painted heavens to earlier Stuart court masques.⁴⁷⁵

The pictorial language of Verrio’s murals was open to multiple readings: Their messages could be applied both to foreign and domestic policy. Their ambiguity was intentional because it enabled the king and his courtiers to discuss the murals with different guests in different political circumstances and to adapt the interpretation to each specific viewing situation. Each mural contained at least two layers of meaning: on the one hand, a general, timeless meaning that could be appropriated by successive monarchs and, on the other hand, more veiled content referring to topical political issues and conflicts.⁴⁷⁶ The choice of well-known allegorical stock figures and scenes from classical mythology and ancient and medieval history was diplomatic because nobody could feel offended by such imagery – even if a political reading was intended. Just like the politicians and diplomats of his age, Verrio exploited “the blessings of ambiguity.”⁴⁷⁷

As explained in the introduction to this chapter, audiences can be regarded as acts of cultural translation. Paintings were particularly well suited as mediators in such situations because their highly codified language was universally understandable for members of the seventeenth-century European elite. Verrio’s murals addressed members of the court, British citizens, and continental visitors alike. The paintings served as *lieux de mémoire* that aimed to inscribe certain messages into the common cultural memory: for instance, Charles’s role as “arbiter Europae” or his superiority over his opponents. By being repeated in several rooms, these messages became even more forceful. Nevertheless, they represented wishful thinking rather than British reality. Painted in a time of crisis, the murals sought to bring about, through pictorial means, the stability they evoked. As agents of conflict resolution, they claimed that opposition against Charles II and his queen was pointless and would certainly be defeated.⁴⁷⁸ In addition, Charles II, Catherine of Braganza, and their successors were able to view the murals as encouragement to pursue their aims without hesitation and to live up to the expectations set out in the paintings. In this sense, the murals functioned according to the principle of *laudando praecipere* (instruction through praise).⁴⁷⁹

Reformatting Cultural Memory

St George's Hall was "the most magnificent space available for royal audiences and receptions in the kingdom."⁴⁸⁰ As Charles's successors wished to use the hall for their own purposes, they introduced modifications of varying subtlety in order to adapt the pictorial programme to their personal self-representations. This process of "reformatting" began in 1685 when Thomas Otway interpreted St George's Hall for James II.⁴⁸¹ The Catholic monarch had succeeded his brother Charles in February 1685 and needed to defend his claim to the throne against his Protestant contender, the duke of Monmouth. In July, Monmouth and his troops were defeated at the Battle of Sedgemoor, and a few days later the duke was executed.⁴⁸² Therefore, even if Otway understood the reference to Monmouth in the wall painting of St George's Hall, it would have been impossible to mention this under such drastically changed circumstances. By focusing on Britain's superiority to France, Otway supplied an interpretation that made the mural acceptable for the new sovereign and his court.

In 1688, James II was forced into exile and supplanted by William III from the House of Orange. For many years, William avoided Windsor Castle because it was so manifestly associated with the Stuart dynasty,⁴⁸³ but in 1699 he decided to have St George's Hall restored.⁴⁸⁴ On 31 October 1701, Antonio Verrio received his final remuneration of £600 for "new painting the sides and ends of St George's Hall and repairing the ceiling."⁴⁸⁵ A description by Daniel Defoe indicates that Verrio repainted the *Triumph of the Black Prince*.⁴⁸⁶ De Giorgi and Brett have connected this notice to a sketch that has recently reappeared on the art market, in which William III is staged as protagonist of the triumphal procession, i. e. in the role of the Black Prince presenting the kings of France and Scotland as his captives (plates 28, 31).⁴⁸⁷ This was particularly appropriate because, by 1699, William had defeated his enemies both in Scotland and France.⁴⁸⁸ By inserting himself into the triumphal procession, he "updated" the painting. While Charles II's contemporaries may have seen the Black Prince as a historical precursor to the duke of Mon-

mouth, William compared himself to the triumphant prince.

In addition, William III introduced another important change to which Daniel Defoe reacted with amazement:

'tis surprizing, at the first entrance, to see at the upper end [of St George's Hall], the picture of King William on horseback, under him, an ascent with marble steps, a balustrade, and a half pace, which, formerly, was actually there, with room for a throne, or chair of state, for the sovereign to sit on, when on publick days he thought it fit to appear in ceremony. [...] I was going forward towards the end of the hall, intending to go up the steps, as I had done formerly, I was confounded, when I came nearer, to see that the ascent was taken down, the marble steps gone, the chair of state, or throne, quite away, and that all I saw, only painted upon the wall below the king and his horse [...].⁴⁸⁹

Ashmole's *Antiquities of Berkshire* provides a slightly different description of the arrangement: "At the upper End of the Hall is the Picture of King William III. seated on a Throne, ten Steps high, five of which only are painted; and above this St George killing the Dragon."⁴⁹⁰ Ashmole's testimony can be given more credit than Defoe's because it is confirmed by the Windsor guidebooks of 1742 and 1755.⁴⁹¹ Defoe may have confused the portrait of the king with the image of St George on horseback.⁴⁹²

From the point of view of royal ceremony, the removal of a usable throne is puzzling. However, this modification enabled William III to inscribe himself durably into the pictorial programme. Whereas an empty throne could be filled by many successive kings, through his portrait on the east wall William became the permanent triumphant centrepiece of the whole theatrical mise-en-scène. He thus sought to reformat the collective memory of his contemporaries: Although St George's Hall had originally been a Stuart memorial, William wished to turn it into a place of commemoration for himself.

The guidebooks of 1742 and 1755 mention some additional important details. The painted canopy bore the inscription "VENIENDO RESTITUIT REM," and telling attrib-

utes were placed on either side of the enthroned king, “his cap on his Right Hand, and the Crown on his Left.”⁴⁹³ The “cap” probably meant the cap of liberty often associated with William III.⁴⁹⁴ It referred to the notion that the so-called Glorious Revolution had restored liberty and freed Britain from a tyrannical, arbitrary government.⁴⁹⁵ The Latin motto, a witty play on a quotation from Ennius, underlined the same message.⁴⁹⁶ Therefore, William’s changes in St George’s Hall reformatted the entire conception of monarchy. Whereas on the ceiling of the hall Charles II had presented himself as a God-like absolute monarch, aloof and not accountable to Parliament, William III emphasized his orientation towards the British citizens, his care for their liberty and their rights.

Only a few years later, the Hanoverian succession of 1714 marked a significant break in British history. Consequently, the new ruling dynasty had to leave its mark on St George’s Hall, too. George I did not remove William’s portrait because it would have been imprudent to replace a national hero with his own likeness. He owed William gratitude, as the Hanoverian succession had been engineered by him. Nevertheless, George wished to insert some reference to his own dynasty. According to a guidebook of 1742, close to the entrance of the hall there was “an Inscription, in a beautiful Compartment, wherein Verrio is mention’d to be a Neapolitan, and to be employ’d in these, and divers other curious Paintings, by King Charles II. King William III. and King George I.”⁴⁹⁷ As Verrio had died in 1707, this paraphrase of the Latin inscription cannot be entirely correct. However, the guidebook documents that there existed an in-

scription commemorating the role of the Hanoverian king as patron of the arts. It is even possible that the image of St George (who happened to be not only Britain’s patron saint but also the king’s namesake) was only added after his accession.⁴⁹⁸

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, several attempts were made to preserve the decaying murals in St George’s Hall. George IV was still so impressed with Verrio’s performance that he ordered a very elaborate and expensive restoration campaign in 1824.⁴⁹⁹ Nevertheless, soon after the completion of these works the king and commissioners decided to unite St George’s Hall with the adjacent chapel in order to form an even larger hall, constructed between 1827 and 1830.⁵⁰⁰ Sir Jeffrey Wyatville, who oversaw the building work, maintained that “architects, painters, sculptors and many persons of taste, do not greatly value this ceiling.”⁵⁰¹ Consequently, a neo-Gothic vault decorated with British coats of arms replaced Verrio’s paintings. The outcome of this historicizing restoration was perceived as “more accordant with the grandeur of the hall, and [...] with the character of its patron saint.”⁵⁰² The national saint became enshrined in a national architecture that evoked the medieval origin of the Order of the Garter. Verrio’s Italian Baroque was erased in order to make way for a cult of the British past. In 1840, a guidebook commented: “St George’s Hall is once more a Gothic room such as the invincible knights of old might have feasted in.”⁵⁰³ The fake Gothic served to stimulate memories of a glorious national past – the ultimate reformatting of cultural memory at St George’s Hall.

NOTES

- 1 Kampmann 2001, 242.
- 2 Kampmann 2001, 243–251.
- 3 Thurley 1999, 99, 105 (fig. 112).
- 4 Thurley 1999, 99, 101, 103.
- 5 Colvin et al. 1976, 140–155; Bold 1989, 126–146.
- 6 Bold 1989, 140.
- 7 Bold 1989, 128–129.
- 8 Bold 1989, 142–143.
- 9 Bold 1989, 144.
- 10 However, Charles was able to use Euston, the fashionable French style country seat of his secretary of state Henry Bennet, as his “secondary court”: Jacobsen 2011, 129.
- 11 On Verrio’s stylistic innovations see Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:236–242; Haskell 1963, 196; Johns 2013, 84; Solkin 2015, 8–10; Johns 2016, 153–176; Bird 2017, 187–189; Hamlett 2020b, 43.
- 12 A detailed overview of the chronology of Verrio’s works can be found in the following chapter.
- 13 Royal Archives SP/ADD/1/158, fols. 25r, 26r; Colvin et al. 1976, 328.
- 14 Royal Archives SP/ADD/1/158, fol. 36r; Colvin et al. 1976,

- 328, 330. The destroyed ceiling painting in Henry VIII's Chapel (the Tomb House at the east end of the Gothic St George's Chapel in the Lower Ward of Windsor Castle) is described in detail by Ashmole 1719, 3:200–202. For the location of the Tomb House see Brindle 2018a, 160, fig. 15.2.
- 15 Thurley 2018b, 228.
 - 16 Thurley 2018b, 236.
 - 17 Baller et al. 2008, 13–14, 16, 19; Burschel 2014, 8–9.
 - 18 <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol38> (last accessed 15 August 2020).
 - 19 See the various Calendars of State Papers listed on <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/catalogue> (last accessed 15 August 2020).
 - 20 Antonibon 1939, 80.
 - 21 See Appendices II and III.
 - 22 Barozzi and Berchet 1863, 469–485.
 - 23 Thurley 2018c, 240.
 - 24 Don Handelman, *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events* (quoted from Baller et al. 2008, 15). See also Baller et al. 2008, 21–22; Burschel 2014, 8, 11.
 - 25 Numerous case studies can be found in Hoppe et al. 2020.
 - 26 Baller et al. 2008; Bachmann-Medick 2010, 245–250; Burschel and Vogel 2014.
 - 27 Thurley 2018b, 229.
 - 28 The following section contains a summary of the state of research. I presented my work on St George's Hall and the Royal Chapel for the first time at the conference “‘Those Wilder Sorts of Painting’: Revisiting Murals in Britain 1600–1750” (University of Cambridge, Murray Edwards College, 16 September 2016; see <https://www.britishmurals.org/seminar-2016>, last accessed 6 January 2021) and expanded it in two subsequent publications (Strunck 2019b and 2019d). At the conference “Eine gemeinsame europäische Sprache? Deckenmalerei und Raumkünste an den europäischen Höfen um 1700” (Hanover, Schloss Herrenhausen, 13–15 September 2018; see <https://deckenmalerei.badw.de/aktuelles/tagung-hannover-2018.html>, last accessed 6 Januar 2021), I discussed the Queen's Privy Chamber and published my findings in the proceedings (Strunck 2020). The present chapter offers a much more comprehensive discussion of the whole series of rooms decorated by Antonio Verrio.
 - 29 Colvin et al. 1976, 313–314.
 - 30 Thurley 2018b, 216–217.
 - 31 Colvin et al. 1976, 315–316; Thurley 2018b, 220.
 - 32 Colvin et al. 1976, 316; Thurley 2018b, 222.
 - 33 Hope 1918, vol. 1, ch. 8.
 - 34 Colvin et al. 1976, 313–331.
 - 35 Downes 1966, 16–22.
 - 36 Thurley 2018b.
 - 37 Colvin et al. 1976, 316–317; Thurley 2018b, 220–225, 234–235.
 - 38 Thurley 2018a, 183, fig. 16.4. Unlike the other reconstructions (figs. 35, 36), Thurley's drawing (fig. 37) is oriented with north at its foot. Elizabeth I's lodgings consisted of the space between the Great Chamber and the Queen's Gallery (Thurley 2018a, 186–190). See also Thurley 2014, 70: “Throughout Queen Elizabeth I's long reign (1558–1603) she occupied her father's lodgings in each of his many houses.”
 - 39 Thurley 2018b, 221–222.
 - 40 Thurley 2018b, 223.
 - 41 Colvin et al. 1976, 317.
 - 42 Jacobsen 2011, 135; Thurley 2018b, 229.
 - 43 Brett 2009, 6.
 - 44 Brett 2009, 7.
 - 45 Brett 2009, 6–7. The actual date of the *Sea Triumph* is unknown, though it must have been created before the king shaved off his moustache in 1677: Bird and Clayton 2017, 118, cat. 50. For a more extensive discussion of the *Sea Triumph* see Strunck 2019g, 72–81.
 - 46 The National Archives, LC 3/28, fol. 210. This document was mentioned by Gibson 1997, 134.
 - 47 Colvin et al. 1976, 321.
 - 48 Colvin et al. 1976, 321–322.
 - 49 Hope 1918, 1:317.
 - 50 The document bears the title *The Builders Accou[nt] for Windsor Castle, 1676 & 1677*, but covers in fact the period between 1676 and 1688. The previous shelfmark (Windsor Royal Library 1.B.6b) has recently been changed to Royal Archives SP/ADD/1/158. I am grateful to Windsor Senior Archivist Julie Crocker for pointing this out to me and referring me to the digitized copy on State Papers Online. The document was on display during the exhibition on Charles II (Bird and Clayton 2017, 202–203, cat. 106). Some parts of it were transcribed by Gibson 1998, 40.
 - 51 Royal Archives SP/ADD/1/158, fols. 5v–6r. The entry on “The Kings Carved Staires next the Kings with=Drawing Roome” seems to refer to the staircase that led via the Privy Chamber to the King's Drawing Room (fig. 35, Y). Verrio received £150 for painting this space, which was separate from the “Kings Privie Backstayres” covered by the previous account. As Verrio's fee for the Privy Backstairs amounted to only £100 (Royal Archives SP/ADD/1/158, fol. 5r), this was probably the adjacent small staircase for servants (fig. 35, Z).
 - 52 Royal Archives SP/ADD/1/158, fols. 16r–17r.
 - 53 Hope 1918, 1:318 (“seventh account”), 320. “The open paved Gallery that Fronts the Kings Guard Chamber” could refer to either the Stone Gallery (if this was an open loggia at the time) or to the portico on the west side of Horn Court (under-

- neath the Stone Gallery). Only for this portico is a pictorial decoration recorded (Bickham 1742, 193).
- 54 Thurley 2018b, 236.
- 55 Thurley 2018a, 183 (fig. 16.4), 185 (fig. 16.6), 193 (fig. 16.13).
- 56 Burchard 2011, 104; Thurley 2018b, 236.
- 57 While Gibson and Colvin agree on the date of the King's Chapel (1680–1682), they give different dates for St George's Hall: 1682–1684 (Gibson 1998, 30) and 1680–1683 (Colvin et al. 1976, 326–327). The Windsor account book records that Verrio painted the chapel between 1 September 1680 and 30 September 1681: Royal Archives SP/ADD/1/158, fol. 23r. According to the same account book, Verrio received the first payment for St George's Hall on Michaelmas 1681: *ibid.*, fol. 26r. He worked on the ceiling until at least Michaelmas 1683 (*ibid.*, fol. 28r). The payment "To Signior Verrio more for extraordinary painting worke done by him in St. Georges Hall more then his first contract" may refer to work done in 1684: *ibid.*, fols. 29r, 35v.
- 58 Hope 1918, 1:322; Gibson 1998, 40.
- 59 Roberts 2018, 297.
- 60 Roberts 2018, 297–298.
- 61 Roberts 2018, 298–299.
- 62 Brindle 2018c, 328.
- 63 Brindle 2018c, 329.
- 64 Brindle 2018c, 331.
- 65 Gibson 1998, 31.
- 66 Pyne 1819, 1:88–183; Hope 1918, vol. 1, ch. 8, and 2:563–567. Thurley 2018b, 228–233, relies entirely on these dated interpretations of the murals, previously repeated in the following publications: Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:53–55, 240–241; De Giorgi 2009a, 105–110; Brett 2009, 8; Brett 2010, 88–89.
- 67 Gibson 1998; MacKean 1999, 104–177; Burchard 2011; Hamlett 2020b, 41–51; Hamlett 2020c, 227–235. See also note 475 below.
- 68 Downes 1966, pl. 5 (a view of the Upper Ward with the equestrian monument, c. 1770).
- 69 Lewin 2004, 376.
- 70 Lewin 2004, 375.
- 71 The latter aspect was stressed in a guidebook of 1742: Tobias Rustat "erected that Monument, in the Year of our Lord, 1680, in order to perpetuate the Memory of his Royal Master, and to testify to the World, his grateful Acknowledgments of all the Favours, which from Time to Time had been conferr'd upon him" (Bickham 1742, 198).
- 72 Gibson 1997, 100.
- 73 Beard 1989, 59–60; Gibson 1997, 181; Thurley 2018b, 226–227 (with illustration). John Evelyn reported to have seen the statue in place on 13 July 1680: Gibson 1997, 179. The inscription on the pedestal gives 1680 as the year of completion: *ibid.*, 180. For a transcription of the Latin text see Pote 1755, 4.
- 74 Gibson 1997, 180.
- 75 Colvin et al. 1976, 323–324; Gibson 1997, 181, note 161.
- 76 Otway 1685, 16–17.
- 77 In Wenceslaus Hollar's bird's-eye view of Windsor Castle (1672) the "Great gate to the Kings lodgings" is labelled as no. 16. See Brindle 2018a, 212–213, fig. 18.7.
- 78 Colvin et al. 1976, 318.
- 79 The *andito* of the Palazzo Farnese was designed by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, based on Fra Giocondo's reconstruction of the ancient atrium: Riebesell 2007, 226–227.
- 80 Ashmole 1719, 3:115; Bickham 1742, 143; Pote 1755, 14.
- 81 Bickham 1742, 193; Colvin et al. 1976, 320.
- 82 Bickham 1742, 194.
- 83 Ogilby 1661, 12, 14–16. Cf. fig. 3.
- 84 Bickham 1742, 195.
- 85 Bickham 1742, 195.
- 86 Bickham 1742, 193–194.
- 87 Colvin et al. 1976, 320.
- 88 Colvin et al. 1976, 320.
- 89 Bickham 1742, 196. Bickham states that this staircase leads to the Queen's Apartment, but that must be a mistake because the Queen's Staircase was decorated with the story of Phaethon (see the below section titled "The Queen's Apartment," especially note 174). This is confirmed by Downes 1966, 20.
- 90 Bickham 1742, 196–197. Cf. MacKean 1999, 112.
- 91 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.145–165.
- 92 Geraghty 2016, 135–136.
- 93 According to Downes 1966, 20, the ceiling was "presumably deeply coved, but had no lantern." Pyne 1819, 1:86–87, reproduces the neo-Gothic main staircase constructed between 1800 and 1804 by James Wyatt on the site of the former Queen's Staircase (see Roberts 2018, 297).
- 94 Collection of Ordinances 1790, 353–354; Baillie 1967, 173.
- 95 Ashmole 1719, 3:115: "a Guard-Hall, which is finely embellished with several Sorts of Arms, artfully disposed into Figures, as at the Tower of London."
- 96 Parnell 1994, 60; Thurley 2018b, 218. Prince Rupert was constable from 1668 and improved the Windsor fortifications: Colvin et al. 1976, 314–315.
- 97 Parnell 1994, 60.
- 98 Pote 1755, 28.
- 99 Bickham 1742, 179.
- 100 See the section of chapter 2 titled "Britain and the Continent in the Coronation Entry."
- 101 Collection of Ordinances 1790, 353–354.
- 102 Collection of Ordinances 1790, 354.

- 103 Baillie 1967, 174.
- 104 Collection of Ordinances 1790, 356, 371.
- 105 Collection of Ordinances 1790, 356.
- 106 Collection of Ordinances 1790, 372: “If any stranger cometh from any prince or nobleman, the Gentleman Usher ought to sett him in such a place within the King’s chamber as is meete for him [...]; and the said Gentleman Usher ought to speake to the King’s Carer and Sewer to reward him from the King’s board, if the said stranger happen to come when the King is att dynner.”
- 107 Bickham 1742, 180.
- 108 The composition may have been inspired by a painting of Mars admiring the portrait of Louis XIV that figured on one of the triumphal arches erected in Paris in 1661: Möseneder 1983, fig. 42.
- 109 Gibson 1997, 346, cat. 793 (ill. 140); Brett 2010, 102, fig. 78.
- 110 Pote 1755, 26–27. MacKean 1999, 113, quotes an almost identical paragraph from a manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The text at the V&A could therefore possibly be a manuscript source for Pote’s publications of 1749 and 1755, which both contain very similar descriptions of Windsor Castle. In the preface to his *History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle* of 1749, Pote declares that he used materials provided by other authors.
- 111 Pote 1755, 27.
- 112 Ripa (ed. 1976), 58–59.
- 113 Jackson 2016, 6.
- 114 Jackson 2016, 6–9.
- 115 See chapter 2, note 229.
- 116 For representations of this façade, with the star, see Downes 1966, pl. 3; Brindle 2018a, 248 (fig. 20.9) and 264–265 (fig. 22.3).
- 117 Colvin et al. 1976, 317.
- 118 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lituus> (last accessed 10 August 2020). I am grateful to Steffi Roettgen for pointing this out to me.
- 119 Baillie 1967, 174, 176, 178–180.
- 120 On the second canopy see Baillie 1967, 179.
- 121 Ashmole 1719, 3:116.
- 122 Bickham 1742, 181.
- 123 Pote 1755, 26.
- 124 See, for instance, the frontispiece to Gilbert Burnet’s *Historie of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1679) where “Superstition” is opposed to “Religion”: Strunck 2019b, 300–302.
- 125 On this legislation see Kluxen 1991, 347–350, 352.
- 126 Thurley 2018b, 231.
- 127 Baillie 1967, 174; Thurley 2014, 71–73.
- 128 Baillie 1967, 174–175; Thurley 2014, 71.
- 129 Brett 2010, 104–105, cat. 13, publishes a variant of the same engraving in which the two inscriptions were replaced with two classical scenes.
- 130 The print bears the joint addresses of Richard Tompson and Edward Cooper (Griffiths and Gerard 1998, 246–248, cat. 169). As Cooper only set up business in 1682, Griffiths and Gerard regard 1682 as the *terminus post quem* for the print. However, Richard Tompson had been active in the print business from at least 1669 (*ibid.*, 214, cat. 145), i. e. it is possible that the print dates from before 1682, while Cooper’s name was added for a later edition.
- 131 Bickham 1742, 182.
- 132 The following quotes are taken from Pote 1755, 24, and MacKean 1999, 114 (transcription of the text on the print).
- 133 Gibson 1997, 345, cat. 792 (ill. 138); Brett 2010, 98–99, cat. 10.
- 134 Strunck 2008, 102–108.
- 135 The morning star Phosphorus is also known as the Star of Venus and was referenced in several panegyric contexts: Matsche 1993, 241–243.
- 136 This and the previous quotes are taken from MacKean 1999, 114 (transcription of the text on the print).
- 137 Cf. the inscription on the print, transcribed by MacKean 1999, 114: “A Group of Sea Gods are offering the King the Riches of the Ocean. Brittannia sitting upon a Lyon that’s lull’d a sleep & accompanied by the Mistress of ye World seems with a peculiar Delight to Welcome her Sovereign to his Dominions.”
- 138 Cf. MacKean 1999, 125, who pointed to a general similarity between the King’s Drawing Room and the Restoration Arch.
- 139 Gibson 1997, 175; Sauerländer 2006, esp. 45–55; Sharpe 2013, 132–133.
- 140 MacKean 1999, 114. The figure holding a laurel wreath over Charles’s head is Victory rather than Fame.
- 141 MacKean 1999, 114. The word before “Branches” is missing in her transcription, but from the engraving it seems evident that both Jupiter’s eagle and the doves of Venus carry olive branches as classical symbols of peace.
- 142 See the below section titled “Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot.”
- 143 According to Brett 2010, 104, the personifications allude to the seven liberal arts. However, Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture did not belong to this group, which was classically composed of Astronomy, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric.
- 144 Brink 2000.
- 145 On Hercules Musagetes see Buchowiecki 1957, 82–123; Galinsky 1972, 19, 107–108, 222–223; Matsche 1981, 1:343–371; Kray and Oettermann 1994, nos. 1240, 1815, 1923, 2015,

- 2101, 2104, 2346, 2923, 3031, 3047, 4780, 5447, 6148; Strunck 2007a, 322–323.
- 146 Rohlmann 2004, 200 (no. 12), 203 (pl. 68).
- 147 This scene was represented by Raphael, too: Rohlmann 2004, 200 (nos. 7, 8), 206 (pl. 71).
- 148 Apuleius (ed. 1970), 200–201 (book 6, ch. 16).
- 149 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.152–182.
- 150 Thurley 2018b, 225.
- 151 See the illustrations in De Giorgi 2009a, 108, 172, but the above-mentioned gods can only be identified *in situ*.
- 152 Thurley 2018b, 230.
- 153 Collection of Ordinances 1790, 354.
- 154 Keay 2008, 109: According to his Master of Ceremonies, Charles II received audiences “sometimes in his Antechamber... & sometimes in the Bedchamber.”
- 155 Baillie 1967, 172, 175.
- 156 Keay 2008, 95–96; Edwards 2016, 107, 109–110, 113. According to John Evelyn (quoted by Thurley 1999, 106), Wright’s ceiling painting was located in “his Majesties old Bedchamber.”
- 157 Bird and Clayton 2017, 10–11.
- 158 *Les Delices of Windsore* 1755, 23.
- 159 Bickham 1742, 183. See also MacKean 1999, 114, 128, who accepted this erroneous interpretation unquestioned.
- 160 Edwards 2016, 114.
- 161 Pote 1755, 23.
- 162 Bird and Clayton 2017, 118, cat. 50.
- 163 For an illustration of the oldest preserved Garter mantle, made of blue velvet and dating from about 1637, see Brindle 2018a, 202, fig. 17.7.
- 164 Keay 2008, 101.
- 165 Keay 2008, 101.
- 166 Edwards 2016, 114; Thurley 2018b, 231.
- 167 Bickham 1742, 183; Pote 1755, 23.
- 168 Bickham 1742, 184; Pote 1755, 22.
- 169 Brett 2010, 100–101, cat. 11.
- 170 Baillie 1967, 180; Thurley 2018b, 232.
- 171 Baillie 1967, 175.
- 172 During George III’s reign, the King’s Closet and the adjacent anteroom were combined to make a larger room, which was subsequently redecorated (Roberts 2018, 298–299). The illustration in Pyne 1819, 1:134–135, represents the extended space, with its new ceiling painting by Francis Rigaud and Matthew Cotes Wyatt.
- 173 Downes 1966, 19–20.
- 174 Pote 1755, 14.
- 175 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.1–313.
- 176 Waller 1666, 11.
- 177 For the crucial terms “usurpation” and “ambition” see in chapter 2 the section titled “Conflict Resolution” and note 136 above.
- 178 Pote 1755, 14–15. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.340–380.
- 179 Bickham 1742, 146–147; see also Pote 1755, 15.
- 180 Bickham 1742, 144–146.
- 181 Pote 1755, 15.
- 182 Bickham 1742, 149. According to Ashmole’s description of 1719, the ceiling featured “Britannia on a Globe, the Indies offering her Riches, and Europe a Crown; all surrounded with a circle in Form of a Snake” (Ashmole 1719, 3:115). The snake that bites its tail (uroboros), a symbol of eternity, reappears in the Queen’s Presence Chamber; see the description of this room below. Pote 1755, 15–16, claims that the painting in the Guard Chamber represents “Britannia, in the person of Queen Catherine of Portugal, Consort to King Charles II. seated on a Globe, bearing the Arms of England and Portugal,” but this seems incorrect. In Wild’s watercolour (pl. 13) the central female figure is clearly blonde, while Catherine of Braganza had dark hair. The lion and the unicorn to either side of the central cloud are the heraldic supporters of the British coat of arms, but Portuguese heraldry is missing.
- 183 Bickham 1742, 192.
- 184 Pote 1755, 16.
- 185 De Giorgi 2009a, 106; Brett 2009, 8; Brett 2010, 88; Hamlett 2020b, 47.
- 186 “Divine providence” does not exist in Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*. He describes “Providenza” as a woman with two heads, resembling Janus: Ripa (ed. 1992), 367. “Divinità” has a white dress and holds in her hands flames and globes (*ibid.*, 104–105). It seems that Verrio combined these features in order to create an allegory of “Divina Providenza.”
- 187 See the below section titled “Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot.”
- 188 Thurley 2018b, 223 (fig. 19.5).
- 189 Bickham 1742, 191; *Les Delices of Windsore* 1755, 17; Hope 1918, 1:317. On the early modern meanings of the term “galley” see Strunck 2010.
- 190 Keay 2008, 126–132. See also Baillie 1967, 175; Thurley 2014, 72.
- 191 Keay 2008, 127.
- 192 Keay 2008, 128.
- 193 Keay 2008, 128.
- 194 Thurley 2018b, 224–225.
- 195 Keay 2008, 133.
- 196 Keay 2008, 132.
- 197 On current conceptions of the “third space” see Bachmann-Medick 2010, 203–206, 297–299.
- 198 Pote 1755, 17. See also Bickham 1742, 191: “On the Cieling

- [sic] is represented Britannia, with various Emblematic Figures, denoting the Liberty of Europe. In the Cornishes are the Four Seasons, and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiack.”
- 199 For a brief overview see Wroughton 1997, 79–82.
- 200 Gibson 1998, 34.
- 201 On the date of the mural see above notes 48 and 49; on Nijmegen as a low point in Britain’s prestige: Kluxen 1991, 355.
- 202 Kampmann 2001, 242–245.
- 203 Kampmann 2001, 245–246.
- 204 Kampmann 2001, 246–250.
- 205 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.663–756.
- 206 See the numerous examples on the site https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Perseus_and_Andromeda_in_paintings (last accessed 16 August 2020).
- 207 Keay 2008, 128.
- 208 Bickham 1742, 190; Pote 1755, 18: “On the Ceiling is the Assembly of the Gods and Goddesses, and the whole finely intermixed with flowers, Cupids & c. and hightened with Gold.”
- 209 Keay 2008, 127.
- 210 Thurley 2018b, 233.
- 211 The guidebooks provide contradictory information about the subject matter of the ceiling painting. Bickham 1742, 185, described the Queen’s Bedchamber as follows: “On the Cieling [sic] is represented Morpheus, the God of Sleep, indulging himself in Indolence and Ease, with his Head reclin’d in the Lap of a venerable old Man, who has Wings upon his Shoulders” (i. e. the personification of time). According to Pote 1755, 18, the ceiling represented “Endimion and Diana” (i. e. the goddess of the moon watching a sleeping mortal). More than two decades later Verrio illustrated the same story in the King’s Bedroom at Hampton Court Palace (De Giorgi 2009a, 144, fig. 88). In the absence of any pictorial documentation, it is impossible to determine which guidebook is correct. However, both the sleeping Morpheus and the sleeping Endymion would support the hypothesis that the Queen’s Bedchamber served as a sleeping room rather than an audience room.
- 212 Pyne 1819, 1:116–117; Roberts 2018, 298.
- 213 Roberts 2018, 298–299.
- 214 Miller 2017, 324–330. An early instance was the Act of Uniformity of 1662, “the most aggressive piece of Anglican legislation to date,” which curtailed Charles’s rather more tolerant religious policy: Madway 2012, 89, 91, 101 (note 54).
- 215 Kluxen 1991, 351–364.
- 216 Appendix II, 1683,06,25. On the revocation of the charter see chapter 4 (the section titled “Conflict Resolution: Verrio’s Final Design for Christ’s Hospital”) and De Krey 2005, 355–386.
- 217 Evelyn (ed. 1955), 4:319 (18 June 1683). I have omitted Evelyn’s very detailed paraphrase of the Lord Keeper’s speech.
- 218 On a council meeting in the King’s Great Bedchamber see Thurley 2018b, 231.
- 219 Stevenson 2013, 304.
- 220 See the above section “The Queen’s Apartment.”
- 221 Echard 1718, 82–83; Davidson 1908, 313; Madway 2012, 81–82, 86–87; Linnell 2017, 154, 161–162.
- 222 Madway 2012, 82–83.
- 223 Corp 2002, 54–55. On the ceremonies celebrating Catherine’s arrival in London on 23 August 1662 see Madway 2012, 93–96. Charles had married Catherine in a secret Catholic ceremony (followed by a public Anglican one), but her arrival in London was timed to coincide with “the deadline for ministers to submit to Anglican control of the nation’s religious life and the Act of Uniformity”: Madway 2012, 91, 93.
- 224 Davidson 1908, 272–274; Elsna 1967, 112; Corp 2002, 53, 55–57; Madway 2012, 89–91; Watkins 2016, 59–68. The Venetian ambassador Pietro Mocenigo reported in 1671 that Catherine was popular for her virtues (prudence, discretion, religiosity) but would have received more praise had she been able to bear sons: “principessa dotata di cognizioni d’animo insigni e che possiede ottime virtù e prudenza; sta lontana dal negozio, niente ingerendosi negli affari pubblici o privati del regno, amata da ogni sorte di persone, e li nemici stessi del nome cattolico confessano la sua bontà, ma non dando figliuoli al regno gli si diminuiscano quegli applausi che per altro goderebbe di venerazione e di gloria; importantissimo è il beneficio che riceve la religione cattolica dalla di lei somma pietà [...]” Barozzi and Berchet 1863, 452.
- 225 Davidson 1908, 301; Kenyon 1972, 110; Glassey 2011, 226; Morton 2017, 187.
- 226 Wyndham 1976, 38; Keay 2008, 162; Stevenson 2013, 190; Sharpe 2013, 218–222.
- 227 Keay 2008, 163.
- 228 Keay 2008, 160–161; Sharpe 2013, 235–238.
- 229 Wyndham 1976, 41; Keay 2008, 165; Stevenson 2013, 274.
- 230 On public criticism of Charles’s pro-French leanings see Stedman 2013, 63–107.
- 231 Wyndham 1976, 41; Monteyne 2007, 155–213; Stevenson 2013, 183–185.
- 232 Stevenson 2013, 274. The act was withdrawn well before James’s wedding, but the pope-burning was staged nevertheless.
- 233 Keay 2008, 163.
- 234 Keay 2008, 163–164.
- 235 Wyndham 1976, 90–100; Glassey 2011.
- 236 Wyndham 1976, 64; Scott 1990, 107–131; Keay 2008, 183–185; Morton 2017, 184–191.
- 237 Fundamental reading on the Popish Plot are the monographs by Crinò 1954 and Kenyon 1972. The implications for Catherine

- rine of Braganza are discussed by Davidson 1908, 298–355; Rau 1945; Morton 2017, 184–191.
- 238 Claydon 2007, 223–240; Keay 2008, 186–187.
- 239 See above notes 50–52.
- 240 Hope 1918, 1:320.
- 241 Shaw 1911, 1153.
- 242 On August 1679 as *terminus ante quem* see Royal Archives SP/ADD/1/158, fol. 16v.
- 243 Royal Archives SP/ADD/1/158, fols. 5v–6r.
- 244 According to Downes 1966, 19, the Queen’s Staircase (fig. 35, H) featured “an oval opening into the King’s Privy Stair behind, where was visible a fictive relief of the hunt of Meleager.” The illustration *ibid.*, 20, fig. 3, makes clear that Downes refers to the Carved Stairs (fig. 35, Y). Its decoration therefore seems to have consisted of hunting scenes. See also Pote 1749, 415.
- 245 Kenyon 1972, 52.
- 246 Kenyon 1972, 60–61, 77.
- 247 Kenyon 1972, 93–94.
- 248 Kenyon 1972, 110–111.
- 249 Kenyon 1972, 111.
- 250 Kenyon 1972, 112.
- 251 Kenyon 1972, 113–114.
- 252 Kenyon 1972, 114.
- 253 Crinò 1954, 75, 76 (note 2).
- 254 Davidson 1908, 317–318.
- 255 Davidson 1908, 323; Crinò 1954, 63. Although Catherine was not actually incarcerated, Parliament discussed committing her to the Tower: Davidson 1908, 317.
- 256 Rau 1945, 561; Morton 2017, 187–188.
- 257 Rau 1945, 560, 565.
- 258 On 17 March 1679, Catherine of Braganza informed her brother about the temporary exile of the duke of York: “You will by this time have learned the Departure of the Duke not onlie from the Court but from this Kingdom alsoe by Decree of the King his brother. This was not Expected, it being held indeed that the King w(ou)ld always Uphold him, there being such manifest reasons, he being a Prince of notability, and having serv’d him with great Fidelity and Competence; but the King fearing the Fury of Parliament hath seemingly clos’d his Eyes to all this and taken a Step soe contrary to the affection he bears towards his Brother to whom he owes soe much” (Rau 1945, 560, 564).
- 259 Kenyon 1972, 183: The Exclusion Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on 15 May 1679.
- 260 Carpenter 1948, 35; Crinò 1954, 75–76, 78–80.
- 261 Crinò 1954, 78.
- 262 Kenyon 1972, 168–169.
- 263 Crinò 1954, 81.
- 264 Crinò 1954, 82–83; Kenyon 1972, 177.
- 265 Davidson 1908, 319.
- 266 Davidson 1908, 333–334.
- 267 Davidson 1908, 336.
- 268 Davidson 1908, 338.
- 269 Davidson 1908, 350.
- 270 Davidson 1908, 354.
- 271 James Thornhill’s first sketch for *The Landing of King George at Greenwich* exemplifies these problems, as the artist annotated his drawing with a list of arguments against contemporary history painting, among them the objection: “Then who shall be there to accompany him [George], if the Real Nobles that were there, then, some of them are in disgrace now. & so will be to much Party in Picture / To have their faces & dresses as they Realy were, difficult” (quoted from Matthews 2016, 30, cat. 18).
- 272 See the above section titled “The Queen’s Apartment.”
- 273 Precisely this allegory was quoted in Queen Anne’s decoration of Hampton Court Palace; see the section of chapter 6 titled “Nation and Gender in the Queen’s Drawing Room.”
- 274 As early as February 1679, the Tuscan envoy Salvetti reported that the trial against Wakeman was being prepared: Crinò 1954, 64.
- 275 Rau 1945, 564.
- 276 See above note 186.
- 277 Hamlett 2020b, 42, suggested the court poet John Denham as author of the programme. As Denham died in 1669, this means he would have worked out the entire programme at least six years before the rebuilding started in 1675. This is unlikely because the king proclaimed his intention to rebuild Windsor Castle only in 1674 (see above note 31). Moreover, the number and arrangement of the rooms were changed considerably in the building process. So even if in the 1660s Denham had entertained thoughts of redecorating Windsor Castle, it would have been impossible for him to have planned the pictorial programme because he could not have known about the number of rooms to be decorated. In addition, some of the murals reference events of 1678/79 that cannot have been foreseen by Denham.
- 278 Jacobsen 2011, 135; Thurley 2018b, 221–222.
- 279 Marshall 2004, 104. According to Corp 2002, 58, Arlington also served as Lord Steward of the Queen’s Household, but Marshall does not mention this appointment.
- 280 For an extensive discussion of Bennet’s career and art patronage see Jacobsen 2011, 117–137. According to his contemporaries, he was exceptionally “well versed in the classic poets” and “never plays, but reades much, having both the Latine, French & Spanish tongues in perfection” (Marshall 2004, 101, 104).
- 281 On 17 March 1679, Catherine of Braganza informed her

- brother that Parliament had forced Charles to exile the duke of York “contrary to the affection he bears towards his Brother.” See above note 258.
- 282 Pote 1755, 17. Bickham 1742, 191–192, gave an even more succinct description: “Queen Catherine, seated in a triumphal Chariot.”
- 283 Pyne 1819, 1:93; Hope 1918, 2:564; Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:241; MacKean 1999, 117; Brett 2010, 88; Thurley 2018b, 233; Hamlett 2020b, 48.
- 284 Ripa (ed. 1976); Cartari (ed. 1963).
- 285 Cf. the portraits reproduced by Bird and Clayton 2017, 111, 125, 167, 172.
- 286 On seventeenth-century representations of Britannia see MacKean 1999, 347–401.
- 287 Ripa (ed. 1976), 58–59.
- 288 For a particularly influential depiction of the two Venuses see Titian’s *Amor Sacro e Amor Profano* kept in the Galleria Borghese (Rome).
- 289 Cartari (ed. 1963), 259–260, 267; Poeschel 2005, 282–284, 321; Cartari (ed. 1996), 220–221.
- 290 Ripa (ed. 1976), 399, 402.
- 291 Pote 1755, 17.
- 292 According to Ovid, Vertumnus tricked Pomona in the guise of an old woman: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 14.620–697.
- 293 Corp 2002, 55, mentions four documented miscarriages up until 1669, but there may have been more before 1679.
- 294 Bischoff 2020, 41–43, fig. 4 (to name but one of many possible examples).
- 295 When Verrio embarked on the ceiling painting of the Queen’s Privy Chamber in 1679, Catherine was 40 years old and may still have felt able to produce the desired heir. A legitimate son would have solved all the problems the royal couple went through during the Exclusion Crisis of 1679, and thus the public displays of marital affection mentioned above may indeed have served to foster such hopes.
- 296 Ripa (ed. 1976), 73–75 (“Castità”), 387–388 (“Obedienza”), 403–405 (“Pazienza”), 445 (“Pudicitia”).
- 297 In 1698, Celia Fiennes gave the following description: “the Queenes Chamber of State all Indian Embroidery on white sattin being presented to her by the Company on it is great plumes of white feathers.” Fiennes (ed. 1995), 219. It was perhaps no coincidence that the queen displayed “Indian Embroidery” as a present from the East India Company: This may have been an allusion to her Portuguese dowry, which had included Bombay. On Catherine’s dowry see Maurer 2000, 194; Linnell 2017, 154, 161.
- 298 See above notes 282 and 283.
- 299 Ogilby 1662, 66, 140–143.
- 300 During his stay in Rome, Verrio may have seen Pietro da Cortona’s ceiling painting in the Salone Barberini, in which the Temple of Janus is likewise presented as a circular temple; cf. Roettgen 2007, 148, no. 29. On Verrio’s Roman sojourn see below.
- 301 Crinò 1954, 52; Kenyon 1972, 105.
- 302 Kenyon 1972, 105–106.
- 303 On iconoclasm introduced under Edward VI see Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 35; Wand 1961, 18–19; Ridley 1962, 262–265; Yates 2000, 23; Humphreys 2001, 23–26.
- 304 Quotation from Haynes 2006, 124.
- 305 In some locations, isolated tapestries, reliefs, or figurative paintings were to be found (for example, representations of Moses and Aaron), but this remained the exception. Cf. Stalley 1902, 1:95, 98; Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 139, 156–161; Haynes 2006, 1, 96–100, 103–105, 112, 130–133, figs. 36, 38, 39; Fincham and Tyacke 2007, plates 2–4, 16, 18; Morel 2013, 71–77. Many of the examples cited by Haynes are dated after Verrio’s decoration of the Royal Chapel at Windsor Castle. On the arguments against religious images, cf. Haynes 2006, 106–108, 128–129, as well as Haynes 2012, 63–64. Religious pictures were only rejected in religious spaces, while they were considered perfectly acceptable in private collections; cf. Williams 2003, 159–200; Haynes 2006, 74–101.
- 306 Quotation from Haynes 2006, 122. The introduction of Barlow’s statement paraphrased a parliamentary order from the House of Commons dated 9 May 1644: “all representations of any persons of the Trinity, or of any Angel or Saint, in or about any Cathedral, Collegiate or parish Church, or Chapel, or in any open place within this Kingdome, shall be taken away, defaced and utterly demolished.” Quotation from Morel 2013, 72.
- 307 For the date of the chapel paintings see above note 57.
- 308 Wild’s watercolour was made for reproduction in William Henry Pyne’s three-volume *Royal Residences* and published in Pyne 1819, 1:179. The payment documents are collected in Colvin et al. 1976, 325–326; Hope 1918, 1:322. On the reception of the chapel see Ashmole 1719, 3:119; Bickham 1742, 153–159; Pote 1755, 32–33; Hope 1918, 1:345, note 54; Colvin et al. 1976, 326; Fiennes (ed. 1995), 218. On the destruction of the murals see Gibson 1998, 31.
- 309 Thurley 2002, 265–266. The stylistic innovations that Verrio brought to England have been repeatedly discussed without, however, reflecting on the problematic aspects of his religious paintings. See Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:236–242; Haskell 1963, 196; Johns 2013, 84; Solkin 2015, 8–10; Johns 2016, 153–176; Bird 2017, 187–189.
- 310 Keay 2008, 191–194; De Giorgi 2009a, 108; Brett 2010, 89; Burchard 2011, 114–116; Hamlett 2020b, 49.
- 311 Haynes 2006, 114–116, 122, 134; Johns 2009, 511–513.

- 312 On Charles II's conversion see Wyndham 1976, 117; Keay 2008, 204–206. The earl of Arlington, who oversaw the decoration of the chapel, converted to Catholicism in 1685: Marshall 2004, 104.
- 313 Thurley 2002, 269, emphasizes that “his throne relied on Anglicanism.” This can be further supported by a declaration by Charles II that was published in 1683 in *The London Gazette*: “We Manifested to all Our Subjects Our Zeal for the Maintenance of the Protestant Religion, and Our Resolution to Govern according to Law” (*The London Gazette*, no. 1848, 2–6 August 1683, 1). The new decoration of the Whitehall chapel is treated by Thurley 1999, 116–118, and Thurley 2002, 263–266.
- 314 Thurley 2002, 268–269.
- 315 Thurley 2002, 269.
- 316 Thurley 2002, 269.
- 317 Keay 2008, 154. This passage is not related specifically to Windsor, but it may likely be applicable.
- 318 Keay 2008, 155–156.
- 319 The *Ordinances made by King Charles the Second for the Government of His Household* stated this expressly: “For Our Chappell Wee ordaine and command, that in Our going and coming thence, all men keepe their rankes orderly and distinctly [...] that being one of the most eminent and frequent occasions whereby mens ranks in precedency are distinguished and discerned” (Collection of Ordinances 1790, 358).
- 320 Thurley 2002, 266, points out that there is no evidence for an “exceptional” liturgy in the chapel or in this period.
- 321 Tenison 1678. A short reference to Tenison's text can be found (in another context) in Haynes 2012, 82; however, no connection is made to Windsor Castle. Haynes describes Tenison as “strongly anti-Catholic” and implies that he viewed art as dangerous. See also Gibson-Wood 1993, 232, and Johns 2009, 511.
- 322 The title page of the treatise presents the author as “Tho. Tenison, B. D. Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty, and late Fellow of Corpus-Christi Colledg [sic] in Cambridge.” On Tenison's career and writings see Carpenter 1948.
- 323 Keay 2008, 150–151.
- 324 Tenison 1678, Epistle Dedicatory, unpaginated.
- 325 Keay 2008, 190: “The decision to reconstruct these rooms [the Royal Chapel and the Great Hall of the castle] had been taken before 1678; by the summer of 1680 structural work was largely complete and the decoration was being looked to.” Cf. Colvin et al. 1976, 326.
- 326 Tenison 1678, Epistle Dedicatory, unpaginated.
- 327 Carpenter 1948, 40.
- 328 Tenison 1678, 277.
- 329 Carpenter 1948, 40. “Breaking down Crosses” may refer to the so-called Cheap Cross in London, one of the Eleanor Crosses whose destruction was commemorated during the coronation entry of 1661: Stevenson 2013, 37, 43–48, 103.
- 330 Tenison 1678, 315.
- 331 Tenison 1678, 317–318.
- 332 Tenison 1678, 382–383.
- 333 Tenison 1678, 384.
- 334 Cf. Bickham 1742, 153: “On the West Side is delineated the Tomb, or Sepulchre, from whence he arose with such Pomp and Magnificence; and all round the Cornish are the Soldiers, that were set over him as a Watch, all fast asleep.” This description is confirmed by Pyne 1819, 179.
- 335 In his diary entry for 16 June 1683, John Evelyn highlighted the Italianate character of the decoration: “Then the Chapell of the Resurrection, where the figure of the Ascention, is in my opinion comparable to any paintings of the most famous Roman Masters: The Last-Supper also over the Altar [...] nor lesse the stupendious [...]” Evelyn (ed. 1955), 4:316.
- 336 Ganz 2003, 315, 317.
- 337 The lost mural is documented in two almost identical paintings (RCIN 404052 and RCIN 402671). See <https://www.rct.uk/collection/404052/christ-healing-the-sick> and <https://www.rct.uk/collection/402671/christ-healing-the-sick-o> (last accessed 8 September 2020).
- 338 Brett 2010, 89; Keay 2008, 193; Thurley 2018b, 237.
- 339 A detailed description of Verrio's no longer extant fresco can be found in De Dominici (ed. 1844), 3:378–379. On Lanfranco's mural see Schleier 2001, 47–50; Pagano 2001, 16.
- 340 For an illustration of Raphael's composition, see <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1069359/the-healing-of-the-lame-cartoon-for-a-raphael/> (last accessed 9 September 2020).
- 341 Thurley 2003, 185–186.
- 342 Bernini transferred the ancient spiral columns that had once stood in the apse of Old St Peter's to the piers in the crossing, where they frame the niches he created for St Peter's most valuable relics. Marder 1998, 26–45, esp. 27–29, 44.
- 343 Tuzi 2002; Weiß 2015, 204–206, 213–234. The palm trees are explicitly mentioned in the Windsor accounts: Colvin et al. 1976, 325. See also Pote 1755, 33.
- 344 Otway 1685, 21.
- 345 Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 312. See also Appendix III, fol. 135; Ashmole 1672, 146; Turner and Bartrum 2009–2012, 7:123, 141, cat. 2368.
- 346 Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 259 and pl. 16.
- 347 Newman 1993; Hart 2011, 217–220.
- 348 Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 74, 81, 227–230, 262, 354.
- 349 Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 228.

- 350 Packer 1969, 1–14; Newman 1993, 185; Thurley 2002, 248–250.
- 351 Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 355.
- 352 The question of the placement of the altar in Anglican churches was deeply controversial in the seventeenth century. Puritan communities favoured a wooden, moveable “communion table,” around which all the believers could gather for Communion. Bishop Laud and the supporters of a more formal (“High Church”) liturgy wanted to see the altar surrounded by fixed barriers or “rails.” Cf. Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 25–34, 108–173; Wand 1961, 18–19, 96–99; Packer 1969, 1–14; Newman 1993, 170–171, 186; Yates 2000, 30–32, 41–43, 68–69; Thurley 2002, 238–274; Stevenson 2013, 279–284.
- 353 Bickham 1742, 158–159. According to his diary, John Evelyn visited the chapel on 16 June 1683 and “liked exceedingly the Contrivance of the unseene Organs behind the Altar.” Evelyn (ed. 1955), 4:316.
- 354 See above note 306.
- 355 Tenison 1678, 277.
- 356 In doing so, he reopened a debate on religious images that was to have important consequences for the decoration of other Anglican places of worship. The discussions on religious imagery and the “beauty of holiness” preceding the English Civil War are explored in great detail by Fincham and Tyacke 2007. Haynes 2006, 112–120, discusses a 1681/82 controversy over religious images in All Hallows Barking in London that ended with the victory of the iconophiles’ party. Haynes cites a similar conflict over images in churches in the Archdiocese of Canterbury in 1685: *ibid.*, 121–123. See also Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 161. The chapel decoration in Chatsworth (plates 64, 66) represents a very early case of the reception of the figurative programme in Windsor Chapel: Ambrose et al. 2016, 37.
- 357 Fincham and Tyacke 2007, 313.
- 358 On 6 September 1685, John Evelyn mentioned “that splended [sic] Chapell next St. Georges Hall”: Evelyn (ed. 1955), 4:465. In 1698, Celia Fiennes, daughter of staunch dissenters and a nonconformist herself, wrote of Verrio’s and Grinling Gibbons’s work: “this is the house Chappel and is exceeding beautifull, the paintings of the rooffe and the sides which is the history off Christs miracles, his Life, and the good he did in healing all distempers which are described at large here and lookes very lively; there is alsoe the most exactest workmanship in the wood carving, which is (as the painting) the pattern and masterpiece of all such work both in figures fruitages beasts birds flowers all sorts, soe thinn the wood and all white natural wood without varnish; this adorns the pillars and void spaces between the paintings, here is a great quality so much for quantity.” Fiennes (ed. 1995), 12–13, 218.
- 359 On the documents concerning this painting see above note 57.
- 360 An engraving of 1672 records the appearance of this hall before its remodelling: Brindle 2018b, 112.
- 361 See above notes 37, 55, and 56. For the previous appearance of the chapel see the illustrations in Thurley 2018a, 185 (fig. 16.6) and 193 (fig. 16.13).
- 362 MacKean 1999, 128–129; Keay 2008, 190–193; Burchard 2011, 114–116; Barber 2020b, 27.
- 363 Ormrod 2005, 20.
- 364 On the destruction of St George’s Hall see above note 65.
- 365 MacKean 1999, 141–142, emphasized the connection between the Garter knights and the paintings. In a similar vein, Thomas Otway presented the murals as a model for the knights: “Here as a Lesson may their Eyes behold / What their victorious Fathers did of old” (Otway 1685, 19).
- 366 Gibson 1998, 30.
- 367 De Giorgi 2010, 35–36.
- 368 Strunck 2007a, 228–234.
- 369 For a brief English summary of the design history of the Galleria Colonna see Strunck 2007b.
- 370 Only the upper half of the monumental columns remained visible after the installation of the organ loft. Cf. Gibson 1998, 32.
- 371 For a reconstruction of the wall treatment created by Bernini’s assistant Mattia de’ Rossi see Strunck 2007a, 199, fig. 80a.
- 372 See the illustrations in Strunck 2007a, plates III–VI and 28–41.
- 373 In 1807, Rigaud restored Thornhill’s murals in the Painted Hall at Greenwich: Osmun 1950, 37. Rufus Bird dates the Windsor drawing to “around 1805”: Bird and Clayton 2017, 194.
- 374 Pote 1755, 28–29: “The Centre of the Ceiling is a large Oval, wherein is represented King Charles II. in the Habit of the Order of St. George, or Garter, attended by England, Scotland, and Ireland: Religion and Plenty holding the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms over his Head, Mars and Mercury with the emblems of war and Peace, are on each side of the Monarch: In the same Oval is Regal Government supported by Religion and Eternity: Justice, attended by Fortitude, Temperance and Prudence, beating down Rebellion and Faction in a Hydra of evil Genii, in one of which the Painter is said to have introduced the E- [Earl] of Sh-y [Shaftesbury], a Statesman of that Reign, dispersing Libels.” See also Gibson 1998.
- 375 Gibson 1998, 35.
- 376 On Verrio’s Tuscan sojourn see Brett 2009, 4; De Giorgi 2010, 37.
- 377 Cf. Gregori 2005, 271; Strunck 2017a, 518–520. Gibson 1998,

- 35, referred to Ripa's allegory (and to the iconography of "Christ the Judge") in passing without, however, recognizing the ceiling painting at the Pitti Palace as Verrio's model and without linking this observation to the iconography of the chapel.
- 378 Langedijk 1981, 1:139–174, esp. 158–161.
- 379 Rother 1992, 22–29; Lee and Fraser 2001, 43–51. For early modern examples of this medieval iconography see Strunck 2019b, 324.
- 380 See the section of chapter 2 titled "Conflict Resolution."
- 381 Gibson 1998, 31–32.
- 382 Otway 1685, 6. See also *ibid.*, 17, where Charles's "Godlike mind" is emphasized once more.
- 383 Brett 2010, 89.
- 384 Keay 2008, 192.
- 385 Keay 2008, 192–193.
- 386 See chapter 2, note 54. In his poem on Windsor Castle, Thomas Otway likewise presented Charles II as healer of his state: "Under Philistian Lords we long had mourn'd, / When he, our great Deliverer, return'd; / But thence the Deluge of our Tears did cease, / The Royal Dove shew'd us such marks of Peace. / And when this Land in Bloud he might have laid, / Brought Balsam from the Wounds ourselves had made." Otway 1685, 3.
- 387 The drawing was published by Gibson 1998, 30, 35 (detail).
- 388 Bickham 1742, 168–169; Pote 1755, 30; Pyne 1819, 179. For an extended interpretation of this scene see the below section titled "Modes of Reception, Layers of Meaning, and the Blessings of Ambiguity."
- 389 Cf. MacKean 1999, 128.
- 390 Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 137; Keay 2008, 69.
- 391 Pocklington 1637, 175. Cf. also Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 139.
- 392 Pocklington 1637, 159.
- 393 For descriptions of the throne see Gibson 1998, 36.
- 394 The spiral columns flanking the altar were probably meant as a visual reference to Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem (as were the palm trees on the walls). Cf. Tuzi 2002; Weiß 2015, 204–206, 213–234.
- 395 Burchard 2011, 109.
- 396 Krautheimer 1986, 39–43.
- 397 Quoted from Barber 2016, 217.
- 398 See the section of chapter 2 titled "Conflict Resolution."
- 399 Quoted from MacKean 1999, 151.
- 400 On the date of Van Hove's print see chapter 2, note 325; on Burghers's engraving and its date: Sharpe 2013, 145–146. The inscription "Per me reges regnant" (It is through me that kings reign) implies God's endorsement of Charles's rule.
- 401 Quoted from Wyndham 1976, 67.
- 402 Wyndham 1976, 94–95; Maurer 2000, 169.
- 403 Cf. Martin 2005, 1:95–103; Thurley 2008, 62–63; Martin 2011, 121–137.
- 404 De Giorgi 2009a, 43–99; Brett 2009, 4; De Giorgi 2010, 23–38.
- 405 De Giorgi 2009a, 88, 104; Brett 2009, 4–6; Jacobsen 2011, 121, 131, 133.
- 406 Brett 2009, 4.
- 407 De Giorgi 2009a, 104; Brett 2009, 6. For Verrio's work in Arlington's and Montagu's houses see Brett 2009, 6, 8; Jacobsen 2011, 130, 144.
- 408 Brett 2009, 6.
- 409 Stedman 2008, 99–101; Stedman 2013, 63–107.
- 410 Haskell 1963, 195–196; MacKean 1999, 158, note 150; De Giorgi 2009a, 97–99; Johns 2016, 158–162. Jacobsen stresses Arlington's interest in French taste but adds: "It would be erroneous to suggest, however, that Arlington was merely aping the French." Jacobsen 2011, 128–129, 133, 136.
- 411 De Giorgi 2009a, 99; Jacobsen 2011, 134. De Giorgi bases his claim on Charles Le Brun's *Passage du Rhin*, which he dates to 1672 but which was in fact only executed between 1680 and 1684 and thus cannot be adduced as proof for his argument. See below note 424.
- 412 De Giorgi 2009a, 90, writes with reference to Verrio's ceiling painting in the dining room of the Hôtel Brûlart: "questo tipo di composizione risulta insolita, anzi assolutamente inedita, per l'architettura civile parigina di quegli anni."
- 413 Corp's argument focuses on Benedetto Gennari: Corp 2002, 55–57, 63–64. The king, too, was fascinated by Gennari and ordered several works from him: Bagni 1986, 55–58, 65, 147–148; Barclay 2002, 85–87; Clarke 2017, 112–113; Barber 2020c, 52.
- 414 Corp 2002, 58; Jacobsen 2011, 117, 131, 135. See also above notes 42 and 46.
- 415 Berger 1985, 41–50, 69–71; Pérouse de Montclos 1996, 232–253; Lemoine et al. 2016, 53–86.
- 416 Pérouse de Montclos 1996, 252–253; Beauvais 2000, 1:315; Lemoine et al. 2016, 62.
- 417 In addition to the above-mentioned Roman examples (Palazzo Barberini, Galleria Colonna, and Il Gesù) Verrio may have studied many more illusionist ceilings in the Roman churches and palaces. During his stay in Florence he is likely to have seen not only the summer apartment of the Pitti Palace, but also its spectacular Sala di Marte frescoed by Pietro da Cortona.
- 418 The first example at Windsor Castle was the King's Drawing Room (fig. 41) created around 1677. See below note 423.
- 419 Marie 1972, 2:438–452; Berger 1985, 53.
- 420 Marie 1972, 2:449; Berger 1985, 54; Ziegler 2014, 193, 196.

- 421 Milovanovic 2007, 14–15; Ziegler 2010b, 351.
- 422 Croft-Murray 1954, 58–59; Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:55; Griffiths and Gerard 1998, 248; Brett 2010, 104–105, cat. 13.
- 423 The King’s Drawing Room was executed in the middle of the first decorative campaign that lasted from July 1676 until August 1678. See above notes 48 and 49.
- 424 Therefore, De Giorgi’s argument cannot be maintained; see above note 411.
- 425 Ziegler 2014, 196.
- 426 On Verrio’s Tuscan sojourn see De Giorgi 2009a, 62–65; De Giorgi 2010, 37.
- 427 Bastogi 2006, 62, 77–80; Spinelli 2011, 28.
- 428 On Colonna and Mitelli’s *Apotheosis of Alexander the Great* see Bastogi 2006, 71–76.
- 429 Cf. MacKean 1999, 140: “the spatial rhetoric of illusionistic perspective positioned the viewer in a space, and within the gazes of all, as an agreeing part of an image of a political structure.” See also *ibid.*, 170: “Windsor’s viewers were positioned so as to appear to conform to the ordered spaces of the rooms. Their visual experiences of their own bodies and the bodies of others around them confirmed their place and participation within an inclusive image of agreement.”
- 430 The Italian models discussed in this chapter consist of Raphael’s loggia in the Villa Farnesina, the Sala di Bona and summer apartment of the Palazzo Pitti, the Salone Barberini, the Galleria Colonna, Il Gesù, the crossing of St Peter’s, and Lanfranco’s mural in Santi Apostoli in Naples. The list would certainly be much longer had the Windsor murals been documented more completely, allowing a detailed analysis of the destroyed paintings.
- 431 Worsley argued that the murals in the chapel and the hall were based on Renaissance paintings bought by Charles I, i. e. Raphael’s *Healing the Blind* [sic] and Mantegna’s *Triumphs of Caesar*. He concluded: “The source for the imagery and the style of these two rooms thus predates the Baroque. For all their ambition, these rooms were less innovative than we might think. Large-scale figurative wall decoration, usually achieved with tapestries, was an established tradition in the grand reception rooms of England’s royal palaces. This had been the case with Inigo Jones’s Banqueting House, but was particularly true of Henry VIII’s Hampton Court. The painted decoration of the walls of St George’s Hall and the King’s Chapel is best understood as a continuation of this traditional way of decorating English royal residences with the addition of Baroque illusionistic ceiling painting” (Worsley 2005, 80, and identical text in Worsley 2007, 55). As explained above, Raphael’s *Healing of the Lame Man*, stored in strips, was probably not accessible to Verrio. Both this work and Mantegna’s *Triumph* are stylistically very remote from Verrio’s High Baroque murals. Just like the tapestries mentioned by Worsley, they are characterized by a pronounced two-dimensional flatness, whereas Verrio aimed to open up the walls and create an illusion of deeply recessed rooms behind the paint surface – an approach that is unthinkable without the model of Roman and Neapolitan Baroque painting (e. g. Lanfranco’s *Probatica Piscina*, pl. 22). The *Triumph of the Black Prince*, discussed in the following section (pl. 28), is much closer to Baroque murals like Ottavio Vannini’s *Triumph of Francesco I de’ Medici* or Volterrano’s *Triumph of Cosimo I at Siena* than to Mantegna. On these murals see Kliemann 1993, 177, 181, 185 (fig. 215), 187 (fig. 222).
- 432 On the relationship to the coronation entry see the above section titled “A Visit to the King’s Apartment” and MacKean 1999, 124–128.
- 433 Vermeer 1994. See also Vannerem and Snell-Hornby 1994, 203; Toury 2012, 18–20.
- 434 In fact, from the 1670s such abstract glorifications began to appear in British churches. Van Eck 2018, 125–129, discusses and illustrates numerous examples.
- 435 Biermann 2019, 252–255.
- 436 Biermann 2019, 255–256.
- 437 Other early descriptions can be found in John Evelyn’s and Celia Fiennes’s journals. They testify to the positive reception of Verrio’s work, but do not go into much detail. Evelyn visited the still unfinished Hall on 16 June 1683 and again on 6 September 1685. On the latter occasion he wrote: “I withdrew, to consider the stupendious painting of the Hall, which both for the Art & Invention deserves the Inscription, in honor of the Painter Signior Verrio: The History is Edw: the 3rd’s receiving the black-prince, coming towards him in a Roman Triumph &c. The whole rooffe, the Hist: of St. George, The Throne, the Carvings &c are incomparable, & I think equal to any & in many Circumstances exceeding any I have seene Abroad.” Evelyn (ed. 1955), 4:316–317, 465. See also above note 358.
- 438 Otway 1685, 17. These lines are explained by a printed marginal note: “The Paintings done by The Sieur Verrio, his Majestie’s chief Painter.”
- 439 Otway 1685, 18.
- 440 Otway 1685, 22.
- 441 Otway 1685, 20.
- 442 Otway 1685, 19.
- 443 Otway 1685, 19–20.
- 444 See Tombs 2006; Tombs 2015, 304–305; and esp. Claydon 2007, 152–192.
- 445 See above note 278.
- 446 Marshall 2004, 102; Jacobsen 2011, 120–122.
- 447 Claydon 2007, 156–157.
- 448 Marshall 2004, 103: “Arlington soon shifted his ground. He

- subsequently led the negotiations with the French, being fully aware of the proposals for the king to become a Catholic [...].” See also Jacobsen 2011, 132.
- 449 Thurley 2018b, 222: “The work was partially financed through the subsidy paid to Charles by Louis XIV under the Secret Treaty of Dover of 1670: £18,000 came from this source in 1675–8, and possibly a good deal more.” See also Prosser 2018, 39.
- 450 Kluxen 1991, 354.
- 451 Maurer 2000, 169.
- 452 For instance, as Apollo was the official alter ego of the French Sun King, Apollo’s subservient position in the King’s Drawing Room may have been perceived as a Francophobic quip (fig. 41): The French king was seated at Charles’s feet as his coach driver! While the pictorial programme of Versailles revolved around the equation of Louis XIV and the sun, at Windsor Castle a rivalling cosmological myth was deployed, centring on the *Sydus Carolinum* (Charles’s star); see above note 113.
- 453 Dryden (ed. 1976), 52.
- 454 “A Man with a long, lean, pale Face, with Fiends Wings, and Snakes twisted round his Body [...] incompast by several Phanatical Rebellious Heads, who suck poyson from him” is to be understood as an image of Lord Shaftesbury: MacKean 1999, 137.
- 455 In 1661, Ashmole had written the official account of Charles’s coronation, and in 1672 he published a monumental, lavishly illustrated volume on the Order of the Garter and its seat Windsor Castle, referring to himself on the title page as “Windsor Herald at Arms.” See Ashmole 1672 and chapter 2, note 336.
- 456 Ashmole 1719, 3:118.
- 457 Pote 1755, 29.
- 458 Glassey 2011.
- 459 Wyndham 1976, 95, 100; Stevenson 2013, 291–293; Glassey 2011, 208–209.
- 460 Otway 1685, 19.
- 461 Ashmole 1719, 3:117. Ashmole died in 1692, but his text was published posthumously. The editor seems to have updated his description of St George’s Hall because he also refers to a portrait of William III created around 1700 (*ibid.*, 119).
- 462 On the repainting see the following section.
- 463 The description by Pote 1755, 30, corresponds very well with Ashmole’s text: “On the upper part of the Hall is the Royal Edward III. the Conqueror of France and Scotland, the Builder of this Royal Castle, and the illustrious Founder of this most noble Order of the Garter, seated on a Throne, receiving the Kings of France and Scotland Prisoners; the Prince is seated in the middle of the Procession, crowned with Lawrel, and carried by Slaves, preceeded by Captives, and attended by the emblems of Victory, Liberty, and other Ensignia of the Romans, with the banners of France and Scotland displayed.”
- 464 Cf. Barber 1978, 144, 152, 154.
- 465 Ormrod 2011, 587–589.
- 466 On the Garter feasts see Ashmole 1672; Burchard 2011, 116–117; Brindle 2018b, 110–112.
- 467 Wyndham 1976, 1, 21, 23.
- 468 Wyndham 1976, 67–69, 74, 90–91, 95; Glassey 2011, 226.
- 469 Wyndham 1976, 46, 54, 67–68.
- 470 Wyndham 1976, 92, 93, 115; Glassey 2011, 226.
- 471 Crinò 1954, 76, 78; Wyndham 1976, 63–64.
- 472 Wyndham 1976, 74.
- 473 Crinò 1954, 80.
- 474 Even after the end of the Exclusion Crisis, the crisis of the British monarchy was far from over. The Rye House Plot of 1683 threatened the king’s life, and in 1684 a further uprising was being prepared in Scotland (Wyndham 1976, 101–114, 130–131; Milton 2011). Thus Verrio’s decoration of St George’s Hall cannot be interpreted as the apotheosis of a monarch whose power had finally been consolidated.
- 475 According to Hamlett 2020b, 41–51, the pictorial programme of the Windsor apartments was devised by John Denham and based on the masque *Coelum Britannicum* staged in 1634. In my view, this is unlikely because Denham died in 1669, five years before the decision was made to rebuild Windsor Castle. How could he have imagined the exact number and sequence of the new rooms that were only constructed from 1675? And why would Charles II have wished to illustrate a court masque that had been performed over forty years prior? Although he certainly strove to establish a continuity with his father’s court culture, he had more pressing concerns during the years in which the murals were executed. I think the paintings reflected contemporary events, above all the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis – developments that were impossible for Denham to foresee. However, as the structure of the murals encouraged multiple interpretations, the elder members of the court may well have been reminded of *Coelum Britannicum*.
- 476 For a case study regarding multiple layers of meaning see the above section titled “Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot.”
- 477 On “the blessings of ambiguity” and “the virtues of indecision” in early modern decision-making see Stollberg-Rilinger 2016, 9.
- 478 See the above section titled “Verrio’s Murals as Agents of Conflict Resolution.”

- 479 Warnke 1993 provided a masterful analysis of this principle with reference to Rubens's Medici cycle, painted for the Palais du Luxembourg.
- 480 Thurley 2018b, 236.
- 481 Otway 1685 (dedicated to James II), 19–20; see the preceding section.
- 482 Wyndham 1976, 147–166; Sharpe 2013, 277–278.
- 483 William and Mary preferred Hampton Court and Kensington Palace; see chapter 6.
- 484 Payments to Verrio for work at Windsor are recorded from September 1699: De Giorgi 2009b, 62.
- 485 Brett 2010, 112, cat. 17.
- 486 Defoe (ed. 1959), 305: "The painting on the side of the hall, which was the representation of Prince Edward's triumph, in imitation of Caesar's glorious entry into Rome, and which was drawn marching from the lower end of the room, to the upper, that is to say, from the door, which is in the corner of the north side of the hall, was now wholly inverted, and the same triumph was performed again; but the march turned just the other way." This information is puzzling, as it states that the triumphal procession originated at the northern door of the hall (cf. fig. 35) and marched towards its "upper end." The latter must be the east side of the hall because Defoe tells his readers that the throne stood "at the upper end" (ibid., 305). In fact, it is logical that the procession moved in the accustomed direction of reading, from left to right, and proceeded towards the royal throne rather than moving away from it. Verrio's repainted triumph moved in exactly the same direction as is apparent both from his oil sketch of William III and from a nineteenth-century visual record of the mural (plates 28, 31). Therefore, a reversal of direction cannot have taken place.
- 487 De Giorgi 2009b, 62–63; Brett 2009, 11; Brett 2010, 112–113, cat. 17.
- 488 According to Pote 1755, 30, the mural featured "the banners of France and Scotland." Between 1689 and 1691, William III overcame Jacobite resistance in Scotland and Ireland (Fforde 2002; Claydon 2004, 85; De Krey 2007, 270–289; Miller 2017, 355–356; Worton 2018, 21–23), and the Peace of Ryswick of 1697 sealed his triumph over Louis XIV. On the paramount importance and artistic consequences of the Peace of Ryswick see chapter 6.
- 489 Defoe (ed. 1959), 305.
- 490 Ashmole 1719, 3:119.
- 491 Bickham 1742, 160–161: "In the Front (being the West End) is seated his late Majesty King William III. on a Throne, richly drest, in the Order of the Garter, with his cap on his Right Hand, and the Crown on his Left. This Painting is look'd upon as one of Sir Godfrey Kneller's most accurate Performances.
- There are five Steps of real Marble going up to the Picture, and a fictitious one of five more on the Canvas, so naturally painted, that they deceive, in the most agreeable Manner, the Eye of almost every Spectator." Cf. Pote 1755, 29–30: "On the back of the State, or Sovereign's Throne, is a large Drapery, whereon is painted, as large as life, St. George encountering the Dragon, and on the lower border of the Drapery is inscribed *Veniendo restituit Rem*, In allusion to King William III. who is painted under a Royal Canopy, in the Habit of the Order, by Sir Godfrey Kneller: The Ascent to the Throne is by five Steps of fine Marble, to which the Painter has made an addition of five more to great perfection, which agreeably deceive the Sight, and induce the Spectator to believe them equally real." See also Stewart 1970, 332.
- 492 Cf. Bickham 1742, 161: "Over this Throne, on which his Majesty is thus seated in State, is a most curious Picture of St. George on Horse-back, in all his Warlike Accoutrements, and in the Action of killing the Dragon, by the same Hand [Sir Godfrey Kneller]." As mentioned above in note 486, Defoe does not appear to be an entirely reliable source.
- 493 Bickham 1742, 161; Pote 1755, 29.
- 494 See, for instance, fig. 84 and pl. 110.
- 495 See chapters 5, 6, and 7.
- 496 The text literally means: "By coming [to England], he restored the republic [the state]." As my colleague Andreas Grüner kindly pointed out to me, this is a paraphrase of Ennius's celebrated line "*cunctando restituit rem*" that described Fabius Maximus's strategy in his war against Hannibal. While Fabius Maximus saved the Roman Republic "*cunctando*" (by procrastinating), William restored the state simply by coming to England ("*veniendo*"): a clever modification of the original quote that implied a parallel between the British and the Roman Empires and suggested William's superiority to one of Rome's greatest leaders.
- 497 Bickham 1742, 168. Pote 1755, 32, transcribes the inscription as follows: "*Antonius Verrio Neapolitanus / non ignobile stirpe natus / Augustissimi Regis Caroli secundi / et / Sancti Georgii / molem hanc faelicissima manu / Decoravit.*" Bickham's words imply that this original inscription had been augmented at a later stage by an addition mentioning William III and George I (a text omitted by Pote).
- 498 The image of St George is first mentioned in Ashmole 1719, 3:119.
- 499 Brindle 2018c, 331.
- 500 Brindle 2018c, 331.
- 501 Brindle 2018c, 331–332.
- 502 Brown 1832, quoted from Brindle 2018c, 332. See also ibid., fig. 25.11.
- 503 Knight 1840, quoted from Brindle 2018c, 332.



CHAPTER 4

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MONARCHY IN LONDON: VERRIO'S MURALS AT CHRIST'S HOSPITAL AND THE ROYAL HOSPITAL AT CHELSEA

While the previous chapter focused on the rather restricted courtly public, the next two case studies are hospital buildings to which all levels of London society had access. For the dining halls of Christ's Hospital and the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, Antonio Verrio and his assistants created large-scale representations of British monarchy. At the root of both commissions was the ongoing conflict between Britain and continental Europe. The painting at Christ's Hospital celebrated the Royal Mathematical School established to boost the British navy, which had been humiliated during the Second Anglo-Dutch War, and the mural at Chelsea was addressed to the veterans who had served in the king's battles. Although the two institutions had different purposes, both of them were points of contact between people from a wide range of social strata. On festive occasions, the dining halls of both hospitals formed a space in which veterans from all military ranks, as well as orphans, members of the nobility, wealthy benefactors, and city officials, gathered and engaged with one another. It is therefore particularly illuminating to consider the political messages transmitted to such a wide and diverse audience.

The two commissions, which will be presented in chronological order, were realized during the reigns of Charles II and James II and the joint rule of William III and Mary II. In both cases, the creation of the murals bridged political successions that were anything but smooth. Verrio's painting at Christ's Hospital was begun under Charles II and significantly altered after the accession of

his Catholic brother James II. The changes in design reflected not only internal tensions between governors and staff of the hospital but also the larger conflict between the Crown and the City. The mural at Chelsea, which glorified Charles II as a military leader, was designed by Verrio during the reign of James II, but due to the Glorious Revolution he lost the commission to Henry Cooke, who completed the project in an attempt to generate continuity in troubled times.

Christ's Hospital: The Commission to Antonio Verrio as a Result of Multiple Crises

From its foundation in 1553, Christ's Hospital was no hospital in the modern sense of the word but rather a school for orphans.¹ The definition of the term orphan, too, differed from modern usage, referring to a child without a father, who could very well have a living mother.² A former monastery of the Grey Friars, which Henry VIII had given to the lord mayor and citizens of London in 1547, was adapted for these children in 1552.³ Edward VI, himself an orphan, signed the letters patent for the new institution on 26 June 1553.⁴

Christ's Hospital catered to both sexes from its inception.⁵ In 1563, 132 girls and 261 boys lived on the premises.⁶ The girls learned to read and sew,⁷ while the cleverest boys, the "Grecians," were prepared for university and a career as Anglican clergymen by being taught classical languages.⁸ Several endowed scholarships paved their way to Oxford and, above all, Cambridge.⁹

The fire of 1666, which devastated a large area of London, caused a severe crisis for Christ's Hospital, too. The children had only been evacuated on the third day of the fire, and afterwards just eighty-two of them returned.¹⁰ A large part of the former monastery and its church were destroyed.¹¹ Moreover, it was difficult to find funding for the rebuilding as the king, city officials, and wealthy patrons were overrun with requests for help from all sides.

In this critical situation, the governors of the hospital decided to creatively exploit a further crisis, this one military in nature. During the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the Dutch fleet managed to enter the River Medway in 1667, attacking the Royal Dockyard at Chatham and destroying fifteen of the British navy's ships. They captured the flagship, the HMS Royal Charles, and towed it to Holland, inflicting almost unbearable humiliation on the British navy.¹² As the naval conflict between Britain and the continent claimed numerous British victims, it was necessary to supply fresh, well-trained personnel.¹³ Therefore, Christ's Hospital sought to attract royal patronage by providing for this very need. Following the example of French and Dutch institutions, future seamen were to be educated in mathematics so as to bolster their navigational skills.¹⁴

It is a matter of dispute whether it was Samuel Pepys or Robert Clayton who initiated the foundation of the Royal Mathematical School at Christ's Hospital, but both men were clearly involved.¹⁵ Pepys (pl. 32), who had been clerk of the acts at the British navy Board since 1660 and was promoted to secretary of the Board of Admiralty in 1673, saw himself as the prime mover and already in 1672 had contemplated the establishment of a special school for future navigators.¹⁶ He seems to have joined forces with the alderman Robert Clayton (pl. 33), who had been approached by Christ's Hospital because the Crown had withheld over £7,000 bequeathed by Richard Aldworth to the hospital in 1646.¹⁷ Together with the alderman Patience Ward and the lord treasurer Thomas Clifford, Clayton managed to persuade the king to "donate" this capital to Christ's Hospital in order to found, as the letters patent of 19 August 1673 declare,

such an Establishment [...] as might bee a convenient provision for the mayntenance of forty poore Boyes in the said Hospitall whoe having attained to competence in the Grammer and Comon Arithmatique to the Rule of Three in other schooles of the said Hospitall may bee fitt to bee further educated in a Mathematicall Schoole and there taught and instructed in the Art of Navigacon and the whole Science of Arithmatique until their age and competent proficiency in these parts of the Mathematiques shall have fitted and qualified them in the judgement of the master of the Trinity House for the tyme being to bee initiated into the practices of Navigation and to bee bound out as Apprentices for seven yeares to some Captaines or Comanders of Shippes.¹⁸

The Court of Governors of Christ's Hospital warmly thanked Clayton and his business partner John Morris for their help, thus acknowledging them as their chief benefactors.¹⁹ However, the new foundation could hardly have come about without Pepys's support. After James, Duke of York, was forced in 1673 to resign from his office as Lord High Admiral because of his openly declared Catholicism, this role was henceforth executed by a committee.²⁰ As secretary to the Board of Admiralty, Pepys was the navy's chief administrator, "the most influential person in the navy, answerable only to the king."²¹ He enjoyed "almost daily attendance on the king," in short: "such was the extent of his influence on British naval policy in August 1673 that it is inconceivable that the school could have been established at that time without his approval."²²

The foundation of the Royal Mathematical School in 1673 was a shrewd move. It gave Christ's Hospital access to Richard Aldworth's contested legacy, and the prestigious royal patronage provided the school with the opportunity to attract wealthy donors to come forward and assist in the rebuilding programme.²³ Hospitals offered wealthy citizens a chance to do good, but they also supplied "status positions for the London elite."²⁴ Originally, the number of governors for all four London hospitals (Christ's, St Thomas, Bridewell, and St Barthol-

omew's) was limited to sixty-six in total.²⁵ However, in 1739, Maitland's *History of London* reported: "The Number of Governors in the Direction of this [Christ's] Hospital being unlimited, 'tis therefore uncertain, tho' generally there are about Three hundred."²⁶ Clayton became one of the governors of Christ's Hospital in 1675, and Pepys followed suit in February 1676.²⁷ The latter's promotion was probably meant to honour his role in securing a second charter, or letters patent, in 1675.²⁸

As specified by the letters patent of 1673 quoted above, the qualification of the boys trained at the Royal Mathematical School had to be checked by the master of Trinity House.²⁹ Trinity House was the shipmasters' association, "the public authority for lights, beacons and buoys, with membership drawn mostly from masters and pilots working on the Thames,"³⁰ and can be described as "a semi-government authority which included some of the nation's top navigation authorities and scientists."³¹ Pepys had been admitted to Trinity House as a "younger brother" in 1662, became an "elder brother" in 1672, and was elected master of Trinity House on 22 May 1676.³² This brought about a further crisis in the history of Christ's Hospital because Pepys examined the training of the "mathemats" with uncommon rigour.

Pepys was deeply dissatisfied with the new institution. He wrote a long and detailed memorandum about its "defects," which he read to the General Court of Christ's Hospital in four successive sessions (on 22 October and on 6, 8, and 13 November 1677).³³ In the lengthy preamble, he explained the importance of the Royal Mathematical School as follows:

Its purpose was (1) to honour the King; (2) to honour the nation and the government and the city; (3) to benefit the nation in general, for which it was indeed essential (a) to its security as an island, (b) to its honour in maintenance of its sovereignty at sea, and (c) to its wealth as a competitor with the rest of the world trade; (4) to add to the prestige of Christ's Hospital and also [...] to its financial security since it was endowed by King Charles; and lastly (5) to provide an education for the children of the Mathematical Foundation.³⁴

After this introduction, Pepys pointed out three defects "in the institution" and thirteen "in the execution," suggesting "remedies" for each. A paraphrase of and commentary on the discourse was provided by Rudolf Kirk in 1935; Ellerton and Clements edited the whole text in 2017.³⁵ The final "defect" reads as follows: "Lastly, noe care yet taken for perpetuating either the memory or our acknowledgements of the munificence and charity of our Royall Founder, suitable to our duties therein and our practice on all other like occasions." As "remedy" Pepys proposed "That it be referred to some persons as a committee to consider and report their opinions touching the fittest method of supplying that defect by statue, inscription, painting or otherwise as may best express and transmit to posterity the honour due to his Majesty and the Hospital's gratitude and piety to his memory for the same."³⁶ As the court minutes of 20 November 1677 record, "This Court by vote agreed with the Committee to this last Remedy."³⁷

It is telling that the other proposed reforms were (if at all) undertaken at a much slower pace,³⁸ while the last point was settled at once by a vote of the General Court. This raises the suspicion that Pepys's main objective may have been to get permission for realizing a monument to the king. The whole series of criticisms served to threaten the General Court into action, especially as Pepys repeatedly stressed his close connection to the king who would not be pleased with the defective state of his foundation.

A few weeks later, on 10 December 1677, the Schools Committee of Christ's Hospital met and decided to give Pepys the sole responsibility of awarding the commission. Moreover, we learn from this document that an anonymous donor had offered to finance the undertaking: "As to the 13.th and last Remedy for perpetuating the Memory of our Royall ffounder the Com.te did desire Secretary Pepys to consider the fittest method for doing thereof [,] a worthy Gentleman and a Member of this House having declared he will be at the Sole Charge thereof and whether it shall be by Statue Inscription or Painting he will wholly leave it to the said Secretary Pepys [,] The said Secretary did promise the Com.te he would in some short time Consider thereof [.]"³⁹

On 9 January 1678, the decision was made that Pepys should “get some Historian Painter that may draw a faire Table [sic]⁴⁰ representing his Ma.ty and some cheife [sic] Ministers of the State the Lord Maior the President and some Governors with the Children of his Ma.ties new Royall ffoundation A Shipp Globe Mapp Mathematicall Instruments and such other things as may well express his Ma.ties Royall ffoundation and Bounty to this Hospitall.”⁴¹ The earliest document that mentions Antonio Verrio in relation to this commission dates from 19 December 1681.⁴²

Verrio was an obvious though highly ambitious choice. Since 1676, he had been working on the decoration of the King’s and Queen’s Apartments at Windsor Castle.⁴³ By employing the king’s most prestigious painter, Pepys stressed his excellent connections with the court and probably also sought to catch the attention of Charles II.

Despite Verrio’s popularity at the time, his mural for Christ’s Hospital (plates 34–39) has not attracted much scholarly interest. It has been mentioned in several publications though only in passing.⁴⁴ Croft-Murray, De Giorgi, Jones, and Solkin established that the commission evolved in three stages. A *modello* kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum documents Verrio’s earliest ideas (pl. 40).⁴⁵ He later expanded his design to roughly five times the previous size, adding around a hundred figures. Finally, after the death of Charles II, he modified the portraits in the middle section to represent James II and his court (plates 37, 38).⁴⁶ Numerous questions have remained unanswered, though: How did the painting respond to the crises that underlay its commission? Why did Verrio expand his design so significantly (and why was he allowed to do so, as the change in plan certainly entailed a considerable increase in price)? Why did he introduce a large group of girls – although the painting was meant to commemorate the foundation of a mathematical school for forty boys? And why do the girls occupy the privileged place to the king’s right? This latter aspect is particularly noteworthy in comparison to an earlier painting of the hospital’s foundation in which the girls appear – according to the gender hierarchy of the times – in the inferior place to the king’s left (i. e. on the right side of the canvas: pl. 41).⁴⁷

The very slow progress on Verrio’s painting, which was finally completed only in 1688, is recorded in two distinct sets of documents, the minutes of the General Court and of the Schools Committee of Christ’s Hospital. Several publications contain paraphrasings or excerpts from some of these documents,⁴⁸ but they have never been transcribed in full. A re-examination of the original sources (collected in Appendix I) therefore yields new results. Moreover, in order to answer the above questions it is necessary to study the internal tensions within Christ’s Hospital, along with the conflict between the City and the Crown that had a strong impact on Verrio’s work. In addition, the building history of the hospital needs to be analysed, as the meaning of this mural was determined by its spatial context.

The Rebuilding of Christ’s Hospital and the Original Site of Verrio’s Mural

Previous studies of Verrio’s mural have neglected its spatial setting. Today the painting is fixed to the long wall facing the entrance to the Dining Hall of Christ’s Hospital at Horsham. The mural was transferred to this location in 1902 when the school was moved from the centre of London to the rural surroundings of Horsham.⁴⁹ Shortly afterwards, the old buildings of Christ’s Hospital were destroyed, except for Christ Church whose ruins can still be seen on Newgate Street north of St Paul’s.⁵⁰ Thus the question arises for what setting Verrio designed his work. Understanding its original location is important for interpreting the spatial relationships within the painting as well as the positioning of individual groups of persons.

According to Clifford Jones, “the central panel of the painting, as now on display in the Dining Hall at Horsham, has the same width as the original hall at the school at Newgate Street in London, about thirty-three feet,”⁵¹ but he gives no references or visual sources to substantiate this claim. Although a proper building history of Christ’s Hospital does not exist, some evidence can be pieced together from various sources.

Fortunately, I was able to locate a hitherto unpublished plan of Christ’s Hospital in London’s Metropolitan

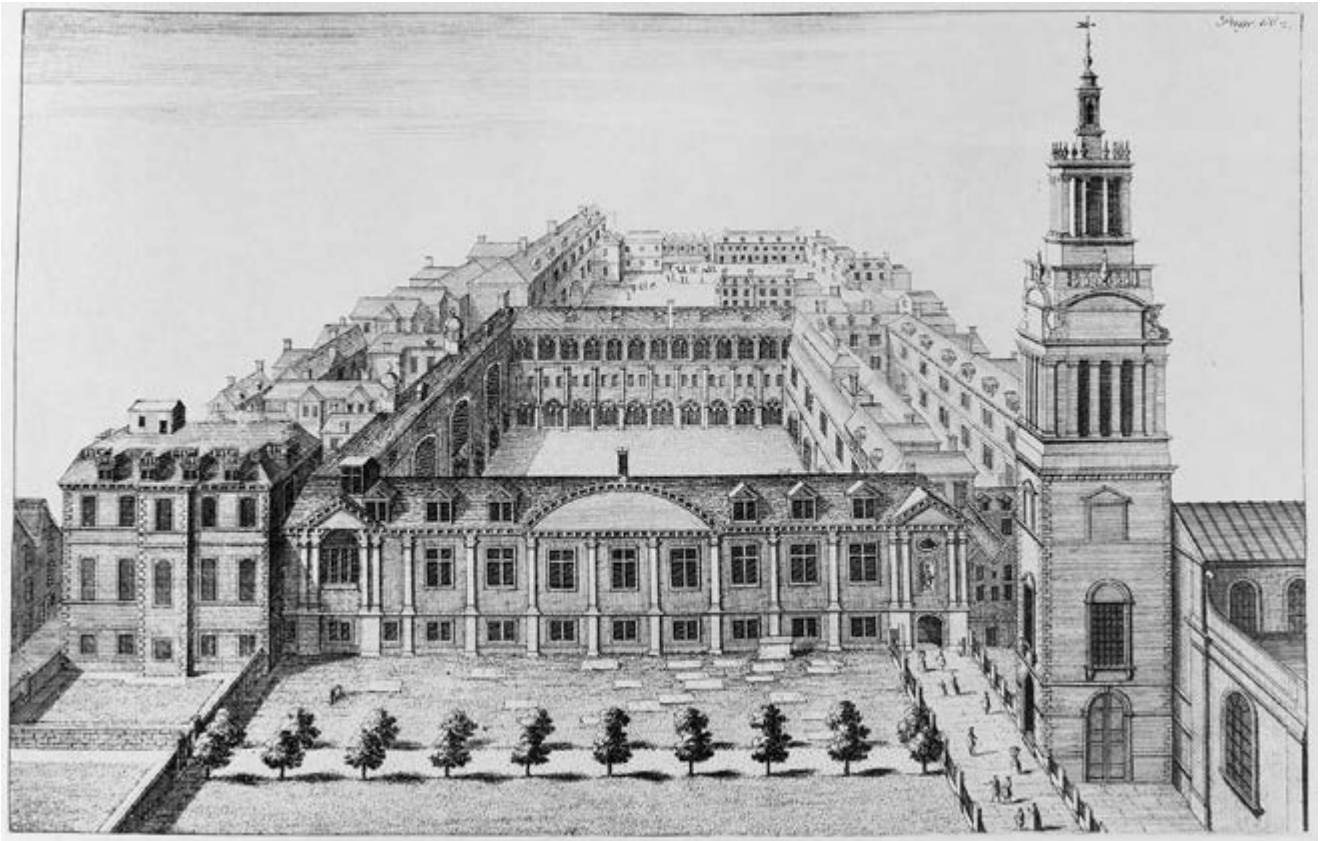


Fig. 48 William Henry Toms. Christ's Hospital. Engraving, published in Maitland 1739

Archives (pl. 42).⁵² As an inscription on the drawing states, the plan dates from 1819, i. e. prior to the replacement of the old hall with a neo-Gothic dining hall in 1825.⁵³ The plan is particularly informative in that it contains a compass and labels the individual parts of the building. It can be compared to a well-known view of Christ's Hospital of 1739 (fig. 48), which represents the building complex from the same direction, i. e. looking north. In both the plan and the engraving, Christ Church appears in the lower right corner, i. e. to the south-east of the hospital. With the help of the plan it is possible to identify the functions of the wings shown in the engraving. Obviously, we must bear in mind that functions may have changed between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, but as I will demonstrate with the help of further documents, the functions in fact remained consistent in this case.

Even after the fire of 1666, the former cloister of the medieval monastery (i. e. the front quadrangle repre-

sented in the engraving) continued to constitute the centre of Christ's Hospital. Despite being the seat of a mendicant order, the monastery of the Grey Friars had been a particularly rich one, endowed by numerous noble and even royal donors.⁵⁴ The lavishly ornamented Gothic north wing of the cloister appears in the middle ground of the engraving. Behind it, on the left, stretches a long wing that the plan of 1819 labels as "The Writing School." This school had been built between 1692 and 1695, funded by Sir John Moore, a former lord mayor of London.⁵⁵ Its site in the 1819 plan coincides with that in a seventeenth-century survey plan first published by Bolton and Hendry in 1934 (fig. 49, no. 1).⁵⁶

As may be seen from the 1819 plan, the writing school lay in line with "The Hall" that formed the western side of the front quadrangle (fig. 49, no. 2; pl. 42). Bolton and Hendry relate that the Great Hall was rebuilt in 1680 at the expense of John Fenwick, but they were not able to verify that date.⁵⁷ Perhaps the building measures

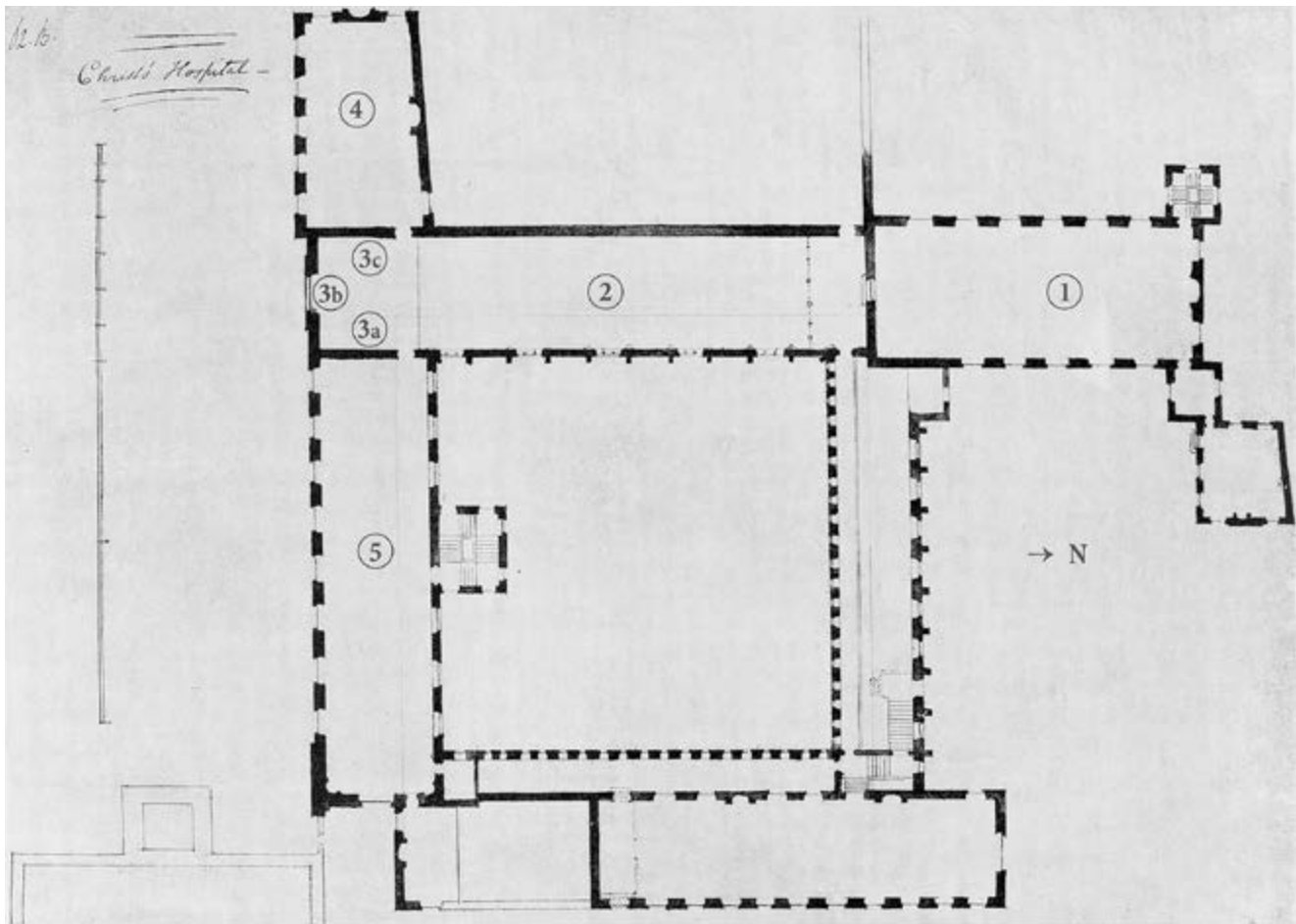


Fig. 49 William Dickinson. Survey plan of Christ's Hospital, c. 1691 (annotated). 1 = writing school; 2 = Great Hall; 3a, 3b, and 3c = original site of the three sections of Verrio's mural; 4 = Royal Mathematical School; 5 = south wing (main entrance and Girls' Ward)

were not recorded in the account books because the donor himself took care of the accounts.⁵⁸ A London guidebook of 1708 places the rebuilding as early as 1672 and transcribes the following inscription then visible next to the organ in the hall: "This Hall, being destroyed by the Fire, was Rebuilt as it now appears at the sole Cost of Sir John Frederick (President of this Hospital) in the Year 1672, having been many other ways a Bountiful Benefactor to the poor Children of this House."⁵⁹ Frederick was a wealthy merchant and former mayor of London who indeed served as president of Christ's Hospital⁶⁰ – which makes it very likely that the inscription provides correct information about the date and sponsor of the rebuilding.

In 1834, roughly a decade after the destruction of the old hall in 1825, William Trollope gave the following account of the building measures:

in 1680, a survey was taken of the Great Hall, which had suffered materially in the fire of 1666, though such repairs were made at the time as the immediate accommodation of the children required. It was discovered to be in a state of so complete and irreparable decay, that Sir John Frederic, Knt., then President of the Hospital, ordered it to be pulled down, and rebuilt. The entire cost, to the amount of £5000 and upwards, was defrayed by Sir John; and two square tablets, re-

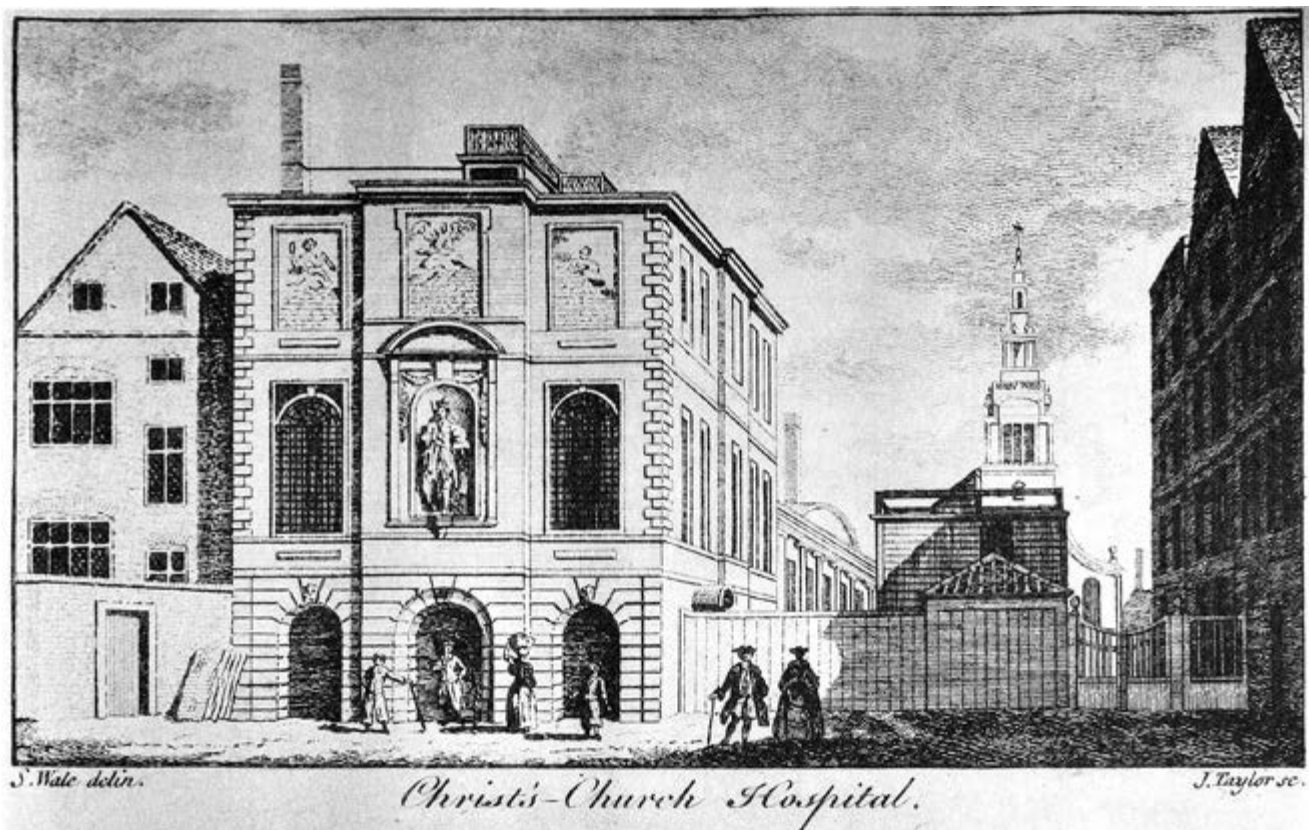


Fig. 50 J. Taylor after Samuel Wale. View of the Royal Mathematical School (in the foreground), the south front of Christ's Hospital, and the steeple of Christ Church, published in London and its environs 1761

spectively commemorative of the munificent exertions of Sir Robert Clayton and himself, were affixed on either side of the entrance. [...] The hall, as rebuilt by Sir John Frederick, greatly exceeded the original building in dimensions. It was a noble edifice, one hundred and thirty feet in length, thirty-four in breadth, and forty-four in height; with a magnificent arched window at the southern extremity, and five of smaller span along the east side. Originally, the windows were on the western side; but they were bricked up in the year 1762, and the wall covered with Verrio's great picture. In the centre of the western side was the pulpit; lower down on each side a small choir; and over the entrance, at the north end, a fine organ, which had been presented to the Hospital by Edward Skelton, Esq., one of the Governors, in 1672.⁶¹

The measurements given by Trollope confirm Clifford Jones's statement that the width of the middle section of Verrio's painting ("about thirty-three feet")⁶² corresponds with the width of the hall (34 feet). As the organ was placed at the north end, it follows that this section of Verrio's mural must have been affixed to the south wall, with the two lateral canvases being located on the east and west walls (fig. 49, nos. 3a, 3b, and 3c). As the lateral sections are narrower than the middle one (cf. pl. 34), they must have extended just up to the two doors that led into the adjoining wings.

Before embarking on a more detailed consideration of Verrio's painting, I would like to focus on its immediate architectural context, i. e. on the two wings that could be reached via the southern end of the Great Hall. Foxall claims that "the south range of the cloister, overlooking

Christ Church, became a new Royal Mathematical School,”⁶³ but this is incorrect. The 1819 plan shows the situation before a new building for the grammar and mathematical schools was erected in 1832.⁶⁴ According to this plan, the mathematical school was located in a separate wing to the west of the hall and in line with the south wing of the cloister. The same structure already appears in the seventeenth-century survey plan (fig. 49, no. 4). It is identical with the building represented in a 1761 engraving with the following description: “That part represented in the print belongs to the mathematical school, and is in Gray Friars. The nich contains a statue of Charles II. in the royal robes” (fig. 50).⁶⁵

Originally the mathematical school had been located “over the Ward against the Compting House,”⁶⁶ but on 22 June 1682 it was decided “to erect a better and more commodious Schoole.”⁶⁷ On 13 October 1684, the General Court of Christ’s Hospital was informed “that the New Mathematicall Schoole and Ward for lodging of the Children of H. M. New Royal Foundation is very near finished,” and by March 1685 the forty boys had taken up their new lodgings.⁶⁸

It is worth noting how the location of the new building was described with reference to other parts of the hospital. The above-mentioned document of 22 June 1682 states “that now this Court have an advantage (having purchased a piece of ground and some houses contiguous to this Hospital in Gray FFryars) to erect a better and more commodious Schoole thereon, soe that, what ever person of quality shall come to view the Great Hall and Maiden’s Ward, may at the same time view the Mathematicall Schoole, lying upon the same ffloare.”⁶⁹ This passage not only confirms that the Royal Mathematical School was adjacent to the Great Hall (fig. 49, nos. 2 and 4), but it also implies that the Maiden’s Ward must have been situated somewhere nearby.

According to a London guidebook published in 1708, the male pupils (except for the boys belonging to the mathematical school) lodged “over the N. and E. Cloisters,” while “the Girls Ward” was to be found “over the S. Cloister,”⁷⁰ i. e. on the first floor of the south wing (fig. 49, no. 5). Their ward was bigger than the mathematical school, as it was designed for more than seventy

girls. The decision to rebuild this part of the hospital is recorded in the court minutes of 12 July 1680: “Thomas Firmin has found several Benefactors to take down the old Ward over the South Cloister and to erect a large and convenient Ward over the same and some contiguous ground. He recommends that the girls be removed from the Ward in which now they are lodged into the great New Ward over the South Cloister, and that more girls be taken out of the Town and Country to fill up the said Ward, which will hold above 70 girls. Also that they should have a Nurse to look after them distinct from the School Mistress.”⁷¹

This south wing was particularly important, as it formed the main entrance to the hospital (fig. 48). It is traditionally ascribed to Christopher Wren, but Bolton and Hendry were unable to unearth documents corroborating this view; moreover, they confused the south wing with the new mathematical school built between 1682 and 1684.⁷² Trollope recorded that the new south façade was built by Wren and funded by Robert Clayton, who had asked his friend Mr Firmin to organize the project.⁷³ The latter information is confirmed by the court minutes of 12 July 1680 quoted above.⁷⁴ “Mr. Firmin’s suggestion was approved, and the girls entered into occupation of by far the finest Ward on the premises, which they retained as long as the Girls’ School remained in London.”⁷⁵

Robert Clayton (pl. 33) was an extremely rich banker, described by John Evelyn as “this Prince of citizens, there never having be[e]n any, who for the stat[e]liness of his Palace, prodigious feasting & magnificence exceeded him.”⁷⁶ Though the illustrious donor had originally wished to remain incognito, he was finally commemorated by an inscription placed on the south façade beneath a statue of Edward VI. Trollope transcribes the inscription: “Edward the Sixth, of famous Memory, was the Founder of Christ’s Hospital: and Sir Rob.t Clayton, Knt. and Alderman, sometime Lord Mayor of this City of London, erected this Statue of King Edward, and built most Part of this Fabrck, Anno Dom. 1682.”⁷⁷ The statue is visible over the main entrance to Christ’s Hospital both in the engraving of 1739 (fig. 48) and in a drawing produced shortly before the demolition of the building

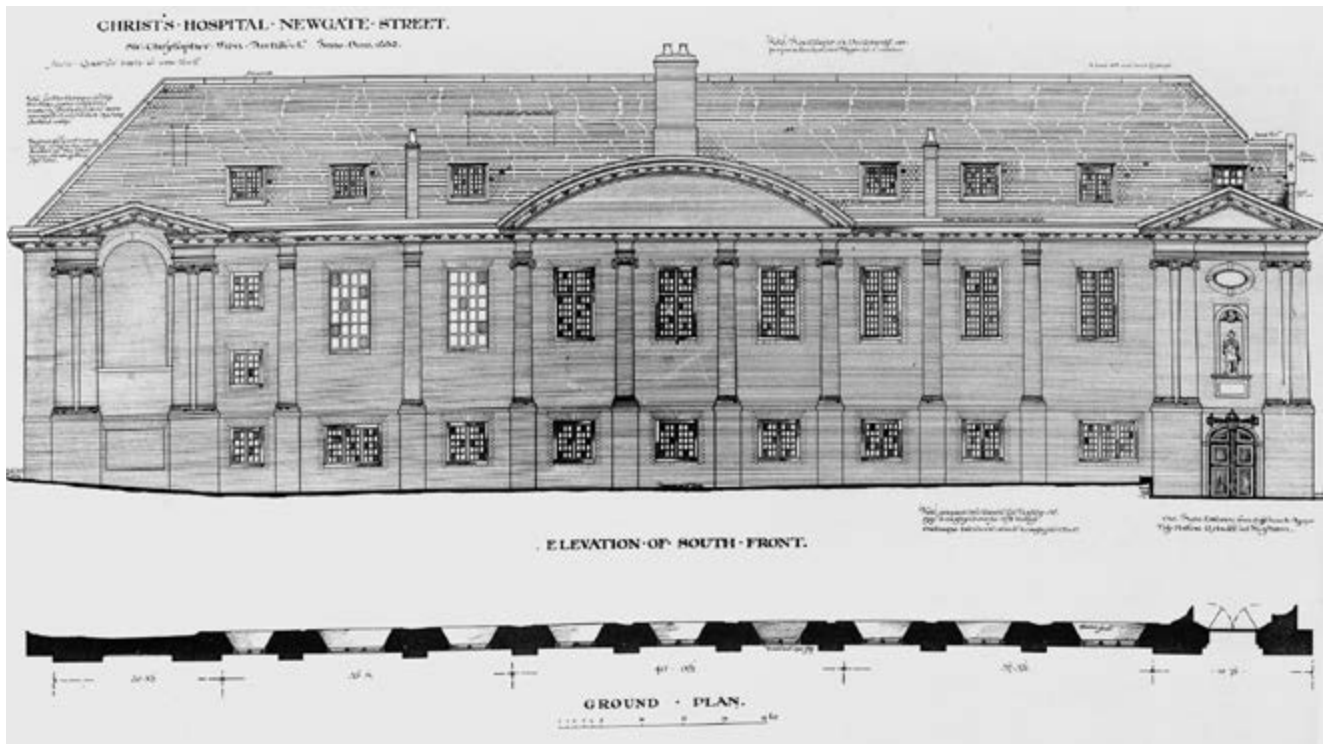


Fig. 51 A.E. Richardson. South façade of Christ's Hospital, 1900

(fig. 51).⁷⁸ The date 1682 probably marked the completion of the building process, which had been initiated in 1680.

To sum up, by analysing the building history of Christ's Hospital, it was possible to ascertain not only the precise location of Verrio's mural but also its immediate spatial context. The canvas on the left (eastern) wall was placed next to the door that led into the Maiden's Ward (fig. 49, nos. 3a and 5), while the painting on the right (western) wall was adjacent to the mathematical school (fig. 49, nos. 3c and 4). With this information in mind, it is easy to understand why Verrio placed the girls on the left and the boys on the right in his work (pl. 34): Their positions corresponded to their spaces within the building. Thus the specific structure of the site overruled hierarchical considerations that had determined the placement of boys and girls in the earlier foundation picture (pl. 41).

This being established, it still remains to be determined why Verrio chose to include the girls at all and what motivated him to depart so considerably from his

first compositional sketch (pl. 40). In order to comprehend his motivations, it is necessary to focus on the conflicts underlying the commission.

Christ's Hospital and the Exclusion Crisis

In their brief discussion of Verrio's work, Croft-Murray and Raffaele De Giorgi drew attention to a projected tapestry depicting the foundation of the Académie royale des sciences by Louis XIV, which exhibits similar motifs in the foreground.⁷⁹ This tapestry was never woven⁸⁰ and there exists no documentary evidence that Verrio saw Henri Testelin's preliminary study (pl. 43) during his sojourn in Paris. But it is nevertheless instructive to compare Testelin's painting to Verrio's *modello* (pl. 40), as these works exemplify two different approaches to a similar task.

In Testelin's painting, Louis XIV forms the centre of the composition, facing the viewer. He is situated in a fictive architecture that offers a view of the royal obser-

vatory, whose construction was begun in 1667.⁸¹ The king leans on a table covered with books and maps. His first minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, standing to his right, presents the members of the newly founded academy, who enter in a long row from the left. A large globe appears in the foreground, and a monumental plan of the Canal des Deux Mers is being unfurled on the right side of the canvas, revealing the ambitious plan to connect the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea.

Whereas Testelin presented Louis XIV in everyday clothing in a rather relaxed attitude, Verrio envisaged a much more official scene (pl. 40). Charles II, clad in sumptuous robes, is enthroned on a dais under a baldachin on the left side of the canvas. Two knights in armour and several courtiers surround him as he gestures towards the governors, teachers, and pupils of Christ's Hospital, who occupy the largest part of the canvas. They present a large plan that is not entirely legible but seems to contain a diagrammatic depiction of a naval battle. A globe marks the centre of the composition, symmetrically flanked by the kneeling boys in their blue school uniforms, who hold drawings and mathematical instruments. One boy on the right may be about to deliver a little speech, as a kneeling man with long, brown, curly hair (Samuel Pepys?) introduces him (cf. pl. 32).⁸²

Verrio has set the scene in a fictive classical architecture that seems to open directly onto a garden. In contrast to Testelin's static composition, in which the heads of the participants form one continuous band, Verrio seeks to enliven the scene by grouping the governors and teachers in two diagonal rows that lead the eye towards the opening in the background. While Testelin focuses on the portraits and shows hardly any hands at all, Verrio introduces many lively gestures and adds variety through the different expressions of the boys.

Testelin places the main emphasis on the king's relationship to the viewer, who can hardly escape Louis's searching gaze. Verrio's king, on the contrary, is absorbed by a conversation with the knight standing to his right. They seem to discuss the military situation depicted on the plan to which the gestures of the king and the red-clad aldermen draw attention. Verrio thereby underlines the purpose and usefulness of the mathemati-

cal foundation, as the boys are trained to become skilled navigators who will eventually bring about royal victories.⁸³

The placement of the king on the left side of the canvas corresponds to the intended site for Verrio's work. Originally, the painting was meant to occupy just one of the lateral walls of the Great Hall (fig. 49, no. 3c). On 9 January 1678, Pepys explained to the Schools Committee "that for perpetuating of his Ma.ties Bounty to his new Royall ffoundation in this Hospitall It will be best done on the wall of the right hand of the great Hall from ye Pulpitt to the upper end which contains 32 foot ½ in length and 19 foot in depth and that one Window next the Pulpitt must be Closed up And a large fframe with a back of Board fixed for preservation of the Picture that shall be made."⁸⁴ Thus, Charles II, seated on the left side of the canvas, would have turned towards the viewers who approached the painting via the hall (from its main entrance, on the north side).⁸⁵

The Victoria and Albert Museum, which owns Verrio's *modello*, titles it *Charles II Giving Audience at Christ's Hospital*.⁸⁶ However, the stately architecture and the dais, throne, and baldachin indicate that the setting must be a royal palace. No visit of Charles II to Christ's Hospital is documented, though representatives of this institution were allowed to visit him repeatedly.⁸⁷ A particularly important visit occurred in 1675: "In the autumn of 1675 the first batch of boys received their certificates from Trinity House, and on September 13th, accompanied by the President of the Governors and several of the most important citizens of London, he [Pepys] had the satisfaction of escorting them into the presence of their sovereign who spoke kindly to them and promised them future care. This Pepys subsequently obtained in the shape of an additional grant from the Crown of £300 a year towards their apprenticeship."⁸⁸ In my view, it is highly likely that Pepys encouraged Verrio to depict this momentous event.⁸⁹

When did Verrio create his *modello*? In December 1681, his name appears for the first time in the records of Christ's Hospital: "Samuel Pepys Esq.r Dep.ty Hawes and D.ty Woods mett Mr. Vario Painter in the great Hall and had some discourse with him aboute the place and

method best to expresse his Ma.ties ffoundation in this Hospitall [...] Mr. Vario very well approved the place which the Com.te had thought fitting to expresse the same, and promised to draw a Moddell which he would designe and when the Governo(rs) with the Children went up to the King he would acquaint his Ma.tie therewith and show him the same for his approbation.”⁹⁰ In February 1682, Pepys borrowed a red alderman’s gown as a model for Verrio,⁹¹ and the painter probably set to work soon after.

Although Pepys had assured the Schools Committee on 2 February 1682 that Verrio was preparing a “modell” and “as soone as he is ready he will present the draught thereof to this Com.te,”⁹² it seems that this did not happen. The minute books do not record a discussion of Verrio’s design, and as late as 9 April 1684 [sic] “Mr. Treasurer was desired by this Com.te to procure if possible from Mr. Vario the Scetch made by him for perpetuating the memory of his gracious M.tie founder of the Mathematicall schoole in this Hospitall.”⁹³ The sketch was finally examined on 12 May 1684 and caused total perplexity. As attested by the subsequent entries in the minute books, there was a great deal of uncertainty about the intended placement of Verrio’s work.⁹⁴

On 30 October 1684, Verrio explained his new concept:

He went with the Com.te into the great hall, showing them where he proposeth to have the designe placed, which was in that parte of the great hall, where the picture of Edward the Sixth now Stands, joyning to the Maidens Ward, the upper end of the hall where now the window is, and on that side of the hall next the new Mathematicall Schoole, and seemed to be of Opinion, that the closeing up of the window, and inlarging the two next side windows, will give the farr more advantagious prospect to the picture, and give an opportunity withall of placeing the King in the more August and Stately posture.⁹⁵

This description corresponds perfectly with my reconstruction of the building history of the hospital. The left part of the painting was to be situated next to the Girls’

Ward (fig. 49, nos. 3a and 5), the right part next to the new mathematical school (fig. 49, nos. 3c and 4), and the middle part was meant to occupy the upper (south) side of the hall “where now the window is.” The window can indeed be seen both in the plan (fig. 49) and on the elevation of the south front (figs. 48, 51).⁹⁶ As the hall had only recently been rebuilt and the large south window was a very prominent feature of the design, it is understandable that the committee had initially shown much hesitation. However, on 12 November 1684 it was agreed to execute Verrio’s design and “to cause such alteration to be made at the upper end of the hall, as shall be judged requisite for carrying on of this worke” as well as “to cause the picture of Edward the Sixth, to be removed to such a place in the hall as they and the said Seignior Verrio shall think is the fittest place.”⁹⁷

Since no other sketch is mentioned before the contract with Verrio was concluded, it has to be inferred that the sketch delivered in May 1684 envisaged the final scheme covering all three upper walls of the hall. This means that the earlier *modello* (pl. 40), probably created in the spring of 1682, was never presented to the committee. Why so? And why did Pepys approach Verrio only towards the end of 1681 when he had already planned from 1678 to commemorate the king’s foundation through a large-scale history painting?

Although some of the initial delay may be explained by building measures in the hall (the minutes of 9 January 1678 mention that “one Window next the Pulpitt must be Closed up”),⁹⁸ the long gestation period of the commission was mainly due to the Exclusion Crisis and various conflicts associated with it. The Exclusion Crisis, already discussed with reference to Windsor Castle,⁹⁹ had a massive impact on Christ’s Hospital, too, via both Samuel Pepys and some of its main benefactors.

The Whig party, which campaigned for the exclusion of the king’s brother James, Duke of York, from the succession, had a stronghold in the city of London. During the central phase of the Exclusion Crisis, the city was governed by two Whig lord mayors with close connections to Christ’s Hospital: Robert Clayton (1679/80) and Patience Ward (1680/81). De Krey counts them among the “London radicals.”¹⁰⁰ Both had been involved in the founda-



Fig. 52 Robert Hooke and Christopher Wren. The Monument, London, 1671–1677

tion of the Royal Mathematical School,¹⁰¹ and Clayton funded the construction of the new south front and the Girls' Ward between 1680 and 1682.¹⁰² Clayton represented London in the Exclusion Parliaments of 1679, 1680, and 1681, voted for exclusion, and sought to pressurize the king to call Parliament in 1680.¹⁰³ Ward participated in the Exclusion Parliaments as representative of his native town Pontefract, and "his election as lord mayor for the year 1680–1, in succession to Sir Robert Clayton, was a great embarrassment for the Court."¹⁰⁴ He summoned a meeting of a common council that agreed to petition for the passing of the Exclusion Bill, and he refused a request from the king not to call a meeting that was expected to ask for the sitting of Parliament.¹⁰⁵

At the end of Ward's mayoralty, it was decided to place an inscription on the monument to the London fire (fig. 52) attributing responsibility for the fire of 1666 to "the treachery and malice of the Papists [...] in order to the carrying on their horrid plot for extirpating the Protestant religion and old English liberty and introducing Popery and slavery."¹⁰⁶ This fact draws attention to the interrelation of the so-called Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis. The campaign for the Catholic duke of York's exclusion gained momentum because of the widespread fear of Catholicism stirred up by the supposed plot in 1678.

Samuel Pepys, who owed his career in the navy to the duke of York, became one of the Whigs' targets and was regarded as "crypto-Papist."¹⁰⁷ In November 1678, he was suspected of having ordered the murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, one of the magistrates concerned in the investigation of the Popish Plot.¹⁰⁸ An anonymous pamphlet accused Pepys of popery and corruption,¹⁰⁹ and in the summer of 1679 he was dismissed from service and committed to the Tower of London on charges of "Piracy, Popery and Treachery," suspected of having sold naval secrets to France.¹¹⁰ Although he was quickly released, charges against him were not dropped until June 1680; moreover, he was not reinstated, remaining without employment until 1684.¹¹¹

As this brief sketch has shown, the Exclusion Crisis opened a deep rift within Christ's Hospital. On one side were the exclusionist Whigs Clayton and Ward, on the other the Tory Pepys who suspected Clayton to be one of his direct enemies. Pepys noted that Clayton seemed to betray a knowledge of Colonel John Scott, a secret agent of the Whig leader Lord Shaftesbury, who orchestrated the accusations that Pepys was a traitor and "popishly inclined."¹¹²

It is abundantly clear that in 1679 and 1680 Pepys was in absolutely no position to advance his project of honouring Charles II through a monumental painting at Christ's Hospital. He had more pressing concerns and, besides, the powerful Whigs Clayton and Ward would have opposed a monument to a king whose unbending position in the Exclusion Crisis they were in the process of attacking.

In 1681, the situation started to change. At the Oxford Parliament, the king made it plain that he would not accept the exclusion of his brother from the succession and would henceforth govern without Parliament. Later in the same year, the court managed to get the Tory Sir John Moore elected as lord mayor.¹¹³ Moore (fig. 53), London’s most considerable merchant, who had been a gentleman of the King’s Privy Chamber since 1675, accepted political instructions from Charles II and – after a heated controversy – succeeded in installing two Tory sheriffs: “North and a fellow loyalist were finally sworn in after Moore barricaded the Guildhall to the opposition.”¹¹⁴ While the trial against Lord Shaftesbury was being prepared, it was rumoured that Robert Clayton might be charged with high treason, too.¹¹⁵

As the tide turned, Pepys began to be reintegrated into Christ’s Hospital. He resumed his old duties on the governing body and the Mathematical Committee in the spring of 1681, he attended the examination of the pupils at Trinity House that autumn, and he wrote yet another long report on the “defects” of the mathematical school in January 1682.¹¹⁶ The hospital followed his advice to get rid of the incompetent teacher Dr Wood,¹¹⁷ and on 23 June 1682 it established a new committee “to manage the Mathematicall Schoole.” Pepys was listed as one of its members, alongside Viscount Brouncker (the president of the Royal Society), Christopher Wren, Patience Ward, Robert Clayton, and others.¹¹⁸

Seen in this context, Verrio’s *modello* (pl. 40), painted probably in the spring of 1682, equalled a visual rehabilitation. It visualized Pepys’s beneficial role for the mathematical school and showed him reunited with the governors of Christ’s Hospital. After a period of forced retirement, the painting revived memories of Pepys’s former success at court and the royal support he had been able to enlist. It evoked a friendly, regular contact between the institution and its royal patron, suggesting the citizens’ loyalty to the king.

As mentioned above, in the end the oil sketch does not seem to have been presented to the committee, however. This may have been due to the fact that Pepys suffered a “crushing defeat” at the election of the new mathematical master and consequently withdrew from



Fig. 53 James McArdell after Peter Lely. Portrait of Sir John Moore, undated

further attendance at the committee.¹¹⁹ Moreover, given the unstable political situation, the anonymous donor who had promised to finance the painting may have withdrawn his commitment. In any case, the project remained stalled until it was revived in 1684 – when the political situation in general and Pepys’s situation in particular changed once again.

Conflict Resolution: Verrio’s Final Design for Christ’s Hospital

Samuel Pepys spent a large part of the year 1683 in Tangier. Since 1662, he had served on the committee that oversaw the management and supply of this new outpost, which had entered Charles II’s possession as part of his Portuguese bride’s dowry.¹²⁰ Though Pepys

had initially thought that Tangier was “likely to be the most considerable place the King of England hath in the world,”¹²¹ the colony turned out to be an economic failure. Having decided to rid himself of this useless possession, the king sent Lord Dartmouth and Samuel Pepys to evacuate the colony. When they departed in August 1683, Pepys received secret instructions telling him that Charles II “had appointed him to be his sole counsellor in the affair.”¹²² Happy about his chance to win back royal favour, Pepys set to work, assessing property values so that owners could be compensated.¹²³ The English blew up their fortifications in Tangier on 5 November 1683 and returned home in March 1684.¹²⁴

Meanwhile, Charles II had taken revenge on the City of London that had given him so much trouble during the Exclusion Crisis. Since December 1681, he had been attacking its special legal and economic privileges, and in 1683 London’s charter was forfeited (revoked).¹²⁵ Through a remodelling of the Corporation of London and the granting of a new charter, the king gained complete control over his capital.¹²⁶ “The City then became a country village, legally speaking, its government under the monarch’s direct control, and it remained that way until 1688: Common Council disappeared, the mayor and aldermen derived their authority under a royal commission, and individual writs purged the companies whose liverymen populated Common Hall.”¹²⁷

The Whigs Robert Clayton and Patience Ward, who had been members of the committee that sought to defend the London charter, both lost their position as aldermen; Ward even went into exile, as he had been convicted of perjury.¹²⁸ Moreover, in 1683 the commissioners for the regulation of hospitals and schools, who had been appointed to enquire into the loyalty of the governors and the officers to the government, dismissed the president of Christ’s Hospital,¹²⁹ its eminent benefactor John Frederick, now suspicious because of his political (Whig) associations.¹³⁰ In the same context, Robert Clayton was ejected from the government of Christ’s Hospital.¹³¹

London’s dramatic situation in 1683 explains why the hospital all of a sudden recalled the pending commission to Antonio Verrio. On 18 May 1683, the General Court of Christ’s Hospital complained that the monu-

ment to “his Gracious Majesty” had still not been begun and urged “the Mathematicall Committee with all convenient speed to take care thereof.”¹³² Probably this was a measure to gain the goodwill of the sovereign, but – given the negative developments outlined above – nothing further happened.

In 1684, the wheel of fortune turned full circle: After Clayton, Ward, and Frederick had been humiliated, Pepys was promoted. On the day of his arrival in London, at the beginning of April, he was very favourably received by Charles II and, after his first round of visits to his London friends, was invited to spend several weeks at Windsor Castle.¹³³ During that time, Charles II dissolved the Board of Admiralty, installed himself as Lord High Admiral, entrusted the general supervision of this office to his brother James, and made Pepys Secretary for the Affairs of the Admiralty of England.¹³⁴ The position was a more important one than that which he had held under the Admiralty starting in 1673 – and the salary reflected this, placing the appointment in the first rank of the great officers of state. Pepys started his new job on 19 May 1684, rewarded by a very generous pay rise (from £500 per annum in his previous position to a staggering £2,000 per annum).¹³⁵ Moreover, his new position assisted his election as the president of the Royal Society later that year.¹³⁶

It is certainly no coincidence that the commission to Verrio only began to take shape from April 1684, i. e. from the time of Pepys’s return to London. Spurred on by the news of Pepys’s readmission into royal favour, the Schools Committee wished to see the sketch that Verrio should have shown them long before.¹³⁷ As Verrio was still working for the court at Windsor and Pepys spent the end of April and beginning of May at the castle,¹³⁸ it is highly likely that the two men exchanged ideas about the design, which Verrio then sent to Christ’s Hospital by 12 May.¹³⁹ His sketch caused great perplexity. Its discussion was postponed several times, with the committee waiting to be illuminated by Verrio’s and Pepys’s own comments on the matter.¹⁴⁰ In June 1684, Pepys agreed “to view the place where it is to be sett,”¹⁴¹ though only in October 1684 did Verrio explain on-site “where and in what manner the picture that is to be made for describ-

ing his Majesties new Royall foundation shall be.”¹⁴² The members of the committee argued with him but opted to let Pepys have the last say: “After some discourse with Mr. Vario about the same They desired Mr. Parrey forthwith to attend Esq.r Pepys and to know his pleasure what shall be done therein, and to agree for the price of dooing thereof, if he thinks it convenient the picture to be sett oppositt to the new picture of Edward the sixth, with which Mr. Vario was not pleased.”¹⁴³

The documents reveal that the cause for the committee’s perplexity consisted in the envisaged site of the painting. Originally, it had been decided to place it “on the wall of the right hand of the great Hall from ye Pulpitt to the upper end” (fig. 49, no. 3c).¹⁴⁴ Although Verrio had agreed to this site in 1681,¹⁴⁵ in the meantime he had changed his mind and wanted a larger, more conspicuous space. As he pointed out in October 1684, he wished to cover all three upper walls of the hall, including the east wall on which a portrait of Edward VI hung (fig. 49, no. 3a).¹⁴⁶ While the members of the committee had hoped to restrict him to the original site “oppositt to the new picture of Edward the sixth,” after Pepys’s comment on the matter they gave in, and the General Court “left the whole management thereof to him [Verrio], as also to place the same [painting] in such parte of the great hall, as he shall think fitt, and if the picture of Edward the Sixth is in his way, to let him know the Court have resolved to remove it to some other place.”¹⁴⁷

Pepys appears in this document as a powerful cultural broker able to mediate between Christ’s Hospital and the king’s painter, whose favour he is asked to obtain.¹⁴⁸ After the very slow, half-hearted progress on the commission since 1677, the General Court was now desperate to get the painting done. Though the work originally should have been sponsored by an anonymous donor,¹⁴⁹ in November 1684 the court consented to pay the painter’s salary from the hospital’s own funds – even though the price of the three enormous group portraits must have exceeded by far the cost of the single canvas first envisaged. Verrio obtained the price he asked without any discussion, being promised £300 in three instalments.¹⁵⁰

Having considered this prehistory, it is now possible to see Verrio’s monumental painting as an act of conflict

resolution in a double sense. Christ’s Hospital, for its part, had two reasons for sponsoring the costly artwork. First, the General Court sought to appease its sulking governor Pepys, who had withdrawn from attending committee meetings in 1682 but had now risen to a position of power that could prove very useful for the hospital. At the same time, the institution wished to regain the favour of the king, who had demonstrated in 1683 just how much the City in general and Christ’s Hospital in particular depended on his grace. But Pepys, too, used the painting as a means of conflict resolution, as will become apparent from the following close analysis.

In comparison to Verrio’s first sketch (pl. 40), the finished painting was characterized by two main innovations (pl. 34). It introduced significantly more portraits (on a gigantic surface of 4.87 × 26.51 metres in total),¹⁵¹ and it disposed them in a triptych format on three adjacent walls (fig. 49, nos. 3a, 3b, and 3c). Both innovations served to make the work of art more inclusive. Specifically, a large number of Pepys’s contemporaries became part of the group portrait, and in addition the beholders were virtually drawn into the composition, which seemed to envelope them when they stood at the upper end of the hall. Verrio thus produced an updated, dramatized version of the old foundation picture (pl. 41) that decorated the opposite end of the hall.¹⁵² The fact that both Verrio and Pepys were deeply fascinated by contemporary theatre productions may have inspired this new, stage-like setting.¹⁵³ Verrio even suggested to paint the ceiling in order to make the illusion still more complete.¹⁵⁴

Attempts at identifying the people included in the group portrait are complicated by several factors. The oil painting, realized by Antonio Verrio with the assistance of Louis Laguerre between 1685 and 1688,¹⁵⁵ had become so badly deteriorated by the beginning of the twentieth century that some sections were virtually illegible, i. e. its restorers needed to proceed in a rather imaginative way.¹⁵⁶ The original state of the painting is documented in a small-scale copy created for Samuel Pepys around 1688 (pl. 35),¹⁵⁷ but due to its miniature size the portraits are fairly schematic. Moreover, this copy does not record the design that formed the basis for the con-

tract stipulated in 1684. As Charles II died on 6 February 1685, Verrio “proposed to make some alteration of the said designe in regard his Ma.tie King Charles the second of blessed memory is lately deceased.”¹⁵⁸ This resulted in Verrio’s replacement of the full-length portrait of Charles II with that of his successor James II, with the former and Edward VI presented in medallions flanking James’s throne (pl. 35). Accordingly, the group of courtiers in the middle of the painting was exchanged, too.¹⁵⁹ It is highly likely that the extant painting and its copy of c. 1688 reflect the design of 1684 quite closely, yet the original cast of portraits is unknown.

Undoubtedly, though, Charles II took centre stage, as the triptych format was meant to “give an opportunity withall of placeing the King in the more August and Stately posture.”¹⁶⁰ In addition, as early as 1678 the Schools Committee had desired representations of “some cheife [sic] Ministers of the State the Lord Maior the President and some Governors with the Children of his Ma.ties new Royall ffoundation A Shipp Globe Mapp Mathematicall Instruments and such other things as may well express his Ma.ties Royall ffoundation and Bounty to this Hospitall.”¹⁶¹ All of these ingredients (except for the ship) can be found in Verrio’s composition – but what makes the painting particularly intriguing are the features not asked for by the brief, i. e. the elements added by Pepys and Verrio in order to amplify the meaning of the work. By agreeing on a completely new, expanded design in 1684, they produced an alternative vision of Christ’s Hospital and the king’s relationship to it.

Verrio’s first, rather conventional design (pl. 40) focused on Charles’s endowments for the mathematical school.¹⁶² It thereby singled out just one aspect of the hospital’s manifold teaching activities. In fact, there was a lively rivalry between the various schools united under the same roof: The teachers of the grammar school (which had always been regarded as the noblest branch of Christ’s Hospital) felt offended by the prestige recently obtained by the royal foundation of the mathematical school.¹⁶³ Precisely these quarrels were at the root of the reforms Pepys had suggested in 1677.¹⁶⁴

Since the mathematical school had only forty pupils, it seems reasonable to suppose that the twenty-four

men uniformly clad in black gowns with white collars, who occupy the middle ground of Verrio’s final design (pl. 35), represent the teachers from all of the hospital’s schools, including the writing and grammar schools. Similar to the great Dutch tradition of civic group portraits, Verrio’s new design sought to inspire a sense of unity and common purpose within the school by including its complete staff. Since Verrio would not have been aware of the internal conflicts within Christ’s Hospital, this idea can only have been inspired by Samuel Pepys. By suggesting a new approach to the topic, Pepys tried to overcome the very conflicts that in his view had hindered the development of the new foundation.

The copy of c. 1688 is particularly useful in that it records details that were lost during subsequent restorations of the canvases; for instance, the distinction between the blue uniforms of the pupils and the black gowns of their masters (which now appear to be equally blue: pl. 39). And while the globe and map in the Horsham version are completely blank, the miniature copy documents their original design (plates 35, 38): Both bore representations of the British Isles, surrounded by the seas that the pupils of the mathematical school were trained to navigate.

Clad in a brown gown and a brown wig, Samuel Pepys stands next to the map and gives Britain a loving glance, thus demonstrating his care for the nation as the Royal Navy’s chief administrator (plates 35, 38).¹⁶⁵ In front of the map kneels Edward Paget, who acted as master of the mathematical school between 1681 and 1695.¹⁶⁶ He points to the globe, alluding to Britain’s aspiration to global dominion and, at the same time, drawing attention to the valuable teaching aids that the mathematical school had received as donations. In his list of “defects” of 1677, Samuel Pepys had complained that “Noe method seemed to be sett for the having a good acc[oun]t kept of the mapps, plat, bookes and instruments provided at the charge of the Hospitall and its benefactors for the publick use of the Schoole.”¹⁶⁷ His proposed “remedy” (namely “a strict inventory to be taken”) was carried out at once.¹⁶⁸ The inclusion of all these objects in the painting visualized the high esteem in which the school held donations from its benefactors.

Benefactors play an important role in Verrio's design. They are distinguished from the teachers (in black) through their fashionable clothing, which is, however, more modest than the robes of the courtiers at the centre of the painting (pl. 35). A particularly prominent group of benefactors has assembled on the left side of the central canvas, close to the throne (pl. 37). One of these men is certainly John Moore, the former Tory lord mayor who had backed Charles II during the Exclusion Crisis and who served as president of Christ's Hospital between 1684 and 1702.¹⁶⁹

In my view, the rather unexpected inclusion of female pupils in the picture also served to pay tribute to illustrious benefactors. The girls appear alongside their "mistress," probably to be identified as Muriall Albright (pl. 36).¹⁷⁰ While the "mistress" is clad – like the male teachers – in black (cf. pl. 35), the woman standing next to her seems to be a benefactress. She could be Mary Maddox, John Moore's wife, who had a reputation for being a particularly determined woman¹⁷¹ and might have been interested in women's education, for when her husband was elected lord mayor in 1681 one of the pageants represented "a magnificent fabric of the composite order, called the Academy of Sciences, on which were placed philosophers and prudent women."¹⁷²

However, it is even more likely that the girls were included to honour Robert Clayton, who had sponsored the building of the new Girls' Ward.¹⁷³ As explained above, the architecture of this wing was particularly prestigious since it constituted the main façade of the hospital (fig. 51). The Girls' Ward was situated to the east of the Great Hall (fig. 49, no. 5). Verrio's painting reflected this in that he placed the girls' portraits on the wall adjacent to their ward (fig. 49, no. 3a; cf. plates 34, 36). This meant that he had to invert the traditional hierarchy of the sexes, allocating the girls the more prestigious position to Charles's right, in contrast to their inferior position to the left of the sovereign in the old foundation picture (pl. 41). The entire composition of Verrio's painting was therefore conditioned by the placement of the Girls' Ward.

Surely, such a far-reaching decision cannot have been taken by Verrio on his own; it required an intimate

knowledge of Christ's Hospital and of the power relations between its governors. It was probably Samuel Pepys who suggested the idea when he met Verrio at Windsor in April 1684. At that moment, Pepys had returned to power and could have triumphed over his enemy Clayton, yet he also knew that the wheel of fortune turned quickly and that it might be wiser to make peace. Thus the new design for the mural at Christ's Hospital was a supreme exercise in conflict resolution. Seeking to create a sense of unity that would help heal the wounds of former conflicts, Pepys honoured Clayton's contribution to the rebuilding of the hospital, showed his esteem for the members of all the schools housed under the hospital's roof, and included as many powerful, wealthy, and influential people as possible. For this reason, one of the benefactors represented next to John Moore might actually be Robert Clayton (pl. 33), who finally managed to make his peace with the Crown.¹⁷⁴

In this pictorial web of power relations, the lord mayor stands out with his vivid red gown (plates 35, 38).¹⁷⁵ The royal charter that Edward VI had given to the London hospitals in 1553 proclaimed that "Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of the City of London, and their successors, shall be called Governors of the said Hospitals," and thus the lord mayor was nominally the head of Christ's Hospital's administration.¹⁷⁶ He was involved in the selection of the pupils and met them regularly, listening to their speeches.¹⁷⁷ On festive occasions, he came to dine at the hospital, precisely in the Great Hall in which Verrio's painting was placed.¹⁷⁸ Each successive mayor was meant to contemplate the harmonious relationship between Christ's Hospital, the City, and the Crown evoked in Verrio's mural. The lord mayor's position in the painting between Pepys and the king's courtiers visualized his ideal function as a mediator between the king, his capital and the hospital. Responding to the violent conflicts that had surrounded the revocation of the London charter in 1683, Pepys tried to construct a vision of a future characterized by unity and mutual esteem.

This vision of unity involved relationships both external and internal to the hospital. The external relationships included those with benefactors, the lord mayor,

and the Crown, discussed above. As for internal relationships, Verrio's painting not only served to inspire a sense of unity among the teachers from the hospital's various schools but also among male and female pupils. The girls, who were educated alongside the boys in the writing school,¹⁷⁹ took their meals, including the public suppers, with the boys (until 1703 when lack of room obliged the girls to have meals in their ward).¹⁸⁰ John Evelyn witnessed one such public supper in 1687, in which "neere 800 of them, Boys & Girles" assembled in the Great Hall. In his view, their unity resembled that of an angelic court: "They sung a Psalme before they sat downe to supper, in the greate hall, to an Organ which played all the time, & sung with that cherefull harmony, as seem'd to me a vision of heavenly Angels."¹⁸¹

Mediators: Samuel Pepys, Antonio Verrio, and Collective Memory

As has become clear in the previous section, Pepys and Verrio must have collaborated on the final design of the mural. Pepys supplied insider information that was fundamental for decisions concerning the cast of characters and their "spacing," i. e. the meaningful distribution of individual portraits with reference to the functional arrangement of the hospital.¹⁸² But what exactly was Verrio's role? To what extent did his continental training condition the way in which he approached the commission? What was his share in developing a pictorial strategy for conflict resolution? And last but not least, how did he attempt to anchor this new vision of Christ's Hospital in collective memory?

Although Verrio knew the royal residences very well, he refrained in his mural from depicting an identifiable audience chamber at Windsor or Whitehall. His fictive setting for the group portrait, opening onto loggias on all sides (plates 34, 35), would indeed be most unsuitable for a British climate. This is no real British palace but a symbolic architecture that evokes openness and free access to the sovereign.

In conceiving such a space, Verrio may have been inspired by Italian and French models. Painted loggias

were a common feature in Italian Renaissance and Baroque frescoed interiors.¹⁸³ For example, the pope's summer residence on the Quirinal Hill contained a large audience chamber in which envoys from exotic places populated painted loggias placed well above eye level (pl. 44).¹⁸⁴ Similarly, the Escalier des Ambassadeurs at Versailles, decorated by Charles Le Brun around 1676/77, featured exotic spectators within open colonnades (pl. 45).¹⁸⁵ In contrast to such possible models, in Verrio's mural the king's visitors stand in front of rather than within the loggia. This underlines their proximity to the king. Whereas at the Palazzo del Quirinale and the Château de Versailles people from remote places were separated from the sovereign's space by balustrades (plates 44, 45), Verrio's painted protagonists move within the royal space and are free to approach the sovereign.

The lateral wings of the monumental group portrait are closer to Dutch than Italian models. However, seventeenth-century Dutch group portraits (like Rembrandt's *Night Watch*) immortalize the members of a republic, whereas Verrio's mural is decidedly monarchical. Its composition centres on James II, who fixates on the viewer with his penetrating gaze. His throne, placed on a raised podium surmounted by a canopy and surrounded by richly clad courtiers, signals a clear-cut hierarchy. The crowds depicted in the lateral wings move towards the king. In its original spatial context, the triptych format of the painting would have enveloped its beholders, creating the impression that they were part of the community as it came to render homage to the king.

If the ingenious triptych structure evoked a sense of closeness, identification, and belonging, Verrio balanced this with a number of features that distance the king from his subjects. Like the mural at Chelsea Hospital (see below pl. 48), the painting was probably placed above eye level, i. e. beyond the direct reach of its viewers. The frontality of the king's posture recalls the *Majestas domini* in the apses of medieval churches, the triptych format is derived from Catholic altarpieces, and the overall composition resembles a *sacra conversazione* with flanking saints (courtiers) and kneeling donors (pupils). These sacred overtones heighten the king's dignity

and correspond with the inscription on the canopy that points to his rule by divine right: “Dieu et mon droit” (God and my right). But despite the formality of its central section, the painting becomes more approachable towards its outer ends. Verrio and his assistant Laguerre enliven the monotony of more than a hundred portraits by introducing narrative details on the fringes. Sacred and profane, formal and informal, traditional and modern elements enter into a curious mixture in the painting,¹⁸⁶ as do Italian, French, and Dutch traditions.

The function of the hall as a place for taking meals points to an artistic tradition of which the Roman Catholic Antonio Verrio was certainly very well aware: His work can be regarded as a secular, Protestant version of the painted refectories in Catholic monasteries. Just as the monks during their meals contemplated a large image of the Lord (usually a mural representing the Last Supper), the pupils at Christ’s Hospital regarded their sovereign (who was, incidentally, also the head of the Anglican Church). And just as Christ had sat among his disciples, in Verrio’s painting the king was surrounded by the pupils of his school.

While Verrio’s first sketch depicted a specific event (a visit to Charles II in 1675 that led to the granting of the second charter),¹⁸⁷ the extant painting is no contemporary history painting in the common sense of the word. It differs from Verrio’s ceilings at Windsor in its greater realism (in that it depicts recognizable citizens in contemporary dress), and yet it does not record a historic event of the recent past. Although the purpose of the painting had originally been to commemorate the foundation of the mathematical school by Charles II, the founder was ultimately replaced with his successor James II. Verrio’s mural therefore bears only a superficial resemblance to the old foundation picture kept at Christ’s Hospital (pl. 41).¹⁸⁸ While that painting actually shows the act of foundation (Edward VI handing the royal charter to the lord mayor), Verrio’s work possesses a timeless quality. It visualizes a royal audience within a fictive architecture but no recognizable historic event. Even though it is documented that the members of Christ’s Hospital visited the king repeatedly,¹⁸⁹ the painting does not depict his examination of the boys’ cipher-

ing books nor a general audience for the extremely large number of pupils.¹⁹⁰ Instead, several male and female pupils represent the whole school as *pars pro toto*.

The subject matter of the painting is neither the foundation of the mathematical school nor a specific audience but the relationship between the Crown, the City, and Christ’s Hospital. An early description of the mural published in 1708 captures this very well: “In this Hall is a very magnificent piece of Painture, being the Pictures of King Jam. 2. with his Court, containing a vast Numb. of Figures painted at full length, extending the whole breadth of the Hall; at the Angles whereof are adjacent 2 other very large Pieces, the Pictures of the Poor Boys and Girls kneeling, and the Ld Mayor and Aldermen recommending them to the King’s Clemency; all done by the celebrated Hand of Monsieur Vario.”¹⁹¹ According to this almost contemporary interpretation, representatives of the city (the lord mayor and aldermen) act as mediators between the pupils and the king.¹⁹² The wording of the description underlines the sacred overtones of the composition, as the king is implicitly paralleled to the Lord, to whose clemency the saintly intercessors (the lord mayor and aldermen) recommend the common mortals (pupils).

All in all, at Christ’s Hospital Verrio presented a hybrid conception of sovereignty. On the one hand, sacred allusions recalled the parallel between Charles II and Christ the Judge that Verrio had staged so forcefully at Windsor Castle.¹⁹³ The globe and map with representations of the British Isles emphasized Britain’s dominion of the seas and its strength vis-à-vis continental Europe. The centrality of the ruler was a visual expression of Charles’s heightened authority after the Exclusion Crisis and the revocation of the London charter. On the other hand, Verrio introduced in his mural elements that suggested the accessibility of the sovereign: the open loggia architecture and the proximity of the visitors to the king, the tripartite structure of the painting, which enveloped the beholder, and the narrative details that mediated between the sphere of the ordinary viewer and the courtly situation evoked by Verrio.

It seems likely that Samuel Pepys had an important share in producing this multifaceted image of sover-

eignty. Under James II, Pepys was at the height of his political power.¹⁹⁴ James had protected him from the very beginning of his career in the navy,¹⁹⁵ and accordingly it was probably Pepys who first suggested that Verrio replace the portrait of Charles II with one of James II.¹⁹⁶ The mural visualizes the close relationship between James's court and Christ's Hospital, and it is certainly no coincidence that Pepys stands right next to the lord mayor as a chief mediator between these spheres (pl. 38). While the two roundels with the portraits of Edward VI and Charles II commemorate previous royal benefactors, the main scene focuses on the present and the future, suggesting a harmonious cooperation of the Crown, the City, and the hospital.

As outlined above, Pepys and the governors of Christ's Hospital sought to resolve several different though interrelated conflicts. On an internal level, there existed conflicts of rank and values among the masters of the various schools within the hospital as well as between Whig and Tory governors. On a more general level, the dominance of Whigs within Christ's Hospital and within the city government had led to a conflict of values between these institutions and Charles II. In order to overcome such tensions, Verrio and Pepys evoked a peaceful unity of all parties and, at the same time, underlined the sacrosanct authority of the monarch.

When Verrio's painting was finished in 1688,¹⁹⁷ bitter episodes from the said conflicts were still fresh in the collective episodic memory. However, Pepys and Verrio sought to replace these memories with a new and positive image. The mural presented an idealized, condensed version of the regular visits to the king that had served to strengthen the relationship between Christ's Hospital and the court. The painting induced ecphory,¹⁹⁸ focusing on the collective procedural memory of such visits.

Procedural memories are bound to certain routines and are therefore particularly strong.¹⁹⁹ In the case of Verrio's mural, these procedural memories of court ritual were further reinforced by the specific viewing context. Pupils and teachers saw the painting every day, during meals that had a ritual component, too. At the public suppers, but probably also on a daily basis, the children sang a psalm and then ate a meal accompanied by organ

music.²⁰⁰ Thus they experienced the mural in a performative context that anchored the image of the king to positive experiences (food, music, and a period of relaxation during the schoolday).

According to Clifford Geertz, culture delineates a set of behavioural rules.²⁰¹ Verrio's painting specifically sought to inscribe the value of cooperative behaviour into the collective memory. When the lord mayor, aldermen, and governors visited Christ's Hospital for the public suppers, the participants in these meals saw a mirror image of themselves in Verrio's mural, all united in one harmonious group. As Morton Deutsch has pointed out, "cooperation induces and is induced by a perceived similarity in beliefs and attitudes; a readiness to be helpful; openness in communication; trusting and friendly attitudes."²⁰² By giving visual form to such qualities, Verrio therefore applied a strategy for conflict resolution that aimed at cooperation rather than competition.²⁰³

To sum up, as an act of cultural translation, Verrio's work has two main characteristics. Firstly, it is an interpersonal translation, i. e. an act of mediation meant to overcome previous conflicts. Secondly, Verrio drew inspiration from other paintings to achieve this end (intra-medial translation). He quoted earlier painted loggias to give dignity to the scene and, at the same time, transformed this motif in such a way as to suggest the accessibility of the sovereign. Similarly, he referenced motifs from sacred art but filled them with new meaning by introducing them into a secular context. Therefore, in the terminology of Peter Burke it would be more pertinent to label this process as transposition rather than translation.²⁰⁴

Ironically, things did not work out as planned. Although Pepys and Verrio may have succeeded in resolving some of the conflicts internal to Christ's Hospital, the fundamental political conflict – between the Crown and the City (the latter having lost its traditional privileges in 1683) and, more generally, between the absolutist tendencies of James II and a widespread desire for greater civil liberties – continued to preoccupy a large number of people. According to Dahrendorf, conflicts that are repressed gain added force and may lead to revolutions.²⁰⁵ And this is exactly what happened in 1688, the year Ver-

rio's mural was finally ready to be placed in the Great Hall. In January 1688, Christ's Hospital ordered a frame for the new painting, which appears to have been installed shortly afterwards.²⁰⁶ In December 1688, William of Orange entered London, and soon after James II went into exile.²⁰⁷

After the Glorious Revolution, Verrio's painting must have been rather embarrassing for the members of Christ's Hospital, as it forcefully proclaimed their loyalty to the deposed king. Samuel Pepys actually refused to swear the oath of allegiance to William III, had to resign from his naval office, and even spent some time in prison, being suspected of "dangerous and treasonable practices against his Majesty's government."²⁰⁸ Verrio lost his position as court painter, and the commission for the mural at Chelsea Hospital was withdrawn from him for political reasons, as will be explained in the following section.

Sometime between 1723 and 1736, Christ's Hospital decided to have Verrio's group portrait transferred to the west wall of the hall.²⁰⁹ The change of placement indicates a change of function: The mural became one of several decorative objects in the hall but no longer formed the focus of the spatial layout. This reflected a change in the community's relationship to the painting. Originally, the depicted scene was meant to shape the identity of Christ's Hospital and therefore to be part of the community's active (functional) memory. After the last Stuart queen, Anne, was replaced by the Hanoverian George I in 1714, this focus on the Stuart dynasty must have seemed completely obsolete. By relegating the mural to a relatively marginal place, the hospital committed Verrio's work to the realm of mere passive (storage) memory.²¹⁰

The Royal Hospital at Chelsea and Britain's Rivalry with France

The wall painting in the Great Hall of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea (pl. 46) was Antonio Verrio's next major commission after the Christ's Hospital mural. Payments to the painter are recorded in "The Accompt of ye Rt. Hono.

ble Richard Earle of Ranelagh," which covers the period from 1 January 1687/88 through 30 March 1692.²¹¹ Richard Jones, Earl of Ranelagh, had been treasurer of Chelsea Hospital since the beginning of 1686.²¹² Since the inscription placed beneath the mural (pl. 47) names him as the donor (although the payments came de facto from the hospital's funds),²¹³ 1686 can be regarded as *terminus post quem* for the commission. The mural bears a hidden signature by Verrio's assistant Gerard Lanscroon and a more prominent one by Henry Cooke.²¹⁴ Verrio received £210 15s in c. 1688 and Cooke £295 in 1690.²¹⁵ As individual entries in Jones's "Accompt" are not dated, these dates can be given only approximately by considering their sequence within the document.

The mural has received very little scholarly attention. Croft-Murray discussed it briefly in a paragraph on Cooke's works.²¹⁶ Worsley gave the following account of its iconography: "Charles II appears on horseback in front of the Royal Hospital, clad in armour, trampling serpents and receiving the grateful thanks of gods and people."²¹⁷ Gibson provided an equally short summary.²¹⁸ In 2007, Babington and Pelter attempted a more complete description of the painting, but it is unfortunately incorrect in many aspects.²¹⁹ They did not engage with the political context and therefore claimed that the reason "why Verrio and his team failed to complete the Royal Hospital painting is not known."²²⁰ As Cécile Brett pointed out in 2009, Verrio lost the commission to Cooke because of "the strict reimposition of the Test Act under William III," which banned Catholics from public service.²²¹ However, she did not look closely at the iconography of the painting, either.²²² In his monograph on Verrio of 2009, De Giorgi dedicated just one sentence to the mural and made no effort to identify the individual figures,²²³ while in the most recent monograph on the Royal Hospital the painting is not even mentioned.²²⁴

According to Brett, the Royal Hospital was "founded by the King on the model of Les Invalides in Paris."²²⁵ This aspect has already been discussed by Christine Stevenson though without reference to Verrio's painting.²²⁶ Kevin Sharpe mentioned that "the idea of a provision for invalided soldiers and veterans was taken from Louis XIV (who a decade earlier had founded the Hôtel des Inval-

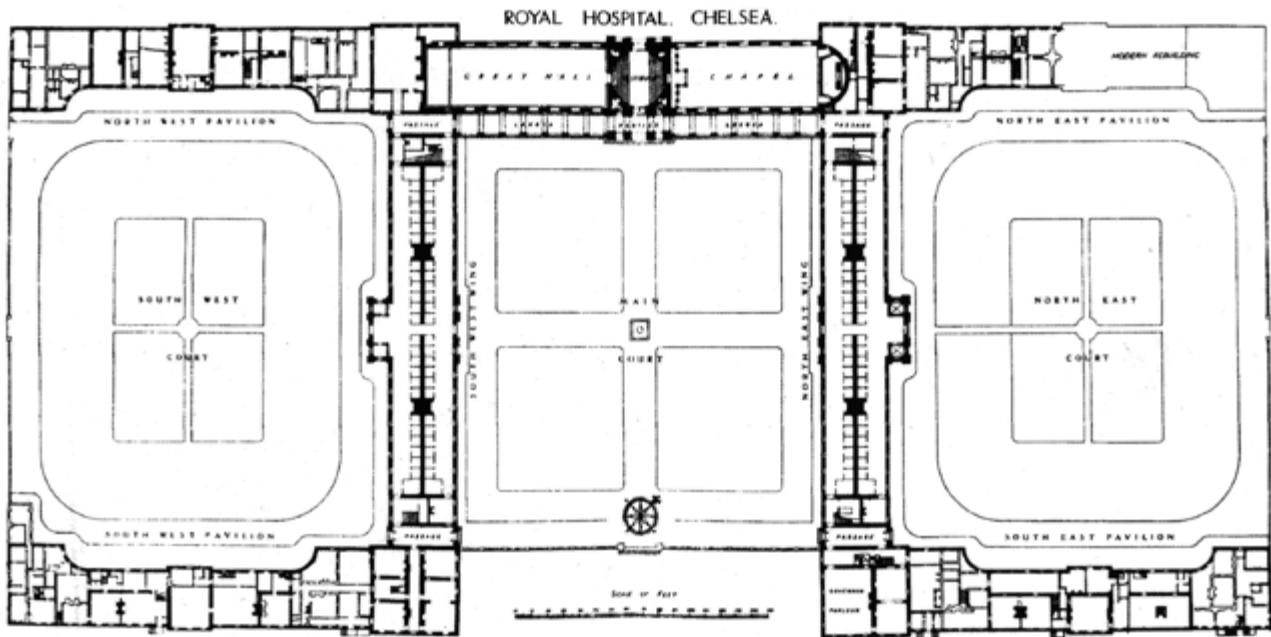


Fig. 54 Ground plan of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, 1927

ides)” but did not expand on the rivalry with France. He summarized the meaning of the hospital complex as follows: “Charles’s last architectural bequest to his people (its hall painted later by Verrio with images of the king) stood not for absolutist grandeur but charity and community: for the gratitude of a king and nation to its veterans and for the victories and conquests achieved in the king’s name and reign [...], a living monument to this king who took such care of his subjects.”²²⁷

The idea for such a hospital appears to have been conceived in 1681. On 14 September 1681, John Evelyn noted in his diary that he had dined with Sir Stephen Fox, a treasury commissioner.²²⁸ Fox proposed to him “the purchasing of Chelsey Coll[ege]; which his Majestie had some time since given to our Society, & would now purchase it of us againe, to build an Hospital for Souldiers there; in which he desired my assistance as one of the Council of the R[oyal] Society.”²²⁹ Chelsea College had originally been founded by James I as a college for theologians. Under the Commonwealth and in the first years of Charles II’s reign, before the king gave the premises to the Royal Society, it had been used as a prison and as a

detention centre for prisoners of war.²³⁰ Towards the end of 1681, the king reacquired the property and commissioned its remodelling.²³¹

Christopher Wren’s design for Chelsea Hospital resembled the new royal palace at Greenwich, which Charles II had begun according to the plans of John Webb in 1664 and abandoned in the early 1670s.²³² Both structures were meant to consist of three wings that opened onto the River Thames.²³³ Stevenson suggests that Chelsea came to substitute the unfinished royal palace: “As John Bold has pointed out, great palaces were the prerogative and the pleasure of absolute monarchs and the king could not comfortably appear to be assuming that role. His ‘habitual palatial musings’ would be more safely directed towards Chelsea and perhaps, vicariously, Bethlem.”²³⁴ Following this train of thought, it is easy to understand why Charles II turned his attention to Chelsea precisely in the context of the Exclusion Crisis, which reached its zenith in 1681. Despite his absolutist tendencies, he wished to position himself as a monarch who cared for his people and thus to create a positive image that would help him obtain his political goals.

By letters patent of 22 December 1681, Charles announced his intention to erect a hospital for the relief of land soldiers, and on 17 February 1682 the foundation stone was laid.²³⁵ According to John Evelyn's diary, on 27 January 1682 Evelyn and Fox drew up a first plan for the administration of the hospital, and Fox (who had assumed the management of the new foundation) asked Evelyn "to consider of what Laws & Orders were fit for the Government, which was to be in every respect as strickt as in any religious Convent & c."²³⁶ The funds given by the king and benefactors like Fox were augmented by deducting a certain percentage from the pay of the army.²³⁷ By the mid-1680s, the hospital building was well advanced and ready to be decorated.²³⁸

The main wing of the new hospital consisted of a large chapel and hall on either side of a vestibule. The hall occupied the western half of this wing (fig. 54). The central part of Verrio's mural was placed at the western end of the hall, on the short wall opposite the main entrance from the vestibule (pl. 48). To this day, this part of the mural remains flanked by two narrow lateral panels on the adjacent walls (pl. 49). Evidently, Verrio's mural at Christ's Hospital provided a model for the tripartite structure.

In 1686, the windows in the Great Hall were glazed after the westernmost pair had been bricked up.²³⁹ As Verrio had realized the triptych at Christ's Hospital by walling over several windows,²⁴⁰ it is quite likely that he also caused this change of design at Chelsea Hospital: Only by covering the westernmost windows was it possible for him to extend the picture surface onto the adjacent walls. This may be taken as an indication that Verrio was involved in the commission as early as 1686, i. e. shortly after the earl of Ranelagh had become treasurer of the hospital.

The following analysis of Verrio's mural necessarily starts with a discussion of its iconography, which has not yet been accounted for in a satisfactory manner. I will then move on to consider the ways in which the painting addresses Britain's rivalry with France. Finally, I will take a brief look at the relationship between the hall and the chapel that formed its pendant.

The Setting and Iconography of Verrio's Chelsea Mural

Although Verrio adopted the triptych format with which he had experimented at Christ's Hospital, at Chelsea he used it in a completely different way. At Christ's Hospital, the narrative unfolded on all three panels, enveloping its beholders and suggesting that they were part of the depicted event. The lateral panels of the mural in the Great Hall at Chelsea, by contrast, are much narrower and are merely ornamental to the main scene on the west wall, which is revealed from behind fictive curtains that seem to hang in front of the painted frame (pl. 46). This motif distances the viewer from the scene. It has a theatrical quality and, at the same time, alludes to a sacred *revelatio*. Since ancient times, the dignity of sacred images had been heightened by veiling them with curtains.²⁴¹ Starting in the Byzantine Empire, secular leaders had adopted this strategy for their own glorification.²⁴² Verrio may have been inspired by Bernini's oeuvre, in which examples of such curtains abound.²⁴³

In the case of Chelsea Hospital, the curtains are drawn back by several putti and two winged personifications of fame. Fame's trumpets point the viewer to the central figuration of the king's glory. By introducing these heavenly messengers, Verrio made clear to the beholders that a quasi-sacred scene was being revealed before their eyes. Although the veterans could easily relate to the realistic painted architecture of Chelsea Hospital in the background, the pyramidal group of figures in the foreground surely represented no ordinary visit of the king to his soldiers. The colourful crowd of wildly gesturing, enigmatic figures must have created a dazzling first impression and raised numerous questions.

The lateral panels of the triptych served to make the visual impact even more impressive. They display ornamental arrangements of firearms (pl. 49). "Croft-Murray notes that in such a context it would in fact be more usual to show classical trophies or statues in niches."²⁴⁴ However, the decoration chosen by Verrio was much more pertinent and up to date, as it reproduced similar displays of real arms found in the royal palaces.²⁴⁵ Between 1677 and 1681, the King's Guard Chamber at

Fig. 55 George Bower. Medal in commemoration of the defeat of the Rye House Plot, 1683



Windsor Castle (pl. 6) had been decorated with such patterns under the supervision of Prince Rupert, the royal architect Hugh May, and Colonel George Legge, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.²⁴⁶ The Queen's Guard Chamber at Windsor followed suit in 1685 (pl. 13), and in 1687 James II's Guard Chamber at Whitehall received a similar decoration with ornamental displays of arms.²⁴⁷ Verrio's painted weapons therefore introduced the splendour of courtly interiors to the Royal Hospital and formed a fitting framework for the main scene dedicated to Britain's military glory.

The central panel on the west wall, measuring 4.5 × 7.5 metres, is dominated by a figure of Britain's king on horseback (pl. 46).²⁴⁸ In De Giorgi's view, the monarch represented here is James II.²⁴⁹ Although there exists a certain family likeness between James and his brother Charles, De Giorgi's identification can be ruled out for three reasons. Firstly, the medallion held aloft over the king's head contains two interlaced letter C's (the monogram of Charles II); secondly, the Latin inscription below the mural states that Richard Jones, Earl of Ranelagh, put up this painting in honour of "Charles II, the excellent king, the hospital's founder and his most merciful lord" (pl. 47);²⁵⁰ and thirdly, it is inconceivable that William III (during whose reign the mural was completed) would have tolerated such a large-scale, triumphant portrait of his rival James II, let alone in a public setting that he intended to use for his own propaganda purposes.²⁵¹

Charles II looks firmly at the beholder. He wears modern armour and holds a baton of command in his right hand. His horse tramples on a dragon, evoking the familiar image of Britain's patron saint St George.²⁵² A second glance reveals that this "dragon" is indeed the Lernaean Hydra, recognizable by its snake-like body and multiple heads. Since, according to classical mythology, Hercules had overcome the Hydra as one of his twelve labours, Verrio implicitly likens the king to the ancient hero. In early modern art, the Hydra is commonly used to symbolize all sorts of evils, foreign threats as well as civic discord.²⁵³ In the context of Verrio's mural, it therefore visualizes Charles's triumph both over external and internal enemies. It may have been intended to allude specifically to the Rye House Plot of 1683, as a medal struck to commemorate the king's triumph over the rebels represented Charles resting on a lion's skin, confronted by a six-headed hydra which he is about to strike down with his thunderbolt (fig. 55).²⁵⁴

In the mural, the king is symmetrically framed by two reclining figures (a male and a female), who form the focal points of two lateral groups. These groups are linked by a whirl of cloud- and air-borne figures arching over the king. As paintings are usually read from left to right (like texts), my description will begin with the group placed in the lower left corner of the mural.

Babington and Pelter identify the reclining male as "Father Thames [...] with attendant figures and gigantic seashells (since the scallop shell is the symbol of

St James, this may be a reference to Charles' son, the future James II)."²⁵⁵ This idea indeed offers a possible explanation for the particularly prominent position of the scallop shell. However, the shell is held aloft by a person of dark complexion and may therefore be meant to allude to the resources of Britain's colonies as well as to its international sea trade and the wealth derived from it. The cornucopia held by Father Thames seems to support this interpretation.²⁵⁶ In addition, in Baroque emblematics the shell stands for sovereignty.²⁵⁷

The ascending figures in the left half of the canvas personify the four cardinal virtues.²⁵⁸ The lowermost female in the yellow cloak is Temperance, who pours water into wine (pl. 50). Prudence, clad in blue and holding her standard attribute, the serpent, embraces her. Above them, Justice with scale and sword turns towards the hospital. The fourth cardinal virtue, Fortitude, is personified by Hercules, the epitome of male strength. Holding his club in his right hand, he extends a laurel wreath over the head of Charles II. The winged female who forms his pendant is Victory, identifiable by her attributes, the laurel and palm branch.

Above Hercules appears the goddess Minerva, whose helmet denotes intellectual strength.²⁵⁹ As a common personification of wisdom and eloquence, she visualizes a further virtue attributed to the king. The connection between the virtues and Charles II is made manifest

through the king's crowned monogram held aloft by Minerva and several putti.

Hercules and Victory allude to the glorious military leadership of Charles II. They provide a legitimation for the suffering of the veterans who had risked their lives in Charles's (often unsuccessful) wars. Rather strikingly, the painted laurel wreath not only crowns the king but seems to frame the globe that surmounts the lantern on top of the hospital's vestibule (pl. 46; cf. plates 51, 52). This underlines the veterans' share in the king's seemingly global dominion.

The group that dominates the right half of the canvas further elaborates on the idea of global dominion. Personifications of the four then-known continents look admiringly at the king and seem to offer him a large globe. Babington and Pelter interpret the reclining female with the cornucopia as Europe, who "points to her location on the globe."²⁶⁰ Africa is the black woman with an elephant's trunk on her head, and America wears a feathered headdress. "The fourth figure is harder to interpret – it is holding what appears to be a set square – but must represent Asia."²⁶¹ However, the figure with the "set square" does not have any of Asia's typical attributes and holds a very prominent place in the painting. Surely she is a key protagonist of the scene, while Asia can more likely be identified with the woman in orange garb who kneels between Europe, Africa, and America.



Fig. 56 Bird's-eye view of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, late seventeenth century



Fig. 57 Caius Gabriel Cibber. Relief on The Monument in London, 1673–1675

So, who is the standing woman who gazes longingly at the king? A closer look reveals that she wears a mural crown (pl. 53), i. e. she must be the personification of a city. Given the location of the painting, it is highly likely that she represents London. Her expression is distressed. Very similar images of a dejected female figure of London with mural crown were produced after the great fire of 1666 (figs. 57, 58).²⁶² The monument to the fire (fig. 52) bears a relief, created by Caius Gabriel Cibber in 1673–1675, in which Charles II comes to the assistance of the female personification of the city (fig. 57).²⁶³ I would like to suggest that the enigmatic female in Verrio's mural belongs to the same iconographic tradition.

London's left hand, in which she holds dividers and an L-square, is placed against a light backdrop so as to stand out very markedly. The measuring and drawing in-

struments are common attributes of architecture and, in the mural, are conveniently located just below the new building of Chelsea Hospital. Verrio thus presents the hospital as a significant contribution of Charles II to the rebuilding of London after the fire.

With her right hand, London gestures towards the reclining figure of Europe.²⁶⁴ Whereas London, clad in an ash-grey dress, is overcast by a mighty shadow, Europe relaxes in bright sunlight. Her red dress references the colour of sovereignty, the purple robes of emperors, kings, and cardinals. This juxtaposition raises the question of whether there are other visual clues that elucidate the relationship between Britain and the continent.



Fig. 58 “London in Flames, London in Glory” from Burton 1681

Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes: Rome, Paris, and London

Although a first group of 476 non-commissioned officers and veterans moved in to the hospital as early as 1689,²⁶⁵ the official opening took place on 28 March 1692.²⁶⁶ 1692 is the year mentioned in the Latin inscription on the architrave of the main block,²⁶⁷ but in matter of fact the building complex was finished only in 1694 and additional work carried on until at least 1702.²⁶⁸

Originally, the hospital had consisted of three wings, which surrounded the so-called Figure Court.²⁶⁹ After his

accession, James II enlarged the structure, adding the smaller Light Horse Court and Infirmary Court to either side of the main court.²⁷⁰ Verrio’s mural represents the Figure Court flanked by two lower buildings that formed the south-western boundaries of the two lateral courts (pl. 46; cf. fig. 59). As these wings must still have been under construction when Verrio and Cooke worked on the painting, it has to be assumed that the artists based their work either on Wren’s drawings or on engravings produced for fundraising purposes. The painted view corresponds very well with contemporary engravings (fig. 56).²⁷¹

A dominant feature of the hospital’s design was a central avenue that led from the entrance of the main block straight to the River Thames (figs. 56, 59). Sometime in or before 1686, Tobias Rustat,²⁷² a main benefactor of the hospital, donated a statue of Charles II by Grinling Gibbons, which came to be placed on this axis, close to the main entrance (pl. 51).²⁷³ However, were the pedestal not conveniently labelled “King Charles II,” it would be hard to recognize him in Gibbons’s image.²⁷⁴ He is clad in ancient dress, and his features are intentionally modelled on Caesar’s (pl. 54),²⁷⁵ likening the king to one of the greatest military leaders of antiquity.

In Verrio’s mural, the king on horseback is positioned in the foreground of the central avenue and therefore eclipses the statue entirely (pl. 46). By hiding Gibbons’s work, Verrio avoided a doubling of the royal image. At the same time, he replaced a sculptural standing effigy of the king *all’antica* with a painted portrait of the king on horseback *alla moderna*, presenting an entirely different approach to the royal image. This observation needs to be contextualized in order to convey its full significance.

As noted above, John Evelyn had an important share in the foundation of Chelsea Hospital. He was involved in the negotiations regarding the acquisition of building land from the Royal Society, and he received the crucial task of drafting the administrative structure and guidelines for the new institution.²⁷⁶ In 1664, Evelyn had published a translation of Roland Fréart de Chambray’s *Parallèle de l’architecture antique et de la moderne*,²⁷⁷ and in 1680 he reissued the same translation under the new

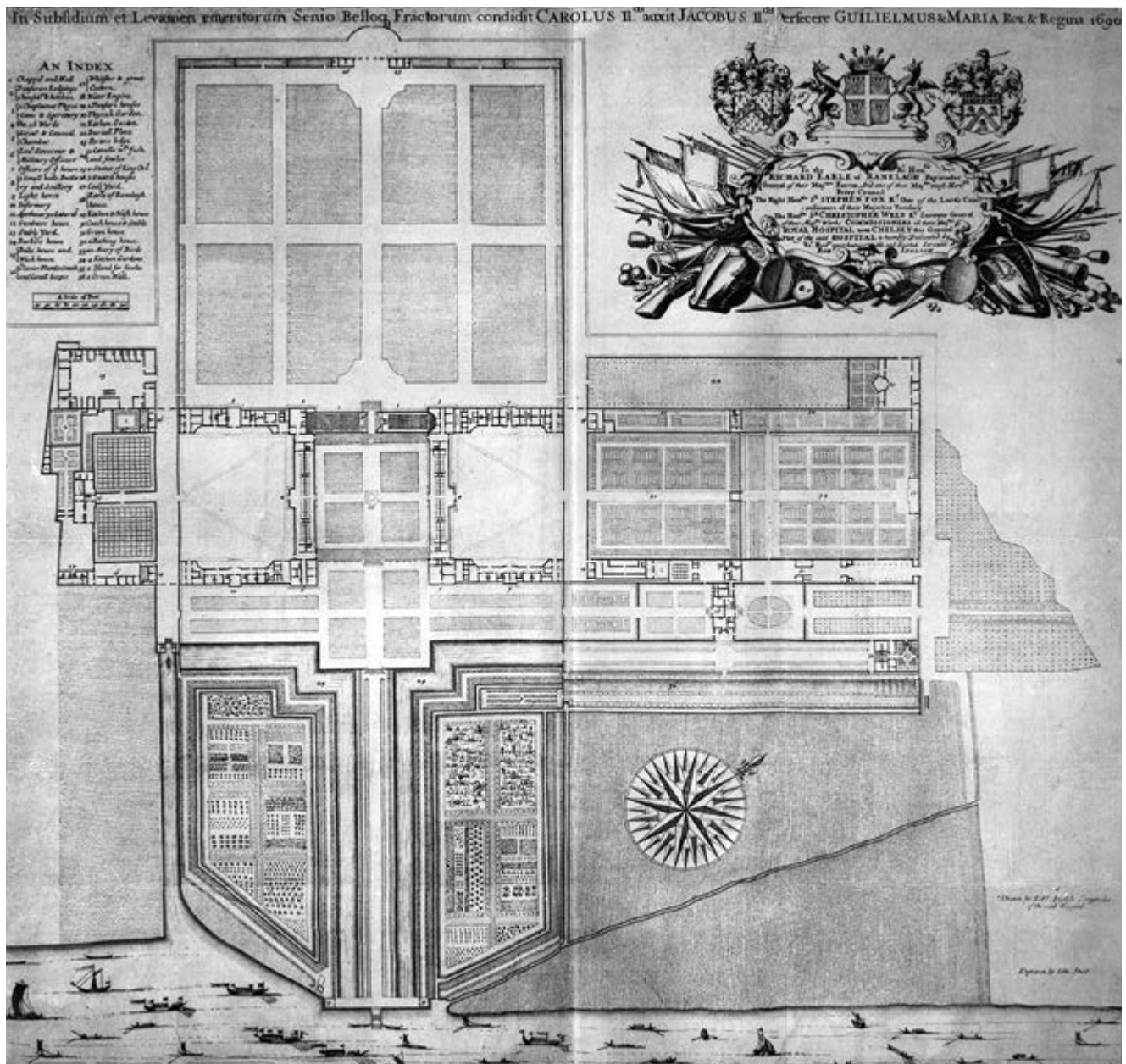


Fig. 59 General plan of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, 1690

title *The Whole Body of Antient and Modern Architecture*, omitting Fréart's authorship.²⁷⁸ Thus, when he embarked on his plans for Chelsea Hospital in 1681, the comparison of "ancients" and "moderns" was very much on his mind.

Fréart's text, first published in Paris in 1650, presented selected examples of ancient (especially Greek) art as the unsurpassable model for modern architecture

and criticized contemporary architects for producing "nothing save Mascarons, wretched Cartouches, and the like idle and impertinent Grotesks."²⁷⁹ Evelyn translated this faithfully and included a dedication to Charles II in which he hailed the king as a new Augustus who would reform contemporary architecture,²⁸⁰ paralleling the desired "renascency" of architecture to the political and social restoration brought about by Charles's return from

exile.²⁸¹ Therefore, Evelyn's 1664 translation of the *Parallèle* "becomes a piece of Restoration political historiography, reflecting the simultaneous process of building and repairing that underwrote the very notion that a Restoration was possible at all."²⁸²

In his "Epistle Dedicatory" to John Denham, "Superintendent and Surveyor of his Majestie's Buildings and Works," Evelyn claimed that "it is from the asymmetrie of our Buildings, want of decorum and propotion of our Houses, that the irregularity of our humours and affections may be shrewdly discern'd: But it is from His Majesties great Genius [...] that we may hope to see it all reform'd."²⁸³ The reader can infer that symmetrical, harmonious buildings modelled on ancient architecture are not only aesthetically pleasing but may even have a psychologically beneficial, healing effect.

Seen from this perspective, the great fire of 1666 opened up new and unforeseen possibilities. Evelyn missed being the first to present plans for the rebuilding of London by only two days, by which time "Dr. Wren had got the start of me."²⁸⁴ Many buildings and monuments erected after 1666 drew inspiration from ancient models. The claim to imperial dominion, already a guiding theme of the ephemeral arches constructed for the coronation procession in 1661,²⁸⁵ could now be translated into permanent structures that openly evoked the glories of ancient Rome. For instance, the monument to the fire (fig. 52) referenced the colossal columns that celebrated the deeds of Roman emperors,²⁸⁶ and several statues of British kings styled *all'antica* appeared in public spaces.²⁸⁷ In 1681, Richard Burton summarized these developments in his *Historical Remarques, and Observations Of the Ancient and Present State of London and Westminster*, noting that if London had already deserved high praise thirty years ago, "then certainly since its Rise out of those Ruines that unhappily befell a great part thereof by the dreadful fire in 1666 [...]; and the Beauty thereof is very much increased, especially as to Uniformity and Curiosity of Buildings, largeness of Streets, and many other Excellencies which that fiery Purgation hath occasioned."²⁸⁸

In emulating ancient Rome, London emulated Paris, too, as the France of Louis XIV equally sought to demon-

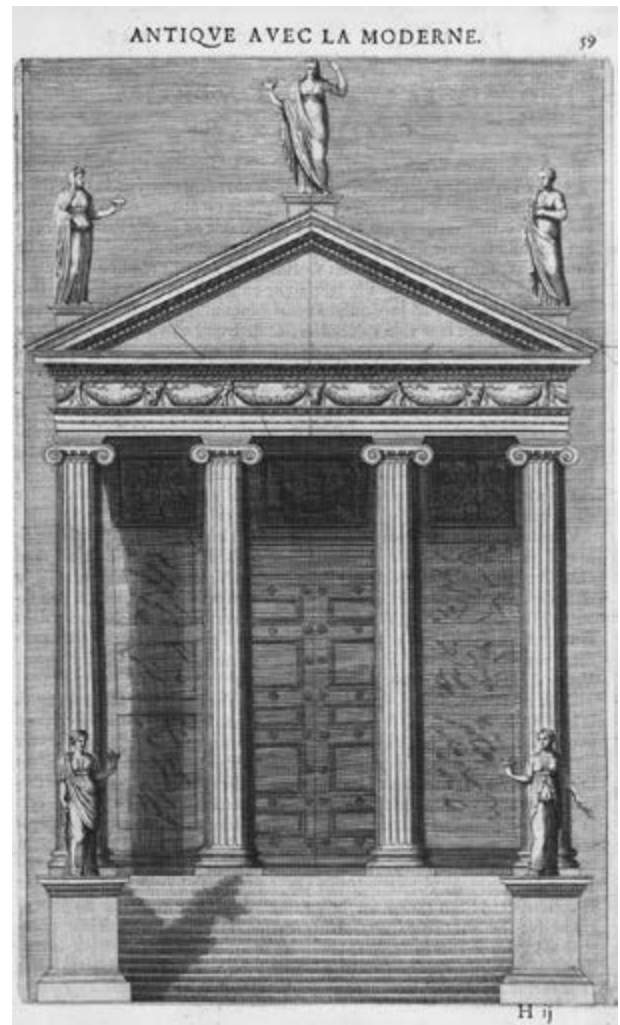


Fig. 60 Charles Errard. The Temple of Fortuna Virilis, Rome, published in Fréart de Chambray 1650

strate its imperial status through references to ancient models. The grandiose plans for the Place des Victoires, which centred on an *all'antica* monument to Louis XIV, are a case in point.²⁸⁹ In this context, the so-called *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* gained momentum, a debate that in the 1680s came to affect French literature as well as visual arts and music. This multifaceted discussion focused on the question of whether the "Siècle de Louis le Grand" even surpassed antiquity, thus giving artists the licence to depart from ancient models.²⁹⁰

Now, in what ways did the architecture of Chelsea Hospital relate to such recent developments? John Evelyn and Christopher Wren were members of the Royal So-



Fig. 61 Hubert Le Sueur. Equestrian portrait of Charles I, 1630–1633

ciety, life-long friends, and both involved in the Chelsea foundation from the very start.²⁹¹ It is therefore quite likely that Wren discussed his plans for the hospital with Evelyn. Back in 1665, when Wren was about to depart for Paris, Evelyn had given him his translation of Fréart’s text as a present.²⁹² Therefore, it is probably no coincidence that the rather elongated proportions of the main portico at Chelsea Hospital (pl. 51) recall the only temple frontispiece reproduced in Fréart’s text (fig. 6o), which reappears in Evelyn’s English editions of 1664 and 1680.²⁹³ These plates were much admired and, in Charles II’s estimation, “the best printed and design’d that he had ever seene.”²⁹⁴

As the temple portico became a standard feature of eighteenth-century neo-classical buildings, it is easy to overlook how rare this motif was in seventeenth-century British architecture. Inigo Jones had added classical porticoes to the façades of St Paul’s cathedral and St Paul’s

in Covent Garden,²⁹⁵ but The Vyne in Hampshire, rebuilt by John Webb between 1654 and 1657, boasted “the first projecting temple front to be applied to an English house.”²⁹⁶ Chelsea Hospital was the second British specimen of this kind²⁹⁷ but with a notable difference. While Jones and Webb had followed Scamozzi’s model, framing the two columns of the portico with two square pillars,²⁹⁸ Wren’s four free-standing columns depart from this tradition and are decidedly more similar to the print from Evelyn’s translation of the *Parallèle* (fig. 6o).

The reference to the *Parallèle* was particularly pertinent, as the print represented an ancient temple dedicated to Fortuna Virilis, i. e. “manly fortune.”²⁹⁹ Wren made his portico even more masculine by employing the Doric rather than Ionic order.³⁰⁰ However, this meant that he had to depart from the canonical, rather more stocky proportions of the Doric. Similarly, the paired Doric columns of the flanking colonnade (pl. 51) are unprecedented in ancient architecture and somewhat reminiscent of the Louvre colonnade that had recently been finished.³⁰¹ The Baroque lantern that tops the *all’antica* portico must have been equally upsetting to the “ancients,” and likewise the combination of red brick and white stone.

All in all, Wren’s Chelsea Hospital was to a certain degree inspired by antiquity but was decidedly “modern” in its unorthodox use of ancient elements.³⁰² Verrio drew attention to this fact in the arrangement of his composition (pl. 46). The right half of the mural is deliberately emptier than the left, thus opening up a clear vision of the eastern wing of the Figure Court. Its unusually tall and elongated frontispiece is well visible below Victory’s foot. Moreover, Verrio inscribed the king into the painted architecture by placing his portrait in such a way that the pediment of the central portico seems to crown his head. The hospital is thus quite literally a perpetual monument to the king.

By omitting Grinling Gibbons’s *all’antica* statue of Charles II, Verrio sided quite decidedly with “moderns” like Wren. His design for Charles’s equestrian portrait disregarded obvious ancient models like the statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Roman Capitoline Hill. Nor did he reference the two equestrian monuments to Charles I

and Charles II, which had been erected in London in 1672 and 1675 respectively (fig. 61; pl. 55).³⁰³ Instead of attempting an intermedial translation from sculpture into painting, he drew inspiration from Van Dyck's well-known portrait of Charles I, kept in the royal collection (pl. 56; cf. pl. 46).³⁰⁴ Both riders are presented in modern armour and in similar poses. Both are lit from the left, such that the light leaves shining traces on the polished armour. Bright, vivacious drapery enlivens the scene, while the light colour of the horse contrasts strikingly with the dark metal. The grouping of Verrio's figures even reproduces the framing effect that Van Dyck created via the triumphal arch. In addition, there are echoes of the duke of Buckingham's equestrian portrait by Rubens.³⁰⁵

It can therefore be concluded that Verrio staged a multiple *paragone* (competition).³⁰⁶ Firstly, he sought to demonstrate his artistic valour by emulating a famous model. However, unlike the "ancients," he did not choose a model from antiquity but rivalled a previous British court painter. Secondly, he strove to prove the superiority of painting over sculpture. In fact, his Charles II on horseback is much more vivid and engaging than the sculptural equestrian monuments he was able to see in London (fig. 61; pl. 55). And thirdly, Verrio aimed to surpass Grinling Gibbons's statue of Charles II for Chelsea Hospital (plates 51, 54). He outdid him so completely that he even excluded Gibbons's rather conventional *all'antica* sculpture from the canvas. Thus the victory of the "moderns" over the "ancients" was complete.

But why was Verrio commissioned to paint an equestrian portrait of Charles II in the first place? After all, other subjects would have been equally or even more suitable, for instance a large battle painting, or a group portrait as at Christ's Hospital. This question finally points to a further *paragone*, i. e. the rivalry between Britain and France.

As mentioned above, the Royal Hospital at Chelsea imitated a similar French institution, the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris.³⁰⁷ Tour guides seem to have confronted foreign visitors with this rivalry, for the Italian traveller Anton Francesco dal Pino noted in 1695 that "they say that the French hospital is bigger, but this one [at Chel-

sea] more beautiful."³⁰⁸ The subject matter of Verrio's mural may have been chosen in the same competitive spirit. Just a few years before Verrio started work on the painting, the French government initiated an extraordinary campaign to erect equestrian monuments in honour of Louis XIV all over France.³⁰⁹ In 1685, it was decided to create such extremely costly statues in Paris, Besançon, Grenoble, Nantes, Toulouse, Lille, Montpellier, Aix-en-Provence, and Marseille, and in 1686 Lyon and Dijon followed suit.³¹⁰ *Le Mercure Galant*, the most important French periodical of that time, reported new initiatives almost every month.³¹¹ Clearly, this news was also read by English diplomats, and therefore I think it is likely that the idea to commission a painted equestrian portrait from Verrio was some sort of compensation in view of the impossibility of orchestrating a similarly impressive campaign in Britain. Verrio may even have known a print of an equestrian monument to Louis XIV in which he (like Verrio's Charles II) triumphed over a multi-headed hydra (fig. 62).³¹²

Seen in this context, it is possible to interpret the relationship between the female personifications of London and Europe in Verrio's mural with greater precision (pl. 53). London appears discontented and decidedly less attractive. She gestures somewhat jealously towards Europe and gives the monarch an imploring look as if to ask him for help. Evidently, she wishes to be like Europe. The hospital is presented as the king's answer to her plea: an important royal contribution to the rebuilding of London. The very detailed rendering of the painted architecture allows the viewer to understand that continental Europe has indeed inspired Wren's design but that he has transformed ancient Roman and French models in an original, modern, and British way.

In addition, by giving narrative form to the relationship between Britain and the continent, Verrio drew attention to his own Italian roots. As early as 1664, John Evelyn had expressed the hope that the English court would attract "Printers, Painters, Sculptors, Architects, &c. [...] from all parts of the World to celebrate his Majesty by their works to posterity, and to improve the Nation."³¹³ Surely, Verrio was convinced of the superiority of continental painting and therefore bestowed a par-



Fig. 62 Louis David after Pierre Péru (Perru). Equestrian statue of Louis XIV triumphing over the Hydra

ticularly blossoming aspect on Europe. However, the Chelsea mural does not exemplify a genuinely Italian style. The extremely detailed background has a Dutch atmosphere, and the equestrian portrait is actually modelled on Van Dyck, while the allegorical figures belong to an international Baroque style that spread across many countries.³¹⁴ This stylistic diversity may have resulted from the participation of several painters,³¹⁵ but the overall design was Verrio's. Just like at Christ's Hospital, at Chelsea, too, he demonstrated his familiarity with different pictorial idioms and showcased his international outlook, thereby recording his own vision of "modernity."

Throne and Altar at Chelsea Hospital

After the Glorious Revolution, Henry Cooke completed the mural according to the design supplied by Verrio.³¹⁶ As most veterans at the hospital had served Charles II and James II, a *damnatio memoriae* of the Stuart dynasty would have been unwise. William III was related to the Stuart family and depended on the support of the military. Consequently, the inscription on the main façade of Chelsea Hospital stressed the continuity between William III and his predecessors.³¹⁷ He continued to support their charitable foundation because he could turn it to his own advantage.³¹⁸ Accordingly, changes to the design of Verrio's mural in the Great Hall were unnecessary.

Verrio lost the commission for purely political and religious reasons. After the reimposition of the Test Act, Catholics could no longer be employed in the service of the state.³¹⁹ As the opposition against "popery" had been a driving force behind the revolution, William needed to adopt a clear-cut anti-Catholic policy. This affected also the decoration of the hospital's chapel (pl. 57).

In its present state, the chapel does not contain a figurative altarpiece. Behind the altar is a wooden frame filled with the letters "IHS" (Jesus) in marquetry intarsia. As this panel is clearly detached from its frame (pl. 58), the original configuration may have been entirely different. In fact, it seems probable that the elaborate aedicule (pl. 57) was originally meant to enshrine a painted altarpiece. Sebastiano Ricci added the mural of the Resurrection in the apse sometime between 1712 and 1716, i. e. roughly two decades after the consecration of the chapel in 1691.³²⁰

As is apparent from the ground plan, the chapel and the Great Hall form symmetrical pendants (fig. 54). This structure mirrors the layout of the King's Chapel and St George's Hall at Windsor Castle, analysed in chapter 3 (cf. fig. 35). Antonio Verrio created the pictorial decoration of the latter chapel and hall during the early 1680s, i. e. precisely in the same period in which Wren designed the architecture of Chelsea Hospital. It cannot have been a coincidence that Wren repeated the spatial layout of Windsor Castle at Chelsea. In both places, there was a manifest desire to relate the chapel and hall within one unified design.

At Windsor Castle, the throne and altar were located at opposite ends of the central axis and could be perceived together when the doors between the King's Chapel and St George's Hall were thrown open.³²¹ This arrangement suggested the close relationship between the ruler and his ultimate model, the Lord; it visualized the divine legitimation of the king's prerogatives.

Similarly, at Chelsea Hospital the altar of the chapel and Verrio's mural in the Great Hall face each other. From within the entrance to the Great Hall, a visitor can see the altarpiece through the vestibule and chapel (pl. 59). Evidently, veterans and visitors were encouraged to relate the king (as the primary subject of Verrio's painting) to the altar, i. e. to perceive the secular and spiritual lords as a divinely sanctioned pair.

This parallel works even with the minimalist Christogram IHS behind the altar, but it would have been conveyed much more forcefully by a painted altarpiece. As demonstrated in chapter 3, Thomas Tenison's discourse on idolatry had legitimated the introduction of altar paintings in Anglican chapels. Therefore, it appears likely that the chapel at Chelsea Hospital was originally meant to receive a figurative altarpiece – just like the chapel at Windsor Castle.

The architectural layout of Chelsea Hospital was defined during the lifetime of its main benefactor Charles II, who acted as supreme governor of the Church of England. However, the decoration of the chapel took place during the reign of his Catholic successor James II. The stucco work in the vestibule and chapel, plus the carvings for the altar frame, were carried out in 1687.³²² James's monograms abounded in these spaces. The metope centred on each face of the octagonal vestibule displays the cipher "J.R." (Jacobus Rex, i. e. King James), crowned, within a laurel wreath, while in the chapel his initials reappeared on the liturgical vessels as well as on the hangings for the altar and the chaplain's desk.³²³

James's favourite religious painter was Benedetto Gennari, from whom he commissioned numerous paintings for his new Catholic chapel at Whitehall.³²⁴ It is unlikely that James wished to create a further Catholic chapel at Chelsea (this would have been met with opposition from the mostly Anglican veterans), but quite con-



Fig. 63 Benedetto Gennari. *The risen Christ and St Mary Magdalen (Noli me tangere)*, 1688

ceivably he intended to entrust Gennari with the commission for an altarpiece to be displayed in the Anglican chapel of Chelsea Hospital.

After the Glorious Revolution, Gennari followed his royal patron into exile. Shortly before he left London, he sold a large altarpiece depicting Mary Magdalen and the risen Christ (*Noli me tangere*, fig. 63). The original patron of and destination for this painting are unknown.³²⁵ Might it have been created for the Royal Hospital at Chelsea?

To a certain extent, the composition of Gennari's painting echoes Verrio's Chelsea mural (pl. 46). The core configuration in both works consists of a dominant male and a supplicant female placed to his left (i. e. on the right, from the beholder's point of view). Both Mary Magdalen and the personification of London demon-

strate their subjection to their lord. Therefore, it seems possible that the paintings were indeed conceived as pendants, though this must necessarily remain a conjecture.

As William III wished to avoid any possible suspicion of “popery,” plans for a figurative altarpiece at Chelsea must have been shelved immediately after his accession. However, the monogram IHS finally placed in the altar frame still conveyed the parallel between spiritual and secular lords that had already been inherent in Wren’s designs.³²⁶ The architect was indeed so enthusiastic about the symmetrical layout of the chapel and the Great Hall that he re-proposed this arrangement for the Royal Hospital (later renamed the Royal Naval College) at Greenwich.³²⁷

Chelsea was the obvious model for Greenwich not only architectonically but, above all, as an institution. In

fact, the men involved in the foundation of Chelsea Hospital played an important role at Greenwich, too.³²⁸ Whereas Chelsea took care of land soldiers, the Royal Hospital at Greenwich was intended to provide a home for members of the Royal Navy. The planning of the new institution began when Chelsea was still being completed. But despite these strong connections, it makes sense to discuss the building complex at Greenwich in a separate chapter, as its completion dragged on for a long time. James Thornhill’s murals at Greenwich were created between 1707 and 1726 and thus belong to an entirely different epoch, reflecting the Glorious Revolution, the rule of Queen Anne, and the accession of the Hanoverians. Therefore, the next two chapters will be dedicated to the reigns of William III and Queen Anne in order to provide a basis for the analysis of Thornhill’s paintings in the seventh chapter of this book.

NOTES

- 1 Manzione 1995, 28; Jones 2015, 11.
- 2 Manzione 1995, 29.
- 3 Manzione 1995, 31–32.
- 4 Manzione 1995, 32.
- 5 Pearce 1908, 168; Manzione 1995, 36.
- 6 Lempriere 1924, 4.
- 7 Lempriere 1924, 3–4.
- 8 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 3–4.
- 9 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 5.
- 10 Lempriere 1924, 28; Allan and Morpurgo 1984, 21.
- 11 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 17, 213.
- 12 Davey 2015, 147; Ellerton and Clements 2017, 13–14.
- 13 Pearce 1908, 100; Ellerton and Clements 2017, 15.
- 14 Jones 2015, 12; Ellerton and Clements 2017, 16.
- 15 Jones 2015, 12–17; Ellerton and Clements 2017, 15–19.
- 16 Kirk 1935, 2; Jones 2015, 18; Ellerton and Clements 2017, 16. For a brief summary of Pepys’s career in the navy see Knighton 2004.
- 17 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 15. On Clayton’s biography see Melton 2004.
- 18 Pearce 1908, 100–101. On the contribution of Patience Ward see Ellerton and Clements 2017, 16. On the financial aspects cf. *ibid.*, and Pearce 1908, 103: “The Letters Patent make over to the Governors £7,000, already theirs by right, and leave in the King’s hands the balance of £427, also theirs by right.” This view was opposed by Bryant 1948, 101.
- 19 Bolton and Hendry 1934, 66; Jones 2015, 17.
- 20 Loveman 2015, 9.
- 21 Davey 2015, 148; Loveman 2015, 9.
- 22 Bryant 1948, 100; Ellerton and Clements 2017, 16. See also Kirk 1935, 3.
- 23 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 213.
- 24 Manzione 1995, 137.
- 25 Manzione 1995, 44; on the four hospitals: *ibid.*, 25–27.
- 26 Maitland 1739, 663.
- 27 Bryant 1948, 175; Knighton 2004, 649; Melton 2004, 992.
- 28 Jones 2015, 19, 34.
- 29 Pearce 1908, 101.
- 30 Tomalin 2015, 13; Willes 2017, 48.
- 31 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 18.
- 32 Knighton 2004, 646, 648, 649.
- 33 Kirk 1935, 4.
- 34 Kirk 1935, 6.
- 35 Kirk 1935, 7–13; Ellerton and Clements 2017, 237–246.
- 36 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 246.
- 37 Christ’s Hospital, Minute and memoranda book, 1673–1691, 20 November 1677; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/006/MS12873/002, fol. 38.
- 38 Kirk 1935, 13.
- 39 Appendix I, 1677, 12, 10.
- 40 Jones 2015, 56, paraphrases this as a “fair tableau,” but the document clearly speaks of a “Table.” It seems that this was a current way of referring to a painting on wood. Cf. Ogilby’s

- description of the Restoration Arch (fig. 2): “Behind the said Figure of Charles the Second, in a large Table is deciphered the Royal Oak” (Ogilby 1662, 37). “Table” was the literal English translation of the Italian term “tavola,” which signified both a table and a painting on wood. In the seventeenth century, many terms from continental art theory entered the British vocabulary; see Kern 2020.
- 41 Appendix I, 1678,01,09.
- 42 Appendix I, 1681,12,19.
- 43 See chapter 3.
- 44 In addition to the main studies on Verrio’s painting quoted in note 46, the commission was also mentioned in passing by Gibson 1997, 159–160, 366, cat. 940; Gibson-Wood 2003, 505; Worsley 2005, 81; Worsley 2007, 58; Brett 2009, 8–9.
- 45 Ponselle and Hémerly 2010, 106–107, cat. 14. See also <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78682/charles-ii-giving-audience-at-painting-verrio-antonio/> (last accessed 5 December 2019).
- 46 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:56, 238; De Giorgi 2009a, 112–113; Jones 2015, 56–59; Solkin 2015, 37–39.
- 47 On this “foundation picture,” once ascribed to Holbein or Anthonis Mor, now considered to be the work of an anonymous sixteenth- or seventeenth-century artist, see London and its environs 1761, 2:133; Trollope 1834, frontispiece; Saunders 1842, 334–335, 342; Pearce 1908, 32; Allan and Morpurgo 1984, 62; Solkin 2015, 38.
- 48 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:56; Allan and Morpurgo 1984, 62–63; Gibson-Wood 2003, 505; De Giorgi 2009a, 112–113; Jones 2015, 56–59.
- 49 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:238.
- 50 Jones 2015, 11. A pre-war interior view of this church was published by Whinney 1971, 55, ill. 44.
- 51 Jones 2015, 57.
- 52 London, Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/H/052/MS22637/004.
- 53 On the neo-Gothic Hall see Saunders 1842, 341–342; Jones 2015, 212. Its position is documented in a plan published in Jones 2015, 249.
- 54 Saunders 1842, 331–333.
- 55 Foxall 2008, esp. 87–88, 92.
- 56 Bolton and Hendry 1934, pl. XLVIII; republished by Foxall 2008, 93 (fig. 2). Foxall does not explain the orientation of this plan, but from a comparison with the 1819 plan and the location of Christ Church’s steeple (in the lower left corner) it is clear that the left margin of the design denotes south. According to Bolton and Hendry, the plan was drawn by Wren’s pupil William Dickinson and dates from about 1691 (ibid., 60).
- 57 Bolton and Hendry 1934, 61, 67. The (wrong) information that the hall was rebuilt by John Fenwick comes from London and its environs 1761, 2:133.
- 58 Bolton and Hendry 1934, 67.
- 59 New View of London 1708b, 2:740.
- 60 On Frederick’s biography see Helms and Ferris 1983. He was president of Christ’s Hospital from 1662 to 1683; cf. Jones 2015, 12.
- 61 Trollope 1834, 104–105.
- 62 Jones 2015, 57.
- 63 Foxall 2008, 92.
- 64 On the new building cf. Saunders 1842, 339.
- 65 London and its environs 1761, 135. The same print was wrongly labelled as “Erasmus Smith’s Writing School” by Bolton and Hendry 1934, pl. XLV.
- 66 Bolton and Hendry 1934, 71.
- 67 Bolton and Hendry 1934, 68.
- 68 Bolton and Hendry 1934, 71. On the building process see Jones 2015, 97–98.
- 69 Bolton and Hendry 1934, 68.
- 70 New View of London 1708b, 2:740.
- 71 Lempriere 1924, 28. See also Bolton and Hendry 1934, 67.
- 72 Bolton and Hendry 1934, 60, 68–72.
- 73 Trollope 1834, 101–103. See also Jones 2015, 74.
- 74 Lempriere 1924, 28; Bolton and Hendry 1934, 67.
- 75 Lempriere 1924, 28.
- 76 Stevenson 2013, 69; on his house see also ibid., 143. On Clayton’s biography: Cruickshanks 1983a; Melton 2004.
- 77 Trollope 1834, 103.
- 78 Statue and inscription are now at Horsham; see the illustrations in Jones 2015, 74 and 94.
- 79 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:57; De Giorgi 2009a, 113: “I partcolari del globo e della carta geografica in primo piano richiamo inoltre quelli di un arazzo realizzato da Louis Testelin e Charles Le Brun, ora a Versailles, con *Luigi XIV che fonda l’Accademia Reale delle Scienze*. Verrio ebbe sicuramente modo di vedere l’opera durante il suo soggiorno parigino, osservando magari con curiosità il particolare della carta con il disegno del ben noto *Canal du Midi*.” Neither author illustrates nor discusses this work.
- 80 See Cornette 2016 and https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tenure_de_l%27Histoire_du_Roy (last accessed 5 December 2019).
- 81 Bajou 1998, 112–113; Cornette 2016.
- 82 As will be explained below, the event depicted by Verrio is likely to have taken place in 1675. At that time, Pepys was 42 years old. He had long, curly, brown hair and a youthful face; see the portraits reproduced by Ollard 2015, 5, 9, 12, 14.
- 83 The second charter of 1675 had a decidedly military purpose

- in that “his Majesty reserved the right to employ each apprentice in his final, seventh year of service, especially if the Royal Navy was ever again actively at war” (Jones 2015, 33).
- 84 Appendix I, 1678,01,09. The plan reproduced in fig. 49 was made after the new building for the Royal Mathematical School (no. 4) had been constructed in 1682–1684, i. e. the drawing does not show the window mentioned in the document of 1678.
- 85 For the location of the main entrance see Trollope’s description quoted above (note 61).
- 86 <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78682/charles-ii-giving-audience-at-painting-verrio-antonio/> (last accessed 5 December 2019).
- 87 There seems to have been a custom to present the pupils of Christ’s Hospital to the king on New Year’s Eve; at least, this is documented for 1678 (Bryant 1948, 178), 1682 (Appendix I, 1681,12,19), and 1688 (Bryant 1985, 184). From 1683, the monarch inspected the boys’ “ciphering books” each year (Ellerton and Clements 2017, 72).
- 88 Bryant 1948, 175.
- 89 The “additional grant” mentioned by Bryant refers to the hospital’s second charter of 1675; cf. Jones 2015, 33–34. As mentioned in note 83 above, the second charter had a military purpose. Thus it was particularly appropriate that Verrio included the knight and the naval battle in his design.
- 90 Appendix I, 1681,12,19.
- 91 Bryant 1948, 365.
- 92 Appendix I, 1682,02,02.
- 93 Appendix I, 1684,04,09.
- 94 Appendix I, 1684,05,12 and subsequent entries.
- 95 Appendix I, 1684,11,12.
- 96 The plan must date from the 1690s, as it shows the writing school built between 1692 and 1695 (fig. 49, no. 1). This means that the south window of the hall is represented in its original position but must have been bricked up by then. Its inclusion in the plan was justified by the fact that the window was still very well visible from the exterior of the building (figs. 48, 51).
- 97 Appendix I, 1684,11,12.
- 98 Appendix I, 1678,01,09.
- 99 See chapter 3, especially the sections titled “Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot” and “Modes of Reception, Layers of Meaning, and the Blessings of Ambiguity.”
- 100 De Krey 1990, 137–138.
- 101 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 16.
- 102 See above notes 71–77.
- 103 Cruickshanks 1983a; Melton 2004, 992.
- 104 Cruickshanks 1983b.
- 105 Cruickshanks 1983b.
- 106 Cruickshanks 1983b; Stevenson 2005, 66.
- 107 Jones 1961, 41; Knights 2014, 32; Tomalin 2015, 12–13. Shaftesbury considered Pepys one of his opponents, marking his name on a list of MPs as “vile”: Willes 2017, 49.
- 108 Bryant 1948, 225–227.
- 109 Knights 2014, 29–32; Lincoln 2015, 25.
- 110 Knights 2014, 27–28; Davey 2015, 149; Willes 2017, 49–50. See also the very detailed accounts in Bryant 1948 and Long 2007.
- 111 Davey 2015, 149; Loveman 2015, 9–10.
- 112 Bryant 1948, 223; Knights 2014, 27.
- 113 McLaughlin 2018, 152–157.
- 114 Cruickshanks 1983c; De Krey 1990, 147; Grassby 2004, 964–965; Stevenson 2013, 304. See also McLaughlin 2018, 158–169.
- 115 Cruickshanks 1983a. See also De Krey 1990, 151.
- 116 Bryant 1948, 363–364.
- 117 Bryant 1948, 365, 375.
- 118 Christ’s Hospital, Minute and memoranda book, 1673–1691, 23 June 1682; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/006/MS12873/002, fol. 39. On Viscount Brouncker see Ollard 2015, 29–31.
- 119 Bryant 1948, 386–387.
- 120 Lincoln 2015, 188–189, 193.
- 121 Quoted from Lincoln 2015a, 154.
- 122 Bryant 1948, 396–397.
- 123 Lincoln 2015a, 156.
- 124 Bryant 1985, 71; Lincoln 2015a, 156.
- 125 Stevenson 2013, 203, 304; De Krey 2005, 382–386; McLaughlin 2018, 169–180. On the protest of the lord mayor and aldermen see Appendix II, 1683,06,25.
- 126 Lacey 1969, 155.
- 127 Stevenson 2013, 304.
- 128 Cruickshanks 1983a and b; De Krey 1990, 151.
- 129 Lempriere 1924, 29.
- 130 On Frederick’s critical position towards the crown see Helms and Ferris 1983. In 1683, he was replaced as president of Christ’s Hospital by Robert Vyner; see http://www.chmuseum.org.uk/authenticated/Browse.aspx?BrowseID=7189&tableName=ta_presidents (last accessed 9 December 2019).
- 131 Trollope 1834, 103.
- 132 Appendix I, 1683,05,18.
- 133 Bryant 1985, 72–76.
- 134 Bryant 1985, 76; Davey 2015, 149–150.
- 135 Bryant 1985, 76.
- 136 Loveman 2015, 196.
- 137 Appendix I, 1684,04,09.
- 138 On the date of Pepys’s stay at Windsor see Bryant 1985, 76.
- 139 Appendix I, 1684,05,12.

- 140 Appendix I, 1684,05,12; 1684,05,16; 1684,06,12.
- 141 Appendix I, 1684,06,19.
- 142 Appendix I, 1684,10,02.
- 143 Appendix I, 1684,10,02. Parrey was the clerk of Christ's Hospital; see Bolton and Hendry 1934, 69; Kirk 1935, 2; Bryant 1948, 364, 375.
- 144 Appendix I, 1678,01,09.
- 145 Appendix I, 1681,12,19.
- 146 Appendix I, 1684,11,12.
- 147 Appendix I, 1684,10,13.
- 148 Appendix I, 1684,10,13: A delegation from Christ's Hospital asks Pepys to accompany them to Verrio in order to urge him to begin the work.
- 149 Appendix I, 1677,12,10.
- 150 Appendix I, 1684,11,12. This figure may be compared to the £50 John Baptist Gasparis received from Christ's Hospital in 1686 for a large portrait of Charles II (3.76 × 2.97 metres); cf. Gibson-Wood 2003, 506, 508.
- 151 The measurements are taken from Solkin 2015, 39.
- 152 On this painting see note 47 above. It found its place in the Great Hall already before the fire of 1666, as attested by John Evelyn's diary: Evelyn (ed. 1955), 3:192 (21 April 1657). A guidebook of 1761 claims that it was situated opposite Verrio's work: London and its environs 1761, 2:133. However, this information cannot have been entirely up to date, as Verrio's mural had been moved to the west wall before 1736: Gibson-Wood 2003, 505, 508.
- 153 While in Paris, Verrio had been close to Molière: De Giorgi 2009a, 87–88, 97. On Pepys's love for the theatre see Taylor 1989, 83–100.
- 154 Appendix I, 1684,11,12: "And he promised that over and about the said worke he would adorne the Ceiling at that end of the hall where his picture is to be placed, with such figures as should be a great Ornament to the same, for which he would not require a farthing."
- 155 On Laguerre's involvement see Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:61, 238.
- 156 According to Pearce 1908, 32, the painting was at that time being restored by Mr C.W. Carey. The extremely damaged condition of the painting is documented in a photograph published in *ibid.*, opposite p. 170.
- 157 On this copy see Lincoln 2015, 226–227, cat. 130; Ollard 2015, 9, 112, 114–115, 118; Solkin 2015, 37–39; <https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3654702> (last accessed 9 December 2019). The frame incorporates a representation of the badge worn by the pupils of the mathematical school. On the badge, which commemorated the king's foundation of the school, see Trollope 1834, 92; Lincoln 2015, 226–227, cat. 131 and 132.
- 158 Appendix I, 1685,02,24.
- 159 Cf. Solkin 2015, 37–38: "Flanking him [James II] are the monarch's closest political allies in his campaign to bend Parliament to his political will: from left to right, Laurence Hyde, 1st Earl of Rochester (Lord Treasurer until his dismissal in January 1687); George Jeffreys, 1st Baron Jeffreys of Wem (Lord Chancellor; like Hyde, based on a portrait by Kneller); John Sheffield, 3rd Earl of Mulgrave (Lord Chamberlain); and Robert Spencer, 2nd Earl of Sunderland (Lord President of the Council)." See also Ingamells 2009, 366.
- 160 Appendix I, 1684,11,12.
- 161 Appendix I, 1678,01,09.
- 162 See the analysis in the previous section of this chapter.
- 163 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 3–6, 62.
- 164 Kirk 1935, 7–10; Ellerton and Clements 2017, 61–65.
- 165 On Pepys's position within the painting see Ollard 2015, 9, and Solkin 2015, 38.
- 166 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 72. See also Solkin 2015, 38.
- 167 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 245. A detailed list of these precious objects can be found in Jones 2015, 98.
- 168 Ellerton and Clements 2017, 245; Appendix I, 1677,12,10; 1678,01,08.
- 169 For Solkin's identification of the four courtiers surrounding James II see note 159 above. The man in the centre of plate 37 who holds the treasurer's wand is Laurence Hyde. To his right stands a man in a bluish-grey coat whose rather slim and elongated facial features may well be those of John Moore (fig. 53). On the dates of Moore's presidency at Christ's Hospital see Grassby 2004, 964.
- 170 On Muriall Albright see Lempriere 1924, 29, 86.
- 171 Cf. Cruickshanks 1983c: "the lady mayoress [...] was clearly more voluble and determined than her husband."
- 172 Nichols 1831, 78.
- 173 See the above section titled "The Rebuilding of Christ's Hospital and the Original Site of Verrio's Mural."
- 174 On Moore's placement see above note 169. Robert Clayton may be the man standing next to him (in profile) who turns towards the Girls' Ward. On Clayton's peace with the Crown see Jones 1961, 209.
- 175 Solkin 2015, 38, identifies the lord mayor as "probably Sir Robert Geffrye, in office 1685–6," but this does not seem entirely convincing when compared with a documented portrait of him: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol8/plate-55#not-found> (last accessed 10 December 2019).
- 176 Trollope 1834, 38, 129–130.
- 177 Long 1675; Trollope 1834, 75, 107; Kirk 1935, 1.
- 178 Saunders 1842, 342–343.
- 179 Pearce 1908, 169.
- 180 Pearce 1908, 169; Lempriere 1924, 11.

- 181 Evelyn (ed. 1955), 4:542.
- 182 On the concept of “spacing” see the section of chapter 1 titled “Spaces of Translation, Performativity, Reception.”
- 183 To name but three prominent examples in Rome: Peruzzi’s Sala delle Prospettive in the Villa Farnesina of c. 1518/19 (Rohlmann 2004, 199, 210–211), the Sala dei Palafrenieri in the Palazzo Lancellotti, painted by Agostino Tassi between c. 1620 and 1623 (Cavazzini 1998, 40–44), and the Sala del Dughet at Palazzo Colonna, where Giovanni Battista Magno finished the fictive architecture by 1668 (Strunck 2007a, 95, 394–395).
- 184 Vodret 2008, 127.
- 185 Constans 1990, 34–35.
- 186 Solkin 2015, 38–39.
- 187 See above note 88.
- 188 On this painting see above note 47.
- 189 See above note 87.
- 190 Cf. Bryant 1948, 178: “The apotheosis of Pepys’ establishment of the Mathematical Foundation at Christ’s Hospital occurred on New Year’s Day 1678 when he presented several of the Governors and all the children of the School to the King, the Duke of York and the Lord Treasurer. It was this scene which at the Mathematical Committee a week later he proposed should be commemorated by a life-size painting upon the wall of the great Hall.” However, Bryant’s assumption is not supported by the wording of the relevant document (Appendix I, 1678,01,09). According to John Evelyn, in 1687 Christ’s Hospital had about eight hundred pupils (see above, note 181). The numbers would not have been significantly lower in 1678. Therefore, the painting can only be a *pars pro toto* of such a wide audience, and the fact that Charles II was replaced by James II contradicts an intention to commemorate the specific audience of 1678.
- 191 New View of London 1708b, 2:740.
- 192 As only the lord mayor wears a red gown in Verrio’s painting, the aldermen are represented as benefactors in civilian dress.
- 193 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “Throne and Altar: St George’s Hall and Its Relationship to the Chapel.”
- 194 Loveman 2015, 10.
- 195 Tomalin 2003, 106, 131–135; Davey 2015, 142–145, 147.
- 196 This suggestion reached Christ’s Hospital via Antonio Verrio (Appendix I, 1685,02,24), but the painter himself was in no position to decide on such a crucial alteration of the iconography.
- 197 No delivery date for the painting is recorded, but in 1688 its frame was produced: Jones 2015, 59.
- 198 Ecphory is an automatic memory-retrieval process engaged when a specific cue interacts with information stored in memory. On the concept of ecphory cf. Markowitsch 2008, 280.
- 199 Manier and Hirst 2008, 256, 258–259; Markowitsch 2008, 277.
- 200 Trollope 1834, 107–109; Lempriere 1924, 10.
- 201 Geertz 1992, 70.
- 202 Deutsch 1983, 438.
- 203 Cf. Deutsch 1983, 438.
- 204 See the section of chapter 1 titled “Cultural Transfer and the Translational Turn.”
- 205 Lamla 2008, 219.
- 206 Jones 2015, 59.
- 207 For the historical context see chapter 5.
- 208 Tomalin 2003, 343–346.
- 209 Gibson-Wood 2003, 505, 508. According to Trollope, this transfer occurred only in 1762, but he does not give a precise source for this information (Trollope 1834, 105). A coloured print of 1816 (reproduced by Jones 2015, 59) shows the painting on the west wall of the original hall, while later images document its situation within the new neo-Gothic hall: Pearce 1908, illustration opposite p. 63; Ellerton and Clements 2017, 70.
- 210 On the concept of active/passive memory see Assmann 2012, 173–174.
- 211 Hutt 1872, 193–205, doc. 40.
- 212 Hutt 1872, 41. On Jones see McGrath 2004, 616–618.
- 213 Hutt 1872, 100. On the inscription see below note 250.
- 214 Babington and Pelter 2007, 135.
- 215 Bolton and Hendry 1942, 75; Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:246.
- 216 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:66: “The composition, which represents Charles II on horseback surrounded by allegorical figures, with the Hospital in the background, owes something to Rubens’s vast canvas of the Duke of Buckingham formerly in the collection of the Earl of Jersey. Though we must assume that the greater part of the work is by Cooke, Verrio’s hand seems to be present in several of the faces.” See also the brief catalogue entry *ibid.*, 246: “Charles II on horseback, attended by marine deities, the Hospital in the background.”
- 217 Worsley 2005, 81; repeated in Worsley 2007, 57–58.
- 218 Gibson 1997, 346, cat. 796: Charles II “trampling on the many-headed beast, Rebellion, and surrounded by the figures of the Virtues, the Gods, Fames and others representing Britain and the Colonies. Neptune signifies the King’s dominion over the Seas.”
- 219 Babington and Pelter 2007, 133–134. This text will be discussed in greater detail below.
- 220 Babington and Pelter 2007, 135.
- 221 Brett 2009, 10.

- 222 Brett 2009, 9–10; Brett 2010, 91.
- 223 De Giorgi 2009a, 113: “I lavori al Christ’s Hospital procedettero in contemporanea con quelli per il Chelsea Hospital, dove il pittore si avvalse dell’aiuto di Henry Cooke (1642–1700), dipingendo un’ariosa veduta suburbana con al centro Giacomo II a cavallo con lo scettro in mano; il monarca è attorniato da donne, bambini e cornucopie traboccanti di fiori e frutta, mentre uno stuolo di figure mitologiche si erge in cielo e alcuni putti scoprono dei fastosi tendaggi ai lati del riquadro.”
- 224 Wynn 2019.
- 225 Brett 2009, 9.
- 226 Stevenson 2000, 56.
- 227 Sharpe 2013, 122.
- 228 On Fox’s biography see Braddick 2004, 680–682.
- 229 Evelyn (ed. 1955), 4:257.
- 230 Hutt 1872, 90–94.
- 231 Cf. Evelyn (ed. 1955), 4:269 (27 January 1682): “This Evening Sir St. Fox acquainted me againe with his Majesties resolutions of proceeding in his Erection of a Royal Hospital for Emerited Souldiers on that spot of ground The Ro[yal] Society had sold his Majestie for 1300 pounds & that he would settle 5000 pounds per Annum on it, & build to the value of 20000 pounds for the reliefe & reception of 4 Companies, viz. 400 men, to be as in a Coledge or Monastrie.” See also Willes 2017, 53–54.
- 232 Stevenson 2000, 56–57, 71. The planning process cannot be reconstructed, as Chelsea Hospital is “the only one of Wren’s major buildings for which no drawings have survived” (Whinney 1971, 147; see also Geraghty 2007, 11).
- 233 Cf. Bold 1989, 128, fig. 6.
- 234 Stevenson 2000, 71.
- 235 Hutt 1872, 13, 98, 128–129, doc. 6.
- 236 Evelyn (ed. 1955), 4:270.
- 237 On Charles II’s financial contribution see Hutt 1872, 14; Evelyn (ed. 1955), 4:270; Sharpe 2013, 122. On the benefactors’ share: Hutt 1872, 13; Lewin 2004, 376; Braddick 2004, 682. On the deductions from the pay and pensions of soldiers see Hutt 1872, 14–16, 28.
- 238 Excerpts from the building accounts were published by Bolton and Hendry 1942, 63–80.
- 239 Bolton and Hendry 1942, 75.
- 240 See above notes 96 and 97.
- 241 Rohlmann 1995, 224, 234–241.
- 242 Eberlein 1982.
- 243 Avery 1998, 134–135, 243, 246; Marder 1998, 125–126, 173, 315; Biermann 2016, 22. See also Strunck 2008, 130–133, figs. 30, 31.
- 244 Babington and Pelter 2007, 134.
- 245 Cf. Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:66; Babington and Pelter 2007, 134.
- 246 Parnell 1994, 60.
- 247 Parnell 1994, 61.
- 248 The measurements are given by Babington and Pelter 2007, 133.
- 249 See above note 223.
- 250 The inscription was transcribed – with many mistakes – by Babington and Pelter 2007, 133. The correct wording reads: “Carolo Secundo / Regi optimo Huius Hospitii / Fundatori / Dominoque suo Clementissimo / Ricardus Iones Comes de Ranelagh / Hanc Tabulam Posuit.”
- 251 Cf. Hutt 1872, 94: William III planned a “Royal Avenue” that would lead straight from the hospital to his favourite residence, Kensington Palace. A drawing made by Noel Gasselin in 1693 reflected this plan, as it shows Kensington Palace “veu du costé des invalides” (Prosser 2018, 43, fig. 45).
- 252 On Charles II as a new St George see chapter 2, notes 252–255.
- 253 Gibson 1997, 175; Sauerländer 2006, esp. 45–55.
- 254 Sharpe 2013, 132–133. The inscription reads “Perieunt fulminis” (They will be destroyed by his thunderbolts).
- 255 Babington and Pelter 2007, 133. In fact, James was Charles’s brother and already reigning as James II during the creation of Verrio’s painting.
- 256 Babington and Pelter 2007, 134, misinterpret the second attribute of Father Thames: “*Thames* holds a spade: a rather unexpected implement that may refer to the relationship between the irrigation of the hospital grounds and the river.” In fact the “spade” is a rudder typically held by classical fluvial deities. See, for instance, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Le_Tibre_by_Pierre_Bourdier (last accessed 19 March 2020).
- 257 Neuwirth 2010, 327–335.
- 258 This group is not discussed by Babington and Pelter 2007.
- 259 Cartari (ed. 1996), 400.
- 260 Babington and Pelter 2007, 134.
- 261 Babington and Pelter 2007, 134.
- 262 Stevenson 2013, 152–153.
- 263 Stevenson 2005, 50, 53, 56–58.
- 264 The cornucopia is a standard attribute of Europe; cf. Ripa (ed. 1992), 295.
- 265 Pevsner 1952, 90. See also Stevenson 2000, 59.
- 266 Bolton and Hendry 1942, 69.
- 267 Bolton and Hendry 1942, 72: “In subsidium et levamen emeritorum senio, belloque fractorum, Condidit Carolus Secundus, auxit Jacobus Secundus, Perfecere Gulielmus et Maria, Rex et Regina, Anno Domini MDCXCII.”
- 268 Hutt 1872, 98; Bolton and Hendry 1942, 70.
- 269 Stevenson 2000, 58.

- 270 Bolton and Hendry 1942, 61; Stevenson 2000, 58.
- 271 Fig. 56 was certainly created for fundraising purposes as it contains a “List of Subscribers” in the lower right corner. See also Bolton and Hendry 1942, plates XXXII, XXXIV.
- 272 On Rustat see Beard 1989, 61; Gibson 1997, 187, 221; Lewin 2004, 376: “His £ 1000 gift towards the building of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea made him [Rustat] the largest single private benefactor to the institution. The king, Sir Stephen Fox recalled, ‘said with discontent that he saw nobody in this age for building hospitals but Toby and himself.’”
- 273 Verrio certainly knew the statue, as it was at Chelsea Hospital by 1686; cf. Gibson 1997, 187. However, in 1688 it still had no proper pedestal (*ibid.*, 221). A plan of 1690 identified the site earmarked for the statue in the centre of the Figure Court, where it was in place by 1692 when the buildings were inaugurated (*ibid.*, 187). See also Bolton and Hendry 1942, 80; Beard 1989, 61–62, 196–197.
- 274 The statue copied a similar representation of Charles II *all’antica* that had been erected on behalf of the Merchant Adventurers of Hamburg in 1684 and was destroyed in a fire at the Royal Exchange in 1838 (Bird and Clayton 2017, 336–337). According to a contemporary engraving, the pedestal of this statue bore a lengthy inscription, while the Chelsea version with its very succinct label “King Charles II” seems to be placed on a modern base.
- 275 For comparable images see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Gaius_Iulius_Caesar (last accessed 19 March 2020).
- 276 See above notes 228 and 236.
- 277 Fréart de Chambray 1650; Fréart de Chambray 1664; Harris 1990, 196–200; Levine 1999, 15, 164.
- 278 Evelyn 1680.
- 279 Fréart de Chambray 1664, 1–6. See also Connors 2019, 139–140.
- 280 Fréart de Chambray 1664, John Evelyn’s dedication to Charles II (no pagination).
- 281 Fréart de Chambray 1664, fifth page of John Evelyn’s dedication to Charles II.
- 282 Myers 2013, 173.
- 283 Fréart de Chambray 1664, John Evelyn’s dedication to John Denham (no pagination).
- 284 Myers 2013, 160.
- 285 See chapter 2, especially the section titled “Britain and the Continent in the Coronation Entry.”
- 286 Stevenson 2005, 46–48.
- 287 Gibson 1997, 178–189; Stevenson 2013, 163–164, 176; Bird and Clayton 2017, 336–337.
- 288 Burton 1681, “To the Reader” (no pagination).
- 289 Ziegler 2010, 77–79.
- 290 For a very thorough discussion of the phenomenon see Mayer 2012. On John Evelyn’s role in English debates on the *Querelle* see Levine 1999, 3–32, 161–165, 169–172.
- 291 Hutt 1872, 97. On the friendship between Wren and Evelyn see Levine 1999, 174.
- 292 Levine 1999, 182.
- 293 Fréart de Chambray 1650, 59. Cf. Fréart de Chambray 1664, 61; Evelyn 1680, 61.
- 294 Harris 1990, 196–197.
- 295 Hart 2011, 180–183, 211–225; Riddell 2011, 205–206 (figs. 22, 23).
- 296 Bold 1989, 172; Riddell 2011, 40, 216 (fig. 33).
- 297 The façades of Pembroke and Emmanuel College Chapel in Cambridge and of the King Charles Building in Greenwich are remotely comparable, but in all of these cases only pilasters or half-columns were applied to the wall surface, without creating a real portico. Cf. Riddell 2011, 219–221, figs. 37, 38, 41.
- 298 The dependence on Scamozzi was highlighted by Riddell 2011, 40, and is evident if one compares the façades of St Paul’s in Covent Garden and The Vyne to Scamozzi’s Doric and “Roman” (Composite) porticoes: Scamozzi 1615, 2:73, 107; Riddell 2011, 206 (fig. 23), 216 (fig. 33). Jones’s portico of St Paul’s Cathedral had square pillars at its angles, too: Hart 2011, 221 (fig. 252).
- 299 Fréart de Chambray 1650, 58; Fréart de Chambray 1664, 60; Evelyn 1680, 60.
- 300 On the connotations connected with the classical orders (e. g. Doric = masculine) see Forssman 1961.
- 301 On the Louvre colonnade see Tadgell 1980; on its reception in Britain Levine 1999, 165–172.
- 302 Although Joseph M. Levine did not discuss Chelsea Hospital, he pointed out that in the 1690s John Evelyn came to defend “modern” architectonic licence, maybe inspired by his friendship with Wren. In a note on the controversial Louvre colonnade, Evelyn took Perrault’s side in advocating a certain freedom from classical constraint and allowing changes of proportions. See Levine 1999, 170.
- 303 Gibson 1997, 174–177; Stevenson 2013, 187–199.
- 304 Shawe-Taylor 2018, 143.
- 305 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:66, mentions Rubens (rather than Van Dyck) as Verrio’s model; see above, note 216. The work he refers to is a destroyed equestrian portrait documented in an oil sketch by Rubens and an old photograph; cf. Hille 2012, 175–187, esp. figs. 36, 37. The position of horse and rider is less reminiscent of Verrio than in Van Dyck’s portrait of Charles I, but Rubens displays a somewhat similar (though less conspicuous) array of allegorical figures.
- 306 The Italian word *paragone* means literally “comparison.” From the sixteenth century, polemical discussions about the

- superiority of painting or sculpture had become commonplace in Italian art theory. The term *paragone* gained wide currency and could also be used with reference to competitions between individual artists or schools. Numerous case studies can be found in Baader et al. 2007 and Preimesberger 2011; see also Pfisterer 2017.
- 307 The halls of the Hôtel des Invalides had been decorated with battle paintings between 1678 and 1680: Delaplanche 2015, 34–35.
- 308 Appendix III, fol. 178: “Dicono quello di Francia assai più grande, ma questo più vago.”
- 309 Martin 1986, 69. See chapter 6, fig. 93.
- 310 Martin 1986, 70.
- 311 Martin 1986, 64.
- 312 Martin 1986, 194–198, suggests that the print reflected Pierre Puget’s plans for the equestrian statue at Marseille projected from 1685, but this cannot be documented.
- 313 Fréart de Chambray 1664, 118 (from Evelyn’s own “Account of Architects & Architecture,” which is appended to his translation of Fréart’s *Parallèle*).
- 314 On this international language see Hoppe et al. 2020.
- 315 On Lanscroon and Cooke see Waterhouse 1988, 56–57, 165; Jeffree 1996; Rohrschneider 1999.
- 316 Although the canvas bears traces of several alterations of the paint surface (see Babington and Pelter 2007, 134, fig. 1), these do not correspond to specific pictorial elements. The rider’s face does not seem to have undergone changes.
- 317 See above note 267.
- 318 See above note 251.
- 319 Brett 2009, 10.
- 320 Salomon 2012, 295, 299. The chapel was consecrated on 30 August 1691; see Hutt 1872, 99.
- 321 Strunck 2019d, 11, 16.
- 322 Bolton and Hendry 1942, 72–74.
- 323 Bolton and Hendry 1942, 73–74.
- 324 Bagni, 1986, 104, 106, 159–160; Thurley 2008, 98–100; Solkin 2015, 36–37; Barber 2020, 52–55.
- 325 Bagni 1986, 109, cat. 70.
- 326 Although the monogram IHS held Jesuit associations for some viewers, it was a perfectly acceptable symbol in an Anglican church. For instance, Inigo Jones’s design for the new west façade of St Paul’s Cathedral was topped with the monogram, surrounded with rays of light (Hart 2017, 478, 480).
- 327 This is evident from the beginning of the planning process at Greenwich, especially in Wren’s so-called “Central domed scheme” (<http://collections.soane.org/OBJECT404>, last accessed 25 June 2020). For the later evolution of the design (where the chapel and hall still mirror each other) see figs. 113, 115.
- 328 John Evelyn, who had helped to draw up the plan for the administration of Chelsea Hospital, was from 1695/96 to 1703 treasurer of the new foundation at Greenwich, figured among its “first directors,” and laid its first stone together with Christopher Wren: Cooke and Maule 1789, 61, 134; Hawksmoor 1728, 11; Bold 2000, 108; Willes 2017, 68. Wren in turn consulted Samuel Pepys on his design for Greenwich, as Pepys was not only an expert on naval affairs but also a governor of Christ’s Hospital: Tomalin 2015, 13; Van der Merwe 2015, 160. While still in the service of the Royal Navy, Pepys had already pondered a plan for taking care of sick and injured sailors: Davey 2015, 145.



CHAPTER 5

LOUIS LAGUERRE PAINTS THE “GLORIOUS REVOLUTION” AT CHATSWORTH

Charles II’s absolutist style of government, so eloquently proclaimed in the murals at Windsor Castle, led to the widespread protest that finally brought about the so-called Glorious Revolution. How was this momentous event recorded in paint? Rather surprisingly, the first patron to address the topic via a large-scale cycle of political paintings was not William III himself but rather William Cavendish, one of the “Immortal Seven” who had invited William (then still prince of Orange) to Britain in 1688.

In 1692, William Cavendish, 4th Earl and (from 1694) 1st Duke of Devonshire, commissioned Louis Laguerre and his assistant Ricard to paint scenes from ancient history in the hall of his country seat Chatsworth House. When one of his successors completed the renovation of the Painted Hall in 1840, he added an inscription that suggested a connection between the 4th earl’s building project and the Glorious Revolution.¹ Indeed, “the Cavendish family had done very well out of the Revolution, and were very conscious of their ancestor’s part in it, as the pompous Latin inscription in the new hall of Chatsworth showed.”²

In the seventeenth century, it was common to allude to contemporary history through episodes from the more or less remote past,³ and thus it has become generally accepted that Laguerre’s scenes from the life of Julius Caesar refer to William of Orange and the Glorious Revolution. The most recent Chatsworth guidebook states: “The 1st Duke deliberately chose the subject of Caesar for the decoration in an attempt to flatter the new protestant monarch, William III (1650–1702).”⁴

However, this hypothesis has never been examined in greater detail.⁵ How precisely do the various scenes depicted by Laguerre and Ricard relate to William III? What is the message they seek to convey? Which aspects of the Glorious Revolution are commemorated for posterity, and which are omitted or even suppressed? And how do these paintings reference the Windsor murals that may be seen as expressive of an old system of government now gloriously overcome?

William Cavendish’s Background and Political Agenda

William Cavendish descended from an immensely rich, though only recently ennobled, family. Their wealth rested on their large land holdings, coal mines, iron and glass works, and some clever marriages.⁶ In 1618, his great-grandfather (also named William) had become the 1st earl of Devonshire, “thanks to a payment of around ten thousand pounds.”⁷ When he died in 1626, he left his heir (the 2nd earl, again called William) around 100,000 acres of land, having “laid the foundation for one of the greatest estates of the seventeenth century.”⁸

The spendthrift 2nd earl, who maintained a grandiose lifestyle at the court of Charles I and died at age 38 “from excessive indulgence in good living,”⁹ was succeeded in 1628 by the 3rd earl, yet another William Cavendish, then still in his infancy.¹⁰ His mother, Countess Christian, assumed the management of the Cavendish estates. “Economy and strict retrenchment were the order of the

day,” such that “under her eagle eye the Cavendish estates and enterprises started to thrive again.”¹¹

During the civil war, the Cavendishes backed the royalists. The 3rd earl’s younger brother Charles, whose godfather was Charles I, sacrificed his life for the king in battle,¹² but the earl himself “had a duty to survive; and doubtless with heavy heart, he slipped away to France leaving his tough old mother to protect his interests in his absence.”¹³ In 1645, he returned to England and managed to reach an agreement with Parliament in order to regain control of his sequestered estates by paying a £5,000 fine.¹⁴ In the following years, he supported the exiled court financially, though unlike his mother, who was “an active royalist plotter,” the 3rd earl refrained from open conspiracy and “lived in powerless but comfortable obscurity.”¹⁵

In 1639, the 3rd earl had married Elizabeth Cecil, the second daughter of William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Salisbury.¹⁶ Their eldest son William Cavendish, who later became Louis Laguerre’s patron, was born on 25 January 1641.¹⁷ Between 1657 and 1661, he undertook a grand tour of the continent in the company of his tutor(s).¹⁸ In 1661, William returned to England, got engaged to Mary Butler, the second daughter of the 1st duke of Ormond, served Charles II as one of the four train-bearers at his coronation, and was elected to a seat in the Commons as a member from Derbyshire, although not yet of age.¹⁹

During the 1660s, Cavendish had a slightly dubious reputation.²⁰ He gathered some military experience in the Second Anglo-Dutch War, took another trip to Paris (in 1669), and was “generally counted a court supporter.”²¹ However, in the following decade he began to associate actively with the opposition.²² He served on the committee that drew up the Test Bill – a piece of legislation passed in 1673 that required all holders of government offices to denounce Catholicism and to take Anglican communion at least once a year.²³ As a consequence of the Test Act, the king’s Catholic brother James had to resign from his office as Lord High Admiral, but he still remained heir apparent because Charles II did not have legitimate sons.²⁴ Since it was feared that the English throne would fall to a Roman Catholic, some highly influential politicians (William

Cavendish among them) aimed to exclude James from the succession.²⁵

Fears of Catholicism were stirred up by the so-called Popish Plot “discovered” in the summer of 1678.²⁶ When Parliament met in October 1678, “Lord Cavendish said that the Popish plotters had been encouraged by the existence of a Popish successor and of a standing army.”²⁷ He repeated this claim in the Commons on 4 November 1678, and his friend Lord Russell suggested that James be removed from the king’s counsels.²⁸

In order to prepare himself for the parliamentary debates of 1679, William sought the advice of Thomas Hobbes. The celebrated philosopher had spent almost all his life in the service of the Cavendish family.²⁹ He had accompanied the future 2nd earl on his grand tour between 1610 and 1614, catalogued the very respectable Cavendish library (which amounted to almost two thousand books by 1628), and served as the 3rd earl’s tutor from 1631.³⁰ During the civil war and the first years of the Commonwealth, Hobbes had stayed in Paris, acting as the exiled king Charles’s tutor in mathematics,³¹ but after his return to Britain he rejoined his former pupil, the 3rd earl of Devonshire, and went to live with him until his own death in December 1679.³² In the early summer of 1679, William Cavendish appears to have supplied Hobbes with a copy of the Exclusion Bill and requested a written answer to the question of whether it was legitimate to exclude a notoriously incapable candidate from the succession.³³ The philosopher’s reply seems to be but a fragment of a lost longer disputation between Hobbes and Cavendish.³⁴ Hobbes argues that “although kings hold their titles by divine right, and are sometimes capable of acting by warrant or commission from god, ‘tis not so of Heirs apparent,” but he does not address the crucial problem of whether James’s Catholicism could be considered an “incapacity” sufficient to justify his exclusion from the throne.³⁵ Quentin Skinner infers that Hobbes was opposed to James’s exclusion.³⁶

What did William Cavendish make of Hobbes’s statement? As Parliament had been prorogued, Cavendish’s chance to speak out in public only came at the end of 1680. In two debates of 15 December 1680 and 7 January 1681, he fervently supported the Exclusion Bill.³⁷ He

argued that James's conversion had poisoned the "Body politick," "in order to reduce us to Popery and Slavery."³⁸ Shortly before the opening of the Oxford Parliament in March 1681, his views on the matter also appeared in print.³⁹ Cavendish quoted Hobbes but distorted his opinion. While Hobbes maintained that public security could only be guaranteed by the unconditional conferment of power upon one man or one assembly of men, Cavendish thought it sensible and justified that the people should impose conditions upon the king.⁴⁰

However, during the Oxford Parliament he remained silent and desisted from advocating the Exclusion Bill.⁴¹ When it became clear that the king continued to support his brother and when he finally dissolved Parliament in 1681,⁴² Lord Cavendish accepted the situation. "Unlike Shaftesbury and Russell he had inherited a hidden share of the old Cavendish caution – at least where politics were concerned – and was loyal enough, or shrewd enough, to steer clear of the treasonable plotting, to assassinate the Duke of York and even Charles II, in which some of his fellow Whigs were certainly involved in the early 1680s."⁴³ Cavendish spoke in defence of his close friend Lord Russell, who was sentenced to death after the Rye House Plot of 1683, but he himself had avoided any personal involvement in the plot.⁴⁴

In November 1684, William succeeded his father as 4th earl of Devonshire.⁴⁵ He honoured the deceased earl with a particularly grand funeral, "appropriate for a duke, apparently to serve as a reflection on the fact that Charles II had failed properly to reward a loyal and faithful supporter [...]. The royal response, hardly unexpected given the general remodelling of local government in progress, was to remove the lord lieutenancy of Derbyshire from the almost hereditary grasp of the family."⁴⁶

A few months later, Charles II died of a stroke and the duke of York became King James II. A Protestant rebellion against the Catholic king, headed by Charles's illegitimate son, the duke of Monmouth, was crushed at the Battle of Sedgemoor in July 1685.⁴⁷ At the royal palace of Whitehall some days later, William Cavendish encountered a certain Colonel Culpeper, who insulted him and questioned his loyalty to the Crown. This was a particularly dangerous allegation at that time and led to a vio-

lent row, followed by Cavendish's retreat to Derbyshire.⁴⁸

In 1687, Cavendish confronted Culpeper once again, more violent still. "This time the Earl was clearly in the wrong, and as the whole incident took place in the royal drawing-room it was also something of an insult to the King. Uproar ensued, and the Earl was hustled off to the ignominy and considerable discomfort of the King's Bench Prison. His plea of parliamentary privilege was overruled and, almost certainly on instructions from the King himself, the King's Bench Judge summarily fined him the enormous sum of £30,000, and ordered him into custody until the fine was paid."⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Cavendish managed to escape from prison, sent the king an informal document acknowledging his debt of £30,000 (without paying it), and kept his distance from the court, remaining at his country seat at Chatsworth.⁵⁰

Cavendish's juridical and financial difficulties with James II may well have played a role in his decision to join the rebels. Moreover, after the birth of James's heir in June 1688, "it was no longer possible to hope that Protestant William and Mary would now legitimately ascend the throne when James expired."⁵¹

William of Orange had a double claim to the English throne. His mother Mary (1631–1660) was the eldest daughter of Charles I and, as such, princess royal of England.⁵² This bond with the English crown grew stronger with William's marriage to Mary (1662–1694), the second daughter of James II (still duke of York at the time of her marriage in 1677).⁵³ As neither Charles II nor his brother James had legitimate sons, William came to be regarded as a possible successor to the crown from the early 1670s.⁵⁴ The unexpected birth of a son to James II and Mary of Modena in 1688 thwarted his hopes but was consequently rejected as a fabrication (the baby boy had allegedly been smuggled into the queen's bed in a warming pan).⁵⁵

William and his supporters now had to act quickly. William Cavendish counted among a group of seven – later named the "Immortal Seven" – who invited William of Orange to free England from the "arbitrary" government of James II.⁵⁶ A lengthy pamphlet gave numerous reasons for their discontent with the present situation.⁵⁷ Their arguments boiled down to two key issues to be dis-

posed of at all cost: “popery” (Catholicism) and “slavery” or “tyranny” (absolutism).⁵⁸ These catchwords reappeared in the published declaration in which William of Orange explained that he came to England “for Preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland.”⁵⁹

The importance of William Cavendish’s contribution to the so-called Glorious Revolution is a matter of dispute. While his first biographer White Kennett described his feats in epic detail and supplied an appendix of documents,⁶⁰ some recent histories of the events do not even mention the earl of Devonshire.⁶¹ He “never did enjoy the great military role in the Revolution he must have hoped for.”⁶² Although it had been agreed that Cavendish and his men would await William of Orange’s arrival at the Yorkshire coast, due to the November North Sea gales William ultimately landed in the south of England, at Torbay, on 5 November 1688.⁶³ Cavendish then moved south and secured Derby and Nottingham for the prince of Orange. He also took care of the prince’s sister-in-law Anne, the Protestant eldest daughter of James II, who had escaped from London to Nottingham.⁶⁴

Despite his rather minor military role, the earl of Devonshire acted as a staunch supporter of William’s political interests. He “tipped his hand in favour of William by opposing strongly the suggestion that the princess of Orange be immediately declared queen.”⁶⁵ In fact, Mary’s claim to her father’s throne was stronger than her husband’s. After a struggle between the two factions respectively favouring Mary and the prince of Orange, it was finally decided to offer the crown jointly to William and Mary.⁶⁶ The new ritual devised for their coronation on 11 April 1689 reflected the exceptional status of the royal couple and included an oath that they would govern “according to the statutes in parliament agreed on” – a promise no previous English monarch had ever made.⁶⁷ The Declaration of Rights and the Bill of Rights, both issued in 1689, were meant to restrict the exercise of royal power.⁶⁸

James II had fled to France in December 1688.⁶⁹ As his troops offered no resistance to the prince of Orange, the revolution was accomplished swiftly and allegedly without bloodshed. However, if the Glorious Revolution

had failed, the earl of Devonshire would have faced a death sentence for high treason. William of Orange rewarded Cavendish’s courage by selecting him as a member of the King’s Privy Council in February 1689 as well as by naming him Lord Steward of the Household and admitting him into the Order of the Garter in the spring of the same year.⁷⁰ At the coronation ceremony, Cavendish had the honour of carrying the regal crown.⁷¹ In addition, the £30,000 fine imposed in 1687 was revoked, and the judges were obliged to apologize.⁷² But the earl had to wait much longer for the ultimate reward. Only on 12 May 1694 was he finally made a duke – on the same day on which the honour was conferred on the earl of Bedford, the father of his “martyred” friend Lord Russell.⁷³ Thus “the two great houses of Russell and Cavendish, which had long been closely connected by friendship and by marriage, by common opinions, common sufferings, and common triumphs, received on the same day the highest honour which it is in the power of the Crown to confer.”⁷⁴

Rivalry with the Courts of England and France

Although he only became duke of Devonshire in 1694, a decade earlier William Cavendish had already staged a “ducal” funeral for his father.⁷⁵ Social ambition was certainly a driving factor for him. His remodelling of Chatsworth demonstrated that the 4th earl had almost kingly pretensions.

One of his ancestors, yet another William Cavendish, and his wife Elizabeth (better known as Bess of Hardwick) had acquired the building site on 31 December 1549 and erected a splendid Elizabethan palace in the course of the following years.⁷⁶ The only contemporary visual record of this palace is a needlework representation ascribed to Bess.⁷⁷ It corresponds with a mid-eighteenth-century view by Richard Wilson, which may have been based on an earlier drawing by Jan Siberechts (pl. 60).⁷⁸

More than a century after the creation of this first palace, the 3rd earl set out to modernize it. “Between 1676 and 1680 all the principal rooms were remodelled, a new

and larger staircase was built and larger windows of the sash type were inserted on all fronts. The modernization of the gardens was even more extensive. Begun in the same year as the alterations to the house, it was still in progress at the time of the Earl's death eight years later."⁷⁹

In 1681, Charles Cotton published a poem in which he described the new Chatsworth of the 3rd earl in great detail.⁸⁰ He claimed that the garden "rivals proud Italy" and alluded to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by comparing "this princely house" to "the proud palace of the sun."⁸¹ However, the most revealing part of his poem concerns the setting of the house:

There stands a stately and stupendious pile
Like the proud regent of the British Isle [...]
This palace, with wild prospects girded round,
Stands in the middle of a falling ground,
At the black mountain's foot, whose craggy brow
Secures from eastern tempests all below,
Under whose shelter trees and flowers grow,
With early blossom, maugre native snow,
Which elsewhere round a tyranny maintains,
And binds cramped nature long in crystal chains.⁸²

Although this paragraph offers a fitting description of Chatsworth's charms within its rather barren setting,⁸³ it evokes more than just the landscape. As Cotton likens the palace to "the proud regent of the British Isle," he attributes royal splendour to it. In the minds of his contemporary readers, this line would have conjured up an image of the current "regent of the British Isle," Charles II. Thus the lines thereafter resound with political overtones: Chatsworth appears as an earthly paradise where the icy "tyranny" that governs "elsewhere round" cannot take hold. As Cotton's poem was published during the Exclusion Crisis, it is tempting to connect this passage to the strong political opposition that William Cavendish (the son of the 3rd earl) was mounting against Charles II at that precise time.

In 1684, William became the 4th earl and inherited Chatsworth. At the beginning of 1687, he started an extensive building campaign,⁸⁴ i. e. in the same year in which he had to leave the court because of the Culpeper

affair. In John Pearson's view, his activities as a builder and as a politician were closely connected:

The whole transformation of Elizabethan Chatsworth into the great Whig palace that he left to his descendants was a very odd, tentative and piecemeal process coinciding quite uncannily with the transformation he was also pondering for the government of his country. Even the source of his ideals was the same for his house as for his country – ancient Rome; in one case through Tacitus, and in the other from the classical Roman models he was studying in the architectural books of Vitruvius and Palladio. Rebellion and rebuilding were proceeding hand in hand, and he conducted both cautiously, pragmatically, and in accordance with what he believed were ancient principles.⁸⁵

Over a period of twenty years, Cavendish rebuilt the whole house, such that no exterior traces of the Elizabethan structure were left (figs. 64–67). However, originally he had only intended to erect a new south wing to house (among other spaces) an impressive chapel at ground level and a second-floor state apartment. Such state apartments, reserved for royal visits, were common in British country seats since the 1630s.⁸⁶ Although the Chatsworth state apartment was only decorated after the accession of William and Mary, it is worth noting that building work on the new wing began early in 1687,⁸⁷ almost two years before the Glorious Revolution. If we assume that the plan and function of the three floors had been established before that date, we must infer that William Cavendish envisaged as his ideal, most prestigious guest King James II. Thus the grandeur of the new building was intended as a message to his chief enemy: The immensely rich earl wished to impress the king with a demonstration of kingly magnificence.

The new wing was designed by William Talman, a gentleman architect with little previous experience. In fact, Chatsworth is his first documented commission.⁸⁸ For stylistic reasons, it seems probable that Talman had trained with Hugh May, Comptroller of the Works at Windsor Castle, whose "success and authority was partly due

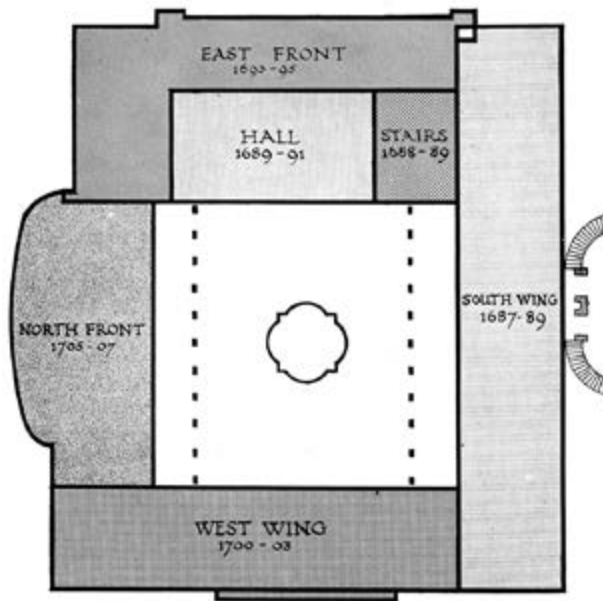


Fig. 64 W.F. Northend, based on Francis Thompson's research. Drawing of the ground plan of the 1st duke's building at Chatsworth House, with dates for the different sections

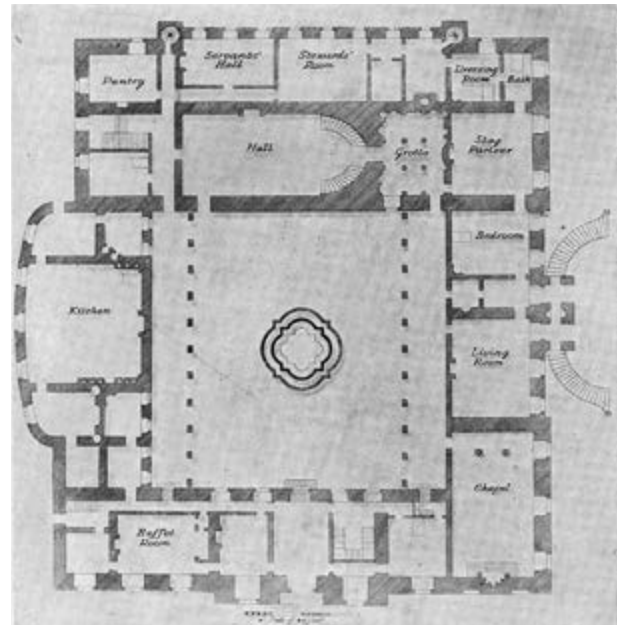


Fig. 65 Plan of the ground floor of Chatsworth House, published in Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. 1, 1715, pl. 72

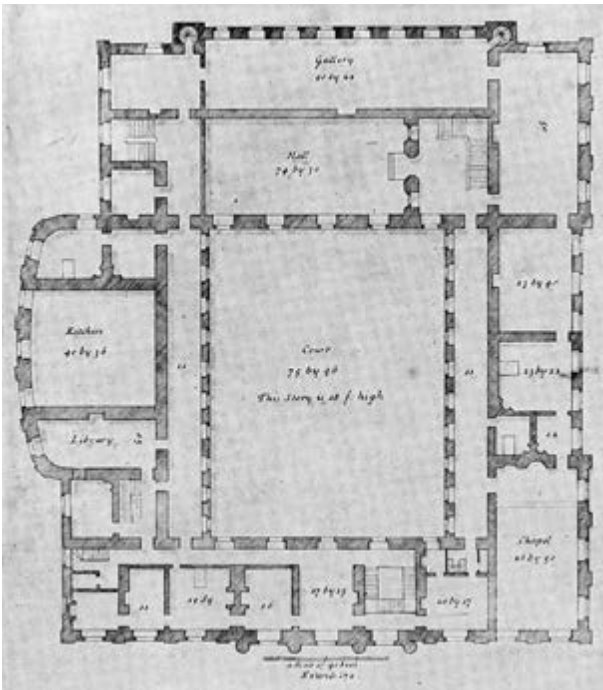


Fig. 66 Plan of the first floor of Chatsworth House, published in Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. 1, 1715, pl. 73

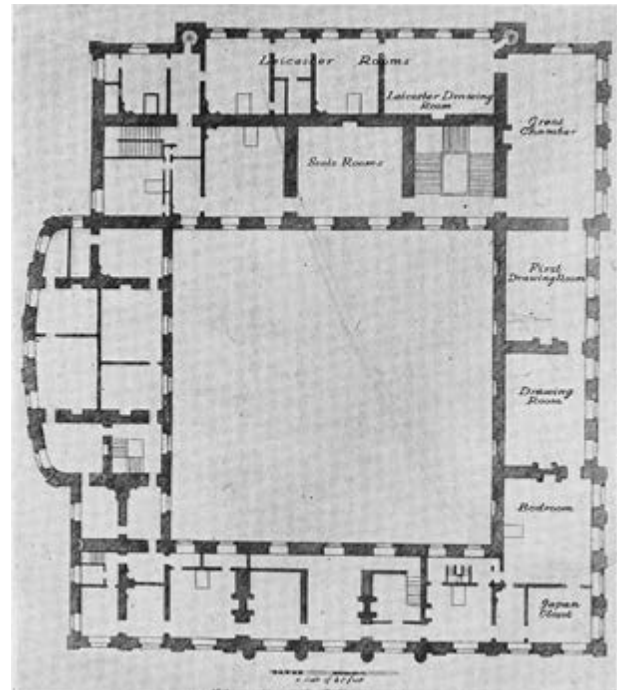


Fig. 67 Plan of the second floor of Chatsworth House, published in Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. 1, 1715, pl. 74

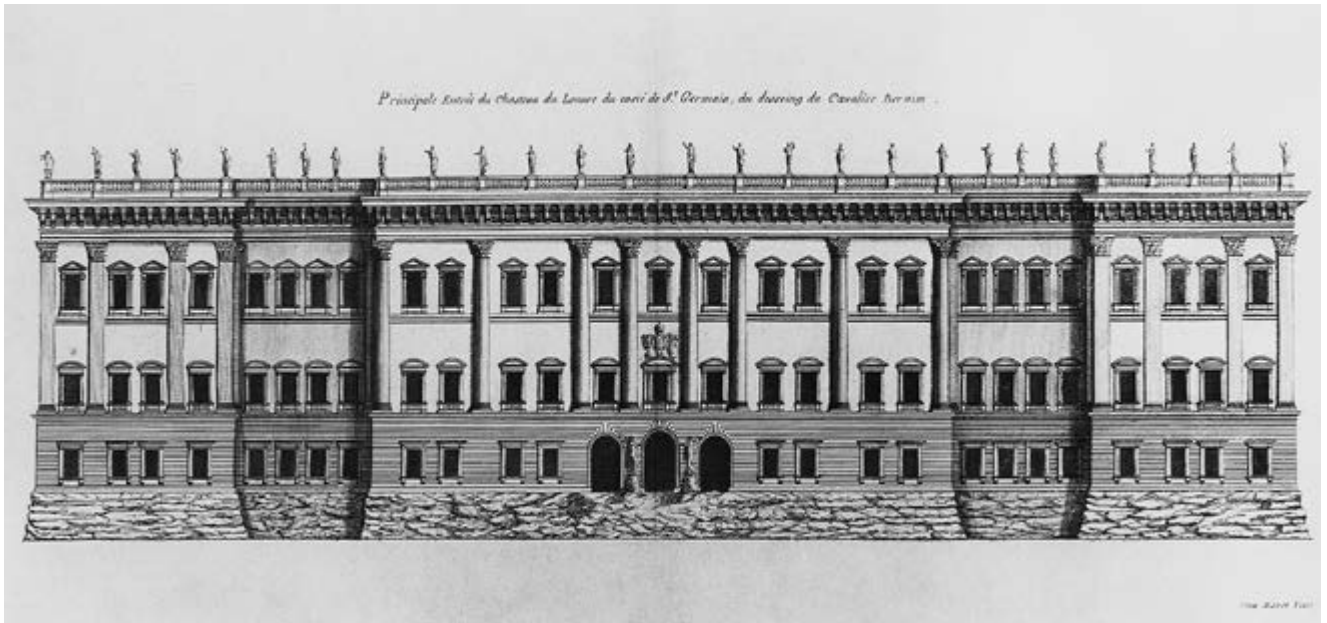


Fig. 68 Jean Marot after Gianlorenzo Bernini. Third design for the east façade of the Louvre. Engraving

to his intelligent study of continental buildings, particularly in Holland and France where he is known to have travelled from 1656 to 1660.”⁸⁹ According to Harris, “there is no evidence of continental travel” for Talman,⁹⁰ but as virtually nothing is known of his life from his birth in 1650 to his first visit to Chatsworth in December 1686,⁹¹ this can hardly be regarded as a conclusive proof.

Talman himself stated in 1713 “that he had made, ‘and is still collecting by his son abroad, the most valuable Collection of Books, Prints, Drawings & c, as is in any one person’s hands in Europe, as all the artists in Towne well know.”⁹² It cannot be ruled out that William Talman had formed the nucleus of this precious collection during a grand tour on the continent. In any case, he possessed reference material that enabled him to create a striking new building in the latest continental style. Chatsworth was “a revolutionary design” and became “the first real baroque country house in England” (plates 61, 62).⁹³

Which continental models did Talman quote? In 1955, Margaret Whinney suggested that he might have been inspired by an engraving of Bernini’s projected east façade for the Louvre, the centre of the French mon-

archy (fig. 68).⁹⁴ John Harris retorted: “Much has been made of the omnipresence of Bernini’s engraved designs for the Louvre, too much in fact, for although the engravings were possessed by Talman, apart from sharing similarities of a massive block-like balustraded elevation, there is little else in common.”⁹⁵ Harris did not, however, indicate a more pertinent point of departure. Giles Worsley asserted that “the south front at Chatsworth can be read as a reduced version of Webb’s range at Greenwich” (fig. 69).⁹⁶ Harris later combined both proposals: “Talman was creating a new and monumental type of country house elevation, its giant pilastered end pavilions revealing his reassessment of John Webb’s Jonesian Charles II block at Greenwich, and also his awareness of the pavilions on Bernini’s proposed east front of the Louvre.”⁹⁷ Matthew Hirst repeated this opinion.⁹⁸

Charles II’s royal palace at Greenwich had clearly been inspired by French models. In 1664 when the building of the new King Charles Wing commenced, the king asked Le Nôtre for a design for the Greenwich gardens.⁹⁹ Similarly, William Cavendish was very interested in French gardening and, from 1687, employed Monsieur Nicholas Huet as chief supervisor of the works on the house and garden. The Chatsworth waterworks were de-



Fig. 69 John Webb. East front of the King Charles Building of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich

signed by Monsieur Grillet, reputedly a pupil of the celebrated Le Nôtre, and a certain Pierre Audais appears in the accounts as “the French Gardener.”¹⁰⁰ As the façade of the Chatsworth west wing was modelled quite faithfully on Louis XIV’s palace at Marly (fig. 70; pl. 63),¹⁰¹ it is worth considering whether Marly may have already been on Talman’s mind when he designed the south front. The relationship between this façade and the large rectangular pool stretching in front of it is fairly similar to that at Marly (fig. 70; pl. 61).¹⁰²

The façade itself combines motifs from the two royal models mentioned above. The quoins over the windows, along with the pavilions at either end consisting each of three bays articulated by giant pilasters, seem to derive from the King Charles Building at Greenwich (figs. 66, 69; pl. 62). However, the proportions of this wing at Greenwich – particularly its pronounced horizontality – as well as its banded rustication, corner towers, and pedimented façade, do not correspond to Chatsworth. The overall size and proportions of the twelve-bay Chats-

worth south front bear a stronger resemblance to Marly or to the central section of Bernini’s Louvre project (comprising eleven bays). While the King Charles Building has only two floors, Chatsworth has three, the lowest being rusticated as in the Louvre project (fig. 68; pl. 62). In addition, comparable between Talman’s and Bernini’s elevations are their rather de-emphasized centres, lacking a central pediment, and their broad parapets crowned with sculptural elements.

As Giles Worsley has pointed out, at Chatsworth the lateral pavilions (a conspicuous feature both of the Louvre and Greenwich designs) serve to highlight the most important rooms of the new state apartment: the great dining chamber and the royal bedchamber.¹⁰³ It has not yet been noticed that the plan of this apartment published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1715 (fig. 67) differs from the south front as built: It represents fourteen windows on the south front, with four windows per pavilion. The middle section of six bays corresponds with the building, but the number of windows in the pavilions

Fig. 70 Adam Perelle. Garden view of the Château de Marly, 1683/84



was reduced to three on each floor (pl. 62). The plans for the ground floor and first floor published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* reproduce the correct number of windows (figs. 65, 66), whereas the second-floor plan was obviously based on an earlier, discarded design. This may be taken as an indication that Bernini was indeed Talman's point of departure because in the Louvre design the end pavilions comprise four bays, too (fig. 68).

While Talman's architecture rivalled both French and English royal palaces, the interior decoration imitated the state rooms at Windsor Castle, "containing the same decorative ingredients: painted ceilings, the most masterful and highest quality carved woodwork, intarsia work, gilt and bronze ironwork, and superbly cut and sculptured marble and stone."¹⁰⁴ The wood panelling with naturalistic ornament in the manner of Grinling Gibbons departed in particular from French precedent.¹⁰⁵ However, Jean Tijou ("Mons Tijeu the french Smith") supplied decorative ironwork for the new staircase.¹⁰⁶

The new south wing was structurally complete by the end of 1688.¹⁰⁷ Between January 1688 and 1692, the old staircase in the south-east corner was replaced with a new one so that the state rooms on the second floor could be reached via a stately new approach (fig. 64).¹⁰⁸ Originally, William Cavendish seems to have wished to

retain the adjacent hall of the Elizabethan building, but by the end of 1687 he decided to demolish it and to rebuild the whole east wing.¹⁰⁹ Work started in the winter of 1688/89 and continued until the spring of 1693.¹¹⁰

The interior decoration of the new rooms began shortly after the Glorious Revolution. In January 1689, Louis Laguerre and his assistant Ricard arrived at Chatsworth; Antonio Verrio joined them early in 1691.¹¹¹ Between January 1689 and December 1690, Laguerre and Ricard were granted ten payments, which seem to refer to work in the chapel and the state rooms.¹¹² Verrio received his last payment in October 1692 "for painting ye great Chamber, Staircase and Alterpeece."¹¹³ In addition to these three painters, there must have been further assistants, as the quality of the decorations in the state rooms varies considerably.¹¹⁴

Because of the strict reimposition of the Test Act under William III, Catholics like Verrio and Laguerre were banned from public service.¹¹⁵ For William Cavendish, this was a stroke of luck: The Glorious Revolution enabled him to employ the most prominent court painters, who had lost their public commissions due to the change of government.¹¹⁶ The ambitious royal style of Talman's architecture could thus be complemented with an equally magnificent interior decoration.

In the chapel, the rivalry with royal patronage became especially evident in that its murals imitated the paintings that Antonio Verrio had created in the Royal Chapel at Windsor Castle a decade before.¹¹⁷ His former assistants Laguerre and Ricard depicted the same scenes that graced the walls of the Windsor chapel: Christ healing the sick (pl. 64; cf. pl. 21) and the resurrected Christ in glory (pl. 65; cf. pl. 19).¹¹⁸ Verrio himself only supplied the painting *The Incredulity of St Thomas*, set in an elaborate alabaster and marble frame high above the altar (pl. 66).¹¹⁹

Although the two chapels are strikingly similar, the differences are no less notable (cf. pl. 19). Above all, at Chatsworth there exists a clear separation between figurative and non-figurative spheres. The lower parts of the walls are covered with wood panelling and, on the west wall, with a marble niche that enshrines the altar. In this zone, no painting distracts from the sacred proceedings. Murals are located only on the upper parts of the walls, at a safe distance from common viewers (i. e. the members of the household who assembled for services in the body of the chapel while William Cavendish and his family sat in the gallery above).¹²⁰ Verrio's painting reminded the congregation of Jesus's words to Thomas: "Thomas, because you have seen Me, you have believed. Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have believed."¹²¹ Thus it was possible to read the painting as a warning against belief in images – a clever way to avoid the accusation of "idolatry" that could have been levelled against Verrio's murals in the Royal Chapel at Windsor.¹²²

Since the architecture and decoration of the new Chatsworth competed with royal models, it comes as no surprise that its Painted Hall was decorated with scenes from the life of Caesar. Henry VIII and Charles I had outfitted their residences with numerous representations of the Roman Caesars.¹²³ These magnificent works of art – tapestries, paintings, and sculptures – still formed part of the royal collections during William Cavendish's lifetime, and so he may have known them. In any case, episodes from Caesar's life had a decidedly imperial flavour, and thus William's choice of subject matter for the Painted Hall was entirely in line with the message con-

veyed by the architecture and interior decoration of Chatsworth as a whole: "As this palace is worthy of a king, it reflects the superb rank of its owner."

The Painted Hall: State of Research and Open Questions

Francis Thompson's monograph of 1949 remains to this day the most thorough and comprehensive study of the Chatsworth building complex. On the basis of extensive archival research, he was able to establish that Laguerre and Ricard's work in the hall proceeded in two distinct stages. They started in the first quarter of 1692, but after the end of August "there is no further allusion to his [Ricard's] work until the last quarter of 1693."¹²⁴ The painting work was interrupted by the construction of the staircase in the hall (fig. 65) and could only be resumed in the second half of 1693.¹²⁵ Laguerre and Ricard finished the murals in the summer of 1694 and received a joint final payment of £50 before they went on to Sudbury.¹²⁶

According to Thompson, "the two men were evidently partners, since the majority of receipts were signed by them jointly. How they divided the work we do not know; but perhaps it is a reasonable guess that Laguerre, using *the great scaffold*, confined himself to the subject-frescoes on the walls and ceiling, while the purely formal and decorative painting in the framework and windows and possibly the monochrome panels were left to Ricard, whose inferior status is indicated by the fact that he was paid partly in weekly wages and received subsistence money."¹²⁷ Laguerre took the larger share of the payments. As he added his signature and the date 1694 to the most prominent mural on the east side, he seems to have been the leading partner.¹²⁸ However, I doubt whether the portions of the two painters can be distinguished as neatly as Thompson suggests.

As the documents presented by Thompson demonstrate, in the third quarter of 1693 "*the great scaffold* was dismantled and *a moving scaffold* set up in its place for Ricard's use."¹²⁹ This indicates that the ceiling was painted first – a rather convenient and logical procedure. It must have been finished before the great scaffold was

Fig. 71 East front of Chatsworth House before the refacing commissioned by the 6th duke, c. 1800



dismantled. On 16 August 1692, Laguerre and Ricard had received a large amount of money “to buy Colours for the Hall.”¹³⁰ Therefore, it seems likely that they completed the ceiling painting in the following months, by mid-1693 at the latest. As Laguerre was paid £30 in April 1693 specifically for work in the hall,¹³¹ this may well constitute the *terminus ante quem* for the ceiling.

Work on the walls seems to have begun only after the ceiling was finished. In the fourth quarter of 1693, carpenters were paid “for putting up a Scaffold in ye Hall for Mr Ricard, and removeing it severall times.”¹³² The documents quoted by Thompson do not mention a scaffold for Laguerre, but as he signed the mural on the east wall, he must have been around contemporaneously.

This workflow suggests that both painters were first employed on the ceiling and then on the walls. Indeed, a stylistic analysis of the ceiling has led Edward Croft-Murray to presume the participation of at least two painters.¹³³ Thus it is unlikely – as maintained by Thompson – that Ricard was only responsible for the decorative and monochrome portions of the wall paintings.

In addition to a survey of the documents concerning Laguerre and Ricard’s paintings, Thompson’s monograph contains much useful information on the intended approach to the Painted Hall. Today visitors enter the palace via the north wing, which was constructed between 1705 and 1707 (fig. 64). But where was the main entrance when the Painted Hall was built? In other words, how was a guest originally meant to approach

this space? And to what extent did the distribution of the paintings respond to the spatial setting?

As “it was the established English usage for a great house to face away from its village,” Thompson asserts that the main entrance to the Elizabethan house had been on the east.¹³⁴ The eighteenth-century view of Elizabethan Chatsworth shows a rather considerable west portal (pl. 60),¹³⁵ but according to Thompson, this served merely as a secondary entrance. The only road by which carriages at that time could approach the house was located to the west, so stables could also be found on that side – which “proves that this was in effect the back.”¹³⁶ As the hall of the Elizabethan building was (like the present one) situated in the east wing and as in British country houses the hall was usually close to the main entrance,¹³⁷ this corroborates Thompson’s hypothesis.¹³⁸

However, it seems that the old east entrance was no longer in use during the second half of the seventeenth century. Charles Cotton’s poetic description of Chatsworth, published in 1681, clearly states: “The fabric’s noble front faces the west, / Turning her fair broad shoulders to the east.”¹³⁹ Cotton also informs us that the hall (in the east wing) was reached “cross the Court, through a fine Portico.”¹⁴⁰ Neither Siberechts’s view of Chatsworth from the east, nor the ground plan of 1715 (fig. 65), nor a somewhat later engraving of the east front (fig. 71) shows an entrance to the house from the east.¹⁴¹ This means that once the new east wing was completed in

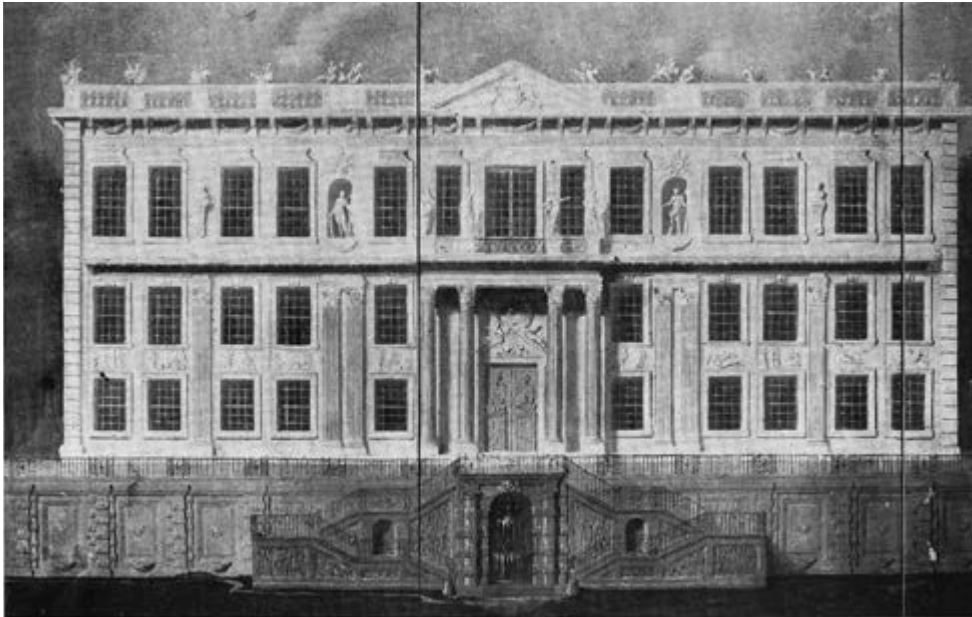


Fig. 72 Louis Chéron. Alternative design for the elevation of the west front of Chatsworth House. Oil painting. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire

1693, the main approach to the hall must have been via the courtyard.

In fact, the courtyard façade of the east wing is much more elaborately decorated than its exterior front facing east (fig. 71; pl. 67). The enormous dimensions of the two-storey Painted Hall are indexed on the façade by the cornice that separates the two lower floors from the top storey. The triangular and segmental pediments above the top row of windows indicate that this is the noblest storey, containing the so-called Queen of Scots Apartment, adjacent to the state rooms.¹⁴² The sash windows are extremely large, continuing an aesthetic trend set by the 3rd earl.¹⁴³ Sumptuous arrays of military trophies seem to hang in front of the pilasters that separate the five window bays (pl. 67).

The whole façade was clearly meant to impress visitors who entered the courtyard through the west wing. The spatial arrangement described by Charles Cotton (approach to the hall via the west entrance and courtyard) was obviously still valid when Talman designed the east wing. This is confirmed by the fact that an early design for the new west wing (constructed between 1700 and 1703) still features a grandiose main entrance (fig. 72).¹⁴⁴ However, in the final design the entrance was relegated to the basement (pl. 63), which suggests that by then it had

been decided to move the main entrance to the north front. A survey made in the year 1700, known only through a nineteenth-century copy, shows that the main approach was now from the north via a building labelled “north side of old Building” (fig. 73).¹⁴⁵ The new north front was built only in 1705–1707 (fig. 64).

Both the survey and the ground plan of 1715 include narrow corridors on the north and south sides of the courtyard (figs. 65, 73). The north corridor was originally Elizabethan, while the south corridor had been constructed in 1691. Both were replaced with new two-storey galleries in 1703–1704.¹⁴⁶ If visitors arrived in bad weather, they could reach the Painted Hall via the north corridor, but the intended approach was clearly via the courtyard because only from that perspective did the full splendour of Talman’s architecture become apparent. Originally, the visual impression must have been even more striking, as fourteen carved trophies graced all four sides of the courtyard.¹⁴⁷

It is worth noting that the ground plan (fig. 65) indicates just one door between the courtyard and hall but no windows. In fact, the French windows on the ground level of the Painted Hall were opened only during the 1830s.¹⁴⁸ A ground plan of 1818 evidences that at that time the lower level of the courtyard façade contained

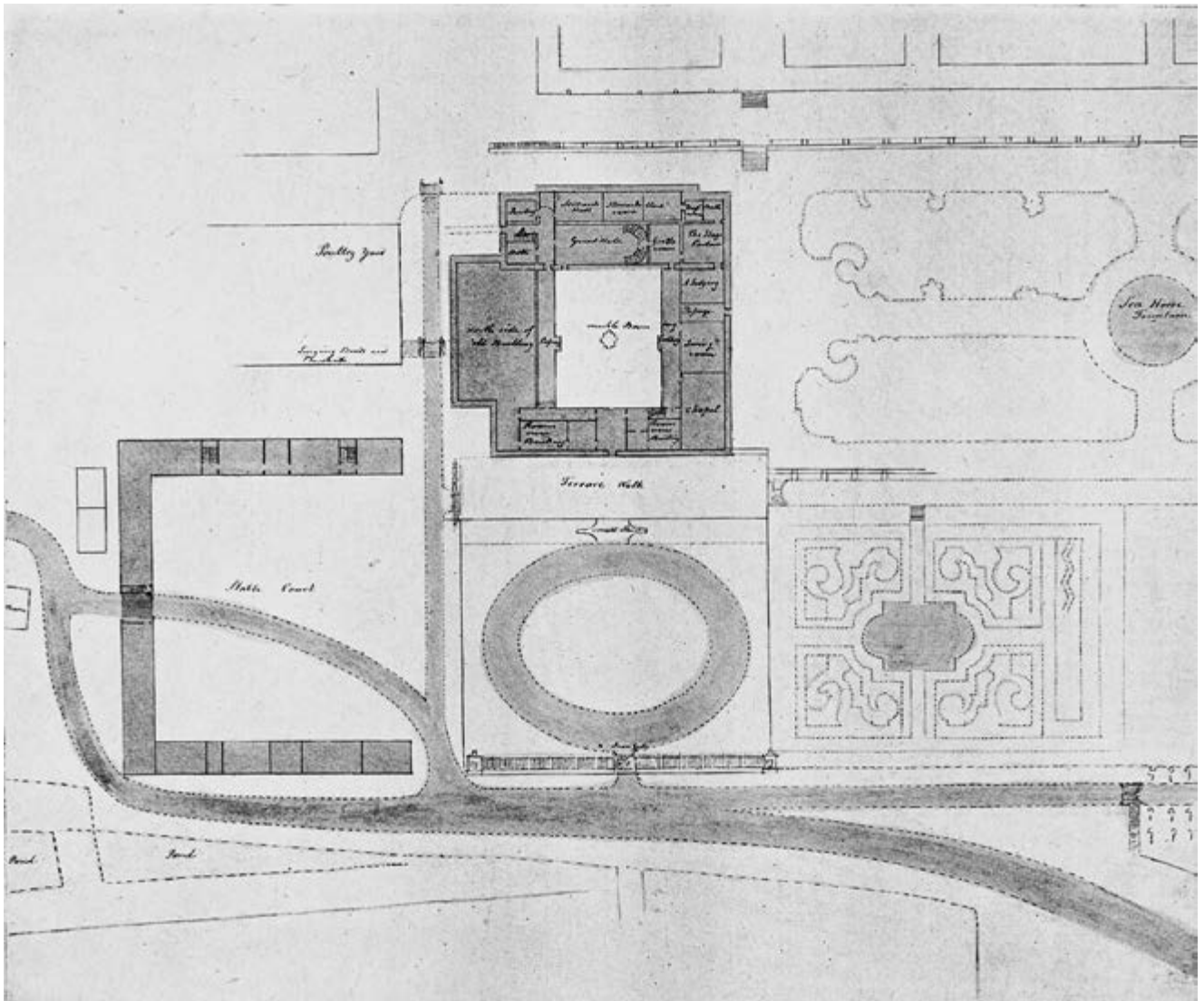


Fig. 73 Nineteenth-century copy of John Barker's survey of Chatsworth House, dated 1700

one door and three niches for sculptures.¹⁴⁹ The latter had been carved by the French Huguenot sculptor Henri Nadauld and represented Mars, Fortitude, and Prudence.¹⁵⁰ Together with the carved trophies, they prepared visitors for the experience of the Painted Hall, setting a tone of heroic grandeur.

The intended first view of the Painted Hall was thus a diagonal view from the north-west door that led from the courtyard into the hall (fig. 74, no. 1). The later approach from the new north entrance altered the perception of the space significantly. The mural on the northern side of the Painted Hall then only came into view once a visi-

tor moved into the room and turned around (fig. 74, no. 2). Originally, however, this painting would have been to the left of a visitor entering from the courtyard. He or she would have been able to take in all the main scenes from one viewpoint. The ceiling painting is oriented in such a way that the figures are easily legible both from the main and the secondary (north) entrance (pl. 68).

Thompson does not attempt an interpretation of the painted scenes, and since the publication of his monograph in 1949 very little has been written about these murals.¹⁵¹ Early comments remain very general, too.

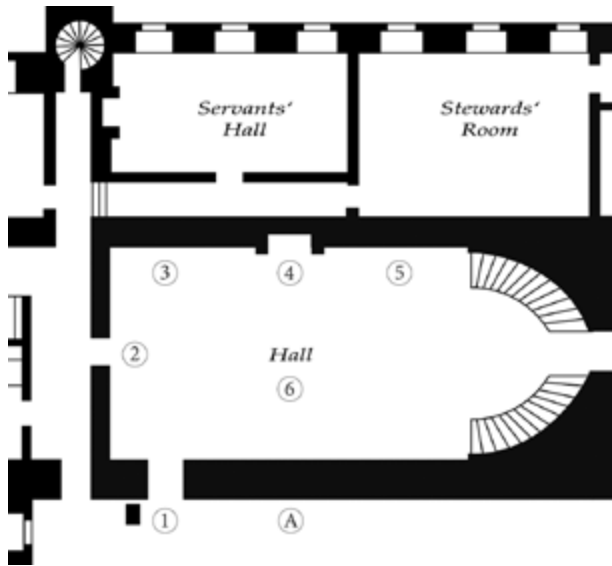


Fig. 74 Original ground plan of the Painted Hall of Chatsworth House, with the locations of the murals. A = west façade of the Painted Hall (see pl. 67); 1 = main entrance from the court; 2 = mural over the north entrance (see pl. 69); 3 = northern (left) oval painting (see pl. 72); 4 = central wall painting (see pl. 70); 5 = southern (right) oval painting (see pl. 73); 6 = ceiling painting (see pl. 79)

Celia Fiennes, who visited Chatsworth in 1696, wrote that “the hall is very lofty painted top and sides with armory,”¹⁵² and the 6th duke’s *Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick*, to which Thompson’s study is allegedly a “supplement,” does not discuss the paintings at all.¹⁵³

There exists a general agreement that the murals depict “the inevitable scenes from the life and death of Caesar,”¹⁵⁴ but most commentators do not go beyond a simple enumeration of the individual episodes – and even their identification is far from certain. While the painting over the north entrance represents undoubtedly the assassination of Julius Caesar (fig. 74, no. 2; pl. 69), the other four murals appear with a number of different and in some cases misleading titles in the relevant literature.¹⁵⁵

On entering the hall from the courtyard, the first painting to command a visitor’s attention would have been the large mural on the opposite (east) wall (fig. 74, no. 3; pl. 70). It is most frequently identified as “Julius Caesar sacrificing before going to the senate,”¹⁵⁶ but this

title is incorrect, as I will demonstrate below. Two painted oval medallions frame the central mural (pl. 71). The left medallion was interpreted by Croft-Murray as “equestrian statue of Caesar,”¹⁵⁷ but most authors agree that it depicts “Caesar crossing the Rubicon” (fig. 74, no. 3; pl. 72).¹⁵⁸ Its pendant on the right is according to Croft-Murray the Rubicon scene, while an anonymous nineteenth-century writer suggested that it refers to Caesar’s “voyage across the Adriatic to his army at Brundisium” (fig. 74, no. 4; pl. 73).¹⁵⁹ More recently, this episode has been explained as “Caesar crossing the English Channel.”¹⁶⁰ Finally, the ceiling painting, labelled sometimes simply as “the pagan deities,”¹⁶¹ is commonly referred to as the “Apotheosis of Caesar.”¹⁶²

In his doctoral thesis of 2004, Richard Johns dedicated a brief chapter to the Painted Hall that still constitutes the most extensive discussion of the Chatsworth murals.¹⁶³ Johns identified the literary source for the ceiling painting (Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*) and drew attention to an important preliminary drawing for this work (fig. 75).¹⁶⁴ According to him, at first only a glorification of Caesar was intended that could also be read as an allusion to the “qualities and virtues” of William Cavendish.¹⁶⁵ But “at some point, it seems, perhaps even after work on the ceiling had begun, Laguerre and his patron changed their minds and the Ovidian celebration of Caesar’s heroism gave way to the most graphic depiction of his murder – a change of direction (and an interruption of the chronological sequence of the narrative) which, at the very least, confounded the viewer’s initial expectations that the decoration is a celebration of its patron.”¹⁶⁶ Johns explored “the contemporary ambivalence that surrounded the figure of Caesar” and pointed out that Caesar could be understood to mean James II, who had been replaced by William of Orange.¹⁶⁷ Jeremy Musson arrived at a similar conclusion: “Louis Laguerre [...] was commissioned to paint ‘The Life of Julius Caesar.’ This included the assassination of Caesar led by Brutus, which is now thought to be a direct allusion to the bringing down of the autocratic leader, thus celebrating William’s role in ousting his own father-in-law, James II.”¹⁶⁸

Although this interpretation has been accepted by some recent publications,¹⁶⁹ it creates a certain perplexity.



Fig. 75 Louis Laguerre. Preparatory drawing for the ceiling painting of the Great Hall

If the assassinated Caesar alluded to the tyrant James II, why would the earl of Devonshire have wanted to depict the apotheosis of Caesar on the ceiling of the Great Hall? That would have amounted to a completely illogical celebration of his worst enemy, who had been forced to leave the country through Cavendish's own active participation. According to Johns, Cavendish had originally identified himself with Caesar, but this makes it even less comprehensible why the earl would have wished to include Caesar's assassination in the pictorial programme.

In my opinion, it is highly unlikely that Cavendish would have intended the deified Caesar to be his own alter ego. Firstly, the Roman ceremony of deification was held after an emperor had passed away. Thus it would not only have been quite presumptuous of William Cavendish to liken himself to an ancient emperor, but it would also have presupposed his own death. Secondly, Caesar appears in the upper third of Laguerre's preliminary drawing (fig. 75), while a scroll with William's motto "Cavendo tutus" is placed at the very bottom of the design, next to Hercules with his club. Prudence urges Hercules to look into her usual attribute, a mirror. He triumphs over some figures that crouch under his feet, but at the same time he is shown to rest and reflect – a perfect illustration of William's motto "Cavendo tutus" (Safety through caution).¹⁷⁰ Therefore, it appears that Laguerre proposed to allude to William Cavendish's intervention in the Glorious Revolution through the image of Hercules – a strong, victorious, and prudent hero. However, this still begs the question of who Caesar is meant to stand for.

Richard Johns sought to reconcile the contradiction between Caesar's murder and his deification by suggesting that the viewer ought to discover "two alternative histories of the Roman dictator. Traversing the room becomes an almost iconoclastic experience, during which the myth and image of Caesar is dismantled as the room unfolds, forcing the visitor to contemplate an alternative Caesar."¹⁷¹

This is certainly an attractive hypothesis, but the idea that Laguerre was a seventeenth-century Foucault, inviting the beholder to deconstruct a myth, is perhaps a little too modern. Baroque pictorial programmes are gen-

erally characterized by conceptual unity and do not contain themes that are in open contradiction to one another. Thus it needs to be asked whether there is a possible alternative reading of the Chatsworth programme in which Caesar's assassination and apotheosis would form a meaningful whole.

While Johns concentrates on interpretations of the Caesar myth in the second half of the seventeenth century, in the following section I will look at Caesar's role in early seventeenth-century British discourses, focusing especially on Lucan (an author not discussed by Johns), who may have inspired the Chatsworth programme. I will then proceed to reconsider the iconography of the individual paintings in order to understand why these particular episodes were chosen – and why scenes from ancient rather than modern history were depicted. Finally, I will discuss the ways in which Laguerre and his patron addressed contemporary political conflicts and what aspects of the Glorious Revolution they sought to inscribe into British cultural memory.

Caesar in Translation: British Discourses on a Controversial Figure

The succession of Elizabeth I by James I in 1603 marked the beginning of a new age in a double sense. On the one hand, the Stuart dynasty replaced the House of Tudor, and on the other hand, England and Scotland were now united under the same monarch. With reference to the name of the ancient Roman colony Britannia, the new empire was called "Great Britain."¹⁷²

The imperial greatness of the Stuart monarchy found its public expression in James's official entry into London, which was modelled on a Roman triumph. Numerous triumphal arches had been erected for the occasion,¹⁷³ and Samuel Rowland's poem of welcome greeted the king with "Ave Caesar."¹⁷⁴ The description of James's coronation accordingly bore the title "England's Caesar," and the accession medal presented him in the apparel of an ancient emperor.¹⁷⁵

Even before his accession, James I had been fascinated by Caesar, not only because of his military exploits

but also in view of his success as a writer. In 1584, the young Scottish king published *The Essays of a Prentise*, in which he included a “Paraphrasticall Translation” of a passage from Lucan’s *Pharsalia* as “a striking assertion of both Caesar’s royalty and James’s self-identification as Julius Caesar.”¹⁷⁶ In *Basilikon Doron* (1599), a manual of kingship dedicated to his son Henry, James recommended his future successor to read Caesar’s *Commentarii* “both for the sweete flowing of the stile, as also for the worthinesse of the matter it selfe: for I have ever beene of that opinion, that of all the Ethnick Emperors, or great Captaines that ever were, he hath farthest excelled, both in his practise, and in his precepts in marriall affaires.”¹⁷⁷ In 1603, James issued reprints of his literary works; consequently John Florio praised him as “Cesare,” who had rivalled the literary accomplishments of the ancient emperor.¹⁷⁸

Following Cicero’s lead, in sixteenth-century England Caesar had often been criticized for his ruthless politics and especially for starting a civil war.¹⁷⁹ James I is known to have “blamed Plutarch for his partiality against Caesar.”¹⁸⁰ As Paulina Kewes has demonstrated, James wanted to rehabilitate the emperor “so as to bolster his own image as Caesar in the first decade of his rule as *rex Britanniae*.”¹⁸¹ For instance, the king sought to familiarize the British public with the *Commentarii*, which he had already recommended to his son in 1599. Caesar’s comments on his military campaigns had first been translated into English by Arthur Golding in 1570.¹⁸² A new translation by Clement Edmonds was published in 1600 and reissued in 1604 and 1609 with dedications to Prince Henry. These new editions under royal patronage were considerably expanded. Edmonds declared that the king had personally encouraged him to fill in the gaps in Caesar’s narrative and to produce his own observations on it.¹⁸³ The 1604 edition paired Henry’s and Caesar’s portraits, suggesting the relevance of Caesar’s writings for the future king. Moreover, the title indicated the text’s usefulness “for the better direction of our moderne Warrs” (fig. 76).

Caesar’s military exploits were also relevant to the process of nation-building: “James’s policy of Anglo-Scottish union constituted the equality of the two



Fig. 76 Frontispiece to Clement Edmonds, *Observations Upon Caesars Commentaries*, 1604

kingdoms and evoked the creation of a single British nationality. This in turn produced a language of propaganda that mirrored the ancient conflict with the legions of Julius Caesar and that was perceived as the defining moment of the historical formation of a unique British identity.”¹⁸⁴ In this vein, Francis Bacon stressed the affinity between Caesar, founder of imperial Rome, and James, founder of Great Britain.¹⁸⁵

However, the English perception of Julius Caesar was very much linked to his role in the civil war against Pompey. This war had been described in Lucan’s epic poem *De Bello Civili* (in England more commonly known as *Pharsalia* because its decisive battle had taken place at Pharsalus). “At the better English grammar schools” Lucan’s text constituted a standard reading from about the

mid-sixteenth century.¹⁸⁶ The first printed edition in England appeared in 1589 and stressed its contemporary relevance.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, in the following decades both Michael Drayton and Samuel Daniel modelled their epic poems about the fifteenth-century British civil wars on Lucan's *Pharsalia*.¹⁸⁸ They clearly saw a relationship between ancient Roman and British history – as did the audience of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (first performed in 1599), which may have perceived “its dramatization of the dangers of a disputed succession and the horrors of civil war” as an allusion to the imminent Tudor-Stuart succession.¹⁸⁹

Lucan's text has a strongly republican, anti-Caesarist bias. In the trial following the earl of Essex's rebellion in 1601, it was reported that he had justified his deeds with a line drawn from *Pharsalia*.¹⁹⁰ However, it would be an oversimplification to equate the enormous interest in Lucan with strong anti-monarchical sentiment. As Edward Paleit put it, “it is particularly doubtful that Lucan, at least in this period, deserves firm identification with an emerging conflict between ‘republican’ and monarchical literary traditions.”¹⁹¹ James I himself adapted Lucan in such a way as to fit his royal agenda.¹⁹²

Lucan, Suetonius, and Plutarch, among others, provided a repertoire of texts that could be mined for arguments to support the most divergent positions in discussions on contemporary British politics. Particularly tricky was the question of whether rebellion against an unjust ruler was legitimate. Suetonius had argued that Caesar's assassination was justified because he had “abused his sovereintie.”¹⁹³ Philemon Holland, who translated Suetonius's *Historie of Twelve Caesars Emperors of Rome* in 1606, felt compelled to add a marginal note in which he pointed out that Caesar's murderers had been punished as a sign of divine retribution.¹⁹⁴ The assassination of Caesar was the obvious historical precedent for the recent Catholic attempt to blow up the king and his Parliament. James I himself perceived the parallel between the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 and Caesar's assassination.¹⁹⁵ Thus, “in a variety of contexts the Roman dictator was figured as a king and his murder was roundly condemned as regicide.”¹⁹⁶

With respect to “Rebellion in particular against Monarchy,” Thomas Hobbes argued that “one of the most

frequent causes of it, is the Reading of the books of Policy, and Histories of the ancient Greeks, and Romans.”¹⁹⁷ In this sense, Arthur Gorges's first English translation of Lucan (published in 1614), Fletcher and Massinger's play *The False One* (c. 1619–1623), based on *Pharsalia*, and Thomas Farnaby's annotated edition of Lucan's poem (1624) could serve to incite republican sentiment since they portrayed Caesar as a tyrant who subordinated the interest of the state to his own private interest.¹⁹⁸ James I retorted by sponsoring, supervising, and possibly co-authoring Edmund Bolton's *Nero Caesar, or Monarchie depraved* (1624), “an historical worke” that defended the thesis that “a king cannot be imagined to be so unruly and tyrannous, but the commonwealth will be kept in better order, notwithstanding thereof, by him, then it can be by his way-taking.”¹⁹⁹

As Prince Henry had died prematurely, in 1625 King James was succeeded by his second son Charles, who imitated his father's imperial self-presentation. He bought Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar* and outfitted St James's Palace with numerous representations of ancient emperors, leading up to his own glorious effigy.²⁰⁰ At the beginning of his reign, the interest in Lucan led to a second translation of *Pharsalia*, this time by Thomas May. Its first three books were published in 1626, while the complete work appeared in 1627. The 1627 edition contains seven dedications to illustrious nobles – among them the 2nd earl of Devonshire, to whom the volume as a whole was dedicated.²⁰¹

Thomas May strongly endorsed Lucan's republican ideals. During the English Civil War, he was active as a pamphleteer (from 1642), joined forces with the king's opponents, acted as secretary of Parliament (between 1645 and 1650), and became a close friend of “Thomas Chaloner the regicide.”²⁰² During that time, he authored a *History of the Parliament of England* (1647) as well as an abridged version that appeared in both an English and a Latin edition (*A Breviary of the History of Parliament and Historiae Parliamenti Angliae Breviarium*).²⁰³

As Norbrook has pointed out, May's translation of Lucan was produced amid controversies about Charles I's declaration of war against Spain and France. “Money for the expedition was raised by a controversial forced loan,

which aroused fears that Charles was using war to aggrandize his powers. And the campaigns were under the supervision of his favourite the duke of Buckingham, who was widely loathed and a poor leader.”²⁰⁴ Significantly, May did not dedicate his edition of *Pharsalia* to the king nor to his favourite but rather to a group of seven “patriots” who had been long-term supporters of military intervention on the continent. The dedications can therefore be seen as “a gesture of support for an international anti-absolutist alliance.”²⁰⁵ However, four of the dedicatees had recently refused to pay the forced loan, opposed the Crown also on other matters, and were known for their firm independence from courtly pressure – among them the earl of Devonshire, who “had a keen interest in Venetian republicanism.”²⁰⁶ Thus the potentially risky dedications were cut out of most copies soon after the volume’s publication.²⁰⁷

War on the continent resulted in disaster. The duke of Buckingham’s defeat was commented on by a number of decidedly republican poems, and his assassination in 1628 appeared to be motivated by “a classical republican discourse of justified tyrannicide.”²⁰⁸ Because Charles I denied Buckingham’s assassin a proper burial, critics established a parallel to the events narrated by Lucan, implying that Charles followed the model of Caesar, the tyrant.²⁰⁹

As the dangerous side of republicanism came to be felt, one of Charles’s strongest allies, Bishop William Laud, addressed Parliament with a sermon that evoked Caesar’s triumph over the last republican forces.²¹⁰ Parliament condemned non-parliamentary taxation, the use of martial law, and other royal policies in its Petition of Right (1628), but Charles dissolved the assembly in 1629.²¹¹ The following years of Charles’s personal rule, which preceded the English Civil War, came to be known as the Eleven Years’ Tyranny.²¹²

Rather tellingly, just a year after the dissolution of Parliament Thomas May published *A Continuation of Lucan’s Historicall Poem till the death of Julius Caesar* (1630). This text was followed in 1640 by a translation into Latin and became immensely popular. Whereas May’s English translation of Lucan was “only” reprinted in 1631, 1635, 1650, and 1659 (with slight variations

made by May for the Commonwealth edition of 1650),²¹³ the *Continuation* appeared in twenty-one editions, and even in French and Polish translation!²¹⁴

May dedicated his *Continuation* to Charles I. It is tempting to think that the text may have been intended as an implicit warning to the king, alerting him to the risks of autocratic rule via Caesar’s death at the hands of his senate/parliament. May concluded his dedication “beseeching Almighty God long to establish your Maesties Throne upon earth, enriching it with blessings of the right hand and the left; and after Crowne you with incorruptible Glorie.”²¹⁵ Some readers may have perceived that as irony, but the king himself was apparently pleased, rewarded May with “a very considerable donative,” and commanded him to write two further epic poems glorifying Henry II (1633) and Edward III (1635).²¹⁶

If May’s *Continuation* was meant to have critical overtones, they were hidden in a poem that provided the king with a view of Caesar that was not entirely negative.²¹⁷ “Though space is given for the republicans’ views, Caesar is finally more of a martyr than a villain, and the imperial succession which for Lucan is tragic becomes providential for May.”²¹⁸ In the last lines of the poem, May hints at his own negative judgement by referring to “wronged Iustice,” but at the same time he manages to give a positive account of Caesar’s deeds by “quoting” the dying emperor’s own thoughts.²¹⁹ May even alludes to Caesar’s deification (“by after-ages made a Deitie”) and thus creates a link to the “incorruptible Glorie” that he invokes as Charles I’s heavenly reward.²²⁰

The dedicatee of May’s translation of Lucan, the 2nd earl of Devonshire, was the grandfather of William Cavendish, who commissioned the Painted Hall.²²¹ William may have felt a particular sympathy for his grandfather, as both of them had proudly resisted orders from the court: just as the 2nd earl had declined to pay Charles I’s forced loan,²²² William had refused to accept the enormous fine of £30,000 imposed by James II’s judges. Since he regarded his contribution to the Glorious Revolution as an act of resistance to James’s unjust tyranny,²²³ he may have taken pride in his ancestor’s patronage of one of the leading republicans of his day. It is therefore worth considering whether Lucan’s poem and

May's *Continuation* may have inspired the pictorial programme at Chatsworth. The following sections will take a closer look at the individual scenes and their literary and visual sources.

The Wall Paintings: Inter- and Intramedial Translations

As Lucan's *Pharsalia* was a highly popular text, already in the sixteenth century episodes from it had been translated from textual to visual media. An inventory drawn up after Henry VIII's death in 1547 records a series of ten tapestries featuring scenes from the life of Caesar.²²⁴ When Thomas Platter saw them at Hampton Court in 1599, he described these works as "the history of Pompey... embroidered after the life,"²²⁵ identifying them as scenes from the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Indeed, many (though not all) of the episodes relate to *Pharsalia*.²²⁶

As evidenced by the inventories of the royal palaces, Henry VIII's precious wall hangings were still highly valued in the late seventeenth century. In 1688, there were two Caesar tapestries displayed in the royal apartments at Windsor and, by 1695, nine.²²⁷ It is thus quite likely that William Cavendish, as well as Louis Laguerre and his *équipe*, knew these works. Cavendish had access to Windsor because he served on William III's Privy Council from 1689,²²⁸ and Laguerre and his French colleagues had assisted Verrio in decorating the royal apartments of the castle.²²⁹

Three out of four scenes that were depicted on the walls of the Painted Hall had already been represented in Henry VIII's Caesar tapestries.²³⁰ Although the present whereabouts of the series are unknown, its appearance can be reconstructed from textual and visual sources, especially as several sets of Caesar tapestries were woven in sixteenth-century Brussels.²³¹ It is therefore possible to compare Laguerre's *Assassination of Caesar* (pl. 69) to a tapestry created in Brussels in 1549 illustrating the same moment (pl. 74).²³² Both scenes are set in a fictive architecture articulated by columns/pilasters that frame the central space. In both cases, the figures

seem to step through the picture plane, thus creating a strong relationship with the viewer. Both works are characterized by dramatic movement. However, while in the tapestry Caesar's head is veiled (following the descriptions by Suetonius and Plutarch),²³³ Laguerre shows him addressing his audience with a theatrical gesture. The pain displayed on his face heightens the impact of the scene.

A further significant difference between Laguerre's painting and the Brussels tapestry consists in their backgrounds. Laguerre adds a prominent statue, which towers over the dying Caesar. Plutarch informs us that this must be a likeness of Pompey, whom Caesar had defeated in the civil war: "when he [Caesar] saw Brutus's sword drawn, he covered his face with his robe and submitted, letting himself fall, whether it were by chance or that he was pushed in that direction by his murderers, at the foot of the pedestal on which Pompey's statue stood, and which was thus wetted with his blood. So that Pompey himself seemed to have presided [...] over the revenge done upon his adversary, who lay here at his feet."²³⁴

By introducing the statue of Pompey, Laguerre created a link between Caesar's murder and Lucan's narrative. He alluded to Pompey's posthumous "revenge," and suggested that Caesar had been murdered as a consequence of the civil war. Although the assassination of Caesar did not originally figure in *Pharsalia*, the painter completed the story, just as Thomas May had in his *Continuation of Lucan's Historical Poem till the death of Julius Caesar*.

Two more episodes from Henry VIII's tapestries reappear at Chatsworth: the crossing of the Rubicon (recorded in textual sources but not relatable to any extant tapestry) and a scene labelled by Thomas Campbell as "Caesar crossing the Brindisi."²³⁵ A copy of the latter piece appeared on the art market in 1986 and was illustrated in Campbell's article.²³⁶ It bears a Latin inscription that can be translated as "He encamps, menacing Italy, and the Senate flees / As he approaches Brindisi all Rome trembles."²³⁷

Brindisi is a port city on the Adriatic coast. The episode refers to book 5 of *Pharsalia*, in which Lucan de-

scribes how Caesar struggled to cross the Strait of Otranto between Epirus and Brindisi (Latin *Brundisium*). An anonymous nineteenth-century writer understood the reference to Lucan, interpreting the corresponding Chatsworth monochrome painting as Caesar’s “voyage across the Adriatic to his army at Brundisium” (fig. 74, no. 4; pl. 73).²³⁸

At Chatsworth, this scene is paired with Caesar’s crossing of the Rubicon, which opens book 1 of Lucan’s poem. It is a particularly important event because it marks the beginning of the civil war (connected in the mind of every Latinist with the famous dictum “*alea iacta est*”). The placement of the painting next to Caesar’s assassination (fig. 74, nos. 2 and 3) underlines the link between the civil war and Caesar’s punishment, which Laguerre insinuated by including the statue of Pompey in the assassination scene.

To sum up, the two oval paintings that frame the east wall of the Painted Hall are both inspired by Lucan’s *Pharsalia* and form pendants in that both of them refer to episodes in which Caesar crossed a stretch of water (fig. 74, nos. 3 and 5). Both episodes had also been represented in Henry VIII’s tapestry series. However, the Rubicon tapestry has disappeared without trace, and the Brundisium tapestry does not bear any resemblance to the Chatsworth monochrome. Thus other potential sources of inspiration need to be considered. Did the French painters translate the text into paint by drawing on continental visual models?

The oval paintings are meant to imitate bronze reliefs on whose surface the light produces golden reflections (plates 72, 73).²³⁹ A closer look at these reflections reveals that they are created via the same kind of intense cross-hatching that characterizes contemporary engravings. The painter must have had experience in supplying drawings to engravers. It is therefore likely that he based his inventions on prints.

The first lavishly illustrated English edition of *Pharsalia* appeared in 1718.²⁴⁰ Its engravings betray a knowledge of an illustrated French edition that had been published in 1657.²⁴¹ In both cases, each of *Pharsalia*’s ten books is prefaced with a print visualizing a key moment of the story. The same events were chosen for both



Fig. 77 François Chauveau (?). The assassination of Pompey. Engraving. From Lucan (ed. 1657), 276

editions and were depicted in a similar way. A particularly clear example is the assassination of Pompey (figs. 77, 78). Louis Chéron, who designed the illustrations for the English edition, did not copy the French model but used the same compositional elements and reorganized them in his own way.

Although the French illustrations bear no signature, it is likely that they were created or at least designed by François Chauveau, who signed the frontispiece (fig. 79). Chauveau was a very prolific Parisian engraver to whom around 1,600 prints can be attributed. Another 1,400 prints are said to have been designed by him and executed by others. His workshop must have been large and included at least some of his numerous children. In the



Fig. 78 Gerard van der Gucht after Louis Chéron. The assassination of Pompey. Engraving. From Lucan (ed. 1718), 307

early 1670s, he also collaborated with the Welsh engraver Edward Davis, who was active both in Paris and London.²⁴²

Chéron belonged to a family of artists and engravers based in Paris. As his father, the engraver Henri Chéron, had left the family during Louis's infancy, he had been trained by his elder sister Elisabeth Sophie, who also enabled him to complete his studies in Rome.²⁴³ In 1693, he was registered in London as a member of the Huguenot community.²⁴⁴ In England, he was employed both for engravings and murals, the latter including the monumental *Marriage of Hercules and Hebe* created for the 1st duke of Montagu at Boughton.²⁴⁵ As Chéron kept in touch with his sister in Paris (for instance, as late as 1715 he supplied engravings after her drawings),²⁴⁶ he would have had easy access to a copy of the French edition of Lucan with Chauveau's illustrations.

At Chatsworth, Chéron executed several history paintings for the gallery and recorded or invented an alternative design for the west façade (fig. 72).²⁴⁷ However, his name has not yet been linked to the murals in the

Painted Hall and state apartments. On the basis of a stylistic analysis, Edward Croft-Murray concluded that Laguerre's *équipe* at Chatsworth must have consisted of at least three painters.²⁴⁸ I would like to suggest that – besides Laguerre and Ricard – Chéron, too, belonged to that *équipe*. He had arrived in England by 1693, i. e. he was present by the time work on the walls of the Painted Hall began.²⁴⁹ Trained as an engraver, he thus had the skills necessary for creating the plastic forms of the two oval “reliefs” through the peculiar cross-hatching characteristic of engravings. Moreover, the two monochrome paintings are related both to Chauveau's and Chéron's illustrations of *Pharsalia*, as a closer look at these scenes reveals.

Chéron based his design for the engraving *Caesar crossing the Rubicon* on the frontispiece of Chauveau's 1657 edition (figs. 79, 80). It is particularly evident that Chauveau served as his point of departure because in his engraving the two main figures (Caesar on horseback and the female personification of Rome) appear in reverse. As a reversal occurs automatically in the process

of printing, in his original drawing Chéron must have disposed the figures just as Chauveau had.

In the English edition, the illustrations do not occupy an entire page but are placed at the top of the page, above the first lines of each book. Thus Chéron had to add further motifs to fill the oblong space. He placed a river god (the Rubicon) at the centre, depicted the city of Rome on the right, and filled the left side with Caesar's army. The soldiers and their horses are struggling to cross the river, while Caesar has already emerged from the water. This narrative derives from another print by Chauveau, marking the beginning of Lucan's book 1 (fig. 81).

The Chatsworth mural (pl. 72) "prefigures" Chéron's later rendering of the scene in print. The upright format of the oval necessitated a compression of the episode. Thus there is no allegory of Rome, but the depictions of Caesar on horseback traversing the river from left to right and the soldiers struggling to rise from the water are remarkably similar to the engraving of 1718, which combines motifs from two prints by Chauveau (fig. 80).

The second oval painting refers to Caesar's journey across the Adriatic Sea (pl. 73). The rendering of this scene in the engravings of 1657 and 1718 demonstrates that Chéron again reversed Chauveau's designs (figs. 82, 83). However, the Chatsworth monochrome is closer to Chauveau: It depicts the military leader on the left and the rowers on the right; meanwhile, in Chéron's print Caesar appears on the right, opposite to the rower on the left.

The complex relationship between Chauveau's prints of 1657, the paintings created at Chatsworth in 1693/94, and Chéron's illustrations for *Pharsalia*, published in 1718, indicates that the Chatsworth murals represent intermediary stages in Chéron's reception of Chauveau. Inspired by the French edition of *Pharsalia*, Chéron created at Chatsworth new interpretations of the scenes visualized by Chauveau. In 1718, he went back to the same book and revised its designs in light of what he had accomplished at Chatsworth.

Although there are notable similarities between Chéron's paintings and Chauveau's engravings, the differences are equally obvious – especially in the southern



Fig. 79 François Chauveau. Frontispiece to *La Pharsale de Lucain*, 1657. Engraving

oval (pl. 73). The general situation, the positioning of the main figures, and certain motifs are comparable: a storm at sea, strong waves, billowing sails, a small boat moving from left to right, with a commander whose outstretched arm emphasizes this direction of movement. However, the painting seems decidedly calmer. There are more people on the boat, and the commander grasps his companion's hand, touching with his other hand his own breast. As the gestures denote sincerity and friendship, they introduce new aspects that are conspicuously absent from Chauveau's illustration.

Moreover, the hero of the Chatsworth painting does not resemble the well-known ancient busts of Caesar. He has very voluminous curly hair, whereas Caesar is normally represented with short, straight hair. There exists



Fig. 80 Elisha Kirkall after Louis Chéron. Caesar crossing the Rubicon. Engraving. From Lucan (ed. 1718), 3

a marked contrast between the protagonists of the two oval paintings (plates 72, 73). The triumphant Caesar in the left monochrome (in armour, with a laurel wreath on his short, straight hair) differs from the main figure in the other painting, who has curly hair, is unarmed, and displays gestures of friendship and sincerity.

In my view, a medal coined around 1689 offers a key to this mystery. On its obverse, the medal displays a portrait of William of Orange, identified by the inscription as “Magni Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex” (King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland).²⁵⁰ The king wears a laurel wreath on his fashionably long, curly hair. On the reverse, he reappears with short, curly hair and dressed in ancient military garb, presenting the three kneeling kingdoms with the cap of liberty (fig. 84).²⁵¹ The inscription “Veni. Vidi. Libertatem Reddidi” (I came, I saw, I restored liberty) alludes to Caesar’s famous dictum “Veni, Vidi, Vici” but replaces the triumphalist “Vici” (I won) with an act of altruism. William III thereby appropriated the Caesarist imagery of his Stuart predecessors yet modified it in such a way as to highlight his – purportedly – quite different understanding of a monarch’s tasks. Given this contemporary association of the prince

of Orange with Caesar, the curly-haired protagonist of the Chatsworth monochrome was probably meant to represent William of Orange crossing the English Channel.

Only a few years before, at the Royal Exchange in 1684, a statue of Charles II in Roman military armour had been erected, with an inscription on the pedestal that dedicated the work to “Carolo II. Caesari Britannico / Patriae Patri” (Charles II, Britain’s Caesar, Father of the Fatherland).²⁵² Whig historian Laurence Echard likened the donation of the statue to an act of idolatry: “The King being at the Height of his Glory, most Men seem’d ready to fall down and worship him.”²⁵³ A staggering total of twenty-one statues of the king in Roman dress were made during Charles’s lifetime.²⁵⁴ Precisely because public statues representing Charles in the cuirass and *paludamentum* of a Roman military commander had been placed in major towns from Plymouth to Edinburgh, Lucan’s criticism of Caesar gained new significance. In 1679, May’s translation of *Pharsalia* was reprinted “when the Exclusion Crisis made Lucan’s epic freshly pertinent, threatening to return England to a state of civil war,” and in 1687 no fewer than three new translations of a key speech from *Pharsalia* were published.²⁵⁵

It can be concluded that the two oval paintings at Chatsworth stage a neat contrast between the Stuart monarchy and the rule of William III. On one side, we see a triumphant Caesar who crosses the Rubicon, knowing full well that this will cause a civil war. On the other side, William of Orange crosses the Channel with entirely peaceful intentions. His gestures testify to his sincerity and friendship with the British people.²⁵⁶ The contrast between the two monochrome paintings suggests William's superiority, as the Glorious Revolution occurred without bloodshed and served to liberate rather than subjugate the British people.²⁵⁷

At Chatsworth, William's crossing of the Channel was modelled on Caesar's journey across the Adriatic Sea in order to encourage a further comparison that stressed the former's superiority. When Lucan's Caesar is almost shipwrecked on the Adriatic Sea in a life-threatening storm, he addresses the pagan deities with a powerful speech, concluding with the words "I ask no burial of the gods: let them leave my mutilated corpse amid the waves; I can dispense with grave and funeral pyre, provided I am feared for ever and my appearance is dreaded by every land."²⁵⁸ This is followed by his miraculous rescue, proof of his special "fortuna."²⁵⁹

The parallel between this scene and William's arrival in England was evident for contemporary viewers: When his fleet had first set sail, it had been driven back by a storm; but then the wind veered to the east, speeding his fleet down the Channel and bottling James's up in the Thames estuary.²⁶⁰ A critical moment occurred when the easterly wind carried William's ships past Torbay in the direction of Plymouth, where a Catholic garrison had been posted and any attempt at landing would be strongly opposed. The Anglican cleric Gilbert Burnet, a close friend of William's, reportedly implored God's help – and as soon as he had spoken, "a soft and happy gale of wind" carried the fleet into Torbay.²⁶¹ Devout Protestants saw this as evidence of divine favour.²⁶²

The Chatsworth painting refers to these events by visualizing the moment in which the wind calms down (pl. 73). The waves, clouds, and billowing sail suggest a storm, while the centre of the image appears strangely calm and peaceful – especially in contrast to the corre-



Fig. 81 François Chauveau. Caesar crossing the Rubicon. Engraving. From Lucan (ed. 1657), 1

sponding scene in *Pharsalia* (figs. 82, 83). The man whose hand William holds probably represents Gilbert Burnet (who became the leading force in establishing a providentialist reading of William's arrival).²⁶³ This motif draws attention to William's faith and reminds the viewers of God's own intervention in favour of this champion of Protestantism. The painting stages a parallel with Caesar's journey on the Adriatic Sea only to stress that William was aided by an even more powerful force than was the pagan emperor. Accordingly, he succeeded in his aim, whereas Caesar was ultimately driven back to the shore from which he had departed.²⁶⁴

The large mural that dominates the east wall is a celebration of William's leadership (pl. 70). It has hitherto been interpreted as "Caesar attending a sacrifice,"²⁶⁵ but



Fig. 82 François Chauveau (?). Caesar crossing the Adriatic Sea. Engraving. From Lucan (ed. 1657), 150

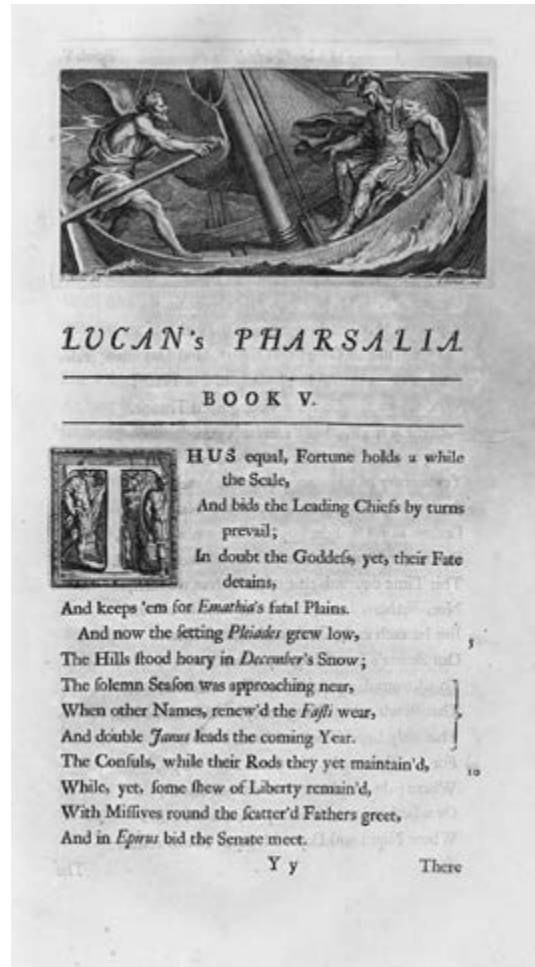


Fig. 83 Elisha Kirkall after Louis Chéron. Caesar crossing the Adriatic Sea. Engraving. From Lucan (ed. 1718), 173

a significant detail of the painting indicates that this cannot be correct. Above the entrance to the temple appears a relief depicting the god Janus, whose two heads symbolize beginning and end, past and future (pl. 75). Moreover, two men seem to be closing the heavy door of the temple. In antiquity the closing of the Temple of Janus denoted the end of war and the beginning of a period of peace.²⁶⁶ This was well known in the seventeenth century.²⁶⁷ For instance, during his coronation entry in 1661 Charles II was addressed with the words: "Tumult by You, and Civil War / In Ianus Gates imprison'd are."²⁶⁸

In 1692, i. e. precisely in the year in which work on the Painted Hall began, the royal poet laureate Thomas Shadwell published *A Poem to the King on New-Years-Day*, which explored yet another facet of the Janus myth.

As the two-headed god could symbolize the transition from the old to the new year, Shadwell used the occasion of his poem to portray William III as the ruler who would bring peace by shutting the doors of the Temple of Janus:

Now Janus in his Office does appear,
 To close the Last, and to unfold this Year;
 His dreadful Temple now wide open stands,
 And Europe is Oppress'd by Warring Bands.
 For You Sir, 'tis reserv'd to quell the Foes,
 And only You those Fatal Doors can close.²⁶⁹

In the Chatsworth mural, the emperor standing on the steps of the temple and the priest who celebrates the sacrifice both point towards the temple, whose signifi-

Fig. 84 Anton Meybusch.
Medal celebrating the Glorious
Revolution, c. 1688/89



cance has long been overlooked. According to Suetonius, three times Augustus was able to close the Temple of Janus, “which had been closed but twice before his time since the founding of the city.”²⁷⁰ The two earlier instances occurred respectively during the reign of Numa and in 235 BCE, after the First Punic War.²⁷¹ This means that the temple had never been closed during Caesar’s lifetime, and consequently the emperor depicted must be Augustus (William) rather than Caesar.

This new interpretation of the scene is confirmed by the existence of an iconographic model that has never before been linked to the Chatsworth mural. Carlo Maratta painted two almost identical versions of *Augustus closing the Temple of Janus*. One version has been kept in the Palazzo Colonna in Rome since the 1660s,²⁷² while the other, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille, was on display during the second half of the seventeenth century in the Galerie La Vrillière in Paris (pl. 76).²⁷³ As Laguerre had spent his formative years in Paris, studying with Le Brun while enrolled at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture,²⁷⁴ it is highly likely that he knew the Paris version.

The right half of Laguerre’s mural is modelled quite faithfully on Maratta’s painting – albeit with one significant difference. While Maratta figured Augustus as Pontifex Maximus, celebrating personally the sacrifice in front of the temple, Laguerre represented a bearded old priest and placed the emperor on the steps of the temple. In this way, Augustus became in Laguerre’s mural a particularly prominent figure, standing out through his

isolated position and bright red cloak. His military garb makes it easy to identify him with another military leader: William of Orange, whose peaceful conquest of Britain figures in one of the oval paintings framing the scene. The main wall painting of the hall therefore suggests that just as Augustus had brought Rome peace after a period of civil wars, so too would William III restore peace to Britain.

Since Maratta’s painting has an upright format, Laguerre needed to introduce many additional elements to fill the oblong space. For the background he designed a classical architecture reminiscent of Poussin, and he bracketed the scene with two decidedly Raphaelesque groups. The woman accompanied by two children in the left foreground may have been inspired by Raphael’s *Madonna del Cardellino* (pl. 77), and the group on the right combines various motifs from his *Sacrifice at Lystra* (pl. 78). Laguerre thus aspired to a classical style that was in keeping with the classical subject matter.

As we have seen, numerous processes of translation were involved in the creation of the Chatsworth murals. Some of them were intermedial (between different media, e. g. the transposition of a literary text into a visual language, the migration of motifs from tapestries or engravings to oil painting) and others intramedial (within the same medium, e. g. the quotations of Maratta’s and Raphael’s paintings in Laguerre’s mural). Evidently, the artists had an important share in developing the pictorial programme, with Laguerre and Chéron adapting their own repertoires of motifs to their patron’s

wishes. They based their inventions on Flemish tapestries, French engravings, and Italian paintings, amalgamating their sources so as to create a classical style that expressed grandeur and dignity. They knew that William Cavendish strove to rival the English and French royal residences of his day, and they supplied what he wanted.

In doing so, the artists mediated between their patron and his intended audience. As Cavendish created a state apartment on the second floor, he expected royal visits and was intent to impress William and Mary and their courtiers.²⁷⁵ The painters sought to visualize to them their patron's messages. In this act of mediation, they did not translate written or visual materials but invented pictorial equivalents to concepts formulated by the patron.

William Cavendish had a reputation for being a highly eloquent man. He published several parliamentary speeches, wrote an ode on the death of Queen Mary, and some of his poems were printed posthumously.²⁷⁶ Among them was *The Charms of Liberty*, a poem that he classified as "an Allusion to the Bishop of Cambrai's Supplement of Homer."²⁷⁷ His first biographer White Kennett deemed him "a Poet not by Genius only, but by Learning and Judgment."²⁷⁸ He explained that William's tutor Henry Killigrew had given him "a just and true Relish in Poetry, and all the Refinements of Sense and Wit," and stressed his classical learning: "He was a Master of Horace, and would talk of the other Ancients with great Relish and Knowledge."²⁷⁹

Under these circumstances, it is entirely plausible that Cavendish himself decided to base the pictorial programme of the Painted Hall on Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Thomas May's *Continuation* of the ancient poem. This choice reflected his pride in his grandfather's role as one of May's dedicatees and patrons. At the same time, it enabled him to develop – in cooperation with the painters – a visual discourse that magnified William III by setting him favourably against Julius Caesar. Whereas Caesar (like Charles I) had driven his country into civil war, William rescued the English and brought peace. And just as Augustus had surpassed Caesar,²⁸⁰ William surpassed Charles I.

The Ceiling Painting: An Image of Constitutional Monarchy

As it has now been established that the protagonist of the main wall painting is not Caesar but rather Augustus, this begs the question of whose apotheosis decorates the ceiling. After all, both Caesar and Augustus were honoured with ceremonies of deification after their deaths. So who is depicted on the Chatsworth ceiling, and how does his apotheosis relate to the assassination of Caesar?

The ceiling falls into five distinct zones (pl. 79). Unlike contemporary Italian ceiling frescoes, which open up a truly illusionistic space above the viewer,²⁸¹ Laguerre's painted sky has a clear boundary line where it meets the south wall. This wall (opposite the present main entrance) forms the focal point as a visitor moves towards the stairs that ascend to the main staircase and the state apartment (pl. 68). Therefore, the part of the ceiling directly above the south wall is particularly well visible and, accordingly, densely populated.²⁸² On the opposite end of the rectangular ceiling are but a few figures, which appear upside down because they are meant to be read in conjunction with the image on the north wall (plates 69, 79).²⁸³

Apart from these two lateral strips adjacent to the north and south walls respectively, there are three bands of figures in the centre of the ceiling. The middlemost band contains the most important figures, i. e. the main protagonists of the apotheosis.²⁸⁴ The bands above and below frame these figures and almost mirror one another in design: The upper band of figures curves downwards,²⁸⁵ the lower band upwards.²⁸⁶ Thus both lead the eye towards the centre of the composition.

The centre consists of Jupiter and Juno admitting a Roman emperor to the assembly of the gods (pl. 80). The emperor has a star above his head, signifying his deified status. Below him is the naked Venus in her chariot drawn by swans. This constellation confirms that we are indeed viewing the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, as both Venus (the mythical ancestor of Caesar's family, the Gens Julia) and the star figure prominently in Ovid's poetic evocation of his deification.²⁸⁷ Moreover, Suetonius

Fig. 85 Romeyn de Hooghe.
William III and Mary II, c. 1689



recounts that Caesar's effigy was crowned by a star because a comet had been observed for seven consecutive days after his death.²⁸⁸

With the traditional interpretation of the ceiling painting confirmed, a crucial question still remains unanswered: How does Caesar's apotheosis fit with the rest of the decoration? On the walls of the Painted Hall, Caesar appears in a negative role, inciting a civil war for which he is finally punished by being assassinated next to the statue of his enemy Pompey. Caesar is presented as clearly inferior to William of Orange. So why does the pictorial programme of the ceiling include his deification?

To solve the puzzle, it may be useful to take a brief look at another representation of the same episode. Although it was only rarely depicted in monumental paint-

ing,²⁸⁹ there exists an apotheosis of Caesar in the gallery of Palazzo Madama in Rome (pl. 81).²⁹⁰ Ludovico Gimignani's ceiling fresco was finished before work at Chatsworth began, but it is fairly unlikely that Laguerre knew of it. I only mention Gimignani's painting because it exemplifies a tendency to create an all-male version of the story. True, Minerva and Venus frame the scene, but the main protagonists are men: Hercules leads Caesar towards Jupiter, while Juno is nowhere to be seen.

Gimignani's fresco demonstrates that Juno was no indispensable part of the story. Thus her presence at Chatsworth deserves special attention. The prominence of the Olympian royal couple Jupiter and Juno must have reminded contemporary viewers of William III and Mary II, who reigned England jointly and took pains to stress this in their public image. On prints and medals as well as in



Fig. 86 Unknown artist (Louis Laguerre?). Preliminary drawing for the ceiling painting for the state drawing room at Chatsworth, c. 1690

their published proclamations, they often appeared side by side (fig. 85).²⁹¹ Moreover, one of the coronation medals coined in 1689 depicted William as Jove (Jupiter).²⁹²

The hypothesis that Jupiter and Juno stand for William and Mary can be corroborated by taking a look at the state apartment that was contemporaneously outfitted for a royal visit (fig. 67). On the ceiling of the Chatsworth State Drawing Room, Jupiter and Juno preside over an assembly of gods as they discover the adultery of Mars and Venus (depicted in the coving of the vault: pl. 82).²⁹³ It has hitherto gone unnoticed that a preliminary drawing for this painting exists in the Devonshire Collection (fig. 86).²⁹⁴ The episode could be taken as a reference to the “Reformation of Manners,” which constituted a central theme of William and Mary’s rule from 1689: Jupiter and Juno watch over the moral conduct of their court and censure lascivious behaviour.²⁹⁵ The pictorial programme of the state apartment therefore consolidates the association between the royal couple and the king and queen of Olympus.

Both William and Mary were grandchildren of Charles I. As their descentance from him legitimated their rule, William proudly emphasized it: His gallery at Kensington Palace focused on Van Dyck’s equestrian portrait of Charles I.²⁹⁶ If on the ceiling of the Painted Hall at Chatsworth Jupiter and Juno signify William and Mary, then consequently Caesar is to be understood as a his-

torical alter ego of Charles I (rather than James II as previous interpretations have maintained). Charles could easily be likened to Caesar because he had fought a civil war against his own people and, in 1649, had been executed on orders from those same people. John Ogilby stressed the parallel by stating that Caesar had been “murdered by some Common-wealth’s men.”²⁹⁷ May’s translation of Lucan, which formed an important basis for the pictorial programme of the Painted Hall, clearly referred to political events from Charles’s reign, and his *Continuation* of the poem was dedicated to Charles I. At the end of this work, May even hinted at Caesar’s future deification.²⁹⁸

After the Restoration, Charles was regarded as a martyr and saint. In the summer of 1660, Parliament decided that the day of his beheading (30 January) “should to all Posterities be observed a Day of Humiliation,”²⁹⁹ and in 1661 a proper remembrance day was established.³⁰⁰ The service for King Charles Martyr, which formed part of the Book of Common Prayer between 1662 and 1854, centred on the parable of the wicked husbandmen who had killed an innocent boy and were severely punished for their wrongdoings.³⁰¹ Each year, fervent sermons from all the pulpits of Britain reminded the people of the trauma of the regicide and implored “the Mercy of God, That neither the Guilt of that Sacred and Innocent Blood, nor those other sins by which God was provoked to deliver up both us and our King, into the hands of Cruel and Unreasonable men, may at any time hereafter be visited upon us or our Posterity.”³⁰²

A medal in memory of Archbishop Laud, who had been beheaded by order of Parliament in 1645, styled him as “Saint Charles’s precursor” and showed the king’s crown and the bishop’s mitre being borne to heaven by little angels (fig. 87).³⁰³ In 1678, the House of Commons voted in favour of a funeral and permanent memorial to King Charles I amounting to a staggering £70,000.³⁰⁴ In a sermon delivered the next day (significantly, 30 January), Thomas Sprat thanked the parliamentarians for having “given a Resurrection to his [Charles’s] memory.”³⁰⁵ Christopher Wren, who designed the monument, seems to have thought of it as an “apothecosis.”³⁰⁶ In light of these recent developments, a

Fig. 87 John Roettier. Medal in memory of Archbishop Laud, c. 1660–1685



painted apotheosis of Charles I would not have seemed out of place.³⁰⁷ Charles himself had honoured his father James I by commissioning a painted apotheosis from Rubens.³⁰⁸

William Cavendish was certainly aware of the plans for a memorial to Charles I, as he frequented Parliament assiduously in 1678. However, at that point in time he began to associate with the opposition movement. As mentioned above, he participated actively in the parliamentary attempts to exclude James II from the throne and, in 1679, he sought Thomas Hobbes’s advice on the Exclusion Crisis.³⁰⁹ I would like to suggest that Hobbes’s ideas still resonated with Cavendish when he commissioned Laguerre’s painting roughly a decade later.

Hobbes’s written comment on the Exclusion Crisis was somewhat evasive, but there is evidence that it was but a fragment of an ongoing dialogue between the philosopher and his patron.³¹⁰ The text invoked some pivotal doctrines about sovereignty developed by Hobbes in his earlier writings, especially *Leviathan*.³¹¹ Hobbes was convinced that only a strong sovereign could prevent society from lapsing into a state of civil war.³¹² The frontispiece to *Leviathan* visualized this idea (fig. 88): The numerous people who constitute the enormous body of the sovereign have vested him with their authority.³¹³ The Latin inscription above Leviathan’s head, drawn from the biblical book of Job, explains that “no power on earth compares to his.”³¹⁴

As Quentin Skinner has shown, Cavendish twisted Hobbes’s argument in favour of his own political ideas.

He started his treatise *Reasons for His Majesties Passing the Bill of Exclusion* by invoking the philosopher’s authority: “For admit, according to Mr. Hobbes, that Monarchical Government is form’d by an Agreement of a Society of Men, to devolve all their power and interest upon one Man, and to make him Judge of all Differences that shall arise among them; ‘tis plain, that this can be for no other end, than the Security and protection of those that enter into such a Contract.”³¹⁵ However, Cavendish then went on to draw an inference that “would have left Hobbes horrified,” namely proposing to limit the powers of the sovereign. Rhetorically, he asked what kind of people “can be suppos’d to have been so void of sense, and so servilely inclin’d, as to give up their Lives and Liberties to the unbounded disposal of one man, without imposing the least condition upon him?”³¹⁶

Cavendish was not opposed to monarchy as such but to its abuses. In a lengthy declaration that he authored in November 1688 in support of the Glorious Revolution, he accused James II of “arbitrary and tyrannical Government” and condemned “popery and slavery.”³¹⁷ The new monarchs William III and Mary II had to accept the conditions imposed by the Convention Parliament, i. e. they agreed to the Declaration of Rights, issued a Bill of Rights, and promised at their coronation that they would govern “according to the statutes in parliament agreed on.”³¹⁸

The Painted Hall at Chatsworth reflects these ideas. On the one hand, it is a celebration of monarchy. By rehabilitating Charles I through his (i. e. Caesar’s) apothe-



Fig. 88 Abraham Bosse. Frontispiece to Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651

osis, the ceiling painting underlines the importance of monarchical government, endorsing Hobbes's ideal of a strong sovereign. On the other hand, the wall paintings imply that the monarch is not absolute but subject to moral judgement. The murals raise the question of whether it was legitimate to kill the tyrant Caesar because he had started a civil war and exerted unjust, despotical power.

The problematic relationship between the wall and ceiling paintings mirrors the ambivalent position of the earls of Devonshire. The 2nd earl, the dedicatee of Thomas May's translation of Lucan, sought to make his mark at court, but he did not hesitate to oppose Charles I's orders if he thought them unjustified.³¹⁹ Lucan's work and May's *Continuation* could be read as criticisms of

Charles's autocratic rule. Nevertheless, the Cavendishes supported Charles I financially during the civil war and even lost a family member in service of the royal cause.³²⁰

The 4th earl, equally named William Cavendish, who commissioned Laguerre to decorate the hall, used Caesar as an image of autocratic, perilous Stuart rule in order to magnify William III's positive role. By basing the pictorial programme on Lucan, he reformatted the criticism contained in May's works. Like Lucan, the earl seems to have subscribed to the view that it was legitimate to oppose a tyrant – a position that legitimated his own opposition to James II. And yet he included Caesar's apotheosis in the programme, in line with the contemporary emphasis on the need to rehabilitate Charles I. Cavendish thus confirmed the importance of monarchy as a form of government and, at the same time, claimed the right to criticize and oppose a monarch if he did not accept the sensible "conditions" the earl wished to impose on monarchy (according to his 1681 treatise). The epitaph he designed for himself summarizes this outlook: "A faithful Subject of Good Princes, a Hater of Tyrants, and hated by them."³²¹

At this point, a comparison between the painted ceilings at Chatsworth and Windsor is highly instructive. Both William Cavendish and Louis Laguerre knew St George's Hall at Windsor Castle very well (pl. 23).³²² The main ceiling painting there showed Charles II in glory, surrounded by figures that allegorized his virtues (fig. 44). The whole painting centred on the king, both compositionally and thematically, giving visual form to the absolutist tendency of his government.³²³ The king's posture was modelled on Christ the Judge; he faced the beholder frontally and thus had a somewhat threatening effect, inviting a reverent and adoring reception. Laguerre's painting at Chatsworth is completely different. The sovereigns William and Mary appear in the guise of Jupiter and Juno, are placed off centre, and do not stare at the viewer but engage in a friendly dialogue with Caesar (pl. 80). At first glance, they can hardly be recognized in the large crowd of figures who are gods in their own right rather than personifications of the sovereign's virtues.³²⁴

The painted ceilings at Chatsworth and Windsor visualize two diametrically opposed conceptions of sover-

eignty. In Cavendish's mind, the Windsor painting was probably associated with the "arbitrary and tyrannical Government" he abhorred. For his own country seat, he commissioned an alternative vision of monarchy in which the sovereigns form but a part of a much larger whole. The assembly of the gods can be interpreted as the English nobility, whose members were also represented in the English Parliament. We are thus presented with a whole governing body, an image of constitutional monarchy. As the guiding ideal of this society, Truth presides over the whole composition (pl. 79).

What is William Cavendish's own place in the assembly? As noted above, the ceiling does not have a central focal point. In programmatic contrast to the focus on Charles II at Windsor, at Chatsworth Caesar, Jupiter, and Juno encircle an empty centre. Compensating for this void are two figures who accentuate the central vertical axis. Truth, a naked woman carried heavenwards by the personification of time, is placed at the upper end of this axis, and meanwhile Hercules forms her pendant at its lower end (pl. 79). In his preliminary drawing (fig. 75), Laguerre suggested an identification of Cavendish with Hercules.³²⁵ The final design differs from this sketch in that William's motto "Cavendo tutus" is missing, but Hercules still holds a very prominent position. He stands out through his central placement, his size, and his vicinity to the beholder, appearing right above the stairs at the southern end of the hall (pl. 68).

Although William Cavendish's military role in the Glorious Revolution was ultimately less significant than he had wished, he had indeed raised a very considerable number of potential soldiers and had been prepared to encounter battle.³²⁶ In his view, a comparison with Hercules might therefore have seemed justifiable. While Laguerre's preliminary drawing showed Hercules/Cavendish in the act of reflection, in the final version he took on a more active stance: Hercules chastises the monster Hydra with his club as his companions (St George and Perseus with Medusa's severed head) wreak havoc on the personifications of war, vice, and furor. In this context, Hydra is surely meant to denote the evils Cavendish fought against, i. e. tyranny and popery.

Directly beneath Hercules and Hydra, a brightly lit, winged female figure stands out, commanding the viewer's attention with her vibrant red garment and her naked breasts (pl. 83). She wears a simple (open) crown, and a royal (closed) crown is seen toppling behind her back. At her feet rests a peacock, the traditional attribute of Juno, the queen of Olympus. This figure, shown losing the royal crown, may allude to the dethroned Catholic queen Mary of Modena, James II's wife, especially as the papal tiara can be recognized behind her. Her nudity, the obscene pose with parted legs, and the direction of her glance towards a baby boy, who falls from the sky, all refer to the scandal about Mary having supposedly faked the birth of a successor to the crown.³²⁷ Next to her appears another winged female figure, identified by her tail as a harpy. The wings of the red-clad woman liken her to the harpy, and the total configuration suggests that this is an image of despicable fraud. By helping to expel this fraudulent creature, Hercules/Cavendish contributes to the triumph of Truth, who hovers above him.

While Hercules commemorates William Cavendish's personal share in the Glorious Revolution, a more general reference to the House of Cavendish can be found in the central group of figures (pl. 80). To the left of Caesar is a beautiful female, winged and crowned, clad in a yellowish-golden dress (pl. 84). She holds a spear in her right hand, while her left rests on an urn. She appears to be seated on a stag that looks towards the personification of fame. His antlers are well visible.

Three stags' heads figure on the Cavendish coat of arms (fig. 89).³²⁸ I am therefore inclined to think that the woman symbolizes the House of Cavendish, even though some of her attributes also belong to Cesare Ripa's allegory of "Desiderio verso Iddio" (desire of God).³²⁹ The two interpretations need not be mutually exclusive, as – according to his first biographer – William Cavendish took an intense interest in religious matters.³³⁰ Moreover, for Ripa the stag is a symbol of prudence and might therefore be understood as a reference to William's motto "Cavendo Tutus."³³¹

Together, the woman in yellow, Caesar, and Jupiter form an ascending diagonal (pl. 80). Their alignment emphasizes the role of the woman, who gazes fondly in Jupiter's

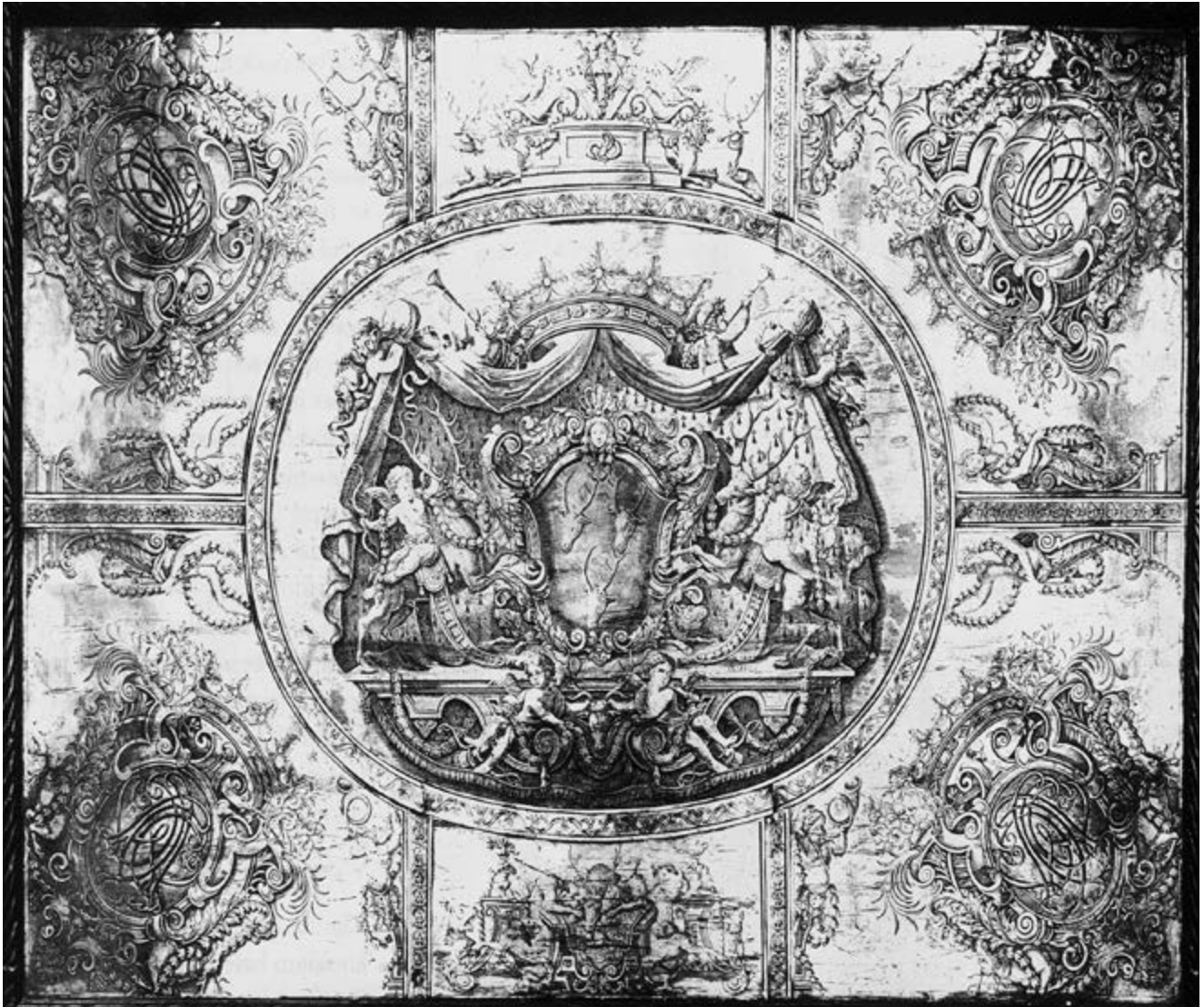


Fig. 89 Blaise Gentot. Tabletop with the Devonshire coat of arms, c. 1700. Engraved silver

direction. If my hypothesis is correct and she may be taken to represent the House of Cavendish, this configuration confidently expresses the Cavendishes' closeness to William III, whom the earl served on many important occasions.³³² In May 1694, only a few months before Laguerre and his *équipe* finished their work, the earl of Devonshire was made a duke.³³³ Had he been promised the title beforehand, with the painting being meant to visualize the social ascent of his family? This would certainly have been a fitting conclusion to an intense campaign of building and painting that, from the start, was intended to demonstrate the almost kingly status of the Cavendishes.³³⁴

Interaction with the Audience: Conflict Resolution and Cultural Memory

In the final section of the chapter, I would like to consider the choices that went into the making of this pictorial cycle and their effects on the relationship between the murals and their viewers. These choices concerned the murals' mode of representation, the selection, placement, and presentation of individual scenes, as well as the aim and method of communication.

The first decision the patron had to make pertained to the mode of representation.³³⁴ As set out in the introduc-

tion to this book, he could choose between four fundamentally different modes: a seemingly documentary one; a purely allegorical one; a mode combining contemporary events and supernatural figures; and a prefigurative mode, i. e. a choice of scenes from remote historical epochs that mirrored or prefigured contemporary events.³³⁵ Cavendish opted for this last approach and combined it with the allegorical mode restricted to the ceiling. That was by no means an obvious choice. Many contemporary works (for instance, prints and medals) represented the Glorious Revolution using a mix of contemporary history and allegory, or else in purely allegorical form.³³⁶ Moreover, as evidenced by a series of monumental canvases illustrating episodes from Charles II's life, it was also possible to depict contemporary events in a documentary or slightly idealized mode, even in large-scale format.³³⁷ Accordingly, the earl of Devonshire could have chosen to represent events in which he had personally participated: e. g. his military expedition to Nottingham, his meeting with Princess Anne, his speeches in Parliament, the conferment of the Order of the Garter, and the coronation of the new sovereigns. In addition, he could have ordered Laguerre to paint William's journey across the Channel and the landing at Torbay. Why did he reject these possibilities?

Previous interpretations of the Chatsworth murals have assumed that they depict exclusively episodes from the life of Julius Caesar and that the whole pictorial programme refers to the Glorious Revolution. However, as we have seen the situation is far more complex. There are several protagonists (Caesar/Augustus, Charles I/William III), and the pictorial programme addresses several moments in time: the civil war of the 1640s, the beheading of Charles I in 1649, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688/89, along with its consequences for the present and the future. Cavendish did not intend to commission a mere history of the Glorious Revolution. He did not wish to aggrandize his own role, nor did he strive to flatter William III with a sycophantic depiction of his deeds. Instead, he developed a much more comprehensive visual discourse on monarchy in order to stimulate a discussion about good and bad forms of government. Thus a straightforward narrative mode would not have fit the task.

The ceiling painting celebrates Cavendish's ideal form of government, constitutional monarchy. As this is an abstract idea, allegory was the only way to visualize it. However, the wall paintings had another aim and, consequently, required another mode of representation. They furnished materials for a discourse on monarchy. William Cavendish was a capable orator who knew the rules of rhetoric.³³⁸ Because the art of oratory necessitated the use of historical examples, scenes from ancient history and multiple references to classical literature supplied Cavendish and his guests with exactly the stimuli they needed for their political discussions.

Once this general mode of representation had been chosen, the patron had to select the individual scenes to be represented, i. e. to define the topics for the discourse he intended to develop. In coordination with his painters, he also needed to decide where to place each scene since the "spacing" of the various elements has a decisive impact on their perception and meaning. Last but not least, the painters would have made suggestions regarding pictorial methods for structuring the visual discourse. As all these aspects are interrelated, I will discuss them together, focusing on the critical issues addressed by the paintings. The following brief historical sketch serves to outline the underlying conflicts.

Although it has by now become customary to apostrophize the revolution of 1688/89 as "glorious" and to think of it as an event "without bloodshed," to contemporaries the situation must have seemed quite different. From 1689 until 1690 (in Scotland) and until 1691 (in Ireland), English and Dutch troops were engaged in heavy fights in an attempt to overcome Jacobite resistance against William's "usurpation" of the throne.³³⁹ Moreover, William involved the English in the old hostilities between his Dutch Republic and France,³⁴⁰ declaring war against Louis XIV in 1689.³⁴¹ One of the motivations for the revolution had indeed been his desire to tap the English resources for this costly enterprise.³⁴²

Louis XIV, who had started the War of the Palatine Succession in 1688, granted exile to James II and backed his attempts to regain the English throne.³⁴³ On 12 March 1689, James landed in Ireland, hoping to make the island a springboard for retaking the kingdoms of England

and Scotland.³⁴⁴ In the summer of 1690, French and Irish troops clashed with the English army at the Battle of the Boyne – a victory for William that heralded his albeit rather slow conquest of Ireland.³⁴⁵ Only in 1691 was the island finally “liberated.”³⁴⁶

Because of the conflict between England, France, and the Dutch Republic, the war in Ireland was part of the wider European War of the Grand Alliance (or Nine Years’ War).³⁴⁷ In 1690, the French defeated the English navy at Beachy Head in East Sussex.³⁴⁸ As William pondered retaliation, early in 1691 he travelled to The Hague in order to meet his European allies against France.³⁴⁹ William Cavendish accompanied him on this important mission,³⁵⁰ which did not, however, produce the desired results immediately: The English suffered a number of defeats before they managed to triumph over James II and Louis XIV at the Battle of La Hogue in May 1692.³⁵¹ In the following months and years, William proved even less successful: “In June 1692 the French captured Namur, despite the fact that 40,000 English troops were in Flanders with their king, and William’s attempt to storm the French camp at Steenkerke on 3 August NS ended in disaster. In July 1693 the French army defeated William and inflicted 16,000 casualties at Landan, while in October they went on to capture Charleroi.”³⁵²

In addition to military conflicts abroad, the English also had to face considerable unrest within their country. Although William and Mary’s rule was accepted by the majority, there existed a strong Jacobite opposition. The archbishop of Canterbury refused to crown the couple because he felt still bound by his oath to James II.³⁵³ A large number of so-called non-jurors did not take the oath of allegiance and were therefore deprived of their offices and livings.³⁵⁴ As only clerics and government officials had to take the oath, it may be suspected that the number of people who still felt loyal to James II (without having to make this public) was much higher. Only a third of the old king’s officer corps agreed to serve in the new regime, and there was a series of mutinies in 1689.³⁵⁵ Attempts to kill William of Orange were discovered in 1690, 1692, and 1694.³⁵⁶ The Lancashire Plot of 1692–1694, backed by James II himself, was designed to help him recover his throne.³⁵⁷

All in all, during the years 1692 to 1694 in which Laguerre, Ricard, and Chéron decorated the Painted Hall at Chatsworth, the political and military situation was characterized by a high level of insecurity and violence. Considering this backdrop of multiple conflicts, the highly euphemistic character of the pictorial programme at Chatsworth becomes apparent. It is evident that the negative side effects of the revolution were suppressed, the patron wishing to transmit only its “glorious” aspects to posterity.

The choice, placement, and presentation of the individual episodes reflect Cavendish’s desire to act as mediator in the ongoing conflicts. From 1689 until 1702, he served on the King’s Privy Council;³⁵⁸ accordingly, he would have had a keen interest in winning support for William’s policies. As there was still a lot of sympathy for James II in the country, he knew that not all of his guests shared his enthusiasm for William of Orange. He therefore conceived a pictorial programme that showed the king in a favourable light, enabling himself to enter into a diplomatic dialogue with his guests.

Significantly, the first image that a visitor was meant to encounter represented Augustus closing the Temple of Janus (pl. 70).³⁵⁹ Its prominent placement and giant size indicate that this painting contains the most important pictorial message. Moreover, it is the only wall painting surrounded with a painted golden frame. The trophies placed on either side of the image imitate the carved trophies that the beholder has just seen on the west façade of the Painted Hall (pl. 67). The martial programme of the façade (originally decorated with statues of Mars, Fortitude, and Prudence)³⁶⁰ formed a clear-cut contrast to the corresponding wall painting of Augustus closing the Temple of Janus (fig. 74, A and no. 4). The visitor was encouraged to draw the conclusion that a period of war would be followed by a period of peace: William of Orange appeared as the new Augustus, ushering in an age of peace and prosperity. This was a propagandistic message that gained force precisely in light of so many recent battles. It visualized a widespread desire for peace, an image of an ideal future.

Almost like a triptych, the central image is framed by two oval paintings (fig. 74, nos. 3 and 5). Their symmet-

rical arrangement suggests that they are to be read as a pair. As a result of their monochrome treatment, they seem further removed from the viewer. This treatment signals another temporal dimension, a more remote past. Two events from the past are contrasted: the civil war caused by Caesar (Charles I) and the peaceful arrival of William of Orange, whose gestures denote sincerity and friendship.

Many seventeenth-century Jacobites would have subscribed to the view that William, too, had incited a civil war (this time in Scotland and Ireland). The pictorial programme at Chatsworth countered such opinions by presenting William of Orange as an entirely positive hero, aided by divine providence. By alluding to the storm from which William's fleet had escaped allegedly through God's help, Chéron portrayed the king as champion of Protestantism, seeking to gain the approval of Cavendish's mostly Anglican guests.

The two remaining paintings display yet another pictorial mode, a mode corresponding to yet another method of communication. They do not have frames but rather establish a direct relationship with the beholder via an illusionist treatment of the pictorial space. The figures hovering on the ceiling seem to move in a space that is continuous with that of the viewer (pl. 79). Similarly, in the *Assassination of Julius Caesar* the figures step through the picture plane (pl. 69).

While the monochromes allude to the past and *Augustus closing the Temple of Janus* envisions a future "golden" age in a gilt frame, the illusionist presence of the protagonists in the other two paintings denotes their special relevance for the present. They relate to the viewer in a more direct way and appeal to his or her emotions – most notably through Caesar's expression of grief, which is (in contradiction to the ancient literary descriptions) displayed rather than veiled. It invites compassion and may also generate horror.³⁶¹

The *Assassination of Caesar* can best be viewed when a visitor descends the stairs that lead from the state apartment into the hall (pl. 69). Ideally, therefore, this message was addressed to Cavendish's most noble guests, who were meant to lodge in the state apartment, i. e. the king and his entourage. The subject matter al-

ludes to the historical event of Charles I's beheading in 1649, but the illusionist presentation of the scene stresses its contemporary relevance: It is a warning to each successive ruler to consider the consequences of arbitrary government. By staging Caesar's murder in front of a statue of Pompey, Cavendish interprets the assassination as a punishment for Caesar's role in the civil war.

The trauma of the regicide was a dominant topic in late seventeenth-century discourse.³⁶² When Whigs and Tories clashed over the Exclusion Crisis, the experience of the civil war provided important arguments. Tories warned against the exclusion of the duke of York by suggesting that the alternative (i. e. William of Orange's succession) would carry the risk of yet another civil war.³⁶³ William Cavendish, one of the leading Whigs of his time, knew these debates very well. I think he included the reference to Charles's beheading precisely as a way to establish a dialogue with Tories and even Jacobites.

The seemingly incongruous juxtaposition of Caesar's assassination and apotheosis offered a chance to develop a complex discourse that strove to reconcile different political positions. The paintings enabled William Cavendish to point out that the Cavendish family had a royalist tradition and that he personally believed in the ideal of a strong monarchy, symbolized by Caesar's deification. He could also maintain that William and Mary continued the Stuart tradition, as both of them descended from Charles I (a harmonious relationship visualized by his posthumous rehabilitation/apotheosis). Cavendish's support of monarchy and condemnation of civil war established points of contact between him and his political opponents. Yet, at the same time, the assassination of Caesar could be used as an argument to legitimate the punishment of rulers who had abused their power (Charles I/James II). The pictorial programme hinted at William of Orange's role as champion of Protestantism (implying his superiority over the Catholic James II) and celebrated the supreme ideal of constitutional monarchy. As the ceiling painting evoked a society of peers who govern jointly with the monarchs, it sought to strengthen William and Mary's position by emphasizing that they had abolished autocratic ("tyrannical") rule.

Modern research on conflict resolution has stressed the need for reconciliation as well as the contribution of the media towards this goal in helping to change attitudes and beliefs.³⁶⁴ It has been established that cooperative behaviour induces cooperation in others and that it is better to focus on desired future outcomes rather than on conflicts in the past.³⁶⁵ William Cavendish was obviously aware of these principles. He used seventeenth-century media (monumental murals) to aid reconciliation and promote consensus. The main images in the Painted Hall did not refer to the past but to a happy future (William of Orange's role as new Augustus, i. e. peacemaker) and, above all, to the present. The ceiling painting was meant to involve the beholders and encouraged them to become part of the society of peers around the sovereigns. The depiction of cooperative behaviour aimed to induce cooperation. In the illusionist mode of the ceiling painting, the vividness and palpability of the figures, who inhabit a space that seems to be continuous with the viewer's own, were a precondition for their agency, i. e. their ability to act as mediators.³⁶⁶

According to sociologist Martina Löw, social space is constituted via two interrelated processes: "spacing" (the positioning of certain social goods, people, or symbolic markers in designated places) and *Syntheseleistung* (a cognitive effort that connects these elements).³⁶⁷ These processes are exemplified in the Chatsworth murals. As explained above, the "spacing" (location of specific scenes in specific places) prioritizes certain images and thus directs the viewer's perception of the paintings, while the *Syntheseleistung* entails an effort construed ideally as a dialogue between William Cavendish and his guests. People are an integral part of social space; the particular setting in which they move facilitates specific actions just as it discourages others.³⁶⁸ In the case of Chatsworth, this means that the design of the Painted Hall invites a friendly dialogue about positive and negative forms of government and promotes participation in a unified, harmonious, cooperative society of peers.

In addition to the murals, the architecture, too, guides visitors' experiences of the Painted Hall. This has already been pointed out with reference to the main en-

trance that offered a well-calculated first view of the ensemble, but it is equally true for the stairs, which constitute the most prominent architectonic feature of the hall. The present staircase (pl. 68) was built only in 1832,³⁶⁹ but its original form can be seen in the ground plan of 1715 (fig. 65). William Talman's design was highly innovative. Firstly, he blended the hall and staircase that had traditionally been two separate entities,³⁷⁰ and secondly, he adopted a curved plan previously used for outdoor stairways.³⁷¹ His design consisted of two "arms" stretched out towards the visitors. The resulting effect of a built embrace may have been faintly reminiscent of Bernini's Piazza di San Pietro.³⁷² In any case, Cavendish's guests were able to ascend on two opposite flights of stairs, meeting on the upper landing. The process of reunification and reconciliation proposed by the murals was thus translated into a bodily experience through the architecture of the staircase.

The Painted Hall may be regarded as a space of translation in which numerous acts of translation occurred, in painting, architecture, language, on artistic and social levels, between continental Europe and Britain (via the input of the French painters), as well as in discussions among a British audience. William Cavendish was able to use the hall as a *theatrum memoriae* (theatre of memory), i. e. a mnemonic device for the orator intended to help him structure his discourse.³⁷³ By interpreting the scenes for his guests, he translated the images into words and sought to win support for his particular vision of society. If left unexplained, the murals would have remained ambiguous and offered each viewer the opportunity to rephrase the message according to his or her personal views – in a process of appropriation that is characteristic of translation.

Cultural memory depends on acts of translation because each generation interprets the past in ways that meet the needs of the present and the future.³⁷⁴ Cavendish suppressed the negative effects of the revolution because he wished to inscribe a Williamite, Whig view of the events into collective memory. Autobiographical, episodic memory (Cavendish's and his guests' memories of their own participation in the Glorious Revolution) was amalgamated with semantic memory (knowledge of

Roman history) in order to reach a level of reflection that transcended individual experience. The murals served as an exogram that encapsulated this particular vision of history.³⁷⁵

As more than three centuries have elapsed since the creation of the paintings, their meaning needs to be retrieved from the realm of mere passive storage memory. In the late seventeenth century, however, their messages belonged to functional memory, i. e. “the active memory of a we-group. Just as the autobiographical memory underpins the identity of an individual, so the

functional cultural memory provides the foundation for the collective identity.”³⁷⁶ In cooperation with the painters, who contributed their very own knowledge and memories concerning representations of Roman and contemporary history, William Cavendish created a pictorial cycle that addressed fundamental hopes and concerns of his age. In doing so, he helped to shape a collective identity based on shared values (freedom and Protestantism as opposed to “popery and slavery”) and sustained by a common belief in constitutional monarchy as the ideal form of government.

NOTES

- 1 The inscription is placed over the chimneypiece and reads as follows: “AEDES HAS PATERNAS DILECTISSIMAS ANNO / LIBERTATIS ANGLICAE MDCLXXXVIII INSTITUTAS / GUL. S. DEVONIAE DUX ANNO MDCCCXI HAERES / ACCEPIT ANNO MAERORIS SUI MDCCCXL PERFECIT.” The text states that William, Duke of Devonshire, inherited this beloved building (erected in the year of England’s freedom 1688) in 1811 and finished its renovation in the year of his grief 1840. Thompson 1949, 116, explains that the last part of the inscription alludes to the death of the duke’s much-loved niece Blanche.
- 2 Trevor-Roper 1992, 234.
- 3 Lorenzo Magalotti, Tuscan envoy to London, reported that a play on sixteenth-century France was understood to refer to the Exclusion Crisis. The Guise party was interpreted as the Whigs, Henry of Navarra (the future Henry IV) as the duke of

York, and Henry III as Charles II: “In quel tempo Dryden fece una commedia intitolata *Il duca di Guisa* con allegoria allo stato presente dell’Inghilterra a quello della Francia sotto Errico III simboleggiando sotto i Guisardi i Whigs, sotto il re di Navarra, che era il vero erede presuntivo, ma di religion contraria alle leggi del regno, il duca di Yorke e i Toris, e sotto Errico, tutto dedito ai piaceri, il re Carlo e i Trimmers.” Cf. Magalotti (ed. 1972), 224. Similarly, Dryden’s play *Absalom and Achitophel* also referenced contemporary politics: The printed text contains a key that identifies Absalom as the duke of Monmouth and Achitophel as the earl of Shaftesbury, while Charles II is represented as King David (Dryden 1708, no pagination; cf. Stewart 1997, 35). For further examples cf. Petrakos 2015 and for contemporary readings of the history of Caesar see the below section titled “Caesar in Translation: British Discourses on a Controversial Figure.”

- 4 Ambrose et al. 2016, 27. See also Hartwell et al. 2016, 238: The paintings “represent the Life of Julius Caesar and were intended to be grand in the Baroque manner; the subject was chosen in honour of William III.”
- 5 I presented some central ideas of the following chapter in papers given at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (20 December 2018), at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich (29 January 2020), and at the Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel (6 February 2020); I would like to thank the audiences for their feedback.
- 6 Pearson 2002, 17, 21–26, 28–30, 34–35, 37.
- 7 Pearson 2002, 44; Levin 2004, 653.
- 8 Levin 2004, 654.
- 9 Pearson 2002, 46–51; Lee and Stater 2004b, 654.
- 10 Stater 2004b, 663.
- 11 Pearson 2002, 52.
- 12 Kennett 1708, 79–96; Pearson 2002, 57–58.
- 13 Pearson 2002, 58.
- 14 Stater 2004b, 663.
- 15 Pearson 2002, 58; Stater 2004b, 664. On countess Christian Cavendish’s role during the Interregnum cf. Kennett 1708, 99–103; Stater 2004a, 610–611. For a contemporary biography of her see Pomfret 1685.
- 16 Stater 2004b, 663.
- 17 Hosford 2004, 664. Some sources give his year of birth as 1640 (e. g. Kennett 1708, 117; Pearson 2002, 62), but this results from the old style of the English calendar (at that time, 25 March was the beginning of the new year, i. e. 25 January 1640 corresponds to 25 January 1641 according to present usage).
- 18 Little is known about his itinerary. Hosford 2004, 664, mentions Paris and Florence, names François du Prat as William’s tutor, and claims that they had “visited most of Europe.” Kennett 1708, 177, only states that William had been “bred by Studies and Travels,” accompanied by Henry Killigrew: “The Companion and Guide of his Travels was Dr. Killigrew, afterward Master of the ‘Savoy, & c.’ who gave him a just and true Relish in Poetry, and all the Refinements of Sense and Wit.”
- 19 Hosford 2004, 665.
- 20 Magalotti (ed. 1972), 128: “è il maggiore scapigliato di Londra.”
- 21 Hosford 2004, 665; Hirst 2012, § 4.
- 22 Kennett 1708, 121–132; Hosford 2004, 665.
- 23 Hosford 2004, 665; Keay 2008, 163.
- 24 Wyndham 1976, 90–100; Glassey 2011; Dolman et al. 2012, 43.
- 25 On the Exclusion Crisis see the sections in chapter 3 titled “Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot” and “Modes of Reception, Layers of Meaning, and the Blessings of Ambiguity.”
- 26 For a detailed history of the “Popish Plot” see Kenyon 1972; Scott 1990, 107–131; Keay 2008, 183–185; Morton 2017, 184–191.
- 27 Miller 1973, 171.
- 28 Miller 1973, 173; Schwoerer 2004, 360.
- 29 Hobbes (ed. 2008), 139, 141–145, 171–172.
- 30 Barker 2003a, 95 (cat. 21), 97 (cat. 23); Hobbes (ed. 2008), 172; Bunce 2009, 3.
- 31 Hobbes (ed. 2008), 151; Bunce 2009, 9–10.
- 32 Bunce 2009, 12. Building on family memories, William Cavendish’s first biographer White Kennett described the philosopher’s habits and daily contact with his patrons up until his death in December 1679. See Kennett 1708, 106–115, esp. 107 (“he went round the Lodgings to wait upon the Earl, the Countess, and the Children, and any considerable Strangers, paying some short Addresses to all of them”) and 115 (“He could not endure to be left in an empty House; whenever the Earl removed, he would go along with him, even to his last Stage from Chatsworth to Hardwick, when in a very weak Condition, he dar’d not be left behind, but made his way upon a Feather Bed in a Coach, tho’ he survived the Journey but a few Days”). On Kennett see Okie 2004, 283–287, esp. 285.
- 33 Skinner 2005, 161.
- 34 Hobbes (ed. 2005), 177–178; Skinner 2005, 162–163.
- 35 Skinner 2005, 169, 173.
- 36 Skinner 2005, 173.
- 37 Kennett 1708, 193–197; Skinner 2005, 173–174.
- 38 Kennett 1708, 194.
- 39 Cavendish 1681.
- 40 Skinner 2005, 175–176.
- 41 Skinner 2005, 174, 176.
- 42 Claydon 2007, 223–240; Keay 2008, 186–187.
- 43 Pearson 2002, 65–66.
- 44 Kennett 1708, 133–135; Kluxen 1991, 362–364; Pearson 2002, 66; Schwoerer 2004, 361–362.
- 45 Pearson 2002, 66.
- 46 Hosford 2004, 667.
- 47 Wyndham 1976, 147–166; Sharpe 2013, 277–278.
- 48 Pearson 2002, 67.
- 49 Pearson 2002, 67–68. See also Kennett 1708, 136–139.
- 50 Pearson 2002, 68–70; Hosford 2004, 667.
- 51 Pearson 2002, 72. See also Sharpe 2013, 278–279.
- 52 Claydon 2004, 73.
- 53 Speck 2004, 125.
- 54 Barozzi and Berchet 1863, 453 (from “Relazione d’Inghilterra di Pietro Mocenigo ambasciatore ordinario a Carlo II, 1671”).
- 55 Miller 1997, 11; Frank 1997; Griffiths and Gerard 1998, Grif-

- fiths and Gerard 1998, 300; Bird and Clayton 2017, 418 (satirical engraving “Thalpolectrum Parturiens: or the Wonderful Product of the Court Warming-pan”). See also Magalotti (ed. 1972), 229.
- 56 For the text of the invitation see Pincus 2006, 37–39. The other members of the group were Charles Talbot (Earl of Shrewsbury), Thomas Osborne (Earl of Danby), Richard Lumley, Henry Compton (Bishop of London), Henry Sidney, and Edward Russell; cf. *ibid.*, 37. See also Chacksfield 1988, 18.
- 57 An Account of the Reasons 1688.
- 58 Trevor-Roper 1992, 236–245.
- 59 Declaration 1688, 4; Pincus 2006, 39–43. See also Humble Address 1688, no pagination: “[We] beg leave to present our most humble Thanks to your Highness, particularly for your appearing in Arms in this Kingdom, to carry on, and perfect your Glorious Design, to rescue England, Scotland, and Ireland, from Slavery and Poperly, and in a Free Parliament, to Establish the Religion, the Laws, and the Liberties of these Kingdoms, upon a Sure and Lasting Foundation.”
- 60 Kennett 1708, 144–159, 197–202.
- 61 De Krey 2007; Pincus 2009, ad indicem.
- 62 Pearson 2002, 73.
- 63 Magalotti (ed. 1972), 230; Chacksfield 1988, 7, 25–29; Miller 1997, 10–15; Maurer 2000, 175; Pearson 2002, 73; Niggemann 2017, 261.
- 64 Kennett 1708, 152–155; Chacksfield 1988, 63–64; Hosford 2004, 668.
- 65 Hosford 2004, 668.
- 66 Miller 1997, 19–21; Maurer 2000, 175; Hosford 2004, 669.
- 67 Maurer 2000, 175; Sharpe 2013, 453.
- 68 Miller 1997, 68–75; Maurer 2002, 175; Pincus 2006, 69–74; Miller 2017, 337–338.
- 69 Miller 1997, 14–15.
- 70 Kennett 1708, 158–159; Chacksfield 1988, 143; Hosford 2004, 669. As is evident from a report by the Tuscan resident in London Francesco Terriesi, the exiled king James also created knights of the Garter, meaning that each vacancy was filled twice: “Furono date la giar(et)tieria da questo regnante al pre-nominato Maresciall di Sciombergh, et a Mylord Conte di Davonshire [sic, Devonshire] le medesime che ad altri ha conferito ancora il Rè Giacomo, sendo in Francia [...]” (Appendix II, 1689,04,08).
- 71 Kennett 1708, 159. However, according to Macaulay the king’s crown was carried by Grafton and the queen’s by Somerset: Chacksfield 1988, 142.
- 72 Kennett 1708, 138, 160–166.
- 73 Kennett 1708, 203–204 (Appendix 9: “Preamble to the Patent creating William Duke of Devonshire”); Pearson 2002, 75; Schwoerer 2004, 362.
- 74 Macaulay quoted from Pearson 2002, 75.
- 75 Hosford 2004, 667.
- 76 Thompson 1949, 23; Pearson 2002, 16.
- 77 Ambrose et al. 2016, 8.
- 78 When Wilson painted this view of Chatsworth from the west, the Elizabethan Chatsworth no longer existed – which raises the question of his visual sources. Jan Siberechts was paid for a journey to Chatsworth in 1695, but according to Thompson 1949 (65, note 3), the view of the house that he was supposed to paint was either lost or never executed. Thompson was probably unaware of Siberechts’s view of Chatsworth from the east, which seems to have been kept at the duke’s London house (Lim 2020, 98–99, fig. 87). Nevertheless, it is possible that Siberechts produced a drawing on his journey and that many years later it served as a model for Wilson. On Wilson’s painting see also Thompson 1949, 24, note 1.
- 79 Thompson 1949, 28.
- 80 Fowler 1994, 379.
- 81 Fowler 1994, 373–376, lines 1264, 1332, 1361.
- 82 Fowler 1994, 373, lines 1247–1248, 1253–1260.
- 83 Cf. Thompson 1949, 27, who quotes an eighteenth-century description: “Upon the top of that mountain begins a vast extended moor or waste, which, for fifteen or sixteen miles together due North, presents you with neither hedge, house or tree, but a waste and houling wilderness, over which when strangers travel, they are obliged to take guides, or it would be next to impossible not to lose their way. Nothing can be more surprising of its kind, than for a stranger coming from the North [...] when he looks down from a frightful height, and a comfortless, barren and, as he thought, endless moor, into the most delightful valley, with the most pleasant garden, and most beautiful palace in the world [...].”
- 84 Thompson 1949, 39.
- 85 Pearson 2002, 71.
- 86 Girouard 1979, 121–122, 126.
- 87 Thompson 1949, 39; Pearson 2002, 71–72.
- 88 Harris 1992, 17. Harris has sought to attribute several earlier houses to Talman, but this remains purely hypothetical: Harris 1992, 22–27; Harris 2008, 98–99. Smith 2004b, 750, presents these hypotheses as facts.
- 89 Harris 1992, 19; see also Harris 2008, 98.
- 90 Harris 1992, 19.
- 91 Harris 1992, 17, 28; Harris 2008, 97–98.
- 92 Harris 1992, 19; Sicca 2008, 1.
- 93 Lees-Milne and Cornforth 1968, 5; Harris 1992, fig. 22 (caption). See also Whinney 1955, 127: “Talman is clearly attempting, and perhaps for the first time achieving, a Baroque English house.”
- 94 Whinney 1955, 127; accepted by Lees-Milne and Cornforth

- 1968, 5. On Bernini's designs for the Louvre see Marder 1998, 260–272.
- 95 Harris 1992, 28.
- 96 Worsley 1992, 9.
- 97 Harris 2008, 99–100.
- 98 Hirst 2012, § 9.
- 99 Bold 1989, 128–129. On Webb's Greenwich designs see also Geraghty 2007, 123–125.
- 100 Hirst 2012, § 12.
- 101 Lees-Milne and Cornforth 1968, 18; Treasures 1979, 15; Pearson 2002, 80; Hirst 2012, § 16. Cf. Hartmann 1995, pl. 3 and figs. 1.8–1.10, 2.38–2.39.
- 102 Between this pool and the house there is a large stretch of lawn with a smaller inset fountain, whose three little jets can be seen in the background of pl. 61. Modern aerial photography (e. g. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NhGCT2JYZFk>, last accessed 13 February 2020) confirms that this layout corresponds with the bird's eye view represented in the famous Chatsworth print by Kip and Kniff (Hirst 2012, fig. 4). Although there exist notable differences in detail, the general design with several pools and fountains centred on a façade articulated by giant pilasters is reminiscent of Marly.
- 103 Worsley 1992, 8.
- 104 Harris 1992, 29.
- 105 For illustrations of the state rooms at Chatsworth see Cavendish 2000, 14–27; Ambrose et al. 2016, 40–50.
- 106 Thompson 1949, 45.
- 107 Thompson 1949, 40.
- 108 Thompson 1949, 44–45.
- 109 Thompson 1949, 44–46.
- 110 Thompson 1949, 47.
- 111 Thompson 1949, 40.
- 112 Thompson 1949, 150.
- 113 Thompson 1949, 150.
- 114 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:61–62.
- 115 Brett 2009, 10.
- 116 For instance, Verrio lost the Chelsea commission to Cooke; see in chapter 4 the section titled “The Royal Hospital at Chelsea and Britain's Rivalry with France.”
- 117 Lees-Milne and Cornforth 1968, 6.
- 118 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:251; Cavendish 2000, 32–33; Ambrose et al. 2016, 36–37.
- 119 The painting was set over the altar on 19 December 1693: Thompson 1949, 135.
- 120 For seating arrangements cf. Ambrose et al. 2016, 37.
- 121 John 20:29.
- 122 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “Confessional Issues in the King's Chapel.”
- 123 Campbell 1998; Campbell 2007, 277–297; Furlotti and Rebecchini 2018, 55–59; Maier 2021.
- 124 Thompson 1949, 113.
- 125 Thompson 1949, 48, 112–114. The ground plan from *Vitruvius Britannicus* (fig. 65) shows the original staircase, built in 1692/93 and demolished in 1832.
- 126 Thompson 1949, 114.
- 127 Thompson 1949, 114 (italics in the original text).
- 128 Thompson 1949, 114.
- 129 Thompson 1949, 114.
- 130 Thompson 1949, 113. They received £9 for colours – a rather significant sum if compared to the payments for the painters: In April 1694 Ricard “received £20 upon the Account of Painting in the Hall, and in August another £20, in full for Painting at Chatsworth and in full of all demands” (ibid., 114).
- 131 Thompson 1949, 114.
- 132 Thompson 1949, 113–114 (italics in the original text).
- 133 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:61–62.
- 134 Thompson 1949, 27.
- 135 Ambrose et al. 2016, 105. See above note 78.
- 136 Thompson 1949, 24, 27.
- 137 Thompson 1949, 44.
- 138 Numerous examples can be found in Girouard 1979.
- 139 Fowler 1994, 373, lines 1261–1262.
- 140 Fowler 1994, 376, lines 1372–1375.
- 141 For a reproduction of Siberechts's view see Lim 2020, 98, fig. 87.
- 142 The “Queen of Scots Apartment” purportedly consists of the rooms in which Mary, Queen of Scots, stayed in 1570, 1573, 1577, and 1581 while she was being held in custody by George Talbot. The rooms were completely rebuilt along with the rest of the east wing between 1688 and 1693. Cf. Thompson 1949, 27–28, 46–47.
- 143 In 1681, Charles Cotton wrote: “The windows now look like so many suns, / Illustrating the noble room at once: [...] / Where now whole sashes are but one great eye, / T'examine and admire thy beauties by” (Fowler 1994, 377, lines 1409–1414).
- 144 For a colour reproduction of this image see Hirst 2012, fig. 11.
- 145 Thompson 1949, 82, pl. 28. See also Hirst 2012, fig. 13 and § 19.
- 146 Thompson 1949, 201–202; Lees-Milne and Cornforth 1968, 8–9. The corridor on the north was described by Cotton as a “fine portico” (Fowler 1994, 376, line 1373).
- 147 Thompson 1949, 202.
- 148 Johns 2004, 120.
- 149 Thompson 1949, 106, pl. 45.
- 150 Thompson 1949, 202, note 4; Lees-Milne and Cornforth 1968, 8.

- 151 Even the most recent publication on British mural painting (Hamlett 2020b) does not discuss them. Peterson 2020 concentrates on the state apartments and mentions the Painted Hall only in passing, relying on Johns 2004, 118–135.
- 152 Fiennes (ed. 1995), 106. See also Hirst 2012, § 13.
- 153 Cavendish 1845, 7–8.
- 154 Pearson 2002, 79.
- 155 Some authors mention the Painted Hall without naming individual episodes: Waterhouse 1994, 126; Cavendish 2000, 9–10; Hartwell et al. 2016, 238. Strangely, David Solkin does not discuss Chatsworth in his chapter “Making History after the ‘Glorious Revolution’” (Solkin 2015, 48–62).
- 156 Day in the Peak 1858, 17; Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:251. Johns 2004, 121, labels the painting more cautiously as “Caesar attending a sacrifice at the entrance of a Roman temple,” followed by Ambrose et al. 2016, 27. Cornforth 2000, 98, speaks of “Julius Caesar Proceeding to the Capitol.”
- 157 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:251; followed by Cornforth 2000, 98.
- 158 Day in the Peak 1858, 17; Lees-Milne and Cornforth 1968, 9; Johns 2004, 121; Ambrose et al. 2016, 27.
- 159 Day in the Peak 1858, 17; Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:251.
- 160 Johns 2004, 121; Ambrose et al. 2016, 27.
- 161 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:251; Lees-Milne and Cornforth 1968, 9.
- 162 Johns 2004, 119; Musson 2011, 69.
- 163 Johns 2004, 118–135.
- 164 Johns 2004, 120, 123.
- 165 Johns 2004, 122–123.
- 166 Johns 2004, 126.
- 167 Johns 2004, 128–133.
- 168 Musson 2011, 70.
- 169 Ambrose et al. 2016, 27, and Hartwell et al. 2016, 238, explain the paintings as a homage to William III without, however, discussing this in any detail. In the section titled “New Spaces, Revolutionary Meaning,” Peterson (2020) follows Richard Johns’s interpretation.
- 170 The motto also appears in the frieze of the south façade (plates 61, 62). Cf. Johns 2004, 123.
- 171 Johns 2004, 134.
- 172 Latham and Hughes 1973, 18; Galloway 1986; Marshall 2000, 9–51; Colls 2002, 34; Kewes 2002, 165.
- 173 Harrison 1604. See also Withington 1963, 1:222–226; Stevenson 2006, 39–46.
- 174 Kewes 2002, 183, note 22.
- 175 Kewes 2002, 183, note 22; Hille 2012, 79.
- 176 Kewes 2002, 165.
- 177 Kewes 2002, 160.
- 178 Kewes 2002, 163–164.
- 179 Paleit 2011, 212–213.
- 180 Kewes 2002, 161.
- 181 Kewes 2002, 166.
- 182 Paleit 2011, 230.
- 183 Kewes 2002, 166–167.
- 184 Hille 2012, 78.
- 185 Kewes 2002, 168.
- 186 Logan 1971, 54. Dilke 1972, 85, pointed out that “Lucan was one of the Latin poets prescribed for lectures at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, founded in 1517; the order of popularity of Latin poetical works sold by the University bookseller in 1520 was Terence, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Horace.”
- 187 Paleit 2011, 214–215.
- 188 Logan 1971; Dilke 1972, 87–92; Paleit 2011, 225; Wright 2004. Contemporary French history, too, was presented according to the model of *Pharsalia*: Norbrook 1999, 40–41.
- 189 Kewes 2002, 155.
- 190 Paleit 2011, 226.
- 191 Paleit 2011, 238. See also Norbrook 1999, 36: “An admiration for Lucan did not in itself imply republican sympathies. His more orthodox and humourless readers could persuade themselves that the invocation to Nero was the expression of a genuine monarchism.”
- 192 Kewes 2002, 175–176.
- 193 Kewes 2002, 157.
- 194 Kewes 2002, 157.
- 195 Kewes 2002, 171–172.
- 196 Kewes 2002, 156–157.
- 197 Hobbes (ed. 2010), 196.
- 198 Farnaby 1624; Dilke 1972, 95–96; Norbrook 1999, 34–43; Kewes 2002, 173–174.
- 199 Kewes 2002, 175.
- 200 Furlotti and Rebecchini 2018, 55–59; Maier 2021.
- 201 Chester 1932, 43, 190–191.
- 202 Chester 1932, 65–70.
- 203 Chester 1932, 67–68, 195–196.
- 204 Norbrook 1999, 43.
- 205 Norbrook 1999, 43.
- 206 Norbrook 1999, 43–44, 49.
- 207 Norbrook 1999, 45–48. I consulted a copy of the second edition kept in Cambridge University Library, which still contains the dedication “To the Right Honorable William, Earle of Devonshire.” The most significant lines read: “The blood of her [Rome’s] valiant citizens, and the conquests, and triumphs of so many ages had raised her now to that unhappy height, in which shee could neither retaine her freedom without great troubles, nor fall into a Monarchy but most heavy and distastfull. In one the greatnesse of private Citizens excluded moderation: in the other the vast strength, and forces of the

- Prince gave him too absolute and undetermined a power. The vices of Rome did at this time not only grow up to their power, but overthrow it. Luxury and Pride, the wicked daughters of so noble a Mother as the Roman Vertue, began to consume that which brought them forth. These were the seeds of that faction, which rent [sic; ruin'd?] the State, and brought in violently a change of government." Lucan (ed. 1631), 3–5.
- 208 Norbrook 1999, 50–53.
- 209 Norbrook 1999, 55.
- 210 Norbrook 1999, 48.
- 211 Harris 1990, 220; Kramer 2007, 85.
- 212 Seel and Smith 2001, 67. On this period see Sharpe 1992.
- 213 Chester 1932, 190–191; Norbrook 1999, 225–228. Davis 2013, 673, mentions a further edition in 1679.
- 214 Chester 1932, 159–160, 192–194. For the Latin text see May (ed. 2005).
- 215 May 1630, dedication to Charles I (no pagination).
- 216 Chester 1932, 45–50, 159–168, 194.
- 217 May (ed. 2005), 23–28.
- 218 Norbrook 1999, 63.
- 219 May 1630, last pages (no pagination):
 “Hopelesse he [Caesar] hides his face, and fixed stands
 T’endure the fury of revenging hands
 Repressing groanes or words, as loth to shame
 His former life, or dying staine the fame
 Of those great deeds through all the World exprest,
 These silent thoughts revolving in his brest:
 Yet has not Fortune chang’d, nor given the power
 Of Caesar’s head to any Conquerour;
 By no Superiour’s proud command I die,
 But by subiected Romes conspiracy:
 Who to the World confesses by her feares,
 My State and strength to be too great for hers,
 And from earths highest Throne, sends me to be
 By after-ages made a Deitie:
 Through many wounds his life disseized, fled
 At last; and he, who never vanquished
 By open warre, with blood and slaughter strew’d
 So many lands, with his owne blood embrew’d
 The seat of wronged lustice, and fell downe
 A sacrifice t’appease th’offended gowne.”
- 220 In the dedication; see above.
- 221 See the above section titled “William Cavendish’s Background and Political Agenda.”
- 222 Norbrook 1999, 44.
- 223 Kennett 1708, 186, 199–202. See also the below section titled “The Ceiling Painting: An Image of Constitutional Monarchy.”
- 224 It is not known whether the king commissioned them; he may have acquired a prefabricated set put on offer by a Flemish merchant. See Campbell 1998, 2, 35–36; Campbell 2007, 281. The set seems to have arrived at the English court in 1543 or shortly before: Campbell 2007, 277.
- 225 Campbell 1998, 2.
- 226 Campbell does not discuss the literary sources, but from a comparison with Lucan’s text it appears that the following scenes were based on *Pharsalia* (cf. Campbell 1998, 19–21): Caesar breaking into the treasury; “Caesar crossing the Brindisi” (for a correct identification of this scene see below); the Battle of Pharsalia; the reunion of Pompey and Cornelia on a ship at sea; the assassination of Pompey and Spurina foretelling Caesar’s fate.
- 227 Campbell 1998, 2.
- 228 Hosford 2004, 669.
- 229 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:61.
- 230 Cf. Campbell 1998, 19–21.
- 231 Campbell 1998, 2–21.
- 232 Campbell 1998, 5, fig. 2. Campbell also publishes a later variant whose central group is essentially identical: *ibid.*, 7, fig. 3.
- 233 Cf. Suetonius (ed. 1998), Caesar, § 82, 2. Plutarch’s description of the scene is quoted below (note 234).
- 234 From *Plutarch’s lives. Translated from the Greek by several hands* (1685), quoted by Johns 2004, 129.
- 235 Campbell 1998, 19, 21.
- 236 Campbell 1998, 10, fig. 4.
- 237 Campbell 1998, 13.
- 238 Day in the Peak 1858, 17.
- 239 In this text for reasons of simplicity the oval paintings are referred to as “monochromes” (using a familiar term that is recurrent in the literature on the Painted Hall), though technically speaking they are *cameïeux* heightened with gold. As can be seen in plates 71–73, there exists a clear distinction between the nude figures painted in grisaille (various shades of grey) and the oval reliefs that have a brownish, Bronze-like tone.
- 240 The text was translated by Nicholas Rowe: Lucan (ed. 1718).
- 241 The French translation is by Georges de Brébeuf: Lucan (ed. 1657).
- 242 Préaud 1998, 342–343; Bissell 2000, 505.
- 243 Bolte 1998, 448.
- 244 O’Connell 1998, 451.
- 245 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:67; O’Connell 1998, 451; Hamlett 2012, 200–201; Hamlett 2020a, 103, 106–107.
- 246 O’Connell 1998, 451.
- 247 Thompson 1949, 56, 63, 67, 163, 165, 168–169, 200.
- 248 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:61: “The names of Laguerre and his friend Ricard alone appear in the Chatsworth accounts,

- but it is obvious that at least three figure-painters shared in the work, and it is not easy to determine which of them is Laguerre himself.”
- 249 O’Connell 1998, 451. For the dates of the paintings see the above section titled “The Painted Hall: State of Research and Open Questions.”
- 250 The ancient claim of the English kings to France was only withdrawn in 1783: Bindman 2008a, 27.
- 251 The medal has been discussed in an entirely different context by Niggemann 2017, 191–192. The three kingdoms probably represent England, Scotland, and Ireland, although in 1689 Ireland was still loyal to James II. Cf. Druffner 2008, 77 (“Hibernia liberanda”).
- 252 Johns 2004, 130; Bird and Clayton 2017, 336–337 (with illustration).
- 253 Echard 1718, 716.
- 254 Gibson 1997, 97–102, 174–189; Johns 2004, 130, note 36.
- 255 Davis 2013, 673.
- 256 The same gestures appear in a medal struck in commemoration of William’s landing in Torbay: Niggemann 2017, 88 (fig. 7).
- 257 In a similar vein, *The History of the most illustrious William of Orange*, written by an anonymous author in 1688, credited him with “strong Ambition to grow Great, but rather by the Service then [sic] Servitude of his Country.” Quoted from Eßer 2008, 63.
- 258 Lucan (ed. 1928), 5.669–671.
- 259 Lucan (ed. 1928), 5.677.
- 260 Miller 1997, 12–13. See also Kennett 1708, 149.
- 261 Chacksfield 1988, 25.
- 262 In his biography of William Cavendish, White Kennett apostrophized William of Orange as “Deliverer” and recorded that the Convention Parliament had decided to hold a “Day of Publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God for having made his Highness the Prince of Orange the glorious Instrument of the great Deliverance of his Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power” (Kennett 1708, 148, 156). On the providentialist reading of William’s arrival cf. Claydon 1996, 31–52; Miller 1997, 13; Druffner 2008, 78–79; Niggemann 2017, 260, 262, 266–267.
- 263 On Burnet’s role as William’s “Chefideologue” cf. Eßer 2008, 68–69. William Cavendish knew Burnet personally, as both of them had testified in the trial of Lord Russell: Kennett 1708, 133; Greig 2004, 913–914.
- 264 Dilke 1972, 97.
- 265 Day in the Peak 1858, 17; Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:251; Johns 2004, 121; Ambrose et al. 2016, 27.
- 266 Ogilby 1662, 66: “The Temple of Janus [was] never shut, but in the time of Peace; nor opened, but in time of War.”
- 267 Both for the entry of James I in 1604 and for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* in 1635 temples dedicated to Janus had been constructed: Harrison 1604 (no pagination); Martin 1972, 162–169 and fig. 82. The description of Charles II’s coronation procession in 1661 mentioned the Temple of Janus several times: Ogilby 1661, 12, 27, 29; Ogilby 1662, 66, 136, 140–143. See also Kliemann 1993, 46.
- 268 Ogilby 1662, 136. See also Hobbes (ed. 2008), 153: “Les portes de Janus s’ouvrirent avec fracas.”
- 269 Dolan 2005, 172. The political context to which this poem alludes will be discussed in the final section of this chapter, titled “Interaction with the Audience: Conflict Resolution and Cultural Memory.” When the Peace of Ryswick was finally reached in 1697, a medal celebrated this momentous event precisely through the image of the closing of the Temple of Janus: Manegold 2012, 159–162, fig. 1.
- 270 Suetonius (ed. 1998), 180. Augustus himself made the same claim in his *Res gestae divi Augusti (Monumentum Ancyranum)*: Manegold 2012, 161.
- 271 Suetonius (ed. 1998), 180, note 31.
- 272 Strunck 2007a, 165–167.
- 273 Seicento 1988, 271–274; Rudolph 2000, 202–205; Rudolph 2000b, 459.
- 274 Smith 1996, 644; Smith 2004a, 211.
- 275 However, it seems that in the end he never received royal visits: Lees-Milne and Cornforth 1968, 14.
- 276 Kennett 1708, 129–130, 172, 180, 182, 187, 193–202, 205–208.
- 277 Kennett 1708, 168; Cavendish 1709.
- 278 Kennett 1708, 172–173.
- 279 Kennett 1708, 173, 177.
- 280 Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.852–860, where this flattering comparison between Augustus and Caesar is established.
- 281 See, for instance, Andrea Pozzo’s ceiling fresco in Sant’Ignazio in Rome (pl. 106). Numerous other examples can be found in Roettgen 2007.
- 282 As this is the “earthly” part of the ceiling, personifications of the four continents can be found in the lower left corner. For an interpretation of the other figures see below.
- 283 Croft Murray 1962–1970, 1:251: “Death aiming her spear at the attributes of regal power.” The connection with the assassination of Caesar depicted on the north wall is evident.
- 284 In addition to the main figures, which will be discussed below, this band contains representations of Mercury, Pluto, Neptune, Fame, Ganymede, Ceres, Minerva, Pan, and Flora, plus “Vices attacked by Justice.” The quotation comes from the visitor’s aid kept on display at Chatsworth House, which labels the individual figures. However, some of the more complicated personifications (plates 83, 84) have not previously been identified.

- 285 It consists of Diana and her nymphs, Silenus, Bacchus, Mars, Time, Truth, Apollo and the Muses, Aurora, and Lucifer (a personification of the morning star).
- 286 This band contains representations of “A Genius with Innocence,” the Three Graces, and “three Branches of the Law” (or Trivium and Quadrivium?). Source for the quotations as in note 284.
- 287 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.843–851. This was already pointed out by Johns 2004, 120.
- 288 Suetonius (ed. 1998), Caesar, § 88.
- 289 Pigler 1956 does not mention any representations of this subject.
- 290 According to Fischer Pace, the fresco was commissioned by Cesare Baldinotti in honour of his namesake. Cf. Fischer Pace 1976; Graf 1995, 351 (fig. 79), 367 (fig. 113).
- 291 Sharpe 2013, 419, 422, 433, 435, 436, 446; Niggemann 2017, 90 (fig. 9); Bird and Clayton 2017, 423–425.
- 292 Speck 2004, 128.
- 293 Laurel Peterson argues that Mary II appears in multiple guises in the state apartment. She reads both the figures of Cybele (in the Great Chamber) and Diana (in the State Bedroom) as references to the queen, but she does not discuss the iconography of the State Drawing Room (Peterson 2020, sections titled “Queen Mary, Cybele, and the Golden Age” and “Flattering a Pious Queen”). The most recent Chatsworth guidebook provides a very summary interpretation of the painting: “The ceiling, by Louis Laguerre, depicts an Assembly of the Gods. In the coving there are smaller scenes telling the story of the affair between Venus, goddess of Love and Mars, god of war” (Ambrose et al. 2016, 44).
- 294 Jaffé 1994, 266, cat. 424, catalogued this sheet as “Anonymous 17th century artist (perhaps Neapolitan, in the following of Solimena)” and did not recognize its relationship with the Chatsworth mural.
- 295 On the “Reformation of Manners” see Carpenter 1948, 285–296; Claydon 1996, 52–63, 90–100; Speck 2004, 133–134; Druffner 2008, 78–79 (quoting a sermon of 1689 that calls for a “National Reformation”); Niggemann 2017, 257, 269–273.
- 296 Edwards 2018, 82.
- 297 Ogilby 1662, 25–26.
- 298 See the above section titled “Caesar in Translation: British Discourses on a Controversial Figure.”
- 299 Howell 1712, 272.
- 300 Stewart 1969, 176.
- 301 Stewart 1997, 38.
- 302 Stewart 1969, 176–177. On these sermons see also Randall 1947; Niggemann 2017, 265.
- 303 On the medal see https://research.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=952466&partId=1 (last accessed 22 February 2020). It bears the inscription “SANCTI . CAROLI . PRÆCVRSOR.,” thus addressing the king as saint.
- 304 Stewart 1997, 21.
- 305 Stewart 1997, 21, 57.
- 306 Stewart 1997, 52–55.
- 307 The ancient ceremony of deification might have appeared particularly appropriate because the English kings regarded themselves as successors to the alleged ancestor of the Roman emperors Aeneas. Cf. Stewart 1997, 44; Curran 2002, 149.
- 308 Martin 2005, vol. I, 185–208; Thurley 2008, 59–60, 62; Martin 2011, 128–137.
- 309 See the above section titled “William Cavendish’s Background and Political Agenda.”
- 310 Skinner 2005, 162–163, 173.
- 311 Skinner 2005, 164.
- 312 Münkler 2014, 109–131.
- 313 Bredekamp 1999; Bredekamp 2016, 13–16, 37–39.
- 314 Bredekamp 2016, 13.
- 315 Quoted from Skinner 2005, 175.
- 316 Quoted from Skinner 2005, 175.
- 317 Kennett 1708, 151, 199–202 (Appendix 8).
- 318 Miller 1997, 68–75; Maurer 2000, 175; Pincus 2006, 69–74; Sharpe 2013, 453; Miller 2017, 337–338.
- 319 Norbrook 1999, 43–44, 49. See the above section titled “Caesar in Translation: British Discourses on a Controversial Figure.”
- 320 See the above section titled “William Cavendish’s Background and Political Agenda.”
- 321 Kennett 1708, 186.
- 322 Laguerre had helped Verrio to decorate this hall: Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:61. William Cavendish had been accepted into the Order of the Garter in 1689 (Hosford 2004, 669) and thus must have known St George’s Hall, which served as the main assembly room for the order.
- 323 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “Throne and Altar: St George’s Hall and Its Relationship to the Chapel.”
- 324 For a list of the individual figures see above notes 284–286.
- 325 See the above section titled “The Painted Hall: State of Research and Open Questions.”
- 326 Magalotti (ed. 1972), 231, reported that Cavendish led an army of 20,000 men: “Venne, in questo, avviso che Devonshir [sic] nel paese di Yorke era alla testa di 20.000 uomini per l’Oranges.” Cf. the above section titled “William Cavendish’s Background and Political Agenda.”
- 327 Miller 1997, 11; Bird and Clayton 2017, 418 (satirical engraving *Thalpolectrum Parturiens: or the Wonderful Product of the Court Warming-pan*).

- 328 Barker 2003, 104–105, 110. See also Pearson 2002, 40.
- 329 Ripa (ed. 1976), 116–117: “Desiderio verso Iddio” has wings and is clad in red and yellow and accompanied by a stag.
- 330 Kennett 1708, 169.
- 331 Ripa (ed. 1976), 441–443.
- 332 Hosford 2004, 669–670.
- 333 Kennett 1708, 203–204; Pearson 2002, 75.
- 334 See the above section titled “Rivalry with the Courts of England and France.”
- 335 See chapter 1.
- 336 Cilleßen 1997, 250–315; Griffiths and Gerard 1998, 300–302; Niggemann 2017, 72–106.
- 337 Solkin 1999.
- 338 See his speeches and other writings reprinted by Kennett 1708, 193–202.
- 339 Fforde 2002; Claydon 2004, 85; De Krey 2007, 270–289; Miller 2017, 355–356; Worton 2018, 21–23.
- 340 Numerous propaganda prints referring to the war between France and the Netherlands were published by Cilleßen 1997, 95–207.
- 341 Levillain 2005, 338; Eßer 2008, 65.
- 342 Maurer 2000, 174; Claydon 2004, 85; Horowski 2017, 164.
- 343 Horowski 2017, 163–165, 176–177.
- 344 Worton 2018, 21, 22.
- 345 Cilleßen 1997, 306–307; Miller 2017, 369–370.
- 346 This terminology had been announced in de Hooghe’s print of 1689 (fig. 85), in which the sphere held by William is divided into two halves: While England and Scotland already belong to the “free” (*libera*) half, Ireland is still “to be liberated” (*liberanda*). See Cilleßen 1997, 268–269. The catalogue entry in Bird and Clayton 2017, 424, does not refer to these inscriptions.
- 347 Worton 2018, 23.
- 348 Claydon 2004, 85; Speck 2004, 130.
- 349 Aubrey 1979, 61–62; Cilleßen 1997, 244–245.
- 350 Kennett 1708, 170; Aubrey 1979, 61.
- 351 Aubrey 1979, 116; Claydon 2004, 86; Speck 2004, 132; Worton 2018, 23–24.
- 352 Claydon 2004, 86.
- 353 Lord 2004, 12.
- 354 Lord 2004, 11–12, 17–18.
- 355 Claydon 2004, 84.
- 356 Lord 2004, 13–14, 18–23; Claydon 2004, 84.
- 357 Lord 2004, 19, 21; Speck 2004, 132.
- 358 After William III’s death in 1702, Cavendish continued to serve on the Privy Council of Queen Anne until his own death in 1707: Hosford 2004, 669.
- 359 On the original access to the Painted Hall see the above section titled “The Painted Hall: State of Research and Open Questions.”
- 360 Thompson 1949, 202, note 4; Lees-Milne and Cornforth 1968, 8.
- 361 On the emergence of empathy as a “new,” particularly important emotion around 1700 see Frevert 2011, 12, 149–203, 210, 218.
- 362 Stegmann 2006, 108–143, 212–235. See also above notes 299–305.
- 363 Harris 1990, 231–233.
- 364 Rosoux 2009; Gilboa 2009.
- 365 Deutsch 1983, 432–440; Fisher et al. 2011, 54–55.
- 366 On the relationship between vividness and agency cf. Van Eck 2015, 18–25, 31–66.
- 367 Löw 2001, 158–161.
- 368 Löw 2001, 177–179, 246–254.
- 369 Thompson 1949, 48.
- 370 On “old-style halls” and their functions cf. Girouard 1979, 136. A rare precedent for the combination of hall and staircase can be found at Coleshill House, designed by Roger Pratt around 1650; see *ibid.*, 123, 125.
- 371 A somewhat similar curved stairway had been added in 1635/36 to the north façade of the Queen’s House at Greenwich (Bold 2000, 54–55). Talman himself imitated these stairs on the Chatsworth south façade; see the painted view by Jan Siberechts of c. 1699/1700 (reproduced by Lim 2020, 99, fig. 88), which does not, however, correspond to the present stairway in that location (pl. 62). Only in the eighteenth century did such curved stairways begin to appear in continental European interior planning; cf. Mielke 1966, 84–93; Karlsen 2016, 361 (fig. 12), 362 (fig. 23), 363 (fig. 29), 372 (fig. 98).
- 372 The idea that Piazza di San Pietro visualizes an embrace of the faithful has often been discussed; see, for instance, Marder 1998, 138–142.
- 373 On the concept of the *theatrum memoriae* see Bolzoni 1984; Kliemann 1993, 46–47; Quiccheberg (ed. 2013).
- 374 See the section of chapter 1 titled “Individual and Cultural Memory.”
- 375 For the terminology see the section of chapter 1 titled “Individual and Cultural Memory.”
- 376 Assmann 2012, 173–174.



CHAPTER 6

HAMPTON COURT – THE ENGLISH VERSAILLES?

The Glorious Revolution was in many ways a watershed in British history – not least because it introduced a new form of joint sovereignty. After long deliberations of the Convention Parliament, it was decided that William and Mary would be offered the crown jointly.¹ The new ritual devised for their coronation on 11 April 1689 reflected this exceptional status of the royal couple and included an oath that they would govern “according to the statutes in parliament agreed on” – a promise no previous English monarch had ever made.²

The couple wished to distance itself from the residences of its predecessors but, at the same time, needed to find suitable accommodation as soon as possible. Thus two pre-existing structures were adapted for their use: Nottingham House (which became Kensington Palace) and Hampton Court. As Kensington Palace was not decorated with murals during William and Mary’s reign, the present chapter will focus on Hampton Court Palace. However, Kensington will be taken into consideration in order to understand the division of spaces at the couple’s court. How did these buildings express the balance of power between the two sovereigns? And how did the mural paintings at Hampton Court define the role of the monarchy after the Glorious Revolution?

Hampton Court is a particularly compelling case because its Baroque decoration was created during a period of dynastic crisis (1697–1705). When Mary II died at age 32 in 1694, the couple had not yet conceived children. As William III did not remarry, after his death in 1702 the crown passed to Mary’s sister Anne. By that

time, however, it was already clear that the Hanoverians would eventually succeed to the throne because Anne’s son and heir had died prematurely. As both King William and Queen Anne commissioned murals for Hampton Court, it must be asked in what ways these works reflected the precarious situation of the British monarchy. How did they portray the legacy of William’s and Anne’s reigns, and how did they envisage the future?

William as well as Anne were involved in lengthy wars with Louis XIV. In his groundbreaking monograph on the architecture of Hampton Court, Simon Thurley concluded: “William’s intense rivalry with Louis XIV led to an aping of his style, not only in the final design of the exterior of the building but also in the French-inspired furnishings, many copied directly from Versailles.”³ Consequently, this chapter will take up a question that has not been addressed in previous research, i. e. how the conflict with France was visualized in the Hampton Court murals. I will argue that after the Peace of Ryswick (1697) a fundamental change in the style of royal representation occurred. While William III had previously sought to imitate and outdo Louis XIV, he then came to develop a diametrically opposed style of understatement.

A key case study will be Antonio Verrio’s decoration of the King’s Staircase. Edgar Wind’s masterful analysis of this pictorial programme has remained unquestioned for the past eighty years, but there are some flaws in his argument that necessitate a reconsideration of the scheme. Drawing on much additional information that has become available over the past decades, I will recontextualize Verrio’s work by drawing attention to its cul-

tural and political background. I will also explain why it was probably Matthew Prior (rather than the 3rd earl of Shaftesbury) who drew up the programme.

Last but not least, it is vital to consider the gender roles committed to posterity through Verrio's Hampton Court murals, which were commissioned by a king and a queen respectively. In what ways did the paintings in the Queen's Drawing Room relate to the self-fashioning of male monarchs? And to what extent did Queen Anne's approach to the representation of sovereignty differ from that of her male predecessors?

Questions of Precedence: William and Mary's Residences

Following his landing at Torbay on 5 November, William of Orange approached London in December 1688. A letter from the Tuscan merchant and diplomat Francesco Terriesi, who maintained a close relationship with the court of James II,⁴ informs us that the king himself – still hoping to appease his son-in-law – invited William to stay at St James's Palace.⁵ Perhaps he chose this residence as a reminder of happier times, as it was at St James's Palace that William had married James's daughter Mary in 1677.⁶ But while William took up residence at St James's and received the future members of the Convention Parliament there,⁷ King James eventually escaped to France and former Stuart courtiers were evicted from Whitehall. Terriesi supplied a graphic description of the robberies that took place under pretence of clearing out the space for William's retinue.⁸

Mary joined William at St James's Palace on 12 February 1689, one day before they were declared queen and king.⁹ They were expected to move into Whitehall but preferred to lodge outside of town at Hampton Court Palace where they arrived on 2 March 1689.¹⁰ The main reason for this decision seems to have been William's asthma, which made him dislike the polluted London air, but political considerations may have been involved, too: Whereas Whitehall was strongly associated with the previous Stuart rulers, Hampton Court epitomized Tudor kingship. The palace had been inhabited by Henry VIII

and Elizabeth I and thus resonated with glorious memories that were not tainted by contemporary conflicts.¹¹

William and Mary's retreat to the countryside was an unpopular decision. The earl of Portland's secretary complained: "the Kings inaccessibleness and living soe at Hampton Court altogether, at soe active a time ruined all business."¹² Queen Mary herself noted that "the misfortune of the kings health which hindered him living at Whitehall, put people out of humour, being here naturally lazy."¹³ As a compromise, in June 1689 the couple bought Nottingham House, located within easy travelling distance to the centre of the government, which remained at Whitehall. From that moment, the two building projects developed in tandem: "Hampton Court was to be expensive and lavish, Kensington utilitarian and cheap."¹⁴

Nottingham House (the future Kensington Palace) was attractive because of its large garden and its proximity to Hyde Park, but it was far too small to accommodate the royal household. Thus Christopher Wren added four corner pavilions, service blocks, and several additional buildings. Work proceeded at great speed, such that in September 1691 the royal couple was able to move in.¹⁵ Decisions at Hampton Court were made equally rapidly. After the earliest proposals, which envisaged a complete rebuilding, in mid-April 1689 it was agreed to dismantle and rebuild just one quadrangle of the Tudor structure. The south and east ranges of the new court were completed by the end of 1691 and the north wing in the summer of 1693. Subsequently, work concentrated on the interior decoration of the Queen's Apartment,¹⁶ but financial difficulties and Mary's death in December 1694 brought construction work at Hampton Court to a halt, before the building was habitable.¹⁷

Since the Middle Ages, it had been customary for English kings and their consorts to have separate sets of rooms.¹⁸ The restricted size of Kensington Palace made William and Mary depart from this tradition. They emphasized their joint rule by sharing just one state apartment located in the centre of the remodelled Nottingham House.¹⁹ The Presence Chamber and the Privy Chamber each contained two chairs of state for the sovereigns, enabling them to receive visitors in joint audiences.²⁰ In

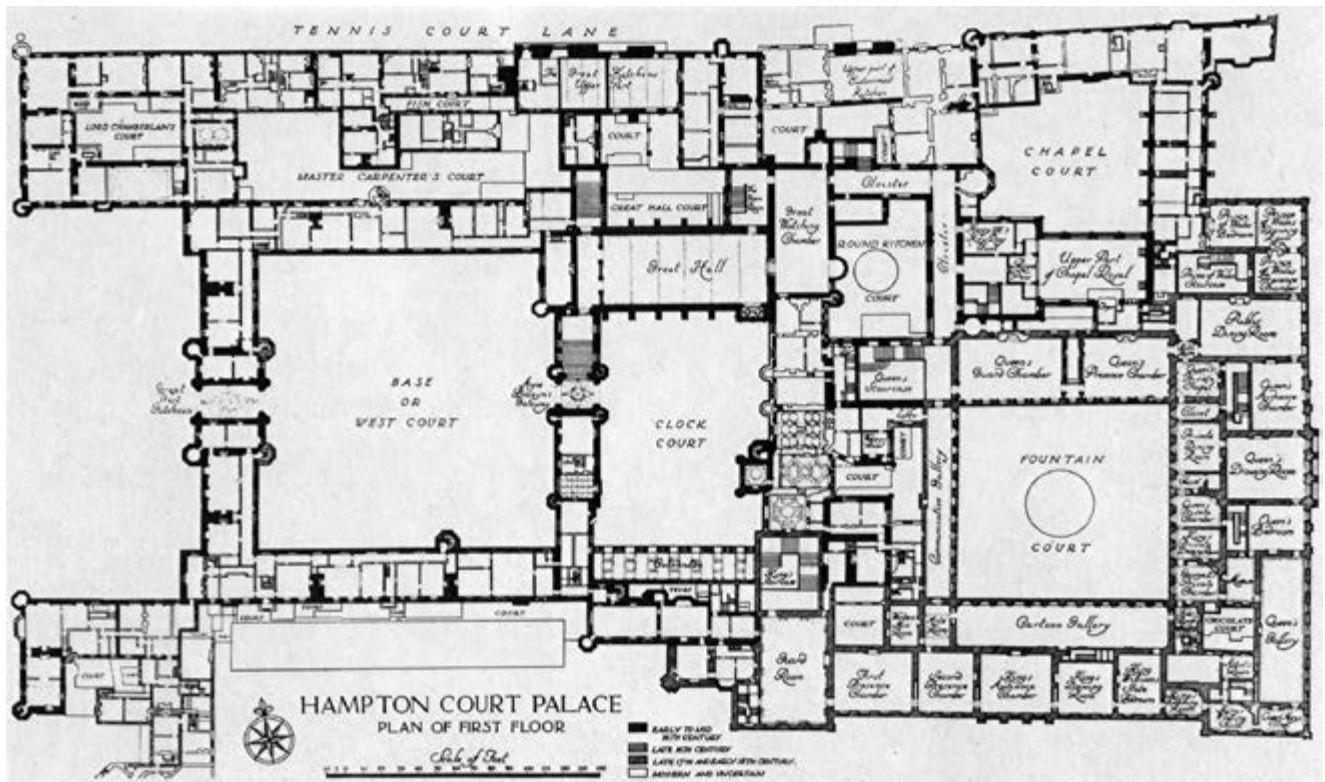


Fig. 90 Hampton Court Palace, plan of first floor

addition, king and queen each occupied one of the corner pavilions. William's pavilion (the south-east one) faced the garden and thus had a nicer view, while Mary's north-west pavilion was significantly larger and connected to a grand staircase and a lavishly outfitted gallery wing that she had added in 1690/91.²¹

As a direct descendant of James II, Mary's claim to the throne was stronger than William's. However, when she was urged to insist on her hereditary right, she declared "that she was the prince's wife, and never meant to be other than in subjection to him."²² Although William had to share the throne with his wife, the settlement bestowed the actual executive power of the crown on William alone.²³ The internal arrangement of Kensington Palace mirrored this delicate balance of power. On the one hand, it emphasized the queen's royal lineage by giving more space to her than to her husband, while on the other hand William's more prominent role was underlined by the attractive position of his lodgings. In 1692, the enlargement of the Guard Chamber and Great

Staircase added more lustre to his side of the building.²⁴ After Mary's death, he built the King's Gallery and equipped it with the most splendid Old Master paintings of the royal collection.²⁵ In this way, William's rooms finally outshone Mary's.

The situation was different at Hampton Court, as the Tudor palace already contained two separate state apartments for the king and queen.²⁶ In 1689, a warrant was issued "to make all the lodgings and offices in Hampton Court on the Kings side as they were formerly and according to an antient survey, a copy whereof is herewith a[ppended]."²⁷ Even with the complete rebuilding of Fountain Court, William's apartment was placed in the same space in the south wing where his royal predecessors had lodged (fig. 90).²⁸ The east wing, previously inhabited by the queen consorts, was allocated to Mary.²⁹

The distribution of spaces would seem to indicate that William took over the more prestigious side of the building, but this was only apparently the case. The monarchs had originally resided on the south side because



Fig. 91 Nicholas Hawksmoor. Site plan and survey of Hampton Court Palace with proposals for replacing the eastern quadrangle, 1689

that range was directly accessible from the Thames.³⁰ However, while in the Tudor period the palace had been designed for easy access from the river, the Baroque Hampton Court was meant to be accessed by road from the north.³¹ This caused a fundamental change in the perception of the architecture: The main axis on which a visitor traversed the building complex now ran from west to east and culminated in the grand canal built by Charles II in 1668 (fig. 91).³² Accordingly, the east range containing Mary's rooms constituted the most prestigious part of the new building (fig. 92). It commanded a magnificent view of the garden and canal and received the most impressive façade, with a seven-bay, pedimented frontispiece of Portland stone (pl. 85). By contrast, the rather too modest frontispiece of William's south wing comprised only three bays, without a pediment (pl. 86).

Although the inscription placed on the entrance portal to the court stressed William and Mary's equality and

even gave William a certain precedence,³³ the architecture of the new wings proclaimed Mary's superiority in no uncertain terms. After all, she was the previous king's daughter, whereas William's father had been "only" a Dutch stadholder. However, William's military achievements were celebrated throughout the palace. Sometime between 1691 and 1694, Louis Laguerre painted the Twelve Labours of Hercules in the roundels on the south façade of Fountain Court,³⁴ and in 1694 Caius Gabriel Cibber carved the pediment for the east front, which alludes to William's victories through the triumph of Hercules.³⁵

During William and Mary's joint reign, the king spent every summer on various European battlefields. In his absence, Mary acted as queen regnant, supported by a regency council composed of nine principal ministers of state.³⁶ As the summer was also the most convenient period for building, Mary oversaw the works and was the driving force behind the remodelling of Kensington Palace and Hampton Court.³⁷ Consequently, after her death priorities began to change.

A report written by Anton Francesco dal Pino documents an Italian's perception of the royal palaces at the time of Mary's death. Dal Pino belonged to the Tuscan embassy that was sent to William III in the autumn of 1695 "per congratularsi seco della Assunzione al Trono, e condolarsi della morte della Regina Maria di lui moglie."³⁸ Mary's death in December 1694 was therefore used as a pretext to congratulate William on his accession to the throne (back in 1689!) and to re-establish official diplomatic contacts.³⁹ After their first audience at Kensington Palace, the Tuscan envoy Tommaso del Bene and his companions were shown round the major royal residences, and dal Pino recorded his impressions in a lengthy memoir.⁴⁰

Not surprisingly, dal Pino liked Windsor best – it was the most up to date and fully furnished royal palace, decorated by the Italian Antonio Verrio (whom dal Pino called "a pupil of Pietro da Cortona," thus suggesting a link to Tuscany, Cortona's birthplace).⁴¹ After a very detailed description, he concluded that Windsor might actually be the finest residence in all Europe.⁴² Less favourable was his judgement on Kensington where he praised

First floor of the new quadrangle as completed in 1702.
Drawing Daphne Ford.

- A: King's Great Stair
- B: King's Guard Chamber
- C: King's Presence Chamber
- D: King's Eating Room
- E: King's Privy Chamber
- F: King's Withdrawing Room
- G: King's Great Bedchamber
- H: King's Little Bedchamber
- J: closet
- K: closet ('Queen Mary's')
- L: King's Back Stair
- M: King's Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.
- (N): Queen's Drawing Room
- (I): Fountain Court

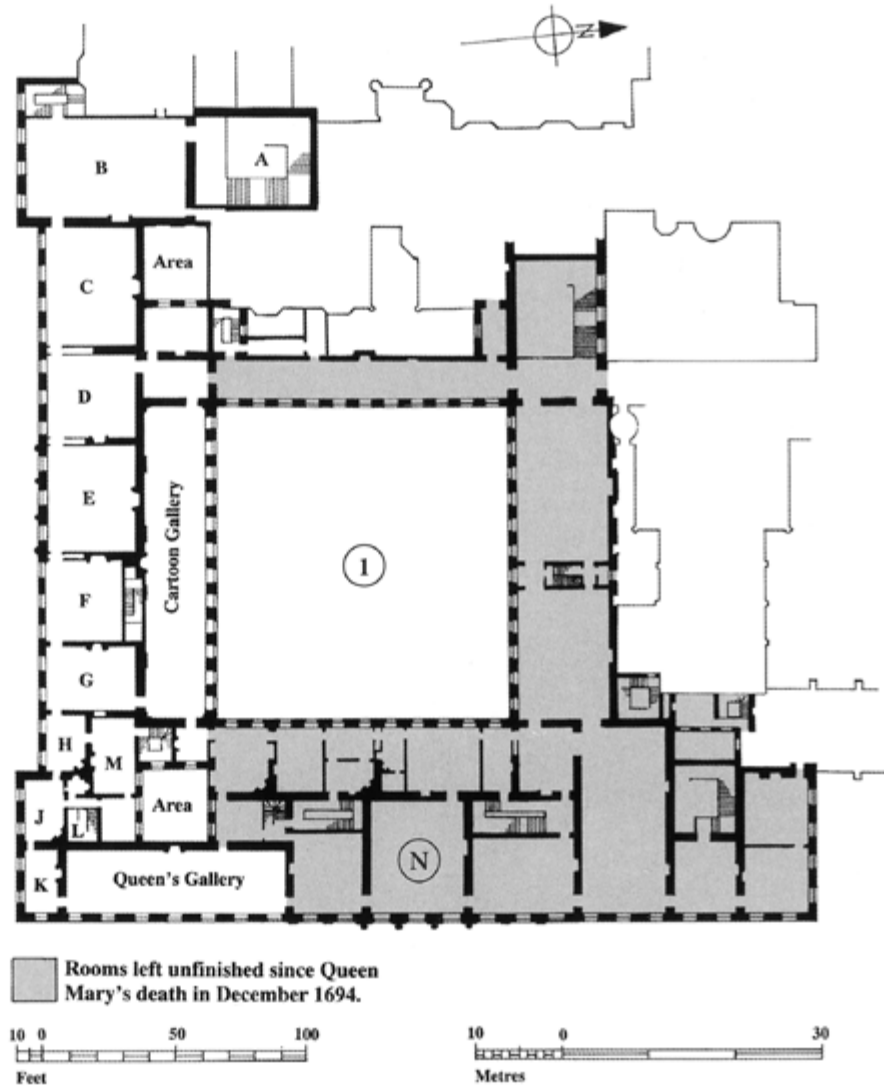


Fig. 92 Drawing of the first floor of the Fountain Court quadrangle at Hampton Court Palace, as completed in 1702 (with additional labelling)

only the Queen's Gallery.⁴³ He was unimpressed by Whitehall Palace, as the rooms were draped in black for mourning, and he did not comment on Rubens's ceiling paintings but remarked that the Banqueting House was "just as large as the great hall of the Palazzo vecchio in Florence."⁴⁴

Dal Pino attributed the creation of the new quadrangle at Hampton Court to Queen Mary and noticed that the palace had two distinct façades – "one for the king and one for the queen."⁴⁵ He criticized the proportions of Fountain Court on account of its low loggias but was full of admiration for the gardens and the magnificent inte-

rior decoration of Queen Mary's "Palazzina sul Tamigi" (Water Gallery). Although he saw the building complex in an incomplete state ("finito più di mezzo," i. e. more than half finished), dal Pino compared Hampton Court favourably to Windsor, as the architecture was "more modern" (più alla moderna).⁴⁶

How did William complete Hampton Court after Mary's death? Significantly, he refrained from moving in to the main (east) wing, which had once been designed for Mary. As at Kensington, he embellished his own apartment but did not occupy his wife's rooms, which had originally been planned as the more extensive and

luxurious spaces of both palaces. The queen's rooms were left unfinished (fig. 92).

After Whitehall Palace was consumed by fire in 1698, William needed a palace for large gatherings and official audiences. Thus, after some years of inactivity, the completion of Hampton Court proceeded with great speed.⁴⁷ From April to July 1700, the palace hosted William's entire court for the first time.⁴⁸ In 1699, the king had announced that in the future all foreign ambassadors were to have their audiences at Hampton Court.⁴⁹ Around 1701, William commissioned Antonio Verrio to decorate his Great Staircase as a suitably impressive *entrée* to the King's Apartment (fig. 92, A).⁵⁰ Some years later, Queen Anne asked the Italian to create wall and ceiling paintings for the room at the centre of Queen Mary's (east) range (fig. 92, N). These two pictorial programmes will be analysed in greater detail in the following pages, focusing on their political significance as well as on gendered modes of representation. I will proceed in chronological order, starting with a discussion of the cultural and political background for William's commission to Verrio.

Imitation of the French Court

Due to Charles II's exile in France, soon after the Restoration French fashions became a dominant model for the English court.⁵¹ To give but one example, Charles II introduced the French custom of using the royal bedchamber as his principal reception room.⁵² William III seems to have been more reluctant than his predecessors to adopt the French ceremony of the *lever* and *coucher* in his bedchamber, but at least on some occasions receptions next to his bed and ceremonial dressings (the *lever* or English "levee") are documented.⁵³ Both at Kensington Palace and Hampton Court the king had expressly "French" beds, and in both palaces there existed portable bed rails that were a prerequisite for the ceremonial use of the bed in audience contexts.⁵⁴ At Hampton Court, the Great Bedchamber (fig. 92, G) served for public occasions, and the adjacent Little Bedchamber (fig. 92, H) may have hosted informal meetings, while the king actually slept in a bedroom on the ground floor.⁵⁵

More formal audiences were held in the King's Gallery. From at least the sixteenth century, galleries had been used for informal gatherings, but it was in France that a tendency to use galleries as throne rooms first emerged.⁵⁶ Descriptions and engravings dating from the 1680s informed a European audience that on special occasions Louis XIV's throne was placed at one of the short ends of the Galerie des Glaces, surrounded by his costly silver furniture.⁵⁷ A very similar reception was recorded by Anton Francesco dal Pino at Kensington Palace. The Tuscan embassy's first visit to William III took place on 26 October 1695,⁵⁸ shortly after the king's new gallery at Kensington had been finished.⁵⁹ According to dal Pino, the Tuscan envoy Tommaso del Bene was introduced to William in the gallery where the king was seated under a canopy. A large number of courtiers lined the walls of the longitudinal room. While he traversed the space, del Bene had to bow three times to the king, at the entrance to the gallery, in its middle, and in front of the throne. Significantly, not only did the ceremonial follow French precedent, but the audience itself was also conducted in French.⁶⁰ When del Bene left the gallery, he had to bow three times yet again, in the same spaces as before. However, after his official reception the envoy was allowed to have a more informal conversation with the sovereign in the "anticamera" (probably the Presence Chamber).⁶¹

At Hampton Court, too, the King's Gallery served as an audience room.⁶² Wren created a connection between the King's Privy Chamber and the King's Gallery, "thus bringing the gallery into the public domain."⁶³ In 1699, the room (soon to be known as the Cartoon Gallery) was remodelled to accommodate Raphael's tapestry cartoons.⁶⁴ In this building campaign, the gallery received a new entrance from the King's Great Bedchamber.⁶⁵ The layout therefore permitted a use of the space analogous to that at Kensington: Guests could enter the gallery from its western end (via the King's Eating Room: fig. 92, D) as the sovereign awaited them at its eastern end, to which he had direct access from his Great Bedchamber (fig. 92, G).

As French court ceremonial obviously provided a model for the English court, it comes as no surprise that the designers of Hampton Court looked for inspiration in

France. One of Wren's plans sought to copy the symmetrical layout of the king's and queen's apartments at Versailles.⁶⁶ Although this scheme was eventually discarded, Thurley has discovered many other references to French architecture in the Hampton Court plans.⁶⁷ Numerous French artists and craftsmen found employment at Hampton Court, among them Daniel Marot, Louis Laguerre, Jean Tijou, and furniture makers from the Pelletier and Cousin families.⁶⁸ Just like Louis XIV, William III ordered silver furniture and special French window glass.⁶⁹

In 1699, the secretary to the English embassy in Paris, Matthew Prior, received orders to procure drawings of the royal palaces, particularly Versailles, the Grand Trianon, and Marly.⁷⁰ The French king himself ensured that the very latest plans were sent and that he had personally approved the final selection.⁷¹ However, the "Trianon" that William Talman envisaged for William III had nothing in common with its French counterpart.⁷² This points to a turning of the tide. In 1715, Elizabeth Charlotte of Orléans wrote that "one can no longer send fashions" from France to England "because the English have their own, which are followed here now."⁷³

Rivalry between England and France after the Peace of Ryswick

The peace that ended the Nine Years' War was negotiated between 9 May and 30 October 1697 at Rijswijk (in England known as Ryswick), a place between The Hague and Delft where William III owned a country seat, Huis ter Nieuburg.⁷⁴ Delegations from fourteen European states met there and concluded four treaties, among them the peace between England and France.⁷⁵ As Louis XIV had granted exile to James II at St Germain and had backed his attempts to regain the English throne,⁷⁶ it was vital for William III to obtain his official recognition as king of England. This difficult matter had been discussed by English and French diplomats since 1696 and was finally settled in the treaty of 20 September 1697.⁷⁷ In addition, England wanted Louis XIV to expel James from France and to give no protection or support to him or any of King

William's other enemies.⁷⁸ While the French negotiators had refused this initially, on 30 July a compromise was reached, which the English embassy's secretary Matthew Prior summarized as follows: "France will promise not to assist his [William's] enemies etc. in as full terms as words can express; King James not being by name express'd in the article."⁷⁹

Louis XIV interpreted the Peace of Ryswick as a victory for France, as through it he gained important new territories in Alsace.⁸⁰ However, it was the first time that the seemingly invincible Sun King had been forced to return some of the territories he conquered during the previous years.⁸¹ Moreover, his diplomats had to concede William III the right to style himself in the ratification of the peace as "Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rex" (King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland),⁸² i. e. they accepted England's traditional claim to the crown of France.⁸³

Matthew Prior was chosen to bring news of the peace to London where he was received with greatest honours.⁸⁴ In remuneration for his good service, William III nominated him secretary to his most trusted friend Hans Willem Bentinck, Earl of Portland, whom he sent as his envoy to Paris.⁸⁵ The embassy was a critical test for the Franco-British relationship, especially as James II and his exiled court still resided at St Germain near Paris.⁸⁶ How would William's representatives be received by the French king?

At the beginning of February 1698, Portland had his first private audience with Louis XIV, whom he met in his "cabinet." The king assured him of his willingness to keep the peace – welcoming Bentinck "avec toutes les expressions et assurances possibles de sincérité et d'envie de maintenir la paix et de cultiver une étroite union et amitié avec V[otre] M[ajesté]" – but Portland's official *entrée* into Paris was postponed.⁸⁷ When he finally made his public entry, he was attended by gentlemen of the horse, twelve pages, fifty-six footmen, twelve led horses, four coaches with eight horses, and two chariots with six horses – "a sight unseen since the Duke of Buckingham's embassy."⁸⁸

On 1 March 1698, Bentinck described his first impressions of the French royal palaces to William III. He



Fig. 93 François Girardon. Equestrian statuette of Louis XIV; replica after the destroyed equestrian monument on the Place Vendôme in Paris. Bronze. Musée du Louvre, Paris

acknowledged the “magnificence” of Versailles but hinted at some “faults” in its architecture and expressed his preference for Meudon, which he compared to Windsor.⁸⁹ His secretary Matthew Prior was even more outspoken in his criticism of the French. He reported that they “hated” the English because they felt shame about the unfavourable conditions of the Peace of Ryswick,⁹⁰ and pointed out how embarrassing it must have been for Louis XIV to see triumphal images of himself all over Ver-

sailles: “His house at Versailles is something the foolish-est in the world; he is strutting in every panel and galloping over one’s head in every ceiling, and if he turns to spit he must see himself in person or his Viceregent the Sun with *sufficit orbi*, or *nec pluribus impar*. I verily believe that there are of him statues, busts, bas-reliefs and pictures, above two hundred in the house and gardens.”⁹¹

Dr Martin Lister, the physician of the English embassy, published a description of Paris in which he ridiculed the public monuments to the king.⁹² Not surprisingly, his *Journey to Paris* was answered by an equally critical French guide to London.⁹³ Nevertheless, the French seem to have taken the English’s point about the excessively grandiloquent self-glorification of their monarchy. Louis XIV himself adopted a more modest approach when it came to the inauguration of his equestrian statue on the Place Vendôme. This bronze by François Girardon had been commissioned in 1685 in the context of a wide-ranging campaign to erect monuments to the king all over France.⁹⁴ It depicted Louis in armour *all’antica* but with a fashionable Baroque wig (fig. 93) – a rather comical combination in Lister’s view.⁹⁵ When the work was finally ready to be unveiled in 1698, the king expressed his displeasure about this honour that had been “forced” on him.⁹⁶ He declared that he was tired of courtly flattery and did not attend the inauguration of the statue on 13 August 1699.⁹⁷

Louis’s seemingly modest reaction was certainly a response to the severe criticism elicited by the statue that had been erected in his honour on the Place des Victoires in 1686.⁹⁸ Several French writers accused the king of presumption and paralleled the “veneration” of the statue to pagan idolatry.⁹⁹ In a critical pamphlet entitled *Les soupirs de la France esclave* (The Sighs of Enslaved France, 1689), the king’s vanity was chastised through a long list of the media in which he wished to be represented in every conceivable place: “[Le roi] se fait mettre en or, en argent, en bronze, en cuivre, en marbre, en toile, en tableaux, en peintures, en arcs de triomphes, en inscriptions. Il remplit tout Paris, tous ses Palais, & tout le Royaume de son nom & de ses faits [...]”¹⁰⁰

The representatives of the English court in Paris could not avoid being confronted with numerous images of Louis XIV. Matthew Prior recorded the following anecdote in his autobiography:

we have one remarkable Story of him [Prior] at this Time, which must not here be omitted, as it contains an Instance of his delicate Satire, and gallant Loyalty to his Master. One of the Officers of the French King's Household shewing him the Royal Apartments and Curiosities at Versailles, especially the Paintings of Le Brun, wherein the Victories of Lewis XIV. was beautifully described, ask'd him, "Whether King William's Actions were also to be seen in his Palace." "No Sir, answered Mr. Prior; the Monuments of my Master's Actions are to be seen every where but in his own House." It was hardly possible, in so few Words, to pay a finer Compliment to King William, and at the same Time, to pass a juster and more poignant Censure upon the Vanity of the Grand Monarch, of whose Actions there were more Monuments in his own Palaces, and In the Works of Boileau, than in the whole World besides.¹⁰¹

Prior clearly understood that it was impossible to outdo Louis XIV by imitating him. The number of monuments that had already been raised to this king could not be surpassed. The only viable strategy for William III to set

himself apart from Louis and to demonstrate his own superiority was therefore ironic understatement – but this strategy needed time to mature. In the immediate aftermath of Ryswick, William's self-fashioning was still rather conventional.

Royal Representation after Ryswick

On 6 November 1697, the Peace of Ryswick was celebrated by elaborate firework displays in The Hague.¹⁰² On 26 November, William III made his triumphant entry into London, "in the character of a conqueror and the arbiter of the destinies of Europe."¹⁰³ On St Margaret's Hill in Southwark, the lord mayor met the king "on his knees" and "delivered the sword, which His Majesty returned, ordering him to carry it before him."¹⁰⁴ The king's authority over his capital having been thus established, the cavalcade went on to Whitehall where the duke of Devonshire William Cavendish (in his capacity as William's lord steward) entertained the lord mayor and aldermen "with a noble supper."¹⁰⁵

Probably to avoid a financial burden for the City, William had refused the erection of triumphal arches on this occasion.¹⁰⁶ As compensation, he commissioned three medals that represented his triumph *all'antica*. One of them depicts on its obverse William, holding an olive branch and crowned by Victory while conducting a chariot through a succession of arches of triumph (fig. 94).

Fig. 94 Nicolas Chevalier.
Medal commemorating the
Peace of Ryswick, 1697





Fig. 95 James Thornhill (?). The triumph of William III; preliminary drawing for an engraving (?), c. 1698

The open triumphal chariot is a fantasy prop that gives an imperial flavour to the scene; in reality, the king had entered London “in his coach.”¹⁰⁷ At the foot of the image, a Latin inscription refers to popular joy (it can be translated as “Amid the acclamations of the people”). On the reverse, inside an olive wreath another Latin text announces: “he delivered his country, acquired a kingdom for himself, preserved his allies, bridled licentiousness, and restored peace to the world, 1697.”¹⁰⁸

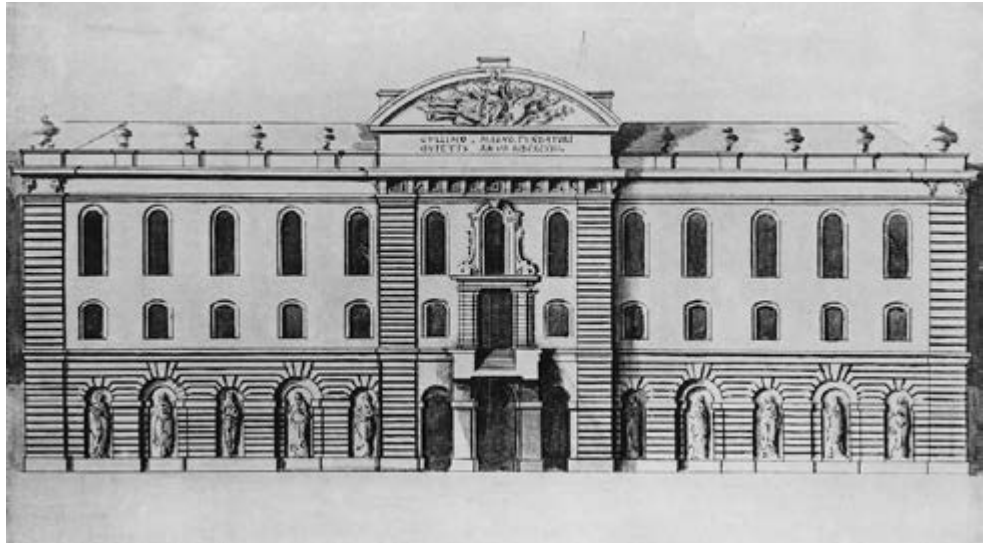
A drawing attributed to James Thornhill is closely related to these medals (fig. 95).¹⁰⁹ The central medallion foregrounds the king on his open chariot, with Fame hovering above William and a triumphal arch in the background. As the chariot moves from right to left (i. e. “backwards”), it is likely that the design was meant to be reversed, i. e. it probably served as a preliminary drawing for a planned engraving. The medal is crowned by the English royal coat of arms, and two captives crouch at

the bottom, surmounted by the winged figure of Victory. Personifications of the four known continents surround the medallion and allude to the global significance of the event, which “restored peace to the world” (as the inscription on the reverse of fig. 94 proclaimed).

William of Orange had been engaged in wars against Louis XIV since 1672 when he was made stadholder in order to protect the Dutch provinces against a French invasion.¹¹⁰ Numerous prints of the 1670s show him in military garb *all’antica*,¹¹¹ and his chief enemy Louis likewise tended to be portrayed in ancient military dress.¹¹² The reference to antiquity was intended to heighten the dignity of both military commanders. After the Glorious Revolution, William continued to cultivate this image of a general whose achievements rivalled the glory of the ancients. Both prints and medals presented him *all’antica*.¹¹³

William liked to magnify his role by comparing himself to Caesar, one of the most successful generals of antiquity. A medal commemorating the Glorious Revolution referred to Caesar’s famous motto “Veni, Vidi, Vici” (fig. 84).¹¹⁴ In 1692, a bronze bust of Caesar was placed at the entrance to the state apartment at Kensington Palace,¹¹⁵ and as early as May 1689 William’s secretary inquired whether it would be possible to restore Mantegna’s *Triumph of Caesar* for exhibition at Hampton Court.¹¹⁶ In the same year, it was decided to decorate the new royal apartments at Hampton Court with splendid Tudor tapestries, among them a series with episodes from the life of Caesar.¹¹⁷ Until the new palace was ready for the hanging of the tapestries in 1699, the Caesar series was displayed in William’s other residences. In 1688, there were two and, by 1695, nine Caesar tapestries in the royal apartments at Windsor,¹¹⁸ and subsequently some pieces came to grace the King’s Drawing Room at Kensington Palace.¹¹⁹ Given this omnipresence of Caesar, not surprisingly a series of ancient Roman emperors from the workshop of Giulio Romano was placed in the king’s private apartments at Hampton Court.¹²⁰ According to Susan Jenkins, “it is clear from the diaries of Constantijn Huygens that the King was personally involved in the selection of paintings for his palaces and that he liked to rearrange the hang in his private apart-

Fig. 96 Christopher Wren.
Project for Windsor Castle;
the south elevation on the axis
of the long walk, 1698



ments.”¹²¹ For Jenkins, the decoration of Hampton Court constituted “an unequivocal iconographic programme of self-glorification not dissimilar to Louis XIV’s.”¹²²

Indeed, William’s self-fashioning immediately after the Peace of Ryswick was predictable and rather conventional in its allusions to ancient military valour. In 1698, he planned to add a new façade to Windsor Castle with a three-bay frontispiece that amounted to a modern version of a triumphal arch (fig. 96). The tympanum decorated with trophies was meant to crown a dedication to “William the Great” as “Fundatori Quietis” (peace-bringer).¹²³ Almost contemporaneously, William wished to update the largest reception room of the castle, i. e. St George’s Hall, which had been decorated by Antonio Verrio for Charles II.¹²⁴

From September 1699, payments to Verrio for work at Windsor are recorded.¹²⁵ On 31 October 1701, he received his final remuneration of £600 for “new painting the sides and ends of St George’s Hall and repairing the ceiling.”¹²⁶ A description by Daniel Defoe indicates that Verrio completely repainted the *Triumph of the Black Prince*, adding William’s own triumphal image to the scene.¹²⁷ De Giorgi and Brett have connected this notice to a sketch that has recently reappeared on the art market (pl. 31).¹²⁸ In addition, Godfrey Kneller created for the upper end of St George’s Hall a “portrait of William enthroned in Garter robes, a semi-illusionist piece of dec-

oration with real and feigned steps leading up to the throne.”¹²⁹

Kneller was also asked to paint an equestrian portrait of the king. The first *modello* seems to date from 1697, but the commission was only awarded in April 1700 and terminated in 1701.¹³⁰ The large canvas found its place in the King’s Presence Chamber at Hampton Court, i. e. at the entrance to the ceremonial route through the royal apartment (fig. 92, C).¹³¹ Kneller depicted William in a curious mix of ancient and modern dress, combining contemporary armour and Baroque hairstyle with tunic, *paludamentum*, and sandals *all’antica* (pl. 87). The horse looks equally strange, as it has a bridle but no proper saddle and stirrups. The saddle blanket without girth and flaps recalls the famous ancient equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill. The “timeless” outfit of horse and rider makes clear that this is no pictorial reportage but rather an allegorical representation of the king. He is accompanied by a personification of victory, along with ancient gods who refer to his reign over land and sea (Neptune, Ceres, Flora).¹³² A scroll placed next to his head carries a quotation from Virgil’s fourth *Eclogue* emphasizing William’s role as pacifier and paralleling him with the emperor Augustus.¹³³ This choice of iconography may have been related to the Painted Hall at Chatsworth, in which William was equally presented as a peace-bringing Augustus.¹³⁴

Kneller's painting inserted William III into the previous tradition of royal portraiture. It looked back to Van Dyck's equestrian portrait of Charles I (pl. 56), which William valued very highly,¹³⁵ and referenced Verrio's *Charles II on Horseback*, the Chelsea Hospital mural completed during William's reign (pl. 46).¹³⁶ The king seems to have dreamt of a three-dimensional equestrian statue, but this remained only on paper.¹³⁷ Just like at Chelsea Hospital, the English answer to Louis XIV's numerous equestrian monuments was "only" a painting.¹³⁸

The works of art discussed until now were ordered between the end of 1697 and April 1700. Up to this point, William's commissions sought to imitate Louis XIV, who cultivated an imperial image by likening himself to the emperors of antiquity.¹³⁹ From May 1700, Matthew Prior is documented at Hampton Court, where he stayed over the summer.¹⁴⁰ I think that in the summer of 1700 the pictorial programme for the King's Staircase took shape, inspired by Prior's revolutionary ideas on royal understatement.

In order to analyse this radical change in the style of royal self-fashioning, I will first discuss the iconography of Verrio's painting and will then return in a subsequent section to the question of the programme's authorship.

The King's Staircase: Previous Interpretations and a New Proposal

In 1695, just after his victory at Namur, William III undertook a "royal progress" through the south-east of England in order to meet some of the principal nobles and members of the two universities. In the course of this journey, he visited Burghley House twice, "being extremely satisfied with it." The anonymous author of the travel account recorded the following judgement on this building: "It may vie with, nay, is thought the best in England. The Painting and Carving are so curious, that some very great Travellers, and Men of exquisite Judgment, have affirm'd they have met with nothing either in Italy or in France that exceeds them." As especially worthy of praise he noted the "fine Painting and Carving, done by the greatest Masters of Italy."¹⁴¹

Certainly one of the main attractions of Burghley House was – then as now – the Heaven Room decorated by Antonio Verrio (pl. 88).¹⁴² "The visual effect must have been persuasive, as William III himself, after a visit in 1695, was motivated to commission the same artist to paint murals at Hampton Court Palace."¹⁴³ As we have seen, from 1699 the king employed Verrio at Windsor to update St George's Hall. The artist then moved on to Hampton Court where he decorated the so-called Banqueting House by the riverside, rebuilt in 1700.¹⁴⁴ As soon as Verrio completed his work there in the late summer of 1701, scaffolding was raised along the main enfilade of the King's Apartment. Before William's death in March 1702, Verrio managed to finish the ceiling paintings in the Great and Little Bedchambers (fig. 92, G, H).¹⁴⁵ He had also begun work on the King's Staircase, but this was completed during Queen Anne's reign. Weekly payments to the artist and his assistants record that the staircase paintings kept them occupied until August 1702 when the scaffold was removed.¹⁴⁶

Verrio's ceiling paintings in the two bedchambers will not be discussed in the context of this book, as they do not deliver explicitly political messages. Although both spaces had public functions, their decoration followed the conventions for bedrooms: In the Little Bedchamber Mars rests in Venus's arms, and in the Great Bedchamber the sleeping Endymion is watched by his lover Diana/Selene.¹⁴⁷ In both cases, the couples may allude to William and Mary's union,¹⁴⁸ with William being portrayed as the hero who rests after his glorious deeds. The latter aspect was particularly evident in the Great Bedchamber where tapestries featuring the story of Joshua decorated the walls, reminding the viewer that William III was – like Joshua – a successful military leader with a religious mission.¹⁴⁹

As the Great Bedchamber served as an audience room, William's visitors would have had little (if any) time to focus on the pictorial programme. On the contrary, the staircase murals belonged to the public, outer part of the King's Apartment and were thus more visible (fig. 92, A). Guests who came to see the monarch would have been impressed by the grandeur of the painted architecture, and when they exited the audience they

could scrutinize Verrio's murals at their leisure. With permission from the guards, visitors who were lodged at Hampton Court could stop by and take their time to decipher the pictorial programme. It is likely that high-ranking guests were even given guided tours of the building. Descriptions in eighteenth-century guidebooks confirm that the rooms were publicly accessible.¹⁵⁰ Although the pictorial message mainly addressed the king's guests, it may well be that a broader audience was envisaged from the start of Verrio's work on the King's Staircase murals.

Because visitors enter the staircase from a rather dark passage, the first vision of the painted interior seems like an explosion of light and colour. Since sombre trophies in grisaille decorate the lower portions of the staircase walls, the eye is drawn upwards (pl. 89). As in the Painted Hall at Chatsworth, the figurative paintings are confined to the upper extent of the walls, culminating in the ceiling painting. The pictorial programme covers only three out of four walls, creating a triptych structure that refers back to Verrio's earlier triptychs at Chelsea and Christ's Hospital. At Christ's Hospital, Verrio had already introduced a painted open loggia that surrounded three sides of the Great Hall (pl. 34), and he had offered to paint the ceiling in order to create a unified ensemble.¹⁵¹ This idea was further developed at Burghley House (pl. 88) and finally at Hampton Court (plates 89–93). Both spaces seem to open onto colonnades consisting of fluted columns that frame broad openings on each of the three walls. The figures move freely in between and in front of the columns, while the heavenly gods descend on clouds, thus creating an optical bridge between the walls and ceiling.

Despite the optical unity between the murals of the King's Staircase, each wall has its distinctive theme. The left (north) wall focuses on a group of mythological figures surrounding a display of plate (pl. 90), the largest (east) wall contains an assembly of people in ancient dress (pl. 91), and the right (south) wall that borders on the King's Apartment foregrounds a writer at his desk, accompanied by the god Mercury (pl. 92).

The iconography of these paintings is enigmatic, but their early reception offers some clues for their interpretation. In *Deliciae Britannicae* of 1742, George Bickham

provided a very detailed description¹⁵² – one that has to be read with caution since the information is only partially correct, as Brett Dolman has recently pointed out.¹⁵³ The anonymous publication *Apelles Britannicus* summarized Bickham's text without adding new material. This guidebook is undated but is dedicated to George II, i. e. it must have been published sometime before the king's death in 1760.¹⁵⁴

Bickham and *Apelles Britannicus* maintain that the ceiling painting "is a Compliment paid to King William and Queen Mary; the Peacock is an Emblem of their Grandeur, the Destiny denotes their Power over the Lives of their Subjects, and the Zephyrs represent their mild and courteous Disposition towards them."¹⁵⁵ Both authors interpret the main scene on the east wall as an allusion to the so-called Glorious Revolution: "This Prospect of Rome, with the flaming Sword and Bridle in the Hand of her Genius, seems an Allusion to the Revolution, at which Time, had it not been for the Assistance of our great and glorious Deliverer, King William III, the British Nation had felt again the Weight of the Romish Yoke."¹⁵⁶

Edgar Wind took *Apelles Britannicus* as a starting point for his very learned interpretation of the staircase programme, which was published in 1940 and has been accepted by all subsequent scholars who have treated the subject.¹⁵⁷ *Apelles Britannicus* (and Bickham) document that the writer depicted on the south wall is the emperor Julianus, also known as Julian the Apostate.¹⁵⁸ This led Wind to identify Julian's satire *The Caesars* as the basis of the pictorial programme – a text never before nor after illustrated in monumental painting. As Julian pretended his satire to be "an invention of Hermes," this explains Mercury's presence next to the portrait of the author (pl. 92).¹⁵⁹

In his text, written in Greek, Julian imagined a banquet of the ancient gods to which the Roman Caesars were invited. The gods on the ceiling (pl. 93) correspond to the cast of characters mentioned in Julian's text: Zeus, Hera, Rhea, and Kronos are seated at a table, attended by the Three Graces and Ganymede as cup-bearer; meanwhile, on a cloud below a larger group of gods has assembled, consisting of Eros, Aphrodite, Ares, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Hades, and probably Persephone.¹⁶⁰ Fur-

ther down, where the ceiling meets the wall and the heavenly sphere intersects with the earthly one, Verrio painted “Artemis, astride her crescent moon, and Dionysos with his tutor and Olympian court jester, Seilenos.”¹⁶¹ Artemis (Diana) points to an empty table reserved for the mortals who compete for admission. Romulus, standing on a cloud, approaches the table from the right and intercedes for the Roman emperors who are placed below him.¹⁶² In Julian’s satire, Silenus makes fun of each of the Caesars as they enter the heavenly banqueting hall.¹⁶³

The second part of the satire consists of “a battle of wits between the finalists: Julius Caesar, Octavian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Constantine and Alexander the Great, who has been introduced as a late non-Roman addition by Herakles.”¹⁶⁴ On the basis of Julian’s text, Wind identified the military commander on the left side of the mural as Alexander, accompanied by his promoter Herakles (Hercules), who hovers on a cloud above him and is recognizable by his standard attribute, the club (pl. 91).¹⁶⁵ Bickham and *Apelles Britannicus* had interpreted the commander erroneously as Aeneas.¹⁶⁶ Instead, Verrio represented the episode from the satire when “Silenus began to rally Romulus and said ‘See now whether all these Romans can match this one Greek,’” pitting Alexander the Great against the assembly of Roman rulers.¹⁶⁷

According to Wind, Alexander stands for William III because “it is particularly fitting that he should be introduced and protected by Hercules; for the lion and the lion-slayer were the favourite emblems of William III and appear in his medals in the most far-fetched associations.”¹⁶⁸ As has already been mentioned, Laguerre painted the Labours of Hercules on the façades of the new Fountain Court, and the pediment of the palace’s main façade shows Hercules trampling on Superstition, Tyranny, and Fury (pl. 85).¹⁶⁹ Many further examples can be adduced to show that William consistently adopted Hercules iconography in order to magnify his military prowess.¹⁷⁰

Following the lead established by the mid-eighteenth-century sources mentioned above, Wind related the programme of the King’s Staircase to the Glorious

Revolution. The mural on the east wall clearly has an antagonistic structure, staging a confrontation between Alexander (on the left) and Julius Caesar, the brightly clad emperor placed directly under Romulus on the right side of the mural (pl. 91). Wind interpreted Caesar as James II and buttressed his argument by analysing two publications from 1681 and 1682 respectively, which associated Romulus and his successors with the Roman Church.¹⁷¹ In this way, he sought to prove his assumption that Verrio’s mural commemorates the Glorious Revolution, i. e. the triumph of William as champion of Protestantism over the Catholic king James II.

Both treatises used by Wind as evidence for his thesis are polemical publications produced in the context of the Exclusion Crisis when Whig politicians sought to bar James II (then still duke of York) from the succession, deeming a declared Catholic unfit to govern the country.¹⁷² One of these texts, *Julian the Apostate: Being a short account of his life; the sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession; and their Behaviour towards him. Together with A Comparison of Popery and Paganism*, written by Samuel Johnson in 1682, paralleled James with the emperor Julian: Just as Julian the Apostate had renounced Christianity and reconverted to paganism, the duke of York, who had been raised in the true Anglican faith, had turned to Catholicism. “In Johnson’s pamphlet Julian is the villain. His apostasy foreshadows the treachery of the modern sovereign who forsakes the true Protestant religion in favour of Catholic idolatry.”¹⁷³

Because of Julian’s entirely negative role in Johnson’s pamphlet, Wind argues that the Hampton Court programme is closer to another treatise, *Some Seasonable Remarks on the Deplorable Fall of the Emperor Julian*, published in 1681, which he attributes to John Locke.¹⁷⁴ In this work, Julian appears in a more favourable light, as a beacon of tolerance and an enlightened sovereign, who had abhorred “the debauched Christianity of those times” and opposed the tyranny of the clergy. Following Montaigne’s positive view of Julian, the pagan emperor could be seen as the forerunner of monarchs who sought “the emancipation of civil government from the tutelage of the church.”¹⁷⁵ Wind implies that William III was just

such a monarch, but of course neither of the two treatises mentions William because in 1681/82 the Glorious Revolution of 1688/89 was still far off.

In his *Letter Concerning Enthusiasm* of 1708, the 3rd earl of Shaftesbury, one of John Locke's pupils, "expressed his admiration for the emperor Julian in exactly those terms which had been anticipated in the *Seasonable Remarks on Julian*."¹⁷⁶ As the paintings for the King's Staircase were "designed for William III at a time when he was surrounded by Somers, Locke, and Shaftesbury," Wind suggested their co-authorship of the pictorial programme. In Wind's view, this was all the more likely given that the 3rd earl was "an ardent supporter and personal advisor of William III" and "a close associate and friend of Lord Somers, William's Lord Chancellor, who was himself a proficient classical scholar and enthusiastic patron of the arts."¹⁷⁷

Wind's interpretation is persuasive and has never been questioned by art historians over the past eighty years.¹⁷⁸ However, there are five points that deserve closer examination:

(1) The treatises examined by Wind prove that Julian the Apostate was discussed with reference to contemporary politics in 1681/82, but neither of these texts can be regarded as the basis for the Hampton Court programme. Neither of them refers to William III, and although the *Seasonable Remarks on Julian* testify to a generally positive vision of the emperor, they do not mention his satire *The Caesars* that provided the narrative depicted by Verrio. It is quite possible that Verrio came across *The Caesars* in another context and that the treatises written during the Exclusion Crisis did not have any impact on the development of his pictorial programme. Consequently, the choice of *The Caesars* as a subject matter was not necessarily connected to the question of whether a Roman Catholic was seen fit to be England's ruler.

(2) An up-to-date scholarly edition of Julian's *Caesars* appeared only after the Exclusion Crisis, namely Ezekiel Spanheim's French translation of 1683, which contained a lengthy commentary and was reissued in 1696.¹⁷⁹ The frontispiece of the 1696 edition seems to have inspired Verrio's first ideas for the Hampton Court murals. Pierre Le Pautre's engraving unites two distinct levels of reality

(fig. 97). In the foreground is the earthly sphere of Julian, seated at his desk and attended by Mercury – a motif adapted by Verrio for the south wall of the staircase (pl. 92). Le Pautre's Mercury points to the heavenly sphere, where the Caesars stand on clouds waiting to be admitted to the banquet of the gods. For the centre of his ceiling painting, Verrio copied almost exactly the composition of the group of gods (pl. 93): Zeus (Jupiter) and Hera (Juno) are seated at the left side of the table; meanwhile, Rhea, with her mural crown, turns her back to the spectator and Kronos, with his sickle, closes the group to the right. Because Verrio had to fill a larger space, he blew the composition up by interspersing it with the Three Graces who serve the gods. While in the finished mural Verrio staged a confrontation between Alexander and Julius Caesar on the east wall, a preliminary *modello* is still closer to Le Pautre's composition in placing the emperors in one long row on the right (fig. 98). These similarities indicate that Verrio had a copy of the 1696 edition of Julian's *Caesars* at his disposal¹⁸⁰ – which makes it likely that the programme was based on a close reading of Julian's text rather than on the two pamphlets of 1681/82.

(3) In Julian's satire *The Caesars*, religious matters are addressed though not with reference to the rhetorical battle between Alexander and Julius Caesar depicted by Verrio. As Brett Dolman already pointed out, Julian's supreme model of virtue is neither Caesar nor Alexander but Marcus Aurelius who wins the contest of the emperors.¹⁸¹ At the end of the satire, each emperor is asked to choose a tutor. Marcus Aurelius clings to Zeus and Kronos, while Constantine opts for Jesus. Julian ends by uttering his total contempt for Jesus and celebrating his own faith in Mithras.¹⁸² And so, if it was one's intention to visualize a religious conflict with reference to *The Caesars*, it would have to be a confrontation between the pagans Marcus Aurelius and Julian, on the one hand, and Constantine, on the other. This raises the question of whether Verrio's mural really has religious overtones. Julian's description of the confrontation between Alexander and Julius Caesar must be analysed more closely in order to understand why this particular episode may have been selected.



Fig. 97 Pierre Le Pautre (inventor and engraver). Frontispiece to *Julianus* (ed. 1696)

(4) Wind did not discuss the meaning of the heavenly assembly on the ceiling, but if the programme of the King's Staircase was indeed meant to allude to the Glorious Revolution, it follows that the gods represent the Parliament that had to make a decision between James II (Caesar) and William of Orange (Alexander). At first this seems plausible because at Chatsworth, too, constitutional monarchy was visualized by an assembly of the

gods. However, the presence of Jupiter and Juno raises a problem at Hampton Court. They are clearly recognizable by their attributes, the eagle holding a thunderbolt and the peacock (pl. 93). On the ceiling of the Painted Hall at Chatsworth, Jupiter and Juno signify William and Mary who rule jointly with the Parliament.¹⁸³ But whereas the Chatsworth wall and ceiling paintings are distinct entities, at Hampton Court they form a narrative continuum

Fig. 98 Antonio Verrio. *Modello* for the King's Staircase mural



(pl. 91). Therefore, it is impossible that William appears twice in the same scene. If William is identified with Alexander the Great, Jupiter in the ceiling painting cannot stand for the king, too. Consequently, the ceiling painting cannot represent the English Parliament because there were no members of Parliament who could claim the position of the highest gods Jupiter and Juno.

(5) As demonstrated above, between 1672 and 1699 William of Orange often likened himself to Caesar. This contradicts Wind's argument that since the Exclusion Crisis the Roman Caesars were regarded as a synonym for Catholicism. If Wind's assumption were correct, it would be incomprehensible that William insisted on associating himself with Caesar both in his earliest commissions for an English audience and in his major artistic projects up until 1699/1700.¹⁸⁴ Since Caesar was clearly a positive hero for the king, it needs to be asked why he chose to distance himself from the emperor in the staircase mural. The reason for this cannot reside in Caesar's supposed "Catholic" significance but must be sought in events immediately predating the commission to Verrio.

I will start my discussion of these issues by considering point 3: What does Julian's text tell us about the confrontation between Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great? This story begins in the second half of the satire. After the Caesars have assembled in the heavenly banqueting hall, Hermes (Mercury) proposes to examine the heroes personally. Heracles (Hercules) objects and suggests that Zeus invite Alexander: "Zeus, if you are minded to introduce into our presence any of these Emperors, send, I beg of you, for Alexander. For if we are to examine into the merits of men generally, why do we not throw open the competition to the better man?"¹⁸⁵ Thus, from the start Alexander is presented as the greatest hero of all. Accordingly, Silenus jokes: "See now whether all these Romans can match this one Greek." "By Zeus," retorts Quirinus (Romulus), "I consider that many of them are as good as he! It is true that my descendants have admired him so much that they hold that he alone of all foreign generals is worthy to be styled 'the Great.' However, that we shall very soon find out by examining these men."¹⁸⁶



Fig. 99 Alexander the Great and the duc d'Enghien. Engraving. From Jean Puget de La Serre, *Paralleles d'Alexandre le Grand et de Monseigneur le duc Danguien*, 1645

By casting lots, Hermes decides the sequence of the speakers. Julius Caesar comes first. He is very proud of his military conquests and bestows lavish praise on himself. In his long speech he belittles Alexander, extolling his own numerous victories: “if we are judged by the number of our battles, I fought three times as many as Alexander, even reckoning by the boasts of those who embellish his exploits. If one counts the cities captured, I reduced the greatest number, not only in Asia but in Europe as well. Alexander only visited Egypt as a sight-seer but I conquered her while I was arranging drinking-parties.”¹⁸⁷

Alexander is enraged by Caesar’s words and shouts: “There is, as you see, no limit to his praise of himself or his abuse of me.”¹⁸⁸ He then points out that his own deeds were the model for Caesar’s conquests. He defends himself against Caesar’s criticisms and concludes:

I, on the other hand, in less than ten years conquered not only Persia but India too. After that do you dare to dispute the prize with me, who from childhood have commanded armies, whose exploits have been so glorious that the memory of them – though they have not been worthily recounted by historians – will nevertheless live for ever, like those of the Invincible Hero, my king, whose follower I was, on whom I modelled myself? Achilles my ancestor I strove to rival, but Heracles I ever admired and followed, so far as a mere man may follow in the footsteps of a god.¹⁸⁹

To a twenty-first-century beholder, it may seem strange that in Verrio’s mural the Greek commander Alexander wears Roman military dress, but a seventeenth-century audience was accustomed to such representations (fig. 99). Because in Julian’s text Alexander surpasses Caesar, Wind’s identification of Alexander with William III is certainly correct – especially as William’s self-fashioning referred consistently to the myth of Heracles (Hercules), who appears directly above Alexander as his divine promoter.¹⁹⁰ Next to Alexander, Verrio inserted a figure not mentioned by Julian: the winged personification of victory who holds a palm branch in her right hand and crowns Alexander with a laurel wreath.¹⁹¹ This may allude to Alexander’s (and William’s) conquests but also to his victory in the rhetorical battle against Julius Caesar. On the opposite side of the mural, Verrio depicted “the figure of Justice who descends toward the Roman emperors, with a flaming sword and bridle, ready to dispatch those who fail to meet with divine approval, just as she does in Julian’s text. To underline the point, Verrio has added four monstrous bat-winged, serpent-tailed Erinyes, or Furies, hovering over the Romans, set to punish them for their mortal sins.”¹⁹²

William III’s contemporaries would certainly have related the image of Victory to the war against France that had recently been ended by the Peace of Ryswick. Although in 1697 William celebrated this peace as a personal triumph,¹⁹³ between 1697 and 1699 he faced severe opposition to his military leadership. During the Nine Years’ War, his army had reached an unprecedented

size.¹⁹⁴ While William wished to maintain a large standing army, the English Parliament wanted him to disband the troops, both for reasons of cost and because of concerns about the king's growing absolutist tendencies.¹⁹⁵ The lengthy debates ended with "a bitter defeat for the stadholder-king, who was forced to endorse the Disbanding Act of 1699 and to dismiss the 4,000 men of his Dutch guards."¹⁹⁶

During this controversy, numerous polemical tracts were published by both parties. Precisely because the king liked to associate himself with Julius Caesar, several anti-Williamite treatises compared him negatively to the Roman dictator, who had used his army to buttress his autocratic policy.¹⁹⁷ Even in Parliament, contemporary politics were discussed in terms of ancient history. In a debate on 4 January 1699, Robert Harley remarked that "Caesar enslaved Rome by his army," while John Cutts argued on the contrary that "Caesar did it not by an army but by bribing senators."¹⁹⁸ In a subsequent session on 30 January, Cutts strengthened the parallel between William and Caesar by stating that the Roman people had willingly yielded to the rule of the one to avoid being exposed to the reign of competing factions.¹⁹⁹

The negative views on Caesar that were uttered during the standing army debates may well have been a reason for William to distance himself from his former hero. Matthew Prior, who was one of the pamphleteers hired by the court to defend William's position,²⁰⁰ refrained from drawing such parallels with antiquity and focused on the French threat instead:

Would they who have Nine Years look'd Sow'r,
Against a French and Popish Pow'r,
Make Friends with both in half an Hour? [...]

Would they discreetly break that Sword,
By which their Freedom was restor'd,
And put their Trust in Lewis Word?²⁰¹

Prior reminded his fellow citizens of the horrors of the Nine Years' War against France, celebrated William as the restorer of liberty, and called into question the peaceful intentions of Louis XIV. In fact, in 1698 Prior was sent to

Paris with the task of finding out Louis's secret plans.²⁰² As by that time it was evident that Charles II of Spain would die without a male heir, the European states dreaded a war over the Spanish succession in which France would certainly be involved. Everybody suspected that the Peace of Ryswick would be only short lived,²⁰³ and indeed from the spring of 1701 William III had to rally his forces for war against France once again.²⁰⁴

William's partisans regarded him as the "arbiter Europae," as the only one who could restrain Louis's expansionist policy and maintain a balance of power in Europe.²⁰⁵ As early as 1694, William's propaganda prophesied: "England will have the Honour of having saved Europe from Chains, and will remain the Arbiter of its Destiny."²⁰⁶ Echoing Prior's poem, Daniel Defoe claimed in 1698 that it was "the Sword of England in the Hand of the King, that gives Laws of Peace and War now in Europe."²⁰⁷ In 1697/98, Tsar Peter the Great visited William III, declaring "that 'twas not the desire of seeing Germany and Holland that made him leave his throne and victorious armies, but to see the most brave and generous hero of the age," and he regretted not having had the opportunity "of fighting under the banner of England against France."²⁰⁸

Seen in this political framework, it becomes clear why the contest between Caesar and Alexander was chosen for the decoration of the King's Staircase. The boastful Caesar, who in Julian's satire embarrassingly praises himself, stands for Louis XIV whose monuments filled all of France, as Prior reported with disgust.²⁰⁹ However, Verrio presents Alexander/William as the hero who checks Caesar's power. The confrontation staged between the two military commanders visualizes William's role as "arbiter Europae," and the personification of victory underlines his superiority.

As William of Orange had been engaged in wars against Louis XIV since 1672, it was a fitting choice to commemorate at Hampton Court his triumph over his main enemy. The idea to dissociate himself from Caesar may have been prompted by an event that Matthew Prior witnessed in Paris in 1699: the inauguration of Louis's equestrian statue on the Place Vendôme, which presented the so-called Sun King as emperor *all'antica*

(fig. 93).²¹⁰ The detailed publication of the festivities established an explicit parallel between Louis XIV and Caesar.²¹¹ In addition to the anti-Cesarist comments made during the standing army debate, this may have inspired Prior to seek a completely different role model for William III. By appearing in the guise of Alexander the Great, William trumped Louis in a double sense: He presented himself as the superior commander and – since Louis XIV had often been likened to Alexander²¹² – as having the greater claim to the title of “new Alexander.”

It has hitherto gone unnoticed that the long-standing rivalry with the French king also influenced the choice of subject matter for the mural on the north wall. This idyllic scene alludes to Hampton Court’s pastoral setting and complements the banquet of the gods, as it focuses on a display of plate (pl. 90).²¹³ Ornamental displays of silverware had long been a status symbol at the European courts.²¹⁴ Verrio may have known the painted *credenze* in the Palazzo Altemps (Rome) or in the Palazzo del Te (Mantua),²¹⁵ and during his sojourn in France he may have come across still lifes by Meiffren Conte, Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer, or Charles Le Brun that recorded the amazing silver objects in the collection of Louis XIV.²¹⁶ From 1664, the French king had commissioned the most spectacular silver furniture of his time, which on festive occasions was displayed in the Grande Galerie at Versailles.²¹⁷ However, in 1689/90 he had to melt down these treasures in order to finance his battles against William III. Not even his silver throne was spared.²¹⁸

After this tragedy, Louis XIV renounced silver furniture for good – while William continued to order prestigious silver objects.²¹⁹ He gave precious silver gifts to his allies and commissioned sumptuous silverware for himself.²²⁰ In his private rooms at Hampton Court, he created a special “sideboard or alcove separated from the rest of the room by a rail” for the display of his gilt plate.²²¹ It seems likely that these gilt objects were represented by Verrio as a means of stressing William’s superiority over the French king, who had been forced to part with his riches precisely during the war in which William finally triumphed.²²²

The Peace of Ryswick signalled the conclusion of the Nine Years’ War, but it also confirmed the success of the

Glorious Revolution: In the peace treaty, even Louis XIV had to acknowledge William’s status as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland.²²³ In that sense, a celebration of the Glorious Revolution is implicit in the murals of the King’s Staircase, but contrary to Wind’s belief, it does not constitute the main theme of the pictorial programme. As explained in point 4 above, the assembly of the gods cannot be interpreted as an image of constitutional monarchy after the Glorious Revolution. So, what does Verrio’s ceiling painting mean in the context of the new interpretation proposed here?

Edgar Wind pointed out that “the table at which the gods are feasting is supported by three lions; and the zodiac surrounding the heavenly banquet culminates in the sign of *Leo*.”²²⁴ A closer look reveals that Leo is actually hidden from view by a large basket of flowers (pl. 93). We recognize the preceding and subsequent signs (Cancer and Virgo), but the painter expects viewers to infer from the well-known order of the zodiac signs that Leo must stand at the top of the arc. As a visual hint, Verrio placed one of the lions supporting the heavenly table on the same vertical axis as the flower basket. Rather surprisingly, this golden lion forms the centre of the composition; it occupies the midpoint of the whole ceiling.

The emphasis on Leo deserves further thought because William III was born in November, i. e. his zodiac sign was Scorpio. According to Wind, “the lion and the lion-slayer [Hercules] were the favourite emblems of William III,”²²⁵ but that provides no sufficient explanation for Leo’s prominence. In this context, it should be noted that the lion figured on the coats of arms of both England and the Dutch Republic. It constituted the core motif on the Dutch coat of arms, and although the English royal armorial bearings are much more complex, the lion is indeed given particular prominence as one of the heraldic supporters (alongside the unicorn symbolizing Scotland).²²⁶ Long before William became king of England, the lion as a symbol of the Netherlands had already played a prominent role in his visual representation.²²⁷ Since many contemporaries believed that the Glorious Revolution had been aided by divine providence,²²⁸ the heraldic coincidence could be interpreted as a heavenly sign that the Hercules-like warrior William

was destined to govern both the Netherlands and Great Britain.

In early modern thought, astrology was by no means incompatible with the Christian faith. Pagan planetary deities and astronomical constellations appeared on the vaults of Christian chapels because it was believed that the heavenly bodies followed God's order of the cosmos; thus the idea that man's destiny was governed by celestial constellations could be legitimated.²²⁹ Accordingly, in Verrio's painting the zodiac functions as an image of heavenly order. By placing Leo at the top of the arc, Verrio alluded to the divine providence that guided William's destiny. Louis XIV had sought to invade the Netherlands and had backed James II's attempts to reconquer Great Britain but ultimately in vain – William triumphed over him because heaven itself willed it.

The Author of the Programme: Matthew Prior and the Culture of Understatement

Although there exists no documentary proof for Matthew Prior's authorship of the staircase programme, much circumstantial evidence points in that direction. The first part of this section will present the biographical facts that prove his proximity to William III and Antonio Verrio as well as his strong interest in the visual arts and his contempt for French royal self-fashioning. I will then move on to analyse some of Prior's writings that have clear affinities with the pictorial programme of the King's Staircase. Finally, Verrio's murals will be discussed as examples of a new culture of understatement proposed by Prior.

Matthew Prior, born in 1664 as the son of a carpenter, was one of the "men of lesser birth [who] spent time in mainstream diplomatic employ and achieved significant promotion."²³⁰ In addition, he became "the most important poet writing in English between the death of Dryden (1700) and the poetic majority of Pope in 1712."²³¹ Although Nahum Tate was the official poet laureate during this period, for Prior's writings "the term 'unofficial laureate verse' is apt because this poetry takes the tone of that expected of a poet laureate even though he lacked the title."²³²

Helen Jacobsen pointed out that "it is important not to over-exaggerate the lowliness of Prior's birth."²³³ His father managed to send him to the exclusive Westminster School where he made friends with some young aristocrats who later supported his career: above all, James and Charles Montagu (the latter the future earl of Halifax).²³⁴ At Westminster School, Prior became a King's Scholar in 1681, an award based on his distinction in classical languages, and in 1683 he received a Duchess of Somerset Scholarship to St John's College, Cambridge.²³⁵ He graduated in 1687, but financial considerations forced him to earn a living outside academia. In 1688, he became a tutor to the two sons of the 5th earl of Exeter, a notable patron of the arts who made Burghley House a treasure trove of High Baroque continental culture.²³⁶ During the two years that Prior spent at Burghley, he was able to see Antonio Verrio at work while the Italian decorated the state apartments (a project that occupied him between 1686 and 1697). The fact that Prior's own art collection included a sketch by Verrio testifies to their close acquaintance.²³⁷

In 1690, Prior's influential old school friends secured for him his first diplomatic post, as the secretary to Charles Berkeley (Viscount Dursley), British Envoy to the United Provinces. "For three of his seven years at The Hague (1692–95) there was no English ambassador in residence there and Prior fulfilled those duties, acting as chief minister with skill, diligence, and good sense while receiving the pay only of a secretary."²³⁸ In 1697, Prior assisted the English ambassador Viscount Villiers in the negotiations that led to the Peace of Ryswick.²³⁹ After the signing of the treaty, Prior was sent to Whitehall where he was received with "immense rejoicings." "The same day he called on the Lords Justices in town: the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, Lords Orford, Romney and Sunderland, and at their meeting the next day but one, Prior received a present of £200, and the *Centurion* was put at his disposal to take him back to Holland."²⁴⁰ When he took leave of the States-General on 8 November 1697, they "not merely expressed their formal approval of his conduct, but also gave him another chain and medal, this time of the value of 600 gilders, an act which was so unusual that it had to be registered

in the Secret Minute book with a special proviso that it was not to be taken as a precedent.”²⁴¹

King William III rewarded Prior’s good service by making him secretary to his favourite, William Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland, the new British ambassador to France upon the resumption of diplomatic relations with the court of Versailles. His commission as secretary was dated “Kensington, Dec. 29/ Jan. 8, 1697/98.”²⁴² Prior had his first private audience with Louis XIV on 4 February 1698 and met the monarch on various subsequent occasions.²⁴³ When Bentinck was replaced by Prior’s former patron Edward Villiers (now the earl of Jersey), Prior continued in Jersey’s service as secretary to the embassy. In total, he spent nineteen months in Paris, during which time his allowance was doubled on the orders of William III.²⁴⁴ Regarding his farewell audience with Louis XIV on 18 August 1699, Prior reported that “nothing could be so kind as these people when I parted with them, the Grand Monarch said such things to me that if my own King says half as much I shall be satisfied.”²⁴⁵

After leaving the French court, Prior travelled to Paleis Het Loo where William III was then residing.²⁴⁶ He had “a very long and a very gracious audience” in the King’s Bedchamber, which took “about an hour and half,” as Prior noted in his journal. He informed him “about the State of Affairs in France,” and the king “did me the Honour to tell me that he was satisfied with my Services.”²⁴⁷ Afterwards, William personally intervened in a conflict between Prior and the earl of Galway, settling it in the former’s favour.²⁴⁸

In the following months, Prior seems to have carried out secret business for the king. First, he was sent to the Netherlands (“His Majesty said he would take care of me and bid me go to the Hague”), then travelled back to Het Loo and received orders for a journey to France: “my Lord Jersey had communicated to me more plainly what before I knew but imperfectly, that we were making a treaty with France and the States general for the Succession of Spain [...]: that for this reason I must go immediately for France and that I was to take my Instructions on this subject from the King.”²⁴⁹ Accordingly, Prior had another private audience with William III, in which “the King instructed me very particularly in what I was to do,” before returning to

Paris where he met Louis XIV in a private audience on 15 November 1699.²⁵⁰ Immediately afterwards, he travelled to England to inform the king about the negotiations. In a letter to the earl of Manchester, who was then the British ambassador in Paris, Prior wrote: “His Majesty is satisfied with every step your Excellency made; and, in one word, we did as we ought to do....”²⁵¹

After his return to England, Prior served as under-secretary of state, under his long-standing patron the earl of Jersey, but this was only a temporary post, for “the King was pleased to promise my Lord Jersey that he would take care of me, and ordered me to continue in my Lord’s Office and give me an additional allowance upon the foot of 600 pound a year ‘till he should please to dispose of me otherwise, which he did about Midsummer after.”²⁵² On 28 June 1700, soon after Jersey had been made Lord Chamberlain, Prior was appointed a commissioner of the Board of Trade and Plantations.²⁵³ At that time, Prior stayed at Hampton Court,²⁵⁴ and when “the King came out of his Closet through the apartments at Hampton Court to Chapel my Lord Jersey presented me to kiss his hand for the employment.”²⁵⁵

Clearly, then, Prior enjoyed the king’s confidence – being quite close to William III during the time in which the programme for the King’s Staircase was designed – and had an intimate knowledge of the diplomatic dealings with Louis XIV since the Peace of Ryswick. In addition, he had a vivid interest in the visual arts. During his stays in The Hague and Paris, he both laid the foundations for his own extensive art collection and acquired works of art on behalf of his English patrons.²⁵⁶ He not only had first-hand knowledge of the palace of Versailles but also assisted William III in procuring drawings of Versailles, Marly, and the Grand Trianon.²⁵⁷

When William and Jersey left for Holland in August 1700, Prior remained in England and saw to the plans for building and improvements at Squerryes, the manor recently purchased by the earl of Jersey.²⁵⁸ Given his passion for such occupations and his personal knowledge of Antonio Verrio, it seems quite likely that Prior may have made a proposal for murals to be painted at Hampton Court by his old acquaintance. Prior was in an excellent position to promote Verrio because his patron Jer-

sey, as Lord Chamberlain, oversaw the decoration of the royal apartments. One of Jersey's predecessors in this capacity, the earl of Arlington, had in fact drawn up the contracts with Verrio for Windsor Castle.²⁵⁹

As mentioned above, Prior excelled in classical languages. During his time at college, he wrote numerous Latin poems, and he continued to do so in subsequent years.²⁶⁰ At Ryswick, one of his tasks was to check the French and Latin versions of the peace treaty so that "the language of the Latin version may be regarded to some extent as a specimen of his Latinity."²⁶¹ He was certainly familiar with the tradition of Latin satires; for instance, in 1687 he wrote a satire on contemporary poets "in Imitation of the Seventh Satyr of Juvenal."²⁶² Prior's knowledge of Julian's satire *The Caesars* can be proven by his own *Carmen Seculare*, to which I will return shortly.

Prior was clearly opposed to an excess of ceremonial, mocking the pompousness of the French court. During the negotiations at Ryswick, he complained in a letter of June 1697 "how near we are to get into the old road of ceremony and nonsense."²⁶³ In Paris, he participated in the inauguration of Louis XIV's equestrian statue on the Place Vendôme and criticized the omnipresence of images of the Sun King.²⁶⁴ He ridiculed the palace of Versailles where Louis XIV "is strutting in every panel and galloping over one's head in every ceiling," and he belittled the king by emphasizing the power of his second wife: "Madame Maintenon governs him as absolutely as Roxalana did Soleyman. He lives at Marly like an Eastern monarch, making waterworks and planting melons, and leaves his bashas to ruin the land, provided they are constant in bringing in their tribute."²⁶⁵ He also expressed his contempt for the French education system: "Here is no school half so big as Westminster [...]; everybody learns in a Gazette, without being whipped or fighting with one another, which is a very effeminate way, and I believe is the reason that one English boy can construe or box with three French boys."²⁶⁶

In a letter of November 1698, Prior portrayed William III's victory at Namur as a decisive event that had almost shattered Louis XIV: "The Monarch himself is old, and, I think, has a good mind to be quiet; to say the truth he is quite cowed by King William, and since the taking

of Namur he has as fairly wheeled and run as ever any cock did in a pit."²⁶⁷ This satirical vision of the French king also came through in Prior's poetry, most famously in *An English Ballad, On the Taking of Namur by the King of Great Britain, 1695*, which mocks Boileau's *Ode Sur la Prise de Namur, Par les Armes du Roy, L'Année 1692*.²⁶⁸ From the very first (1695) edition of Prior's text, his and Boileau's poems were set on facing pages, with readers deriving much fun from comparing Boileau's far-fetched metaphors with Prior's satirizing reworkings of them.²⁶⁹

For instance, Boileau introduced Louis XIV as Jupiter himself:

Quelle effroyable Puissance
Aujourd-huy pourtant s'avance,
Preste à foudroyer tes monts?
Quel bruit, quel feu l'environne?
C'est JUPITER en Personne;
Ou c'est le Vainqueur de *Mons*.²⁷⁰

Prior used the same type of rhetorical question to present William III in ironic understatement as "little Will," who triumphs because of his human valour rather than his pretended God-like qualities:

What Godhead does so fast advance,
With dreadful Pow'r those Hills to gain?
'Tis little Will, the Scourge of *France*;
No Godhead, but the first of Men.
His mortal Arm exerts the Pow'r,
To keep ev'n *Mons Victor* under:
And that same JUPITER no more
Shall fright the World with impious Thunder.²⁷¹

While the earl of Devonshire had glorified William III as Jupiter in the pictorial programme at Chatsworth,²⁷² it is significant that at Hampton Court the king appeared in the role of a common mortal. As analysed above, Verrio depicted Alexander and Caesar as similes for William III and Louis XIV, placing them on opposite sides of the main mural (pl. 91) – much as they faced each other on the pages of Prior's satire. In the mural, the personification of victory emphasized the superiority of Britain's

king as “arbiter Europae.” This was entirely in line with Prior’s thinking, as evident in a letter of 1699 in which he declares Britain’s mission to “hold the balance of Europe.”²⁷³

In a letter dated “Whitehall, December 7, 1699,” Prior announced that “next Week I intend to come out myself with a Panegyric upon the King.”²⁷⁴ According to Adrian Drift, the executor of Prior’s will, this was “his famous *Carmen Seculare*; a Poem which many Judges, for very good Reason, have pronounced the most sublime of all his Writings. *Horace*’s Ode with the same Title, though undoubtedly it was in some Sense our Poet’s Model, must be acknowledged to be far inferior to it in true Grandeur of Thought, and Variety of Images.”²⁷⁵

Much like Horace had celebrated the beginning of a new golden age under Augustus,²⁷⁶ Prior’s *Carmen Seculare* is “an almost 600-line vision of the bright future of England under William, as it stood on the threshold of the new century.”²⁷⁷ The poem was set to music and “sung before His Majesty” at St James’s Palace at the beginning of January 1700.²⁷⁸ Although Rippon describes it as “unsmiling and stiff with classical ornament,” it was quite popular in its own day.²⁷⁹

It has hitherto gone unnoticed that Prior’s *Carmen Seculare* contains the main motifs that constitute the pictorial programme of the King’s Staircase. Despite the poem’s obvious allegiance to Horace, the opening stanzas (I–IX) are in fact modelled on Julian’s satire *The Caesars*. The poet asks Janus (as the ancient god traditionally presiding over the beginning of a new century) to act as judge in a contest of rulers: “In comely Rank call ev’ry Merit forth [...] / Confront the Heroes of Thy ROMAN Race: / And let the justest Palm the Victor’s Temples grace.”²⁸⁰ As in Julian’s text, the participants in this battle then appear one by one, from Numa Pompilius to Charlemagne, from William the Conqueror to James I, receiving praise as well as blame. For instance, Julius Caesar is criticized for inciting a civil war, and while the poet acknowledges Augustus’s clemency, he points out Rome’s lack of freedom under his rule:

JULIUS with Honour tam’d Rome’s foreign Foes:
But Patriots fell, e’er the Dictator rose.

And while with Clemency AUGUSTUS reign’d;
The Monarch was ador’d; the City chain’d.²⁸¹

William III is presented as superior to “Dictators” like Caesar precisely because he devoted his whole life to the restoration of liberty (“His forty Years for Publick Freedom fought”).²⁸² Prior compares William to Hercules (“Alcides”),²⁸³ and portrays his opposition to Louis XIV as a fight for liberty. Accordingly, he celebrates the victory of Namur as “EUROPE freed, and FRANCE repell’d.”²⁸⁴ In commemorating the Peace of Ryswick, Prior emphasizes William’s role as “arbiter Europae,”²⁸⁵ and concludes with verses that echo his earlier ballad *On the Taking of Namur*: “Establish’d FREEDOM clap’d her joyful Wings; / Proclaim’d the First of Men, and Best of Kings.”²⁸⁶ Not surprisingly, the poet prophesizes that William will win the rulers’ contest:

The glorious Parallels then downward bring,
To Modern Wonders, and to Britain’s King:
With equal Justice and Historic Care
Their Laws, Their Toils, Their Arms with His compare:
Confess the various Attributes of Fame
Collected and compleat in WILLIAM’S Name:
To all the list’ning World relate,
(As Thou dost His Story read)
That nothing went before so Great,
And nothing Greater can succeed.²⁸⁷

Verrio’s mural at Hampton Court depicts much the same situation. William, guided by Hercules, confronts Caesar/Louis XIV; the viewer is drawn into this contest, which is still going on as Caesar addresses us, but the personification of victory on William’s side already hints at the outcome of this battle of merits (pl. 91).

However, the parallels do not end here: Prior’s *Carmen Seculare* evokes several further images that have a clear relationship to the murals covering the other walls. Conceding that much of William’s reign has been taken up by wars, Prior declares that this “iron page” in the book of history is about to be turned and that a new (golden) age will begin.²⁸⁸ His description of this age –

an age named after “better Metal” – abounds with the bucolic motifs assembled in Verrio’s mural on the north wall (pl. 90): Flora and Ceres preside over a joyous age of “Peace and Plenty” in which the River Thames, adored by “ardent” Nymphs, flows along riverbanks graced by “Fresh Flow’rs” and “fruitful Harvest.”²⁸⁹

The ceiling painting, too, finds its equivalent in Prior’s poem. The poet’s muse, whom he identifies as “History” (Clio), flies heavenwards, “Resolv’d to reach the high Empyrean Sphere / And tell Great Jove, She sings His Image here; / To ask for WILLIAM an Olympic Crown”; yet, “Unable to discern the Way / Which NASSAW’s Virtue only could explore,” she returns without having attained her goal.²⁹⁰ “Nassaw” alone (i. e. William of Orange from the House of Nassau) is able to reach these lofty spheres, and thus the poem ends with the prophecy that William will after his death ascend to the heavens as a “NASSAW-Star”:

And late let the Imperial Eagle fly,
To bear the Hero thro’ His Father’s Sky,
[...]
To HERCULES, at length absolv’d by Fate
From Earthly Toil, and above Envy great;
[...]
To all the radiant Names above,
Rever’d by Men, and dear to Jove.
Late, JANUS, let the NASSAW-Star
New born, in rising Majesty appear,
To triumph over vanquish’d Night,
And guide the prosp’rous Mariner
With everlasting Beams of friendly Light.²⁹¹

These lines may well explain why Verrio depicted the ancient Roman ceremony of apotheosis on the south wall (pl. 92, the grisaille painting over the door).²⁹² Verrio did not translate Prior’s poem literally into the ceiling painting but came up with a clever equivalent. By focusing on Leo, he found a way to visualize William’s heavenly significance still during his lifetime.²⁹³ However, Leo is actually hidden from view by a basket of flowers, so we must infer his placement (between Cancer and Virgo: pl. 93). Those members of the audience who knew Pri-

or’s *Carmen Seculare* could thus deduce that the basket of flowers alludes to the space where the “NASSAW-Star” would ultimately rise.

Some parts of the *Carmen Seculare* read like an answer to the question that may have embarrassed Prior at Versailles. According to his autobiography, “One of the Officers of the French King’s Household shewing him the Royal Apartments and Curiosities at Versailles, especially the Paintings of Le Brun, wherein the Victories of Lewis XIV. was beautifully described, ask’d him, ‘Whether King William’s Actions were also to be seen in his Palace.’”²⁹⁴ In his *Carmen Seculare*, Prior claims that Hampton Court and Windsor will one day host sublime works of art celebrating William III,²⁹⁵ but he takes pains to stress that his king’s glory will outlast any images, even those made of the most permanent materials:

Janus be to WILLIAM just;
To faithful HISTORY His Actions trust:
Command Her, with peculiar Care
To trace each Toil, and comment ev’ry War
[...]
That WILLIAM’s Glory still may live;
When all that present Art can give,
The Pillar’d Marble, and the Tablet Brass,
Mould’ring, drop the Victor’s Praise:
When the great Monuments of His Pow’r
Shall now be visible no more [...].²⁹⁶

In a later stanza, Prior returns to the same topic, emphasizing the power of the poet to bestow everlasting fame on his sovereign.²⁹⁷ Given this crucial role of the poet in his work, it is quite likely that he may have regarded the unusual monumental portrait of Julian at his writing desk as his own alter ego (pl. 92). After all, in his satire *The Caesars* Julian had not simply made fun of bad rulers but had also underlined by contrast the valour of those rulers of whom he thought highly – much like Prior did in his ballad *On the Taking of Namur*.

Although the *Carmen Seculare* heaps fulsome praise on William III, Prior tries to distinguish his text from Boileau’s courtly flattery by pointing out that his king does not actually need monuments to his glory:

Nor Beaks of Ships in Naval Triumph born,
 Nor Standards from the hostile Ramparts torn,
 Nor Trophies brought from Battles won,
 Nor Oaken Wreath, nor Mural Crown
 Can any future Honours give
 To the Victorious Monarch's Name:
 The Plenitude of WILLIAM's Fame
 Can no accumulated Stores receive.²⁹⁸

Repeatedly, the text stresses William's modesty. He is "the humblest Victor, and the kindest King,"²⁹⁹ "By Wrongs not lessen'd, nor by Triumphs rais'd,"³⁰⁰ does not display pride,³⁰¹ and refuses to accept a triumphal entry:

ALBION, with open Triumph would receive
 Her Hero, nor obtains His Leave:
 Firm He rejects the Altars She would raise;
 And thanks the Zeal, while He declines the
 Praise.³⁰²

Prior therefore attributed to William III not only personal modesty but also a larger culture of understatement that avoided the monarch's open glorification. This was to a certain degree warranted because the king had indeed rejected the erection of triumphal arches after the Peace of Ryswick (though probably for financial reasons).³⁰³

In my view, Verrio's staircase murals are an expression of that same culture of understatement propagated by Matthew Prior. As explained above, Prior knew and despised Louis XIV's exuberant self-fashioning, which he regarded as ridiculously inappropriate. As a member of the British embassy he had had several audiences with the French king and was no doubt aware of the Escalier des Ambassadeurs at Versailles, a staircase specifically designed and decorated by Charles Le Brun and his *équipe* to impress foreign ambassadors (pl. 45).³⁰⁴ Prior even owned an illustrated publication on this particular piece of royal glorification.³⁰⁵ It is therefore tempting to see the King's Staircase at Hampton Court as an English response to its French counterpart.

The Escalier des Ambassadeurs was created between 1669 and 1679 and destroyed in 1752.³⁰⁶ In 1674, a

change of plan introduced a decoration of unprecedented splendour, including wall revetments of coloured marble at ground level.³⁰⁷ On the first floor (the level of the state apartments), fictive openings alternated with four feigned tapestries. The latter, painted by Van der Meulen, represented four important victories that took place in 1677 under the direction of Louis XIV and his brother: the conquests of Valenciennes, Cambrai, and Saint-Omer and the Battle of Cassel.³⁰⁸ Prior would have observed these paintings with particular dislike, as they immortalized battles lost by William III while still stadholder of the United Provinces.³⁰⁹

The exotic figures represented under the fictive colonnades alluded to the function of the Escalier des Ambassadeurs (as the reception space for ambassadors) and visualized Louis XIV's admiration by people from all around the globe. Accordingly, the four continents appeared above them on the coved ceiling.³¹⁰ Further glorious deeds of the king were depicted on the ceiling as feigned lapis lazuli reliefs on a golden backdrop,³¹¹ while naval trophies commemorated his victories at sea. Hercules, Minerva, and Apollo were evoked as the king's mythological role models. The Muses completed the pictorial programme, along with personifications of fame, immortality, the king's virtues, and the arts protected by him.³¹²

In 1680, the *Mercure galant* published an extensive description of the Escalier des Ambassadeurs, which made its iconography known to the broader public.³¹³ During the reign of Queen Anne, her favourite Sarah Churchill emulated this celebrated decoration by asking Louis Laguerre, around 1710, to paint the two staircases at Marlborough House with representations of battles fought by her husband.³¹⁴ Of course, William III would have been able to commission similar murals, as he was surrounded by several highly qualified battle painters who immortalized his military campaigns³¹⁵ – but he deliberately chose a different option.

While Louis XIV confronted his foreign visitors with a straightforward celebration of his military triumphs (which some ambassadors would necessarily have received as a personal humiliation), the pictorial programme of the King's Staircase at Hampton Court is

much more subtle and modest. Verrio's murals do not trumpet their message to the world but require active engagement on the part of the beholder. The viewer needs to be familiar with Julian's satire *The Caesars* in order to decode the paintings.

Understatement is a language for connoisseurs who know its codes. It demonstrates superiority – though only for those who are able to recognize the subtle signs of distinction. In marked contrast to William's earlier commissions, the staircase murals departed from obvious classical allusions and required a highly knowledgeable, refined audience. After he had long imitated Louis XIV in his self-fashioning, the king finally came to ridicule his boastful rival by casting him in the role of Julian's Caesar. But only a select circle was able to share this joke – which increased rather than diminished the fun.

Nation and Gender in the Queen's Drawing Room

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Hampton Court was decorated during a period of dynastic crisis. William III and Mary II did not have offspring. Mary's younger sister Anne suffered the tragic loss of seventeen children. Between 1684 and 1700, she had seven miscarriages and five still-births; one son and three daughters died during the first years of their lives.³¹⁶ When her last surviving child and heir apparent, the duke of Gloucester, passed away in 1700 at age 11, it was expected that the Protestant line of the Stuart dynasty would come to an end with Anne's death. The succession was regulated by the Act of Settlement, signed in the summer of 1701 still during King William's reign. This act stipulated the succession of Sophia, Dowager Electress of Brunswick-Lüneburg, a Protestant granddaughter of James I.³¹⁷

The childless King William commemorated his legacy by drawing attention to the individual virtues that had permitted him to triumph over Louis XIV. But the war against France continued. When the deposed King James II died in 1701, his son James Francis Edward

claimed the English crown, backed by Louis; moreover, the French king endorsed his own grandson's claim to the Spanish throne. This resulted in the War of the Spanish Succession, which was prepared during the last months of William's life and occupied most of Queen Anne's reign.³¹⁸ Therefore, a set of interrelated questions arises: How did Anne express Britain's relationship to France through visual means? To what extent did she rely on visual formulae developed for her male predecessors? Are there specifically female elements in her self-fashioning? And in what ways did she address England's dynastic crisis in the pictorial programme of Hampton Court Palace?

Queen Anne rarely resided at Hampton Court, but when she did, she stayed in King William's former rooms – not surprisingly, as this was the only royal apartment ready for use.³¹⁹ The rooms in the north and east wings had been left in an unfinished state after Queen Mary's death in 1694. They did not even have proper floors.³²⁰ Nevertheless, in 1703 Anne ordered Antonio Verrio to decorate the central room of the east range (fig. 92, N).³²¹ The aged painter completed this task with a team of assistants made up of Gerard Lanscroon, Nicholas Schefers, and Giovan Battista Catenaro.³²² In the first months of 1705, he finished his work and was rewarded with a pension of £200.³²³

The intentions behind Queen Anne's commission to Verrio are not documented. The saloon became known as the Queen's Drawing Room, a term that reflects its intended use. As Simon Thurley has pointed out, "the size and location of this room emphasised the prime position that the gathering called the Drawing Room had achieved at the English court."³²⁴ For much of her reign, Queen Anne held drawing rooms twice or thrice weekly, with their venue varying according to her movement between her palaces.³²⁵ These gatherings were important occasions for the informal exchange of news between courtiers, but in comparison to the brilliant social life at Charles II's court, Anne's drawing rooms must have been rather dull.³²⁶ Because of her "native shyness," she was notoriously lacking in conversation.³²⁷ Jonathan Swift reported: "She looked at us round with her fan in her mouth, and once a minute said about three words to

some that were nearest her, and then she was told dinner was ready, and went out.”³²⁸ Decorating the Queen’s Drawing Room with an elaborate pictorial programme was thus convenient, as the paintings provided much food for conversation.

At some stage of the planning process, Anne considered giving Queen Mary’s former rooms at Hampton Court to her consort Prince George, but this idea was not seen through.³²⁹ Although the iconography of the Drawing Room refers both to Anne and George, Anne is clearly more prominent in it. It is highly unlikely that she would have outfitted this space for her husband because it is the central room of the whole palace, located in the middle of the east façade below the great tympanum (pl. 85). According to the rules of Baroque decorum, such a space could only be claimed by the monarch.³³⁰

It seems, then, that Anne wished to move in to Mary’s former apartment herself, but this would have required extensive work in the other rooms, too. During her reign, no further activities in this range are documented. Only under George I, the first Hanoverian on the English throne, did the decoration of the apartment of the former queen continue.³³¹ Anne cannot have used the new Drawing Room at Hampton Court for courtly entertainments because there was no way to reach this space without crossing a series of unfinished rooms. The reasons for the abandonment of her decorative campaign will be elucidated in the following close analysis of the iconography of the Queen’s Drawing Room. Due to a change of plan, Anne’s commission turned into a memorial to her reign, occupying the centre of a range of rooms that only her successor would eventually complete. When Anne came to accept her role as the last Stuart monarch on the English throne, it may well have been a consolation for her to know that this memorial would remain at the centre of her successor’s apartment.³³²

The literature on the Queen’s Drawing Room murals is very limited. Croft-Murray catalogued most of the individual scenes, concluding with the rather scathing comment: “With its riot of ill-matched colours and unprepossessing faces and figures, it hardly stands as a brilliant finale to Verrio’s career.”³³³ De Giorgi, Dolman, Hamlett, Pasculli Ferrara, Smith, and Thurley each discussed the

paintings in just a few paragraphs, with a 2020 article by Cécile Brett providing the first and only sustained analysis of the pictorial programme to date.³³⁴ Brett presents a hitherto unknown *modello* for the feigned tapestry on the south wall of the room, identifies for the first time the subject matter of the four reddish monochromes in the coving and the four greenish monochromes on the ceiling, and argues that James Thornhill did not assist Antonio Verrio in this decorative campaign.³³⁵ In the following discussion of the murals, I will add some new insights, focusing in particular on the topics of gender and nation.

The first impression of the Queen’s Drawing Room is one of overwhelming richness. While in the state apartments at Windsor and in the King’s Apartment at Hampton Court decorative painting is limited to the ceilings, here it embraces the whole room. Verrio heightened the dignity of the space by imitating the most valuable materials: He decorated the walls with “marble” pilasters of the highest (Composite) order and presented the figurative paintings as feigned tapestries, thus continuing the tradition of the precious Henry VIII tapestries that hung in King William’s rooms.³³⁶

The east wall is taken up by three windows overlooking the park and grand canal (fig. 92, N; see also figs. 90 and 91). The painting on the west wall holds the most prominent position, as it is aligned with this central axis. It constitutes the main focus of the room. Forming a visual unity with the mural on the west wall, the ceiling painting is oriented in such a way that it should be viewed from the same vantage point as the mural (pl. 94). This main image on the west wall is flanked by two large lateral paintings on the north and south walls. Feigned “bronze” reliefs surmount the doors leading into the adjacent rooms of the apartment. Further imitations of reliefs can be found on the ceiling: four rectangular red ones (of “porphyry”) above the centre of each wall and four greenish “bronzes” in the corners of the vault (pl. 94).

A portrait of Queen Anne dominates the ceiling (fig. 100; pl. 95). Hannah Smith has already pointed out that “the apotheosis of Anne in the queen’s drawing room resembles Charles’s in St George’s Hall, both of which depict the monarch being crowned by two allegorical figures” (cf. fig. 44; pl. 23).³³⁷ She stressed “Verrio’s



Fig. 100 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Central oval painting on the ceiling, c. 1703–1705. Queen's Drawing Room, Hampton Court Palace, London

representation of the monarch as a god,” and concluded that “this sacral dimension vested her [Anne] with an authority that her subjects lacked and which put her on a recognizable par with – or indeed elevated her above – her fellow monarchs, Louis XIV included.”³³⁸

Interestingly, then, Anne did not adhere to the culture of understatement introduced by William III and Matthew Prior but consciously referred to an older and rather more ostentatious form of royal male self-fashioning. While in her analysis Smith did not go into detail regarding the comparison with St George’s Hall, it is worth taking a closer look at similarities and differences in order to highlight Anne’s specifically feminine approach to her artistic deification.

As demonstrated in chapter 3, on the ceiling of St George’s Hall Charles II presented himself in the role of Christ the Judge, alluding to the Last Judgement – a biblical analogy that had already been construed by John Ogilby for the Restoration Arch of 1661.³³⁹ Anne focused on the same virtue, but due to her gender she was able to identify directly with the female personification of justice.

According to Cécile Brett, Anne appears in the guise of “Divine Justice” as represented in the English edition of Ripa’s *Iconologia* of 1709.³⁴⁰ While her attributes, the sword and scales, correspond to Ripa’s image, it needs to be stressed that he placed just one dove above his personification (signifying the Holy Spirit). Verrio depicted above Anne’s head two doves, their beaks touching. Their friendly union mirrors the relationship between Neptune (sea) and Cybele (land), who jointly hold Anne’s crown (fig. 100).³⁴¹ As there exists only one Holy Spirit, the two doves make clear that Verrio took pains not to identify Anne with Divine Justice since that may have been regarded as blasphemous.

Queen Anne’s official position as head of the judiciary legitimated her representation as the embodiment of secular justice.³⁴² In this role, she figures as one of the four secular cardinal virtues. To her left are Prudence (with a mirror and snake) and Temperance (pouring water into wine), whereas Fortitude enjoys the particularly prominent place to the sovereign’s right. Fortitude is accompanied by the English lion and embraces her usual attribute, the column, on which Anne’s orb rests.

The queen extends her right arm towards Fortitude and raises a sword in an imperious gesture that expresses her determination to extirpate injustice even with force (Fortitude). The somewhat militant flavour of this constellation is heightened by the “Lesser George” worn by the queen: the Garter badge proclaiming Anne’s status as the head of the chivalric order.³⁴³

Despite the decidedly secular character of Anne as Justice, Verrio sought to imbue the image with sacred overtones. The combination of her bright red dress and blue cloak is unusual (in other portraits, Queen Anne tends to wear gold or ochre and blue)³⁴⁴ and alludes to Mary as Queen of Heaven – a Catholic iconography that had previously been appropriated by Elizabeth I.³⁴⁵ Moreover, Verrio strengthened the sacrality of the image by adding a personification that has as yet not been identified: Divine Providence, a woman dressed in orange and yellow and placed on the same axis as Anne, gesturing towards her (fig. 100). Her attribute is a small sceptre with “the eye of Providence on top” (pl. 95).³⁴⁶ The bird next to her (a crane) denotes vigilance, a secular form of providence.³⁴⁷

By foregrounding the figure of Divine Providence, Verrio drew attention to the fact that at the time of Anne’s birth nobody would have expected her to become queen. After all, she was only the fourth child and second daughter of the king’s younger brother. And yet God had chosen her to rule over England. Just as William III had stressed his providential election in the pictorial programme of the King’s Staircase, Anne, too, insisted that she was favoured by divine providence. This served to stabilize her rule, as Verrio’s painting suggested that opposition against her would have amounted to opposition against God’s will.

Verrio’s ceiling painting combines motifs from St George’s Hall and the Queen’s Presence Chamber at Windsor Castle. On the ceiling of the Presence Chamber, decorated for Catherine of Braganza in 1679, Verrio had represented the queen surrounded by the four cardinal virtues. Justice with her sword occupied the most prominent place, to the queen’s right (pl. 14).³⁴⁸ In addition, there the painter had already made a rather clumsy attempt to personify divine providence.³⁴⁹ At Hampton

Court, Verrio improved on this earlier composition in a double sense. He invented a less monstrous personification of divine providence that could thus take centre stage, and he identified the queen herself with Justice, thereby attributing to her superhuman power and virtue. In that way, he created a feminine equivalent to St George's Hall, over which Charles II had presided as a superhuman male judge.

In Verrio's ceiling painting for St George's Hall, the lower third of the composition was occupied by a large number of personified vices, shown being driven away by the cardinal virtues, chief among them "Justice, or Astraea, with a 'fierce expression,' and a raised sword and scales" (fig. 44).³⁵⁰ At Hampton Court, Verrio presented this battle between virtues and vices on the west wall of the Queen's Drawing Room, as a near extension of the ceiling painting, given the latter's orientation (pl. 94). In comparison to the Windsor mural, he thus gave much more space and prominence to the queen's determined action against vice, making it the main theme of the Queen's Drawing Room.

From the start of her reign, Anne had endeavoured to cast herself as a "warrior queen."³⁵¹ She wished to demonstrate that – despite being a woman – she was perfectly capable of handling the War of the Spanish Succession.³⁵² The bellicose attitude of Anne as Justice (a queen with a raised sword!) forms a telling contrast to Verrio's portrayal of Catherine of Braganza seated rather passively amid the cardinal virtues (plates 14, 95). The image in the middle of the west wall celebrates Anne as the leader in a war against vice. I will return to this image shortly, after having examined the two lateral paintings in the Queen's Drawing Room.

As Hannah Smith remarked, a queen lacked "the type of authority that military kingship, or even the potential ability to fight, brought to a male ruler. [...] The married female monarch could try to negotiate this particular difficulty by entrusting military command to her husband so as not to separate civil and military government [...]. But Anne's invalid husband was unable to move into the military role vacated by William III."³⁵³ Although during his youth Prince George of Denmark had participated in several battles and had asked William III for approval to

serve in the navy, in later years Anne's consort suffered from chronic asthma, meaning that the titles of Generalissimo and Lord High Admiral conferred on him by his wife in April 1702 had primarily symbolic value.³⁵⁴ Nevertheless, on the north wall of the Queen's Drawing Room George was portrayed reviewing the British fleet (plates 96, 97).³⁵⁵ This pointed to the ancient claim that England's monarchs were "sovereigns of the sea."³⁵⁶ It has not yet been noticed in this context that precisely in 1703, when Verrio started work on the Queen's Drawing Room, Joseph Gander published a treatise on Anne's "absolute Sovereignty as Empress of the Sea."³⁵⁷

For Anne and her contemporaries, Verrio's depiction of the British fleet would have resonated with memories of recent naval victories during the War of the Spanish Succession – like the Battle of Vigo Bay (1702), which was deemed so important that Anne ordered a special day of thanksgiving throughout her realm.³⁵⁸ On 12 November 1702, she "became the first sovereign since Elizabeth to attend a service of public thanksgiving in St Paul's cathedral, the primary reason for which was, appropriately, the naval victory at Vigo Bay."³⁵⁹ An ephemeral inscription on Ludgate declared: "As threatening Spain did to Eliza bow / So France and Spain shall do to Anna now."³⁶⁰

By representing Prince George in front of the British fleet, Verrio foregrounded his leadership in the Admiralty (even though the Battle of Vigo Bay had actually been won under the direction of Admiral John Rooke) and drew attention to the joint agency of the queen and her consort. Fittingly, Joseph Gander had commemorated "the Glorious Success of Her Majesty's Arms at Vigo" in a poem dedicated to Prince George.³⁶¹ Ultimately, however, the victory was attributed to the queen, aided by divine providence.³⁶² A sermon held on the 1702 day of thanksgiving proclaimed that "the Lord hath also manifested himself to be with her [Anne], in giving her such Glorious Successes, as no former Age can parallel; so many Conquests in one Season, that every one astonished with wonder must say, as *Deborah* in her Song, that it was fought from Heaven against her Enemies [...]; the over-ruling Providence of Heaven having ordered it thus [...]."³⁶³

If George's portrait as Lord High Admiral fits in well with the military character of the programme outlined so far, the painting on the opposite wall is more enigmatic (pl. 98). It clearly forms a pendant to George's portrait, as both murals show the British fleet in the background – but who is the protagonist on the south wall? According to Croft-Murray, “a stodgy Cupid lies asleep in a marine chariot, not very happily expressing their conjugal affections.”³⁶⁴ In a similar vein, Dolman suggested that “the sleeping cupid may be substituting for a real heir,”³⁶⁵ while Cécile Brett identifies this figure as “Divine Love.”³⁶⁶ For her, the real protagonist of the scene must be Queen Anne: “she is Amphitrite, the Queen of the maritime kingdom, giving supremacy to the British fleet; and finally she is Venus, in her intimate relationship with sleeping Cupid, the selfless Mother of the Nation.”³⁶⁷

The figure identified by Brett as Venus is the nude female holding “an oyster shell with pearls” in the right-hand corner of the feigned tapestry (pl. 98).³⁶⁸ She is so far removed from Cupid and so intent on the oyster that I cannot recognize any “intimate relationship” between them. According to Brett, Queen Anne's other alter ego, Amphitrite (Salacia), appears on the left side of the painting as the naked woman riding on a dolphin.³⁶⁹ I disagree with this interpretation for two main reasons. Firstly, it is illogical – and completely unusual in Baroque painting – to depict the same person twice (and in two different roles) within the same painting, and secondly, representing the queen as two completely naked women would have violated the rules of Baroque decorum as well as Anne's well-known personal modesty.³⁷⁰

As Cécile Brett has pointed out, three of the four red-dish monochromes in the coving feature Cupid and advocate the ideal of virtuous love.³⁷¹ She is certainly right to suggest that these images refer to the relationship between Queen Anne and Prince George. Yet this is not enough to support her argument that the sleeping Cupid in the centre of the south wall personifies divine love. After all, to distinguish *amor sacro* from blind carnal love (*amor profano*), Divine Love is always depicted with open eyes.³⁷² Why would Verrio have departed from this convention? And what might be the logical connection

between Divine Love and the British fleet in the background?

I prefer Dolman's suggestion that the sleeping Cupid “may be substituting for a real heir.”³⁷³ His hypothesis can be confirmed by hitherto neglected documents. When Verrio received the commission (in or before May 1703),³⁷⁴ Anne was still optimistic that she would eventually produce the desired heir. Upon her accession in 1702, several publications had expressed hope that she might bear another son,³⁷⁵ and in March 1703 gossip reported that Anne was pregnant again.³⁷⁶ On 14 June 1703, the queen herself wrote to her close friend Sarah Churchill that she still hoped “for the inexpressible blessing of another child, for though I do not flatter myself with the thought of it, I would leave no reasonable thing undon [sic] that might be a means towards it.”³⁷⁷ In line with this view, Anne opposed those members of her court who suggested that the electress Sophia or the electoral prince should move to England.³⁷⁸ At least in 1703, Anne was by no means convinced that the Hanoverians would indeed succeed to the English throne.

In my opinion, Verrio's painting visualized Anne's hope for a further pregnancy and thus the arrival of the desired British successor. This explains why the painting is so obviously a pendant to the portrait of Prince George on the opposite wall (pl. 96): The parallel suggests that Anne and George's son will one day take over his father's duties as Lord High Admiral and Generalissimo of the British forces. Anne's monogram formed by garlands of flowers, located directly above the chariot, indicates her close relationship to the baby (pl. 98).³⁷⁹

Some further considerations support this interpretation. Baroque emblem books allegorized the perfection of a sovereign through the image of a pearl in its shell.³⁸⁰ The single elements of Verrio's composition (the chariot composed of a giant shell and sea horses, the numerous sea gods, and the British fleet in the background) were borrowed from his earlier *Sea Triumph of Charles II* (pl. 5).³⁸¹ This implied that the baby in the shell would one day become a British sovereign, filling Charles's place.

The scene may even have been intended to allude to Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*, a text known by every seven-

teenth-century courtier. As this poem announces the return of a golden age, it was a widely used basis for courtly panegyric.³⁸² According to Virgil, the new Golden Age begins when Virgo (Astraea or Justice) returns to earth and a boy is born “under whom the iron brood shall at last cease and a golden race spring up throughout the world.”³⁸³ The idea of the return of the Golden Age had already found artistic expression in John Michael Wright’s ceiling painting for Charles II’s bedchamber in Whitehall, in which Astraea could be seen descending from heaven.³⁸⁴ Hannah Smith drew attention to the fact that the ceiling of the Queen’s Drawing Room similarly “depicts Anne in *apotheosis* as Astraea-Virgo.”³⁸⁵ The mural on the south wall may be understood as an expansion of this motif since it visualizes the birth of a peace-bringing boy, possibly in allusion to Virgil’s text.

The decoration of the Queen’s Drawing Room was completed in 1705, shortly before Queen Anne’s fortieth birthday.³⁸⁶ The fact that her hopes ultimately proved an illusion, with the desired heir never arriving, might well explain why she then abandoned the decoration of the Queen’s Apartment at Hampton Court: She may not have been able to endure the sight of a “self-fulfilling prophecy” that did not materialize in the end.

Having established that the lateral paintings on the north and south walls of the Queen’s Drawing Room were meant to evoke the present and future happy state of the British navy under its successive commanders, we can now turn to the image on the west wall (pl. 99). Its main protagonist is usually taken to be Queen Anne, Britannia, or “Anne as Britannia.”³⁸⁷ But what is the visual evidence for this?

First of all, it should be pointed out that Verrio based his composition on the famous group portrait of Henry VIII and his family (pl. 100).³⁸⁸ In both cases, an enthroned figure is placed under a sumptuous canopy and flanked by symmetrically arranged figures as well as by arched lateral openings that introduce further figures into the centralized composition. Verrio was probably inspired by this model because it made him realize how he could visually unite the east and west walls of the Queen’s Drawing Room: The tripartite structure of his painting, with an arched opening on either side of a cen-



Fig. 101 John Sturt. Frontispiece to Miège 1702

tral canopy, mirrors the three window openings on the opposite (east) wall. However, while the anonymous artist painted a family portrait with Henry VIII as its focal point, Verrio created a completely allegorical composition, whose female protagonist does not resemble the portrait of Queen Anne on the ceiling.

As the sources for Verrio’s composition have not yet been investigated, it has hitherto gone unnoticed that his work bears a certain resemblance to the frontispiece of Guy Miège’s *The New State of England*. When Verrio embarked on his task, the most recent edition of Miège’s text dated from 1702 and featured a frontispiece that combined several prominent motifs later to be found in the Queen’s Drawing Room (fig. 101): a group of figures

assembled around an enthroned female personification, a prominent royal coat of arms with heraldic supporters right above, and a backdrop consisting of the sea with the British fleet.³⁸⁹ The central figure, labelled “Britannia,” forcefully presents a spear – just like the protagonist of Verrio’s mural on the west wall (pl. 101). However, Miège’s Britannia is flanked by Queen Anne and a bishop and Verrio’s by two allegorical figures. And while Miège’s Britannia wears a plain dress, Verrio’s is clothed in a royal cloak of red velvet and ermine.

Seventeenth-century personifications of Britannia could have a variety of attributes. The figure could wear ancient drapery, armour, and/or a helmet; could hold a shield (either empty or emblazoned with the crosses of St George and St Andrew) and/or a spear or a trident; and could be seated on a globe or a rock.³⁹⁰ It is extremely rare to find a royal cloak as an attribute of Britannia, but this does appear on a medal in honour of William III, struck in 1688 and engraved in 1692, for example.³⁹¹ It is therefore plausible to identify the main protagonist of Verrio’s mural as Britannia. The royal cloak, the headdress (a miniature version of Windsor Castle), and the royal coat of arms stress her relationship to the queen and turn Britannia into a personification of British monarchy.

Although this personification stands for the queen, the blonde young woman is certainly no portrait of Anne. As in the case of Justice on the ceiling, Anne’s gender would have enabled her to also identify visually with her nation – but she refrained from being portrayed in the guise of Britannia. Why so? The reason may be related to the queen’s motto “Semper eadem,” which figures prominently underneath her coat of arms (pl. 102).

Right at the beginning of her reign, Anne chose this motto in emulation of Elizabeth I.³⁹² “Semper eadem” means literally “always the same” and refers on one level to Anne’s just and impartial behaviour towards her subjects, while on another level it encapsulates her sense of tradition. As “eadem” is a specifically feminine pronoun, it can refer to Elizabeth, Anne, Britannia, and Monarchia. By adopting Elizabeth’s motto, Anne suggested that she was “the same,” equal to Elizabeth. In a more extended sense, the viewer can infer that Britain

and Monarchy are “always the same,” i. e. eternal. The faces of the monarchs change, while the kingdom and the institution remain the same. I think it is for this reason that the protagonist of Verrio’s mural is no recognizable historical person: The queen and her painter wished to immortalize a timeless British monarchy, whose values remain valid even as one reign succeeds another. This message was reinforced by the adoption of a pictorial composition once developed for Henry VIII (pl. 100).

In the carefully prepared speech that Anne had delivered upon her accession, she had stressed precisely these values of tradition, national feeling, and continuity. Wearing a dress modelled on a portrait of Elizabeth I, she had won the hearts of her subjects by proclaiming that her own heart was “entirely English” (an epithet that even appeared on her coronation medal) and had assured them that she would continue to pursue the political agenda of her predecessor William III.³⁹³

Although “the empire of great Briteigne” had occasionally been evoked during the Tudor age,³⁹⁴ it became a leitmotif of court culture only with the accession of James I, the first Stuart monarch on England’s throne, in 1603. As king of England and Scotland, he was the head of a new empire that he liked to call “Great Britain.”³⁹⁵ All through the seventeenth century, the idea of a united Britain continued to be a dominant theme, although in fact England and Scotland remained two separate kingdoms, often opposed to each other.³⁹⁶ Shortly before his death, William urged Parliament to consider a union between England and Scotland.³⁹⁷ Anne continued this policy and eventually succeeded in forging the Act of Union, which formally united the two realms in 1707. It was therefore highly significant that, already in 1703, she chose to make Britannia the focus of the central space at Hampton Court.

How did Anne and her painter envisage Britannia? What are the values that characterize her? They are spelled out through the personifications surrounding this protagonist (pl. 99). Brett Dolman gives the following succinct explanation: “To the far right of Britannia, Hercules is paired with Minerva, supporting the female figure of Religion. To Britannia’s left are grouped Victory, Mars (reprising his double-act with Hercules) and the

aged figure of Reformation. Mars and Victory, representing real military success, are shown trampling over real soldiers, whilst Hercules and Minerva, representing moral victory, are shown triumphing over the metaphorical enemies of evil, possibly meant to represent Envy and Superstition, echoing Cibber's East Front pediment that frames this room on the outside."³⁹⁸

According to Dolman and Cécile Brett, the figures standing next to Britannia are "Reformation" and Religion (the latter based on Cesare Ripa's "Religione," a woman with a cross, a book, and fire in her hand).³⁹⁹ It is Dolman's merit to have identified "Reformation" with the help of the English edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* (published in 1709).⁴⁰⁰ This allegory appears as an elderly woman with a pruning hook and is particularly prominent, as she holds a large volume with the inscription "Pereunt Discrimine Nullo Amissae Leges" (pl. 101). Being confronted with the open book in such a demonstrative manner, the viewer must assume that this text holds special significance. However, no attempt has yet been made to interpret its meaning.

As the English translation of 1709 was not yet available when Verrio decorated the Queen's Drawing Room, the Italian painter would have consulted one of the many Italian editions of Ripa's text. A comparison between the Italian and English versions of the manual makes clear that the edition of 1709 is incorrect in two respects: It translates "riforma" (reform) as "reformation," and inverts the sense of the Latin quote.⁴⁰¹ Moreover, the Italian editions have a much more extensive commentary. With reference to Plato's *Republic*, the 1611 edition explains that "riforma" means the re-establishment of ancient laws that have been disregarded.⁴⁰²

The English translation of 1709 is thus entirely misleading because the term "reformation" evokes the process that led to the formation of several Protestant churches. However, the Roman Catholic Cesare Ripa intended his personification of "riforma" to express a completely different concept: a reform bringing about a good and lawful secular government ("lo stato di buon reggimento").⁴⁰³ Consequently, the personification in Verrio's mural who stands to Britannia's left should be called "Reform" rather than "Reformation."

The two figures who surround Britannia allude to the double role of the British monarch as secular and spiritual leader: Religion hints at the queen's charge as supreme governor of the Church,⁴⁰⁴ while Reform points to her secular tasks. This reference to spiritual and temporal power constitutes a further parallel to the frontispiece of Miège's *The New State of England* (fig. 101), in which Britannia is flanked by the queen (with the attributes of secular power) and a bishop (signifying spiritual leadership). However, though Verrio is likely to have been inspired by this print, he managed to modify it in such a way that all three figures can ultimately be perceived as visualizations of Anne's good government.

At first glance, the Latin text presented by Reform ("Pereunt Discrimine Nullo Amissae Leges") must have been surprising for Anne's visitors because it states – in Thomas May's translation – that "the lawes are gone and broke without one conflict."⁴⁰⁵ The inscription provides a sort of stumbling block that provokes further thought. The pruning hook held by Reform gives viewers a visual clue that she actually intends to put an end to any such unlawful proceedings. As Ripa explains, the hook signifies she is ready "to retrench all abuses, ill customs and transgressions."⁴⁰⁶

The Italian version of Ripa's *Iconologia* gives the source for the quote as "Lucano nel lib. 3. *De bello civili*,"⁴⁰⁷ i. e. the text comes from the third book of Lucan's epic poem on the civil war between Caesar and Pompey (*De bello civili*, in England better known as *Pharsalia*). As demonstrated in chapter 5, this poem was very popular in seventeenth-century England, being compulsory Latin reading for every well-educated schoolboy and available in an English translation first published by Thomas May in 1626 and reissued in five subsequent editions.⁴⁰⁸ It is therefore not unlikely that at least some of Anne's visitors would have recognized the source of the quote. As this phrase also appeared in contemporary emblem books, it must have had a certain currency for an erudite audience.⁴⁰⁹

Pharsalia opens with Caesar crossing the Rubicon, an event that marked the beginning of the civil war. Book 3 describes Caesar's arrival in Rome. The senators do not dare oppose him, being so frightened that they would

have obeyed his every whim: “The fathers sat / Ready to grant a temple or a throne, / If such his wish; and for themselves to vote / Or death or exile.”⁴¹⁰ But when Caesar tries to break into the treasury, Metellus, “indignant for the laws,” opposes him.⁴¹¹ This episode was certainly familiar to members of the English court, as it figured in Henry VIII’s set of tapestries illustrating scenes from the life of Caesar.⁴¹² Lucan comments on Metellus’s ultimately futile attempt with the words: “usque adeo solus ferrum mortemque timere / auri nescit amor, *pereunt discrimine nullo / amissae leges set, pars vilissima rerum, / certamen movistis, opes*”⁴¹³ (So true it is that love of money alone is incapable of dreading death by the sword. When the constitution was lost and destroyed, it made no difference; but money, the meanest thing of all, stirred up strife).⁴¹⁴

In context, the quote therefore expresses a strong criticism of those who do not intervene to protect the laws. Moreover, it presents Caesar as a villain who violates the laws of the Roman Republic. As Caesar was identified with Louis XIV in Verrio’s murals for the King’s Staircase, it seems logical to assume that this parallel would extend to the Queen’s Drawing Room decorated by the same artist in the same palace just a few years later.

During Anne’s reign and the War of the Spanish Succession, Louis XIV was still England’s main enemy. Innumerable texts portrayed him as a lawless tyrant.⁴¹⁵ For instance, “A sermon preached before their majesties at Whitehall” on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot claimed that in France “there are no laws but the king’s will.”⁴¹⁶ In a book of sermons published in 1704, Bishop Gilbert Burnet (the former “chief preceptor” of Anne’s son and heir apparent) wrote: “When I have named France, I have said all that is necessary to give you a compleat idea of the blackest tyranny over mens consciences, persons, and estates, that can possibly be imagined, where every thing that the subject possesses is at the mercy of a boundless power, and of a severity that has no mixtures either of truth or goodness to govern or allay it; and by which subjects are treated with as much cruelty, as enemies are with barbarity.”⁴¹⁷

In the minds of Queen Anne’s contemporaries there existed a marked difference between England and

France, especially regarding individual rights. The assertion of arbitrary power was deemed “the inseparable companion” of Catholicism.⁴¹⁸ When, in 1685, Louis XIV had revoked the Edict of Nantes, around 250,000 French Protestants had lost their property and been forced into exile, many of them seeking refuge in England.⁴¹⁹ This fuelled the Glorious Revolution because the Catholic king James II was accused of governing in a similarly arbitrary manner. “Popery” and “tyranny” became the catchwords for everything the revolution of 1688 sought to prevent.⁴²⁰ Consequently, Parliament insisted in 1689 that William and Mary consent to the Declaration of Rights and the Bill of Rights.⁴²¹ Constitutional monarchy in Britain was strongly defined by its adherence to laws and by its protection of individual rights and liberties.

By placing the personification of reform at the centre of the pictorial programme, Queen Anne demonstrated her support for the principles of constitutional monarchy: She made clear that she would defend laws and re-trench abuses. Presenting herself on the ceiling in the role of Justice strengthened this message.

The lateral groups of the west wall mural depict battles between virtues and vices, a concept going back to Prudentius’s *Psychomachia*. The right half of the painting allegorizes Anne’s fight against those who violate the laws (pl. 99). Mars tramples on soldiers in ancient Roman dress, and meanwhile Victory rewards him with a palm branch. An equally militant scene takes place on the left side of the mural. Hercules and Minerva triumph over two nude men whose arms are encircled by snakes and who tear pages from books. As this is the side linked to the personification of religion, the books obviously contain false theological doctrines that have to be overcome.

Taken as a whole, the central mural of the Queen’s Drawing Room therefore visualizes the fight against “popery” (on the left side) and “tyranny” (on the right). It is a painted manifesto of Anne’s commitment to the values that underpinned the Glorious Revolution. On the occasion of King William’s death in 1702, the memory of the revolution was revived with particular vivacity in numerous publications. One author wrote that prior to the revolution “we had been, long before now, under the cruel and lawless Dominion of an idolatrous Religion and despotick

Government.”⁴²² Verrio’s mural in the Queen’s Drawing Room shows Anne as actively engaged in preventing any dangerous resurgences of this threat in the present.

At the beginning of Anne’s reign, the memory of the revolution was used to legitimize the current war against France because Louis XIV was accused of “popery” and “tyranny,” i. e. was presented as the embodiment of everything worth fighting against.⁴²³ In a sermon delivered in 1702 in thanksgiving for British victories, John James Caesar claimed that the Lord had given “this present Tyrant Lewis, into the Hand of our most Victorious Queen.”⁴²⁴ The soldiers on the right side of Verrio’s mural can therefore be interpreted as an allusion to the recent victory over the troops of the French “tyrant.”

In this context, it is revealing to take a closer look at the personifications of the four continents who kneel before Britannia (pl. 99). Europe, the particularly conspicuous blonde woman in a white dress, seems to appeal to Britain for help. This refers to the widespread notion that England led an international coalition against France’s aspirations to global domination.⁴²⁵ Joseph Gander had evoked a similar image when, in his poem of 1703, he addressed Queen Anne in the following terms:

Much have you done, and great is your Expence
In Injur’d Europe’s Cause and Just Defence,
As from your own Revenues are apply’d
Thousands on Thousands for the Realms you
Guide.⁴²⁶

While the first two lines present Anne as the defender of a supplicant Europe, the subsequent lines refer to the fact that the queen had on her own initiative surrendered £100,000 to supplement governmental revenues for the duration of the war.⁴²⁷ Considering this generous gesture, which made the queen very popular, the choice of the text from Lucan’s *Pharsalia* was highly appropriate. Whereas Metellus had opposed Caesar only because of his attachment to the money stored in the treasury, Anne on the contrary gave her money away in her fight for the just cause, defending the laws against Louis’s tyranny.

Seen from this perspective, the two lateral images in the Queen’s Drawing Room are but extensions of the

mural on the west wall. While the latter presents the war against Britain’s chief enemy in an allegorical manner, the murals on the north and south walls bridge the gap between allegory and contemporary reality. They visualize the strength of the British navy and allude to recent naval victories during the War of the Spanish Succession, but they do not show actual fighting because they aim to highlight Britain’s calm and majestic control over the unmoved seas (plates 96, 98).

The ceiling painting, too, gains additional significance from the mural on the west wall. In relation to England’s war against France, the scales held by Anne assume an additional meaning (pl. 95): They not only appear as an attribute of Justice but also as a symbol of the balance of power that England strove to achieve in Europe. Just as William III had been hailed as “arbiter Europae” and peace-bringer,⁴²⁸ Anne, too, presented herself as the sovereign who would decide Europe’s fate. And just as Europe in her white dress asks for Britain’s help in the mural on the west wall, in the ceiling painting the white-clad figure of Peace kneels at Anne’s feet and looks at her imploringly.

With regard to gender roles it is worth pointing out that in the murals Anne not only identified with female personifications like Justice and Britannia but also with a male figure like Hercules. In the mural on the west wall, Hercules holds a scroll with the inscription “Dieu et mon droit” (pl. 99).⁴²⁹ As this has served as the motto of England’s kings since the Middle Ages,⁴³⁰ Hercules obviously acts as the monarch’s deputy. At Hampton Court, the mythological hero had been omnipresent as William III’s alter ego.⁴³¹ By including Hercules in the iconography of her Drawing Room, Queen Anne appropriated this image in order to show that she continued William’s political agenda – just as she had vowed to do in the speech at her accession.⁴³²

As mentioned before, Anne’s motto “Semper eadem” referred to tradition and continuity. In a similar sense, Verrio’s mural on the west wall of the Queen’s Drawing Room is a timeless image of the values of Britain’s monarchy. It visualizes guiding principles (the opposition to “popery” and “tyranny”) that were as relevant to William III as to Queen Anne. In fact, the mural is a pictorial

equivalent to the tympanum relief over the exterior façade of the room, which commemorated William's deeds through the figure of Hercules trampling on Superstition and Tyranny (pl. 85).⁴³³

To sum up, the mural paintings in the Queen's Drawing Room develop a visual argument that addresses three interrelated moments in time. Britain's glorious past is invoked by quoting pictorial formulae, mottos, and symbolic imagery that have a clearly recognizable relationship to previous monarchs. The emphasis on continuity stresses the importance of the past as a model and guideline for the present. The present is not depicted in a straightforward, realistic manner (e. g. images of battles from the War of the Spanish Succession) but in an allegorical form, as a war against "popery" and "tyranny." As the paintings expose the underlying reasons for the conflict with France and the guiding principles of British action (Justice, Religion, Reform), they can be regarded as visual conflict analyses (a key step in current mediation theory).⁴³⁴ The murals suggest that Britain's guiding principles are anchored in values that are shared among previous monarchs and have enduring relevance both for the present and the future.

By portraying her triumph over Catholicism, Anne also manifested her commitment to a Protestant succession. This had been one of William's chief political goals, too.⁴³⁵ The mural on the south wall sought to create a self-fulfilling prophecy by evoking the arrival of the future heir. However, Anne's hope of supplying the desired Protestant successor herself was not to be, so on her death in 1714 the Act of Settlement, issued in 1701, took effect. When the Hanoverian prince of Wales and his wife moved in to the east range of Hampton Court Palace in 1715, they found in the Queen's Drawing Room at its centre a memorial to the last Stuart queen.

Conclusion: Hampton Court – the English Versailles?

As demonstrated in this chapter, the ongoing military conflict with France required the English court to position itself vis-à-vis Versailles. While at the beginning of William and Mary's reign the remodelling of Hampton Court imitated Versailles, around 1700 the French king's boastful self-glorification came to be ridiculed. Matthew Prior propagated a new culture of understatement, which found pictorial expression in Verrio's decoration of the King's Staircase. The staircase murals can be read as a pictorial "reply" to the Escalier des Ambassadeurs at Versailles. They hint at William's superiority to Louis XIV but in a subtle, witty manner that could only be appreciated by a select circle of erudites and insiders.

I think it is no coincidence that the Queen's Drawing Room occupies the same central position within Hampton Court as the Galerie des Glaces does within Versailles. Both rooms are placed in the middle of the garden façade and are aligned with the main axis of the formal gardens. Their pictorial programmes are dedicated to the glorification of the sovereign, but his or her power is also expressed through the location of these spaces, visualizing the monarch's command over his or her territory. In a remarkably confident gesture, Queen Anne made her rivalry with the French king explicit.

While William III had stressed his achievements as a military commander, Anne's gender necessitated a less personal approach: Verrio did not stage Anne's triumph over Louis XIV but proclaimed Britain's moral superiority. By focusing on justice, constitutional monarchy, and the fight against "popery" and "tyranny," the pictorial programme suggested that Britain's values and principles would eventually triumph over the France of Louis XIV.

NOTES

- 1 Miller 1997, 19–21; Maurer 2000, 175; Hosford 2004, 669.
- 2 Maurer 2000, 175; Sharpe 2013, 453.
- 3 Thurley 2003, 208.
- 4 For Terriesi's reports on the Glorious Revolution see Villani 2003, 67–70, 76 (note 30) and esp. 68 (regarding James II's trust in Terriesi). It is evident that Terriesi's sympathies lay with the Catholic king and his Italian consort Mary of Modena. Compare his almost hymnic description of their coronation to the much more critical report on William and Mary's coronation: Appendix II, 1685,04,27; 1689,04,08; 1689,04,15.
- 5 Appendix II, 1688,12,24.
- 6 On the place of this marriage see Thurley 2003, 151.
- 7 Appendix II, 1688,12,14 (“Convocò quell'giorno il Principe d'Oranges a San James, dove è alloggiato, circa 70 Pari del Regno” etc.).
- 8 Appendix II, 1688,12,24 (“forzivamente fatti diloggiare dalli soldati doppo haverli rapito le loro sustanze, a pretesto di fare luogo per il seguito del Principe d'Oranges” etc.).
- 9 Thurley 2003, 151.
- 10 Thurley 2003, 151.
- 11 Sturgis 1998, 73–77; Worsley and Souden 2005, 29–39, 61–62.
- 12 Thurley 2003, 152.
- 13 Prosser 2018, 41.
- 14 Prosser 2018, 40–41 (the quote is from Howard Colvin).
- 15 Prosser 2018, 41–56.
- 16 Colvin et al. 1976, 162–163.
- 17 Thurley 2003, 152–168, 184. On the plans for Hampton Court see also Geraghty 2007, 137–142.
- 18 Thurley 2014, 68–71.
- 19 Prosser 2018, 43, 47, 49; Edwards 2018, 65.
- 20 Edwards 2018, 70.
- 21 Prosser 2018, 45–49, 54–56.
- 22 Speck 2004, 128.
- 23 Claydon 2004, 83.
- 24 Prosser 2018, 54–58; Edwards 2018, 73–76.
- 25 Thurley 2003, 199; Prosser 2018, 58–60; Edwards 2018, 79–83.
- 26 For a reconstruction of these apartments see Thurley 2003, 144–145.
- 27 Thurley 2003, 206.
- 28 Colvin et al. 1976, 155–156. This easternmost quadrangle received its present name (Fountain Court) only in 1702 when a fountain was installed at its centre; before, it had been known as Cloister Court or Quadrangle Court. See *ibid.*, 154, 170.
- 29 Compare the reconstruction of the layout in 1674 with the situation under William and Mary: Thurley 2003, 144–145, 165, 186.
- 30 Thurley 2003, 153. According to her status as sovereign, Elizabeth I appropriated Henry VIII's lodgings, leaving the consort's lodgings empty: Thurley 2014, 70.
- 31 Thurley 2003, 153.
- 32 Colvin et al. 1976, 153; Thurley 2003, 153.
- 33 On this portal, which was destroyed in the 1730s, see Colvin et al. 1976, 160; Thurley 2003, 183, 207 (fig. 195). The inscription reads “Guilielmus et Maria R(ex) et R(egina).”
- 34 Colvin et al. 1976, 160. The paintings were mentioned in dal Pino's description of 1695: “un Cortile assai grande con pittura, le logge però sono piccole” (Appendix III, fol. 143).
- 35 Colvin et al. 1976, 162. On the iconography of this pediment see Wind 1940, 129 and note 3: “Hercules trampling on Superstition, Tyranny and Fury, while Fame leads him to the Arts of Peace. [...] Fury is represented, as usual, by a woman with serpent hair; Tyranny by a king with a crown and a sword; and Superstition by a woman holding an incense burner, while an idol is seen in the background.”
- 36 Claydon 2004, 84–86; Speck 2004, 129–133. During these periods, Mary often stayed at Whitehall Palace, the traditional seat of government, where Wren had fitted up Mary of Modena's privy lodgings for her: Thurley 1999, 137–142; Thurley 2003, 152; Edwards 2018, 69.
- 37 Thurley 2003, 168, 183; Prosser 2018, 42, 52.
- 38 Appendix III, fol. 1.
- 39 Villani 2003, 68–70.
- 40 For a full transcription of the relevant paragraphs see Appendix III.
- 41 Appendix III, fols. 138–139.
- 42 Appendix III, fols. 142–143.
- 43 Appendix III, fol. 145.
- 44 Appendix III, fol. 146.
- 45 Appendix III, fol. 143.
- 46 Appendix III, fols. 143–145. On the Water Gallery see Thurley 2003, 172–173.
- 47 Colvin et al. 1976, 163–167; Thurley 2003, 184–206.
- 48 Colvin et al. 1976, 167; Thurley 2003, 200.
- 49 Thurley 2003, 205.
- 50 On the building history of the staircase see Colvin et al. 1976, 160, 163; Thurley 2003, 184, 194.
- 51 Stedman 2013, 63–108.
- 52 Thurley 1999, 106; Thurley 2003, 153; Keay 2008, 94–102.
- 53 Edwards 2018, 69, 72; Thurley 2003, 204, 206.
- 54 Edwards 2018, 72; Thurley 2003, 204.
- 55 Thurley 2003, 204.
- 56 Strunck 2010, 26–28; Guillaume 2010, 45–49.
- 57 Saule 2013, 53–54, 59–60.
- 58 Appendix III, fol. 116.

- 59 On the building and decoration of this gallery see Prosser 2018, 58–60; Edwards 2018, 80–81.
- 60 Appendix III, fols. 118–119.
- 61 Appendix III, fols. 119–120.
- 62 Thurley 2003, 200.
- 63 Thurley 2003, 166.
- 64 Thurley 2003, 185–186.
- 65 Thurley’s comments on the function of the King’s Great Bedchamber are contradictory, but point to its official function: Thurley 2003, 186, 204, 206.
- 66 Thurley 2003, 157, fig. 132.
- 67 Thurley 2003, 153–168.
- 68 Colvin et al. 1976, 160; Thurley 2003, 173–176, 213, 229–230; Edwards 2018, 71.
- 69 On silver furniture cf. Edwards 2018, 71, and Winterbottom 2002; on French glass see Wigginton 1997, 27–28. I owe this latter reference to Peter Heinrich Jahn.
- 70 Harris 2008, 102.
- 71 Thurley 2003, 188–189.
- 72 Thurley 2003, 187–189; Harris 2008, 103–110.
- 73 Quoted from Thurley 2003, 209.
- 74 Manegold 2012, 165, 171–172.
- 75 Manegold 2012, 163–164, 170.
- 76 See chapter 5, notes 343–352, 357.
- 77 Wickham Legg 1921, 45, 46; Manegold 2012, 170.
- 78 Wickham Legg 1921, 54.
- 79 Wickham Legg 1921, 56.
- 80 Manegold 2012, 173–176.
- 81 Kampmann 2001, 295; Manegold 2012, 170.
- 82 Wickham Legg 1921, 62.
- 83 On this claim see chapter 1, note 6.
- 84 Wickham Legg 1921, 61.
- 85 Wickham Legg 1921, 64, 66–67. On Bentinck’s role at the court see Edwards 2018, 72–73.
- 86 Ziegler 2010a, 158–159. William’s instructions for Bentinck are recorded in *Correspondentie* (ed. 1927), 1:214–218.
- 87 *Correspondentie* (ed. 1927), 1:222.
- 88 Onnekink 2004, 137. George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, had visited Paris in 1625 on the occasion of the proxy wedding of Charles I to Henrietta Maria of France; cf. Hille 2012, 176, 182.
- 89 Quoted from Ziegler 2010a, 159: “le tout est magnifique à Versailles, jardins et bâtiments, quoyqu’à ce dernier l’on peut trouver des fautes, sans estre plus architecte que je ne suis; les dépenses y sont immenses; Trianon est très agréable et charmant, mais Meudon surpasse le tout par sa situation et l’air y doit estre comme à Windsor; la veue en est belle et riche et tout le lieu seroit du goût de V(otre) M(ajesté).”
- 90 Wickham Legg 1921, 69: “Il est certain que la France est bien honteuse de la Paix qu’elle vient de faire: les prêtres et les bigots nous haïssent au dernier point” (from a letter from Prior to the earl of Albemarle, March 1698).
- 91 Wickham Legg 1921, 68. This famous passage has often been quoted, e. g. by Ziegler 2010a, 178; Ziegler 2010b, 378; Barber and Batchelor 2020, 131.
- 92 Lister 1699; Woodley 2004, 987; Ziegler 2010a, 89, 114, 125, 251 (note 644).
- 93 King 1699. This text responds explicitly to Lister and pretends to be written by Samuel de Sorbière (1615–1670), who had published a *Relation d’un voyage en Angleterre* in 1664. However, the author was Princess Anne’s secretary William King (1663–1712); cf. De Quehen 2004, 686.
- 94 Martin 1986, 69–70; Ziegler 2010a, 116–117. For an English “response” to this campaign see the section of chapter 4 titled “*Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: Rome, Paris, and London.”
- 95 Lister 1699, quoted from Ziegler 2010a, 251 (note 644): “The King is in the Habit of a *Roman Emperor*, without Stirrups or Saddle, and on his Head a French large Periwig *À-la-mode*. [...] For *Louis le Grand* to be thus dressed up at the head of his Army now a-days would be very Comical.”
- 96 Ziegler 2010a, 120–121.
- 97 Ziegler 2010a, 121–123.
- 98 Ziegler 2010a, 76–116.
- 99 Van Eck 2015, 80–81.
- 100 Quoted from Van Eck 2015, 94.
- 101 Prior (ed. 1740), 29–30. See also Ziegler 2010a, 179; Ziegler 2010b, 379.
- 102 For the iconography of the fireworks in The Hague see Manegold 2012, 184–189.
- 103 Nichols 1831, 81.
- 104 Nichols 1831, 82.
- 105 Nichols 1831, 83.
- 106 Sharpe 2013, 442.
- 107 Nichols 1831, 81.
- 108 Sharpe 2013, 442. Sharpe’s translation speaks of just one kingdom, while the Latin “regna” denotes several kingdoms (referring to England, Scotland, and Ireland). As noted above, the terms of the Peace of Ryswick officially recognized William’s rule over those territories (see note 77).
- 109 The drawing was published by Dolman 2009, 24, who supposed that “this may well be a hitherto unrecognised design for a ceiling at Hampton Court.”
- 110 Levillain 2005, 325–326.
- 111 Cilleßen 1997, 171, 173, 199, 253
- 112 Cilleßen 1997, 101, 109, 203
- 113 Cilleßen 1997, 289, 333; Sharpe 2013, 435–436; Niggemann 2017, 88, 98.

- 114 For an interpretation of fig. 84 see chapter 5, especially the section titled “The Wall Paintings: Inter- and Intramedial Translations.”
- 115 Prosser 2018, 57.
- 116 Thurley 2003, 202. Laguerre’s restoration of the series can be regarded “as a piece of artistic vandalism”: Jenkins 1994, 7.
- 117 Thurley 2003, 194, 196; Campbell 2007, 366–368.
- 118 Campbell 1998, 2. For more information on this series see the section of chapter 5 titled “The Wall Paintings: Inter- and Intramedial Translations.”
- 119 Campbell 2007, 368; Edwards 2018, 83.
- 120 Jenkins 1994, 4.
- 121 Jenkins 1994, 6.
- 122 Jenkins 1994, 9.
- 123 Bolton and Hendry 1931, pl. XIV. The Latin inscription reads: “Gulelmo Magno Fundatori Quietis Anno MDCXCVIII.”
- 124 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “Throne and Altar: St George’s Hall and Its Relationship to the Chapel.”
- 125 De Giorgi 2009b, 62.
- 126 Brett 2010, 112, cat. 17.
- 127 Brett 2010, 112–113, cat. 17. However, Defoe’s text is not entirely trustworthy: see chapter 3, note 486.
- 128 De Giorgi 2009b, 62–63; Brett 2009, 11; Brett 2010, 112, cat. 17.
- 129 Stewart 1970, 332.
- 130 Stewart 1970, 332 and note 15: A first oil sketch “once at Houghton and then in the Hermitage” (pl. 49b) “was apparently inscribed on the back ‘... invented and done by S. Godf. Kneller 1697.’” Millar 1963, 1:143, cat. 337, and Thurley 2003, 199, date the commission to April 1700. For another oil sketch once in New York and now at Paleis Het Loo see Stewart 1970, pl. 49c; Barber and Batchelor 2020, 134, no. 122.
- 131 Thurley 2003, 199. According to Barber and Batchelor 2020, 134, William III commissioned the painting “for display opposite the throne in the King’s Presence Chamber at Hampton Court.” However, as established by Thurley, the king used his Great Bedchamber as his main audience room (see the above section titled “Imitation of the French Court”). According to a description of Hampton Court written around 1750, at this moment in time the Presence Chamber contained a “chair of state,” just like the adjacent room: *Apelles Britannicus* (c. 1737–1760), 4–5.
- 132 Stewart 1970, 332–333.
- 133 Stewart 1970, 333–334.
- 134 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “The Wall Paintings: Inter- and Intramedial Translations.”
- 135 William displayed Van Dyck’s portrait very prominently in his gallery at Hampton Court, while he kept the preliminary *modello* in his private rooms at Hampton Court. Cf. Thurley 2003, 199; Edwards 2018, 82.
- 136 See chapter 4, especially the section titled “Querelle des anciens et des modernes: Rome, Paris, and London.”
- 137 Geraghty 2007, 280, no. 441: “Unexecuted design for a canopied equestrian monument to William III, 1702.”
- 138 See the section of chapter 4 titled “*Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: Rome, Paris, and London.”
- 139 Martin 1986; Ziegler 2010a, 75–144.
- 140 Prior (ed. 1740), 121; Wickham Legg 1921, 120–121.
- 141 Royal Progress 1695, 6–7.
- 142 Johns 2013, 79–82; Hamlett 2020b, 67 (establishes the date of the decoration, on the basis of hitherto unknown archival documentation, as “circa 1693–94”).
- 143 Hamlett 2020a, 106.
- 144 Thurley 2003, 202; Dolman 2009, 19.
- 145 Dolman 2009, 21.
- 146 Jenkins transcribes the relevant payments: Jenkins 1994, 6, 9, notes 24–25. Thurley 2003, 419, note 7, mentions a final payment to Verrio on 1 November 1703 and states that the scaffolding was only cleared in August 1704 (*ibid.*, 212). This is unlikely because Verrio’s *équipe* had already embarked on the decoration of the Queen’s Drawing Room in 1703; see below, notes 321 and 374.
- 147 De Giorgi 2009a, 143–144 (with illustrations).
- 148 Dolman 2009, 21.
- 149 Thurley 2003, 204.
- 150 See below notes 153 and 154.
- 151 See chapter 4, esp. note 154.
- 152 Bickham 1742, 22–29.
- 153 Dolman 2009, 28, note 33, explains that the figure on the ceiling described by Bickham as one of the Fates is actually the goddess Iris. Iris may have been meant to allude to Mary II who was described as “a ‘Glorious Iris,’ that is, a messenger from the gods, who would bring a ‘lasting Peace.’” Cf. Schwoerer 1989, 733–734.
- 154 *Apelles Britannicus* mentions Queen Caroline as already deceased, which establishes her death in 1737 as *terminus post quem*. A comparison of Bickham 1742 and *Apelles Britannicus* shows that the anonymous publication copied many phrases directly from Bickham (for examples see notes 155 and 156 below). The close relationship between the two texts is evident from the fact that George Bickham engraved the frontispiece for *Apelles Britannicus*: Wind 1940, 127, note 5. Therefore, Bickham himself may have produced *Apelles Britannicus* as an abbreviated guidebook version of his lengthy *Deliciae Britannicae*. But it is also possible that *Deliciae Britannicae* is an expanded version of the guidebook, on which Bickham had collaborated. Cf. Clayton 2004, 656–657.
- 155 Bickham 1742, 23. Cf. *Apelles Britannicus* (c. 1737–1760), 3: “This Piece is a Compliment to King William and Queen Mary;

- the Peacock denotes their State, the Destiny shews their Power over the Lives of their Subjects, as the Zephyrs represent their Mildness and Lenity.”
- 156 Bickham 1742, 24–25. Apelles Britannicus (c. 1737–1760), 3, repeats this paragraph almost exactly: “This Prospect of Rome, with the flaming Sword and Bridle in the Hand of her Genius, seems an Allusion to the Revolution, when, but for the Assistance of our great Deliverer, King William III. the Founder of our Liberties, and Restorer of this Palace, the British Nation was again falling under the Power of Rome.”
- 157 Wind 1940, 127–137. For the reception of his interpretation see below note 178.
- 158 Apelles Britannicus (c. 1737–1760), frontispiece and p. 3; Bickham 1742, 25–29 (with a lengthy digression on Julian’s life); Wind 1940, 127.
- 159 Wind 1940, 128.
- 160 Julian mentions only Zeus, Kronos, Hera, and Rhea explicitly, while the other gods can be identified by their attributes: Julianus (ed. 1998), 79, § 307 C–D, 308; Dolman 2009, 22.
- 161 Dolman 2009, 22.
- 162 Wind 1940, 128.
- 163 Julianus (ed. 1998), 79–89, § 308 C–315 C.
- 164 Dolman 2009, 22.
- 165 Wind 1940, 128–129.
- 166 Bickham 1742, 24; Apelles Britannicus (c. 1737–1760), 3; Wind 1940, 128.
- 167 Wind 1940, 129; Julianus (ed. 1998), 91, § 316 C.
- 168 Wind 1940, 129.
- 169 See above, notes 34 and 35; Wind 1940, 129.
- 170 Cilleßen 1997, 170–171, 237, 244; Prosser 2018, 60 (“cornice of lion heads”); Barber and Batchelor 2020, 140–141.
- 171 Wind 1940, 130.
- 172 For a more detailed discussion of the Exclusion Crisis see the sections of chapter 3 titled “Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot” and “Modes of Reception, Layers of Meaning, and the Blessings of Ambiguity.”
- 173 Wind 1940, 132.
- 174 Wind 1940, 132–134.
- 175 Wind 1940, 132.
- 176 Wind 1940, 135.
- 177 Wind 1940, 134–135.
- 178 The following authors have quoted Wind’s interpretation to various extents: Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:59; Portier 1989, 403–406; Guarino 2004, 94–95; Pasculli Ferrara 2005, 114–118; Druffner 2008, 82–84; Dolman 2009, 22–24; De Giorgi 2009a, 136–143; De Giorgi 2009b, 65–72; Brett 2010, 96; Hamlett 2020b, 78–79. After this chapter was written, I came across Langley’s philological study on “Image Government.”
- Langley objects to Wind’s identification of Alexander the Great with William and proposes that we see the king’s alter ego in a figure in the far right corner of the mural (supposedly Marcus Aurelius): Langley 2001, 145, 150–154, 181, 198.
- 179 Julianus (ed. 1696). Wind 1940, 128, note 1, referred to the 1683 edition but without reproducing or even mentioning its frontispiece.
- 180 Cf. Langley 2001, 129–130, who did not, however, establish a link with the *modello*.
- 181 Dolman 2009, 22; Julianus (ed. 1998), 119, § 335 C.
- 182 Julianus (ed. 1998), 119–121, § 335 D–336 C.
- 183 See the section of chapter 5 titled “The Ceiling Painting: An Image of Constitutional Monarchy.”
- 184 See the above section titled “Royal Representation after Ry-swick.” In 1699/1700 the decoration of the King’s Apartment was finalized, including the hanging of portraits of emperors in William’s private apartment at Hampton Court (Jenkins 1994, 4). Probably around the same time the tapestry series on the life of Caesar was placed in the state apartment. Mantegna’s *Triumph of Caesar* came to be exhibited in the Queen’s Gallery only in 1702, but its restoration had begun many years before (Thurley 2003, 202).
- 185 Julianus (ed. 1998), 91, § 316 A–316 B. The English translation quoted here and in the following instances is by W.C. Wright 1913 (<http://www.attalus.org/translate/caesars.html>, last accessed 15 April 2020).
- 186 Julianus (ed. 1998), 91, § 316 C–316 D.
- 187 Julianus (ed. 1998), 97–99, § 320 A–322 A (the quote is from § 321 B).
- 188 Julianus (ed. 1998), 101, § 322 B.
- 189 Julianus (ed. 1998), 99–105, § 322 B–325 A (the quote is from § 324 D–325 A).
- 190 See above notes 34, 35, 168 and 170.
- 191 Ripa (ed. 1992), 482 (“Vittoria degl’antichi”).
- 192 Dolman 2009, 22.
- 193 See above notes 103–105.
- 194 An English army 70,000 strong had operated in the Spanish Netherlands since 1694: Kampmann 2001, 284.
- 195 Eßer 2008, 65–67.
- 196 Levillain 2005, 338.
- 197 Levillain 2005, 328, 340–341; Eßer 2008, 65, 67.
- 198 Levillain 2005, 345.
- 199 Levillain 2005, 345.
- 200 Levillain 2005, 342.
- 201 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:159.
- 202 See the below section titled “The Author of the Programme: Matthew Prior and the Culture of Understatement.”
- 203 Kampmann 2001, 296–297.
- 204 Kampmann 2001, 297–298; Eßer 2008, 67–68.

- 205 Kampmann 2001, 283–301.
- 206 *Reflexions upon the Conditions of Peace*, an anonymous treatise published with an official imprimatur in 1694, quoted from Kampmann 2001, 286.
- 207 Eßer 2008, 66.
- 208 This “abstract of the czars speech to his majestie” was recorded in Luttrell’s *Diary* on Thursday, 14 October 1697 (quoted from Loewenson 1957, 310). A French version of the speech was printed for sale in London: *ibid.*, 310–311. On Tsar Peter’s visit to England see also Loewenson 1962.
- 209 See above note 101.
- 210 On Prior’s participation in this event see Ziegler 2010a, 125 and 251 (note 650).
- 211 Ziegler 2010a, 122.
- 212 Kirchner 2001, 103–117, 272–318.
- 213 Dolman 2009, 23–24.
- 214 Cf. Winterbottom 2002, 20: “The fashion for extravagant displays of entire suites of silver furniture was set by Louis XIV at Versailles, and the English court was keen to follow this example.” Hagemann and Winterbottom 2007, 99, point to the late medieval origins of this tradition.
- 215 On Palazzo Altemps: Scoppola and Vordemann 1997, 26, fig. 23; on Palazzo del Te and later representations of precious vessels: Baetjer 2019, 55–59, cat. 8 (Alexandre François Desportes, *Buffet with Silver and Gold Plate*).
- 216 For illustrations of such paintings see Arminjon 2017, 37, 42, 44, 66–72, 76.
- 217 Saule 2013, 49–54.
- 218 Saule 2013, 54–55.
- 219 Saule 2013, 54.
- 220 On a gift of silver “cisterns” and fountains sent by William III to Berlin see Hagemann and Winterbottom 2007; Baer 2017, 131. On William and Mary’s silver commissions for their own use cf. Winterbottom 2002, 23–25; Glanville 2017, 199–200, 204.
- 221 Thurley 2003, 194. On William’s “personal gold plate” see Edwards 2018, 87.
- 222 See also Winterbottom 2002, 25.
- 223 See above notes 77 and 82.
- 224 Wind 1940, 129.
- 225 Wind 1940, 129.
- 226 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch_Republic_Lion and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal_coat_of_arms_of_the_United_Kingdom (last accessed 17 April 2020).
- 227 The Dutch lion was omnipresent in prints relating to the Dutch War: Cilleßen 1997, 94, 101, 113, 125, 127, 129, 149, 151, 177, 179, 201. It also appears in Gérard de Laresse’s high-quality courtly engravings as part of William’s self-fashioning: *ibid.*, 168–171. The Peace of Ryswick was celebrated by a fireworks display that featured the Dutch lion: Manegold 2012, 187.
- 228 See chapter 5 and Claydon 1996, 31–52.
- 229 To name but two particularly prominent examples: the ceiling painting in the Old Sacristy in San Lorenzo (Florence) and the cupola mosaic in the Cappella Chigi in Santa Maria del Popolo (Rome). Cf. Baldini and Nardini 1984; Strunck 2003, 147–148.
- 230 Jacobsen 2011, 186.
- 231 Rippy 2004, 421.
- 232 Dolan 2005, 149.
- 233 Jacobsen 2011, 186.
- 234 Jacobsen 2011, 187.
- 235 Rippy 2004, 416.
- 236 Jacobsen 2011, 187–188.
- 237 Jacobsen 2011, 188.
- 238 Rippy 2004, 417.
- 239 Wickham Legg 1921, 40–64.
- 240 Wickham Legg 1921, 61.
- 241 Wickham Legg 1921, 63–64.
- 242 Wickham Legg 1921, 67, note 1.
- 243 Wickham Legg 1921, 73–74, 88–89, 102–103; Correspondentie (ed. 1927), 222; Rippy 2004, 418.
- 244 Wickham Legg 1921, 65–104 (for the doubling of the allowance: 82–83); Rippy 2004, 418.
- 245 Wickham Legg 1921, 103.
- 246 Wickham Legg 1921, 105.
- 247 Wickham Legg 1921, 114.
- 248 Wickham Legg 1921, 113–114; for the background of this long-standing conflict see *ibid.*, 65–67, 105–113.
- 249 Wickham Legg 1921, 114–115.
- 250 Wickham Legg 1921, 116.
- 251 Wickham Legg 1921, 117. On the earl of Manchester’s stay in Paris see Jacobsen 2011, 160–184.
- 252 Wickham Legg 1921, 90–91, 114, 119–120; Rippy 2004, 418.
- 253 Prior (ed. 1740), 122; Wickham Legg 1921, 120; Rippy 2004, 418.
- 254 His edited letters of 1699/1700 were sent partly from Whitehall, partly from Hampton Court: Prior (ed. 1740), 97, 109, 112, 119, 121.
- 255 Wickham Legg 1921, 120.
- 256 Jacobsen 2011, 189–196, 200, 206–207.
- 257 Harris 2008, 102.
- 258 Wickham Legg 1921, 121; Jacobsen 2011, 201–202, 204.
- 259 Gibson 1998, 32; Jacobsen 2011, 132, 135, 197.
- 260 Rippy 2004, 417. A complete edition of Prior’s Latin works can be found in Prior (ed. 1959), 2:723–770.
- 261 Wickham Legg 1921, 61.
- 262 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:28–34.

- 263 Wickham Legg 1921, 55.
- 264 Wickham Legg 1921, 68; Ziegler 2010a, 125 and 251 (note 650).
- 265 Wickham Legg 1921, 68, 70.
- 266 Wickham Legg 1921, 72, note 1.
- 267 Wickham Legg 1921, 92–93.
- 268 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:140–151.
- 269 Claydon and Levillain 2016, 21.
- 270 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:142, stanza V, lines 45–50.
- 271 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:143, stanza V, lines 45–52.
- 272 See the section of chapter 5 titled “The Ceiling Painting: An Image of Constitutional Monarchy.”
- 273 Wickham Legg 1921, 93–94.
- 274 Prior (ed. 1740), 97–98.
- 275 Prior (ed. 1740), 102.
- 276 For a critical analysis of the traditional reading of Horace’s *Carmen Saeculare* see Barker 1996.
- 277 Rippey 1986, 20.
- 278 Rippey 1986, 64.
- 279 Rippey 1986, 52.
- 280 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:161–162, stanza I, line 11 and stanza II, lines 29–30.
- 281 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:163, stanza III, lines 52–55.
- 282 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:179, stanza XXXVIII, line 499.
- 283 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:165, stanza IX, line 117.
- 284 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:167, stanza XV, line 187.
- 285 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:168, stanza XV, lines 189–196: “He spake the Word, that War and Rage should cease: He bid the MAESE and RHINE in Safety flow; And dictated a lasting Peace To the rejoicing World below: To rescu’d States, and vindicated Crown His Equal Hand prescrib’d their ancient Bounds; Ordain’d whom ev’ry Province should obey; How far each Monarch should extend his Sway.”
- 286 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:168, stanza XV, lines 203–204. Cf. William’s description in the ballad quoted above: “No Godhead, but the first of Men.”
- 287 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:161–162, stanza I, lines 13–22.
- 288 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:173, stanza XXV, lines 337–340.
- 289 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:171, stanza XXII, lines 280–287, and 173, stanza XXV, lines 341–347.
- 290 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:171–172, stanza XXIII, lines 296–306.
- 291 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:181, stanza XLII, lines 551–565.
- 292 Bickham’s guidebook expressly mentioned this painting: “Over the Door, at the Head of the Stairs, is a *Pyra*, or Funeral Pyle, done in Stone-Colour” (Bickham 1742, 29). For a more extended discussion of this painting see Langley 2001, 164–172.
- 293 On the interpretation of Leo see the previous section.
- 294 See above note 101.
- 295 In stanza XXVII on Hampton Court, Prior imagines a marble relief depicting the Battle of the Boyne: “Let ev’ry Sacred Pillar bear Trophies of Arms, and Monuments of War. The King shall there in PARIAN Marble breath, His Shoulder bleeding fresh: and at His Feet Disarm’d shall lye the threat’ning DEATH: [...] On the firm Basis, from his Oozy Bed Boyn shall raise his Laurell’d Head; And his Immortal Stream be known, Artfully waving thro’ the wounded Stone.” Prior (ed. 1959), 1:174, stanza XXVII, lines 368–379. The following stanza turns to Windsor (ibid., 175, lines 380–385): “And Thou, Imperial Windsor, stand enlarg’d, / With all the Monarch’s Trophies charged [...].”
- 296 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:166–167, stanza XIII, lines 155–170.
- 297 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:177, stanza XXXV, lines 452–459: “Let His high Pow’r the drooping Muses rear. The MUSES only can reward His Care: ‘Tis They that guard the great ATRIDES’ Spoils: ‘Tis They that still renew ULYSSES’ Toils: To Them by smiling Jove ‘twas giv’n, to save Distinguish’d Patriots from the Common Grave; To them, Great WILLIAM’s Glory to recal, When Statues moulder, and when Arches fall.”
- 298 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:172–173, stanza XXV, lines 327–334.
- 299 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:169, stanza XIX, line 241.
- 300 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:165, stanza X, line 123.
- 301 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:166, stanza XII, lines 147–148: “No Tincture of the Monarch’s Pride / Upon the Royal Purple spy’d.”
- 302 Prior (ed. 1959), 1:169, stanza XIX, lines 242–245.
- 303 Sharpe 2013, 442.
- 304 See Berger 1985, 32–39; Berger 1988, 130–137; Constans 1990.
- 305 Jacobsen 2011, 202.
- 306 Marie 1968, 2:267; Constans 1990, 29–31, 37.
- 307 Constans 1990, 31, 34.
- 308 Marie 1968, 2:266–267; Constans 1990, 34–35.
- 309 Claydon 2004, 78.
- 310 Marie 1968, 2:268 and pl. CXXXVI.
- 311 Marie 1968, 2:267: “Les panneaux du plafond proprement dit représentaient quelques épisodes de l’histoire du roi que Le Brun reprendra dans la voûte de la galerie des Glaces: le passage du Rhin en 1672, l’ordre donné par Louis XIV d’attaquer à la fois quatre places fortes de la Hollande, la réforme du Code de justice, la seconde conquête de la Franche-Comté, la

double réparation faite au Roi par l'Espagne et par le Pape, le renouvellement des alliances, le rétablissement du commerce et les honneurs rendus aux grands hommes; tels étaient les sujets des tableaux rectangulaires traités en lapis sur fond d'or."

- 312 Marie 1968, 2:267–268.
- 313 Berger 1988, 134, 136.
- 314 Hamlett 2016a, esp. 195–196, 205, 207.
- 315 Barber and Batchelor 2020, 130–135.
- 316 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anne,_Queen_of_Great_Britain#Pregnancies (last accessed 18 April 2020).
- 317 On the negotiations preceding the Act of Settlement see Gregg 1980, 121–124; Barmeyer 2005; Busch 2014.
- 318 Gregg 1980, 124–128, 160–161, 165–166, 172, 176–177, 182–198; Kampmann 2001, 295–299.
- 319 Gregg 1980, 107; Thurley 2003, 216.
- 320 Thurley 2003, 213.
- 321 Dolman 2009, 25. According to Thurley 2003, 213, Verrio started work in this room “in late 1703,” but he does not give a documentary source for this information. Brett 2010, 96, quotes a letter from Verrio, dated 10 May 1703, in which he already mentions the commission. See also Brett 2009, 13–14 with a list of the payments.
- 322 Thurley 2003, 213; De Giorgi 2009b, 75.
- 323 De Giorgi 2009b, 75, claims that Verrio completed the murals in the first months of 1704, but Thurley 2003, 213, quotes a document of 19 June 1705 in which Verrio claimed “that it had been four months since he finished the room.” See also Brett 2010, 96, who states that the mural was finished in January 1705.
- 324 Thurley 2014, 72.
- 325 Bucholz 1993, 243–244.
- 326 Bucholz 1993, 247.
- 327 Bucholz 1993, 245–246.
- 328 Quoted from Bucholz 1993, 245.
- 329 Thurley 2003, 213. See also Dolman 2009, 25: “Anne, as reigning monarch, stayed in the King’s Apartments at Hampton Court when she visited in 1707, but the Queen’s Apartments were to be prepared for her consort, Prince George of Denmark, and the unfurnished Queen’s Drawing Room, centrally positioned on the East Front of the palace overlooking the formal gardens, was intended as its decorative focus.” Unfortunately, he does not give a reference for this claim.
- 330 From the following discussion of the pictorial programme it will become clear that the whole decoration revolves around Queen Anne.
- 331 Brett 2013, 3–4.
- 332 In the event, Anne’s successor George I from the House of Hanover did not choose to inhabit these rooms but gave them to the prince and princess of Wales (Brett 2013, 3–4). Perhaps it was precisely the existing decoration from Anne’s reign that made it impossible for him to use this apartment.
- 333 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:59–60, 237–238.
- 334 Thurley 2003, 213; Pasculli Ferrara 2005, 121, 124; Dolman 2009, 25–26; De Giorgi 2009a, 143, 148; De Giorgi 2009b, 74–75; Brett 2009, 13–14; Smith 2009, 139–143; Brett 2010, 96–97; Hamlett 2020b, 84–85.
- 335 Brett 2020, 18–26.
- 336 On the tapestries at Hampton Court see Jenkins 1994; Thurley 2003, 194, 196; Campbell 2007, 366–368.
- 337 Smith 2009, 142.
- 338 Smith 2009, 142, 145.
- 339 See the section of chapter 2 titled “Conflict Resolution.”
- 340 Brett 2020, 20–21, figs. 3, 5.
- 341 On the identification of the lateral figures as Neptune and Cybele see Hamlett 2020b, 84.
- 342 Cf. Gregg 1980, 144: “In her judicial role the queen acted as the final court of appeal, particularly in granting executive clemency.”
- 343 On the Garter badges in Queen Anne’s portraits see Barber 2016, 224–225, 227.
- 344 Unfortunately, Barber 2016 reproduces Anne’s portraits in black and white and does not comment on the colours. However, she points out that the coronation robe consisted of a golden dress (Barber 2016, 224). From colour reproductions it is apparent that Anne preferred to dress in gold or ochre and blue (cf. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp00111/queen-anne>, https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/view_as/grid/search/keyword:queen-anne, and <https://www.alamy.com/search.html?qt=queen%20anne&imgt=0>, last accessed 25 May 2020). To my knowledge, only one earlier portrait (painted long before Anne’s accession) shows her in a red dress with blue cloak: Barber 2020a, 120.
- 345 On Anne’s emulation of Elizabeth I see below and Bucholz 1991, 292–296; Smith 2009, 141; Sharpe 2013, 578.
- 346 The same attribute reappears some years later in Kneller’s sketch *Queen Anne presenting plans of Blenheim to military Merit*: Sharpe 2013, 585–586. Verrio may have derived this motif from Andrea Sacchi’s famous fresco *Divina Sapientia* in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome; cf. Oy-Marra 2005, 212, 214, 216–217. In Ripa (ed. 1709), 52, the sceptre with an eye at its end figures also as an attribute of “Modesty.”
- 347 Ripa (ed. 1992), 466; Ripa (ed. 1709), 78.
- 348 The other figures surrounding the queen are (proceeding counter-clockwise): Prudence (with blue dress, mirror, and snake), Temperance (directly below Catherine of Braganza, mixing wine with water), and Fortitude (with column). See chapter 3, especially the section titled “The Queen’s Apartment.”

- 349 “Divine providence” does not exist in Ripa’s manual. He describes “Providenza” as a woman with two heads, resembling Janus: Ripa (ed. 1992), 367. “Divinità” has a white dress and holds in her hands flames and globes (ibid., 104–105). It seems that Verrio combined these features in order to create an allegory of “Divina Providenza” (as a feigned statue right above Catherine’s head: cf. pl. 14).
- 350 Gibson 1998, 35.
- 351 Smith 2009, 148; Sharpe 2013, 584–585, 590, 597, 608, 610–611.
- 352 Smith 2009, 146–148.
- 353 Smith 2009, 147.
- 354 Gregg 1980, 137, 160; Speck 2004a, 795–797.
- 355 Thurley 2003, 213.
- 356 See the section of chapter 2 titled “Britain and the Continent in the Coronation Entry.”
- 357 Gander 1703.
- 358 Caesar 1702, 8; Gregg 1980, 165. On the Battle of Vigo Bay see Gregg 1980, 160; Sharpe 2013, 579; Niggemann 2017, 300, 303.
- 359 Bucholz 1991, 294.
- 360 Bucholz 1991, 294.
- 361 “A Congratulatory Poem, Humbly Address’d to His Royal Highness Prince George Hereditary of Denmark, Lord High Admiral of England, & c. On the Glorious Success of Her Majesty’s Arms at Vigo” in Gander 1703 (no pagination).
- 362 See also Seager 2015, 46, for Defoe’s similar rhetoric concerning the victory at Blenheim (1704). Speaking of Marlborough, he maintains: “His is the Conquest, Madam, Yours the Fame. [...] They fight the Battle, but ‘tis you [who] make the War.”
- 363 Caesar 1702, 8 (italics in the original text).
- 364 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:59.
- 365 Dolman 2009, 26.
- 366 Brett 2020, 22.
- 367 Brett 2020, 23.
- 368 Brett 2020, 22.
- 369 Brett 2020, 22.
- 370 Because of the conventions of Baroque decorum it is equally unlikely that Anne Cavendish would have wished to be represented as a nude, adulterous Venus in her home at Burghley House. Cf. Hamlett 2020b, 73.
- 371 Brett 2020, 22.
- 372 Panofsky 1980, 158–171.
- 373 Dolman 2009, 26.
- 374 Brett 2010, 96, published a letter from Verrio of 10 May 1703 that proves that he had been given the commission by that date.
- 375 Niggemann 2017, 309.
- 376 Gregg 1980, 170.
- 377 Gregg 1980, 170, 432, notes 123 and 124.
- 378 Gregg 1980, 123, 154; Barmeyer 2005, 77, 81.
- 379 On the monogram see Brett 2020, 22.
- 380 Neuwirth 2010, esp. 333–336, 338–340.
- 381 According to Pasculli Ferrara 2005, 102, Verrio’s *Sea Triumph* was at some point exhibited at Hampton Court, though she doesn’t give dates or references for this information. In 1688, the painting could be found at Whitehall, but, as the palace burned down in 1698, it must have been moved to another location. Cf. Bird and Clayton 2017, 118.
- 382 Cf. Mund 2015.
- 383 Translation by H.R. Fairclough from the Loeb edition of Virgil’s *Eclogues* (<https://www.theoi.com/Text/VirgilEclogues.html#4>, last accessed 29 May 2020).
- 384 Smith 2009, 142; Barber 2020b, 19–20.
- 385 Smith 2009, 141.
- 386 Brett 2020, 20.
- 387 The quote is from Dolman 2009, 25; see also Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:237; De Giorgi 2009b, 74; Hamlett 2020b, 84; Brett 2020, 23.
- 388 On this anonymous portrait kept at Hampton Court Palace see Millar 1963, 1:63–64, cat. 43, and II, pl. 27; Rawlinson 2013, 109–111.
- 389 The backdrop of sea and ships is better visible in the frontispiece of an earlier edition of the same treatise; cf. Claydon 1996, xvi.
- 390 MacKean 1999, 347–401, gives an excellent overview of seventeenth-century representations of Britannia.
- 391 MacKean 1999, 414–415, 565, fig. 109.
- 392 Gregg 1980, 152; Bucholz 1991, 293.
- 393 Gregg 1980, 151–153; Bucholz 1991, 292. Winn 2014, 251–252. In prints, too, continuity with the reign of William III was stressed: Niggemann 2017, 303.
- 394 Marshall 2000, 13–14.
- 395 Marshall 2000, 9–51.
- 396 Gregg 1980, 130–131.
- 397 Gregg 1980, 128, 131.
- 398 Dolman 2009, 26.
- 399 Dolman 2009, 26; Brett 2020, 23. On *Religione* see Ripa (ed. 1709), 65; Ripa (ed. 1976), 456–457.
- 400 Dolman 2009, 27, fig. 11b.
- 401 Ripa (ed. 1709), 65. On the translation of the Latin quote see below note 405.
- 402 Ripa (ed. 1976), 462: “Vecchia si dipinge, percioche à questa età più conviene, & è più atta à riformare, & reggere altrui, secondo Platone nel V. della Rep. onde per la riforma intendiamo i buoni usi conformi alle leggi, i quali siano tralasciati per licentioso abuso de gli huomini, che poi si riducano alla lor forma [...]”

- 403 Ripa (ed. 1976), 463.
- 404 On Anne's role as supreme governor of the Church see Gregg 1980, 144.
- 405 Lucan (ed. 1627), book 3, no pagination. The English edition of Ripa's manual inverted the sense of the quote, giving the following translation: "the Laws are always defended, and never perish by any Accident." Ripa (ed. 1709), 65.
- 406 Ripa (ed. 1709), 65. An analogous explanation was already provided by the Italian edition of 1611: "Il ronciotto ancora, è chiara significazione di riforma, percioche si come gl'albori, i rami de quali superfluamente cresciuti sono, con esso si riformano, tagliando via quello che soprabonda, & che toglie all'albero il vigore. Così la riforma leva via gl'abusi di quegli'huomini in quelle cose le quali licentiosamente si sono lasciati trascorrere più oltre di quello che comportano i leggi." Ripa (ed. 1976), 462–463.
- 407 Ripa (ed. 1976), 463.
- 408 Chester 1932, 190–191; Norbrook 1999, 225–228. Davis 2013, 673, mentions a further edition in 1679.
- 409 Henkel and Schöne 1976, 542. See also <http://emblematica.grainger.illinois.edu/detail/emblem/E000599> and <http://emblematica.grainger.illinois.edu/detail/emblem/E017394> (last accessed 28 May 2020).
- 410 Lucan (ed. 1896) 3.123–126.
- 411 Lucan (ed. 1896) 3.129.
- 412 Campbell 1998, 14–15, fig. 8.
- 413 Lucan, *De bello civili* 3.118–121 (italics are mine).
- 414 Lucan (ed. 1928), 123.
- 415 Lee 2008, 161–184; Niggemann 2017, 309–310.
- 416 Lee 2008, 172–173.
- 417 Lee 2008, 172. On Burnet's role as tutor see Gregg 1980, 115.
- 418 Lee 2008, 166.
- 419 Lee 2008, 169.
- 420 See chapter 5. See also Niggemann 2017, 310–311.
- 421 Miller 1997, 68–75; Maurer 2002, 175; Pincus 2006, 69–74; Miller 2017, 337–338.
- 422 Fleming 1702, quoted from Niggemann 2017, 310.
- 423 Lee 2008, 172–175; Niggemann 2017, 316–317.
- 424 Caesar 1702, 8.
- 425 Kampmann 2001, 283–295.
- 426 Gander 1703, introductory poem (no pagination).
- 427 Gregg 1980, 154.
- 428 On William's role as "arbiter Europae" see Kampmann 2001, 283–295.
- 429 Brett 2020, 23.
- 430 See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dieu_et_mon_droit (last accessed 28 May 2020). For instance, this motto figures on Verrio's mural for Christ's Hospital (on the canopy over James II): pl. 35.
- 431 See above, esp. notes 34, 35, 168, 170.
- 432 Cf. Gregg 1980, 151–153.
- 433 On the iconography of the tympanum relief cf. Wind 1940, 129 and note 3. The relationship between the Queen's Drawing Room and Cibber's relief was already pointed out by Dolman 2009, 26.
- 434 Mattenschlager and Meder 2004, 500, fig. 1 (process of mediation according to Montada and Kals, step III).
- 435 Gregg 1980, 122–123.



CHAPTER 7

NATIONAL GLORY IN THE ARCHITECTURE AND PICTORIAL DECORATION OF THE PAINTED HALL AT GREENWICH

The Painted Hall of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich is “the grandest-scale extant mural scheme in Britain” and “represents the climax of the genre.”¹ This makes it a fitting final case study for this book, especially as it visualizes the successive reigns of William and Mary, Queen Anne, and George I and focuses on the military and dynastic challenges that Britain faced in the opening decades of the eighteenth century. In addition, the Painted Hall is a particularly intriguing example of the interaction of painting and architecture with a view to affecting the audience through an aesthetics of the sublime. Before embarking on a discussion of these issues, I will summarize the basic facts regarding the institution, the Painted Hall, and its pictorial decoration.

The Royal Naval College was originally established as a Royal Hospital for seamen, intended to complement the Royal Hospital at Chelsea expressly destined for land soldiers.² Neither institution was a hospital in the modern sense of the word but meant to house veterans. In the case of Greenwich, the royal grant of the site, dated 25 October 1694, stated the intention to take care of sailors’ widows and children, too.³ From about 1716, a small number of boys were instructed in “Writing, Arithmetick and Navigation,”⁴ but only in 1873 did the hospital officially become an educational institution, assuming the title “Royal Naval College.”⁵ I will therefore refer to it as a hospital – as did the first printed guidebook of 1726.⁶

The Royal Hospital at Chelsea had been founded in 1682 by Charles II but was only ready to be inaugurated in 1692, three years after the Glorious Revolution.⁷ Back

in 1682, it had been planned for 416 pensioners, yet in 1689 some 469 men moved in.⁸ From the beginning of William III’s reign, it was clear that much more space was needed for the veterans from the numerous battles he fought in Scotland, Ireland, and above all on the continent. As in his absence his wife Mary II acted as regent and looked after the various royal building projects,⁹ it comes as no surprise that it was Mary who mooted the project of a Royal Hospital at Greenwich in 1691.¹⁰ After the victorious naval battle of La Hogue in 1692, her idea gained additional force, and in 1693 Christopher Wren offered to design, without charge for his services, a new hospital for seamen.¹¹

Wren’s earliest project for the hospital dates from 1694,¹² but although the first stone was laid on 30 June 1696, it took several more years before the definitive plan was agreed upon.¹³ In May 1698, Wren’s assistant Nicholas Hawksmoor informed the members of the Fabric Committee that “he had set out the ground for the Hall,” yet the design of the hall was still being modified in 1699.¹⁴ By the summer of 1700, the masonry of its main walls was complete so that the hall could be roofed.¹⁵ The roof was paid for in 1702, but due to financial constraints works came to a complete halt in the summer of 1702.¹⁶ Only in September 1703 was the dome over the vestibule of the hall completed, and in 1704 it was topped with a copper vase and ball.¹⁷

The Painted Hall consists of three separate though communicating spatial entities (fig. 102). A visitor first enters the vestibule (15.85 × 6.4 metres), which soars 27 metres to the building’s inner saucer dome.¹⁸ A flight

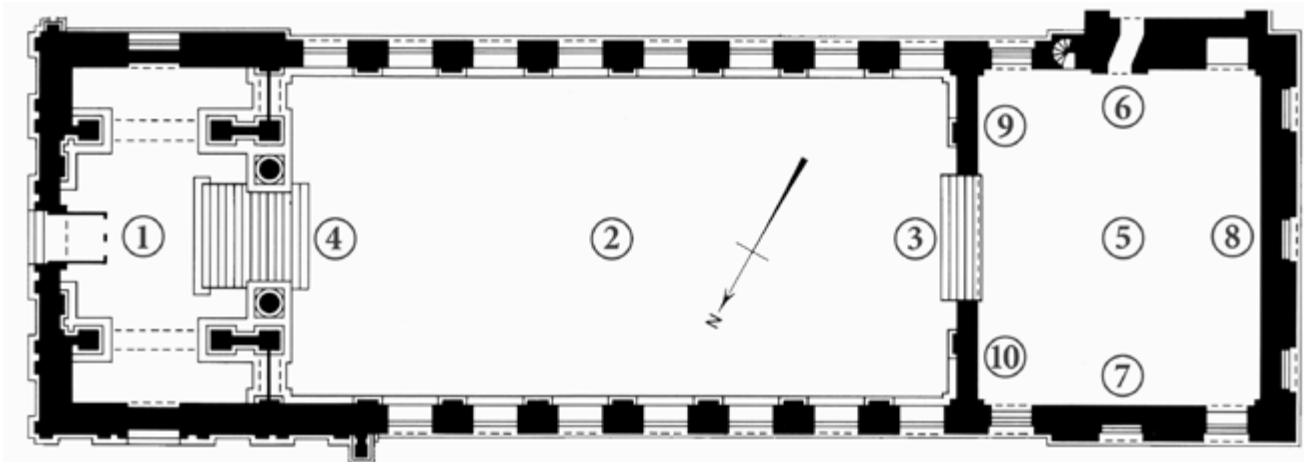


Fig. 102 Ground plan of the Painted Hall and its vestibule. From Bold 2000, 141 (detail with new labelling). 1 = Vestibule (with list of benefactors, personifications of the four winds in the cupola); 2 = Lower Hall (central ceiling painting: William and Mary triumphing over Popery and Tyranny; see pl. 110); 3 = allegorical composition at the west end of the hall, centred on the warship “Blenheim” (see pl. 109); 4 = allegorical compo-

sition at the east end of the hall, centred on a captured Spanish galleon; 5 = Upper Hall (central ceiling painting: the apotheosis of Queen Anne and Prince George; see pl. 112); 6 = the landing of William of Orange at Torbay (see pl. 115); 7 = the arrival of George I at Greenwich (see pl. 114); 8 = group portrait of George I and his family (see pl. 113); 9 = Securitas Publica; 10 = Salus Publica

of ascending stairs leads from the domed vestibule to the so-called Lower Hall, measuring 32.31 × 15.7 metres, whose entablature is located some 12 metres above the floor. The Upper Hall, which forms a near cube (approximately 15 × 14 metres, with a height of 13 metres), can be reached via a further set of stairs.¹⁹ I will adopt the established terminological distinction between the Upper and the Lower Hall, while acknowledging that these terms are somewhat confusing since the building accounts sometimes refer to the everyday dining hall underneath the Painted Hall as the “Lower Hall” (nowadays called the King William Undercroft)²⁰ and to the Upper Hall as the “Officers Hall.”²¹

Despite the fact that money was always scarce and, accordingly, construction proceeded at a very slow pace (the hospital buildings being completed only in 1751), as early as 1705 it was decided to commission a ceiling painting for the “Great Hall.”²² In the same year, “Petworth Marble” was acquired for its flooring.²³ These measures indicate the paramount importance of the hall within the larger building complex.

From the minutes of 1705 we learn that the ceiling of the “Great Hall” was to be finished “after the best man-

ner fit for painting, with kid’s hair, well trowelled and floted, and that it be performed by Mr Doogood.”²⁴ The preparatory works were finished by 12 June 1707 when Hawksmoor ordered that scaffolding be erected “for the painter to proceed upon primeing.”²⁵ In July 1707, James Thornhill appears for the first time in the directors’ minutes, being instructed to amend a design that he had presented to the committee.²⁶ As Thornhill was still a relatively unknown artist, he did not make a contract with the directors of the hospital but left it to them to “pay as they should judge he deserved.”²⁷ When, in 1712, the painting in the Lower Hall was nearing completion, Thornhill asked that persons “who may be judges of its value” be sent to inspect the ceiling, and he was promised £200.²⁸

In June 1714, the scaffoldings in the Lower Hall were struck.²⁹ The following month, Ralph Thoresby recorded in his diary a visit to see Thornhill’s work,³⁰ and in May 1715 Richard Steele published a very detailed description of the “famous Cieling in the Great Hall at Greenwich Hospital.”³¹ In May 1714, Hawksmoor had been ordered to make a “moving scaffold” at Thornhill’s request, which probably served in decorating the walls of the

Lower Hall.³² In 1715, the scaffolding was moved from the Lower to the Upper Hall.³³

At the end of February 1717, Thornhill embarked on a journey to Paris where he was eager to note the valuations given to pictures.³⁴ Upon his return, he felt he needed to renegotiate the price of his *chef-d'œuvre*. The Greenwich minutes record that by July 1717 he had been working for twelve years at this “great and laborious undertaking” and had received £635.³⁵ On 24 August 1717, he presented a memorial in which he listed the remunerations earned by Rubens, Verrio, Pellegrini, Ricci, and others.³⁶ On its basis, the directors of the hospital decided that he was to have £3 per yard for the ceiling and £1 per yard “for the sides” (walls).³⁷ In total, this amounted to £2,962, but payment was not forthcoming.³⁸ In 1725, Thornhill again fought for better rates – and lost.³⁹ The directors doubted if the Upper Hall painting had been “so well performed as it should be” and “took note that the sketches he has laid before the General Court of his Design have not been observed.”⁴⁰

It is not entirely clear when Thornhill began to paint the Upper Hall. As it is not mentioned in Steele’s description of May 1715, this provides a *terminus post quem*, but already on 6 March 1714, the directors had ordered Thornhill to prime the walls and ceiling of the Upper Hall.⁴¹ In July 1717, the artist was asked to prepare a set of designs for paintings in the Upper Hall that would “make the whole appear uniform.”⁴² On 21 September, he presented his sketches,⁴³ and on 28 December 1717 he was given £500 on account and told to go ahead.⁴⁴ In March 1718, it was ordered “to paint the wall work over the chimney, and other parts of the Officers’ Hall, with plain colour, to prepare it for Mr Thornhill, the History Painter.”⁴⁵ It therefore seems that Thornhill started his work on the north wall where the painting glorifying the new monarch George I is located (fig. 102, no. 7).⁴⁶ In October 1722, Thornhill notified the directors that the ceiling of the Upper Hall was completely finished.⁴⁷ His first sketch for the present image on the west wall can be dated to 1723.⁴⁸ In May 1725, he told his employers “that the three sides of the Upper Hall are nearly finished and the painting of the front wall far advanced.”⁴⁹

In the same meeting, Thornhill “proposed to the board, to have the windows of the North front of the Great Hall closed up with Canvas, and painted with figures and to finish the Cap of the Cupola, with the walls and sides of the same, in an ornamental manner, and he delivered in sketches of the said work, with an estimate of the expense.”⁵⁰ But not until 28 April 1726 did the General Court decide “the walls of the Cupola to be painted in stonework with Trophies, and the Ceiling with figures.”⁵¹ On 23 July 1726, Thornhill stated “that he has entirely finished the Cupola and sides thereof, as also the eight great windows in the lower Hall, and that the upper Hall will be compleated next week.”⁵² The boarded-up windows of the Lower Hall had been decorated by “a Polander” to feature “eight of the most social Virtues, viz. Humanity, Benignity, Goodness, Generosity, Mercy, Liberality, Magnanimity, and Hospitality.”⁵³ In August 1726, Thornhill put the last touches on his masterpiece, for which he received at least £4,245 in sum.⁵⁴

When Thornhill requested his payment, he enclosed an “explanation” of the painted programme. On 12 December 1726, the directors decided to have a thousand copies of this text printed.⁵⁵ The bilingual English and French edition contains a lengthy description of the vestibule, Upper Hall, and Lower Hall, with the section on the Lower Hall being an abbreviated version of Richard Steele’s account of 1715.⁵⁶

As the previous chapters dealt with political paintings that have been discussed only rarely and incompletely by other authors, it was necessary to analyse their iconography in depth in order to uncover the various layers of meaning behind the paint surface. In the case of the Painted Hall at Greenwich, the situation is different: There exists a very detailed contemporary description of its pictorial decoration that interprets almost every detail. This guidebook of 1726, authored or co-authored by the painter himself,⁵⁷ provided an excellent basis for Richard Johns’s analysis published in 2019.⁵⁸ Moreover, the opulently illustrated recent monograph on the Painted Hall contains diagrams labelling all the major figures.⁵⁹ Therefore, the present chapter does not need to provide a complete overview of the single features of Thornhill’s murals but can proceed straight away *in medias res*.

I would like to focus on some aspects that have been omitted or neglected in recent discussions but that are vital with regard to the guiding topics of this book. I will concentrate on the relationship between Britain and continental Europe both in terms of artistic and political rivalry. This chapter will present a hitherto unrecognized continental model for the architecture and decoration of the Painted Hall, explore the ways in which painting and architecture interact to create sublime effects, and discuss the question of who the mastermind was behind the innovative spatial concept. Building on a reconstruction of the original pictorial programme, I will argue that the Painted Hall was initially intended as a monument in support of Queen Anne's politics. I will then analyse the murals executed during the reign of George I and point to a historical context that opens up a new understanding of the main scene on the west wall (fig. 102, no. 8). A reconsideration of the entire programme will follow: How did it respond to the main crises of Thornhill's age, namely the War of the Spanish Succession and the Hanoverian succession in Britain? In what ways did the paintings seek to shape a specifically British identity? What was their contribution to the process of nation-building? Last but not least, this chapter will address contemporary perceptions of the messages that Thornhill sought to inscribe into Britain's cultural memory.

Britain and the Continent I: Artistic Rivalry

"England's rising political hegemony over Europe needed an architectural response. France had its Versailles, and Rome its St Peter's; in England the time had come for Greenwich."⁶⁰ Although this formula is in some ways an oversimplification, it encapsulates very well the paramount importance of Greenwich as a national monument. From the very start, the Royal Hospital had additional functions that went far beyond caring for old and wounded seamen.

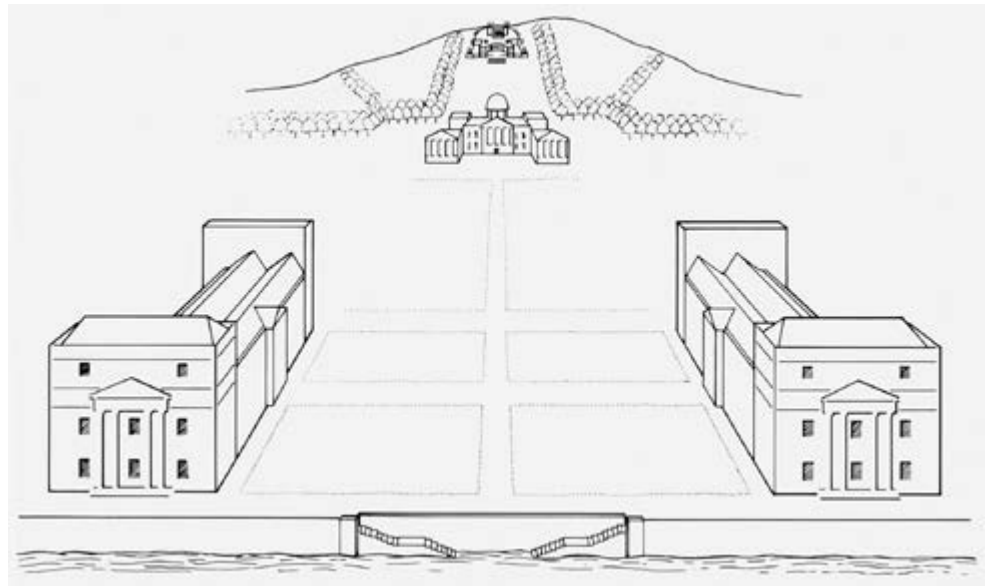
The building-ground granted to the hospital had once been the site of the royal palace of "Placentia."⁶¹ It was mainly a country retreat with good hunting facilities, but

because of its convenient location, it also served as a place for the reception of important guests. As most visitors approached London by river, they encountered the palace bordering on the Thames before they reached the city. Thus, in 1629, the French ambassador was greeted in the old palace at Greenwich, and in 1631 the ambassador of the duke of Savoy "took his leave of both their majesties together in the kyngs Presence Chamber at Greenwich."⁶²

The old palace, on the south bank of the Thames, faced the river. In the park behind it, Inigo Jones erected his first neo-Palladian building, the Queen's House (begun for Anne of Denmark in 1616, completed for Queen Henrietta Maria in 1635).⁶³ After the Restoration, Charles II sought to modernize the site by enlarging the Queen's House.⁶⁴ Moreover, in 1662 he ordered the demolition of the old palace and commissioned John Webb to replace it with a new residence. After his first design of 1663 was rejected, Webb submitted a revised proposal that connected the Queen's House and the new structure: He envisaged two wings that would optically frame Henrietta Maria's palace in the distance (fig. 103).⁶⁵ Although the building site was abandoned in 1670 with only the western wing (the so-called King Charles Building) erected,⁶⁶ the Queen's House continued to serve as a reception space for ambassadors.⁶⁷

Queen Mary II revived Webb's proposals. In discussions about the design of the new hospital, she furiously rejected the suggestion that the King Charles Building be pulled down; instead, she wished to see it mirrored by its corresponding structure, just as Webb had intended the scheme.⁶⁸ Nicholas Hawksmoor, who was from the start Wren's assistant in the hospital project, reported that "the Foundress, who had a great Passion for Building, enjoyn'd Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Bridgeman, & c. to build the Fabrick with great Magnificence and Order."⁶⁹ As in Webb's time, the Queen's House was to be the fulcrum of the new development. Mary "retain'd a Desire to add the Four Pavilions to that Palace" (as projected by Webb, fig. 103) and excluded a broad central avenue from the grant of land to the hospital so that "her Majesty might have an Access to that House by Water as well as by Land."⁷⁰

Fig. 103 John Bold.
Reconstruction of John Webb's
revised proposal for the royal
palace at Greenwich



Mary's intention was to "make that little Palace [the Queen's House] compleat, as a Royal Villa for her own Retirement, or from whence Embassadors, or public Ministers might make their Entry into London."⁷¹ She wanted to continue the long-established tradition of using Greenwich for the reception of royal guests. The hospital buildings were meant to line the grand approach to the Queen's House, with the royal care for the veterans being thus instrumentalized as a means of glorifying the benevolent monarch. Because of Mary's sudden death of smallpox in December 1694, the projected enlargement of the Queen's House was not carried out, but "her Majesty's fixt Intention for Magnificence" nevertheless continued to condition the design process.⁷² To this day, the Queen's House stands as the focus of the whole ensemble (fig. 104).

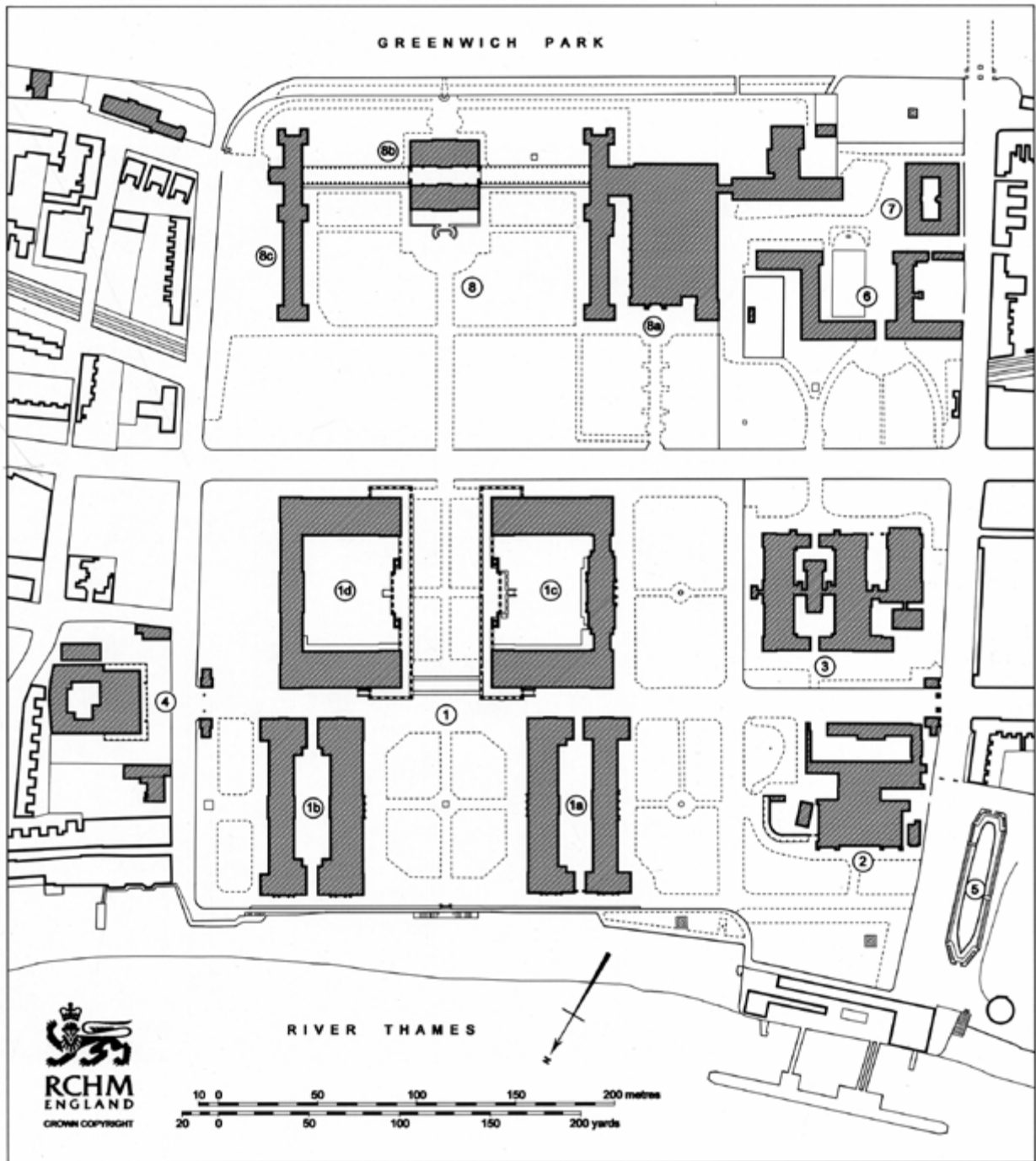
According to Hawksmoor, the site for the hospital had been chosen because it was "in the View of all the World" on the way to London.⁷³ This desire to impress visitors accounts for many features of the building – above all, the twin domes – that cannot be justified on purely functional grounds: The patrons and architects aimed to create a striking silhouette that would proclaim Britain's greatness and glory to anybody approaching the capital (pl. 103).

While the first project proposals for Greenwich had been inspired by John Webb's plans, in the course of the

design process rivalry with France became a dominant factor. It has often been pointed out that the plan of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich resembles that of the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris, whereas the two domed structures have pronounced similarities with the church created by Jules Hardouin-Mansart for the French veterans.⁷⁴ Christopher Wren owned "A large Port Folio containing finished Drawings of the Hotel des Invalides at Paris,"⁷⁵ and Hawksmoor expressly stated that "the Hospital of the Invalids [...] is so famous as (one would think) should stir up the Emulation of other Nations [...] to imitate this Example."⁷⁶

As France had been England's main enemy for several decades, it comes as no surprise that the guidebook of 1726 was published in English and French, seeking to arouse the envy and admiration of a French audience. In this context, the Painted Hall played a crucial role since it glorified Britain's monarchs as well as the military valour and economic success of the British nation.

It is not documented why James Thornhill received this important commission "in preference to his better-known colleagues."⁷⁷ In Osmun's view, the young artist "had little but his nationality to distinguish him."⁷⁸ Nationality may in fact have been a decisive factor – as it was somewhat later at St Paul's. In 1709, Thornhill and four Italian and French artists (Berchet, Catenaro, Chéron, and Pellegrini) participated in a competition to



- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 The Royal Naval College:
 1a King Charles Building
 1b Queen Anne Building
 1c King William Building
 1d Queen Mary Building</p> <p>2 Pepys Building</p> <p>3 Dreadnought Seamen's Hospital</p> <p>4 Trafalgar Quarters</p> | <p>5 The <i>Cutty Sark</i></p> <p>6 Devonport House (former Nurses' Home)</p> <p>7 Devonport Pathological Laboratory</p> <p>8 The National Maritime Museum:
 8a West Wings, with Neptune Hall
 8b The Queen's House
 8c East Wing</p> |
|--|---|

Fig. 104 Site plan of the Royal Naval College and the National Maritime Museum. From Bold 2000, fig. 1

decorate the dome of St Paul's Cathedral. When Thornhill was finally selected in 1715, *The Weekly Packet* commented that the committee's decision would "put to silence all the loud applauses hitherto given to foreign artists."⁷⁹ The time was ripe for a native British painter able to surpass the foreigners who had dominated the market since Verrio's arrival back in the 1670s: "Thornhill provided the answer to calls for a great native history painter from the end of the seventeenth century."⁸⁰

Speculating about the motives behind the award of the Greenwich commission to Thornhill, Croft-Murray supposed that "the probable reasons are not far to seek: the doyen Verrio, who might have been offered the job, had just died; and here, among his successors, was an active and pushing young Englishman who at least could hold his own with Laguerre and the other foreign members of the school. Also the Governors may have thought – as they certainly did at a later stage in the proceedings – that since this was his first big public work they would get his services at a cheaper rate."⁸¹ In addition, according to Anya Lucas "it seems highly likely that Thornhill was awarded the Painted Hall commission at least in part on the basis of his work at Chatsworth," where he had decorated a saloon and staircase for the duke of Devonshire, "the Greenwich director and Whig grandee."⁸²

Although the architecture of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich consciously emulated the *Hôtel des Invalides*, Thornhill did not draw inspiration from the Parisian institution, whose refectories had been decorated with wall paintings of contemporary battle scenes.⁸³ Nor did he strive to imitate the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, where Verrio's mural celebrated the king as a successful military leader (pl. 46).⁸⁴ And despite having worked at Chatsworth, Thornhill did not follow the model of Louis Laguerre's ceiling painting, which made the figures float in air between strips of land placed at either end of the rectangle (pl. 79). The only mural in Britain comparable in its size and structure to Thornhill's painting in the Lower Hall was the ceiling of St George's Hall at Windsor Castle.⁸⁵ Thornhill evidently based the combination of architectural frames and illusionistic openings on Antonio Verrio's masterpiece (plates 23, 104). In particular, the central oval with the monarch(s) in glory recurs in both

works: At Windsor it commemorates Charles II, at Greenwich William and Mary (fig. 44; pl. 105).

Thornhill's choice of artistic model was doubly significant. On the one hand, it established a *paragone* between British and Italian murals, aiming to outdo the "foreigner" Verrio who had dominated the previous generation of British painters. On the other hand, it underlined the "great Magnificence" of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.⁸⁶ Just as the hospital incorporated the King Charles Building that had been conceived as a royal palace, Thornhill's ceiling painting had a royal pedigree, too. The selection of forms much too grandiose for a simple hospital stressed the dignity and importance of the Royal Navy. Confronted with criticisms regarding the excessive cost of the building, Hawksmoor argued that this was no "private Alms-house" but "an Hospital built by the State" where "the Intention of the Founders [...] was always fix'd upon the Benefit and Honour of the Nation."⁸⁷

It is a matter of dispute how well Thornhill and Verrio knew each other. Thornhill's sketch-book contains studies after several works by Verrio,⁸⁸ and his art collection included a "sketch" (probably a *bozzetto* or *modello*) by Verrio for the Christ's Hospital mural.⁸⁹ Back in 1962, Croft-Murray interpreted the sketch-book as evidence that "Thornhill closely studied Verrio, and perhaps even worked for him" because three drawings related to the feigned tapestries in the Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court appear to be "alternative ideas for them, and not just copies."⁹⁰ Thurley and Barber accepted his hypothesis of a cooperation between Verrio and Thornhill,⁹¹ while Cécile Brett firmly rejected it. She drew attention to other contemporary works by the young artist and asked: "Would Thornhill really have had the time, need or desire to work as an anonymous assistant under Verrio when he was in a position to work independently and successfully for a wealthy and influential aristocratic clientele under his own name? Surely not."⁹² However, perhaps this view underestimates the importance of patronage networks. Nicholas Hawksmoor worked under precisely the same conditions. He had an architectural practice of his own, and yet he assisted Wren and Vanbrugh because through their excellent social connec-



Fig. 105 View of the Lower Hall, looking west (towards the Upper Hall)

tions they were able to secure commissions that Hawksmoor would not have obtained by himself.⁹³

Thurley pointed out that Thornhill is likely to have been brought to Hampton Court by his uncle, the serjeant painter Thomas Highmore, to whom he had been apprenticed and who was employed at Hampton Court for some small decorative tasks.⁹⁴ A subsequent collaboration with Verrio in the Queen's Drawing Room might explain how Thornhill managed to get an invitation to Chatsworth and his most prestigious commission to date. Verrio had worked for the duke of Devonshire in the 1690s,⁹⁵ and since the duke's office as lord steward obliged him to stay at Hampton Court,⁹⁶ it would have been easy for Verrio to introduce the young talent to this highly influential patron. As mentioned above, it was probably through the duke of Devonshire that Thornhill then received the commission for the Painted Hall at Greenwich.⁹⁷

A closer comparison between Verrio's ceiling at Windsor Castle and Thornhill's in the Lower Hall reveals an important difference. Although both artists combine fictive architecture and illusionistic views of open skies, they do so in fundamentally different ways. In St George's Hall, a closed architectural structure is pierced by three fictive openings (pl. 23). Architectural and sculptural forms fill almost the whole ceiling, and heavenly creatures seem to descend through three cut-out geometrical forms, the oval in the middle and the flanking octagons. The decorative system at Greenwich is much more modern (pl. 104): Although the central oval sits in an architectural frame that spans the whole vault, the narrow ends of the ceiling are designed as illusionistic arches that appear to rise high above the viewer. The perspective is calculated to appear entirely convincing and uncannily real when seen from a fixed viewpoint.⁹⁸ This up-to-date use of *quadratura* was clearly inspired by Andrea Pozzo's recent ceiling frescoes in Sant'Ignazio in Rome (pl. 106).⁹⁹

In his artistic rivalry with Verrio, Thornhill topped the older master by introducing a completely new degree of illusionism. Never before had it been attempted to paint ceilings of this kind in Britain. How did Thornhill rise to the enormous challenge?

It is certainly no coincidence that in 1707 the first English translation of Andrea Pozzo's *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* of 1693 appeared in print.¹⁰⁰ As Gideon Toury pointed out, translations are often initiated by a target culture when in this culture "there is something 'missing' [...] which should rather be there and which, luckily, already exists elsewhere, preferably in a prestigious culture, and can be taken advantage of."¹⁰¹ Therefore, "translation activities and their products not only can, but very often do cause changes in the target culture. Indeed, it is in their very nature. After all, cultures resort to translating precisely as a way of filling in gaps, whenever and wherever such gaps may manifest themselves."¹⁰²

Already in 1703, John Elsum had published *The Art of Painting after The Italian Manner*, but the concepts contained in this treatise were dated. As he explained in the preface, he had translated mainly excerpts from sixteenth-century authors like Vasari, Da Vinci, "Arminius" (Armenini), "Mazzo" (Lomazzo), and Dolce.¹⁰³ He avowed to have taken a "great part of this Treatise" from Bisagno, and indeed the table of contents is extremely similar to Francesco Bisagno's *Trattato della Pittura* of 1642.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the work did not contain information about the most recent tendencies of Italian *quadratura* mural painting.

In order to meet the challenge of creating an illusionistic painting on the enormous ceiling of the Lower Hall (measuring approximately 32 × 15.5 metres), Thornhill needed to consult a more recent manual. It is quite likely that John James, Nicholas Hawksmoor's assistant at Greenwich,¹⁰⁵ started his translation of Pozzo's work precisely in 1705 when it was decided to adorn the hall with murals. By 1707, when Thornhill presented his first sketches for the ceiling, James had completed his task. The anonymous author of the preface (probably John James himself) explained that English artists had up to this point been incapable of drawing correct perspectives: "such have been the Difficulties and Obscurities met with in the first Attempts, and so great the Perplexity and Confusion of Lines in the Practice thereof; that the best Instructions, hitherto made English, have invited very few to such a Prosecution of this Study, as might

render their Performances of this kind, truly valuable.”¹⁰⁶

The enormous national importance of the 1707 publication of Pozzo’s treatise, *Rules and Examples of Perspective proper for Painters and Architects*, is apparent from several factors: its imposing size and high-quality engravings, the illustrious list of subscribers, and above all the dedication to Queen Anne herself. The engraver John Sturt wrote: “Your Majesty’s Subjects shall exert themselves as much to their Country’s Honour, in the Arts of Design, and Civil Architecture; as they have already done in the Art Military, and Personal Valour.”¹⁰⁷ Among the numerous subscribers were the architects responsible for building the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, namely Christopher Wren, John Vanbrugh, and Nicholas Hawksmoor.¹⁰⁸ The three of them declared: “At the Request of the Engraver, We have perus’d this Volume of Perspective; and judge it a Work that deserves Encouragement and very proper for Instruction in that Art.”¹⁰⁹

The translator, John James, extolled his own merit by stating that “perhaps no person pretending to Architecture among us, Sr. Chr: Wren excepted, has had the Advantage of a better Education in the Latin Italian and French Tongues, a competent share of Mathematicks and Ten Years Instruction in all the practical parts of Building.”¹¹⁰ Thornhill’s paintings, paid by the yard, were measured by Hawksmoor and James.¹¹¹ Given James’s special expertise in “Mathematicks,” it seems quite probable that he assisted the painter in performing the complex geometrical operations that the application of Pozzo’s *Perspectiva* required.

When, in 1715, Colen Campbell included the Royal Hospital at Greenwich in the first volume of his *Vitruvius Britannicus*, he emphasized once more the significance of Thornhill’s work as a national monument: “I can’t neglect mentioning the excellent Cieling in the great Hall, by Mr. Thornhill, to his eternal Honour, and his Country: Here Foreigners may view with Amaze, our Countrymen with Pleasure, and all with Admiration, the Beauty, the Force, the Majesty of a British Pencil! Rich in Invention, correct in Design, noble in Disposition, in Execution admirable.”¹¹²

In a similar way, Christopher Wren attributed a nation-building function to architecture: “Architecture has

its political Use; publick Buildings being the Ornament of a Country; it establishes a Nation, draws People and Commerce; makes the People love their native Country, which Passion is the Original of all great Actions in a Common-wealth.”¹¹³ Although Wren did not relate this general observation to any specific building, his opinion certainly sheds light on the effect that the Royal Hospital at Greenwich strove to achieve. With its twin domes that doubled the *Dôme des Invalides* in Paris, the hospital complex sought to outshine the French nation, glorifying Britain’s military and cultural merits.

At Greenwich, architecture and painting converged to create an object of the utmost national pride. The Royal Hospital was designed to overwhelm foreigners so as to demonstrate Britain’s pre-eminence within Europe. The iconography of the murals (which will be discussed in a subsequent section) celebrated Britain’s monarchs, but their style, too, was an artistic triumph, as Thornhill had mastered continental *quadratura*.

The Architecture of the Painted Hall and the Aesthetics of the Sublime

As is well known, ancient treatises on rhetoric formed one of the foundations for Renaissance and Baroque art theory.¹¹⁴ Architectural theory, too, borrowed from the precepts of rhetoric.¹¹⁵ *Peri Hypsous* (On the Sublime), attributed to Longinus, was rediscovered relatively late but became hugely influential for Baroque aesthetics.¹¹⁶ While the first printed edition dates from 1544,¹¹⁷ the first English translation appeared in 1652 and was repeatedly referred to by British writers on art.¹¹⁸ As one of many examples of the aesthetics of the sublime in Britain, Lydia Hamlett mentioned, only in passing, the Painted Hall at Greenwich:

Indeed Thornhill appears to be offering a British, secular version of Pozzo’s great ecclesiastical ceiling, employing the same overwhelming abundance of detail and dramatic perspectival devices, this time in order to persuade us of the power and glory of the Protestant monarchy – through Wil-

liam and Mary – and rivalling the image of the apotheosis of St Ignatius, shown rising heavenwards to be received by Christ and the Virgin. Similar devices were practised by Rubens a century earlier in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, in order to persuade the spectator of the Divine Right of the King James I. In both British examples multiple points of perspective are given to different effects but with the same aim as Pozzo's single point perspective: to maximise the viewing experience as well as to uplift the spectator.¹¹⁹

The ways in which the architecture of the Painted Hall helped to create this sublime experience have not yet been analysed. The setting for the paintings is designed to confront viewers with a succession of stunning vistas. Each of the three interconnected spaces offers striking visual surprises that were completely novel for an early eighteenth-century audience and continue to fascinate visitors to this day.

Visitors first enter the domed vestibule, a relatively small yet extremely high space rising to 27 metres (fig. 102, no. 1). The dark brown-grey paint covering the walls forms an intense contrast with the light entering through the cupola and through the windows placed high above the spectator (pl. 107). In Longinus's view, such contrasts are characteristic of the sublime.¹²⁰ He makes repeated comparisons between sublime speech and effects of darkness and light, paralleling the impression created by the orator's words to a flash of lightning piercing the darkness.¹²¹ Similarly, visitors to the Painted Hall are struck by this spectacular vestibule with its bursts of light coming from above. We should bear in mind that domes were an entirely novel feature in British architecture when the Royal Hospital was built. The cupola at Greenwich, completed in 1703, actually preceded the domes of Castle Howard and St Paul's Cathedral, which were still under construction at that time,¹²² and thus offered a stunning architectural experience.

The sombre colours of the vestibule contrast with the colouristic brilliance of the Painted Hall; they serve as a prelude to the visual climax reached in the next two spaces. These spaces are still partly hidden from view for

visitors standing in the vestibule (pl. 108), but the anticipation of the rich visual experiences lying ahead creates a sense of exhilaration.

Two free-standing monumental columns frame the entrance to the so-called Lower Hall (which when seen from the vestibule is actually on an upper rather than lower level). The Composite order of these columns announces the triumphalist mode of the ceiling painting, for the *Composita*, "the most famous Columne," was regarded as particularly appropriate for triumphal arches.¹²³ According to the widely read architectural theorist Sebastiano Serlio, the Romans had created the *Composita* by combining the Ionic and Corinthian orders in order to outdo the Greeks. Serlio added that "they used it more for triumphal arches than for any other thing. And they were absolutely right to do this, because since they had triumphed over all those countries from which these works originated, they were quite at liberty as their masters to combine them."¹²⁴

The ascending flight of stairs flanked by the columns forms a threshold. Visitors pause to take in the view, overawed by the magnificence of the scene lying before them. One feels rather small next to those columns, whose capitals tower some 15 metres overhead. Is entry to the sanctuary permitted? The stairs seem inviting, but they also bar the way and demand a certain effort. While visitors climb the steps, they experience a physical and metaphorical transition from their everyday lives to a "superior level."

Extreme dimensions, physical and moral greatness, and the superhuman are classical ingredients of the sublime.¹²⁵ The Lower Hall (fig. 102, no. 2; fig. 105) continues to evoke these notions through its sheer size, its enormous height, and its brilliant illumination (thirty windows disposed in two horizontal bands along either of the long sides of the hall).¹²⁶ Pilasters of the Composite order heighten the dignity of this space and its triumphalist associations. The painted architecture extends the built space and makes it even loftier, as painted arches seem to rise over the narrow ends of the hall. The western arch, which faces visitors entering the hall, frames a British man-of-war and symbols of victory, surmounted by a figure of Hercules chasing personifica-



Fig. 106 The west front of the west range of the King William Building at Greenwich, with the King Charles Building beyond. The west end of the Painted Hall is in the centre of the photograph

tions of evil from the sky (pl. 109). This martial theme carries over to the walls, onto which large military trophies appear to be affixed (fig. 105; pl. 111).

The ship on the ceiling, mirrored by a captured Spanish galleon depicted at the eastern end of the hall,¹²⁷ certainly creates a sense of surprise. It builds a visual bridge between the real world of the seamen and the central figuration of the ceiling, which presents William III and Mary II in heavenly glory (pl. 105). Both monarchs were long dead when Thornhill painted this allegory, and thus it must have been clear for contemporary viewers that they were looking up into a superhuman sphere over which the king and queen presided like demigods.

Again, all these motifs are typically sublime. According to Longinus, the orator needs to astonish and overwhelm his audience.¹²⁸ His aim is to move the listeners by “painting” with words, making his description seem real and palpable.¹²⁹ Thornhill did just that through the illusionist mode of his ceiling painting. The use of multiple viewpoints creates an optical illusion that is, how-

ever, counteracted when viewers advance through the hall. Precisely this “disillusionment” draws attention to the painter’s skill and inspires admiration for Thornhill’s amazing capacity to make his fiction look real – at least at first glance.¹³⁰

The two main themes of the Lower Hall (the virtuous rule of the sovereigns and the wars waged by them) correspond to Longinus’s criteria for sublime topics.¹³¹ But, above all, the central motif of the ceiling is sublime par excellence: William III presents Europe with the cap of liberty (pl. 110). Longinus calls liberty “that rich and full fountain of eloquence” and claims that “just liberty feeds and nourishes the thoughts with great [i. e. sublime] notions.”¹³²

Longinus describes the disposition of a speech as its “architecture” or “fabrick,” which is ornamented with metaphors and can act as “a most admirable promotion and engine of liberty and passion.”¹³³ Similarly, the architecture of the Painted Hall stimulates the beholder’s emotions through key markers of the sublime (vastness,

flashes of lightning, elevation, amazement) and serves as a shell to be adorned with paintings of sublime subjects.

Speech completes the image. A Latin inscription, composed of golden classical letters, fills the frieze and runs around the whole hall. It celebrates Mary II as the foundress of the Royal Hospital, but it also serves to define a sublime stylistic level. The text begins with “*Pietas augusta*” on the west wall (fig. 105; pl. 111), which can be translated as “By royal piety.”¹³⁴ However, the adjective “*augustus*” (which appears here in its feminine form, coupled with “*pietas*” or “*piety*”) has many additional meanings. It evokes the times of the ancient Roman emperors and has therefore an imperial rather than royal flavour. In a more general sense, it can mean “exalted” or “sublime,” “majestic,” or even “sacred” (especially in conjunction with “*pietas*”). Placed so conspicuously on the wall facing the visitor, this adjective conveys connotations that could guide classically educated visitors to a deeper understanding of the space as a sublime imperial sanctuary.

The words “*Pietas augusta*” flank the archway leading into the Upper Hall (fig. 102, no. 5; pl. 111). The special significance of this final space in the sequence is emphasized by three architectural features. Firstly, a fur-

ther set of stairs leads to the Upper Hall, evoking once more the idea of ascent that is core to sublime aesthetics.¹³⁵ Secondly, the arch forms a decided contrast to the diaphanous entrance to the Lower Hall, with its framing free-standing columns (pl. 108). In comparison, the archway is lower and narrower, as if to protect the sanctuary that lies beyond, partly shielded from view. This serves once more to arouse the viewer’s emotions (his or her curiosity to discover the secret space). Thirdly, a royal coat of arms surmounts the arch, flanked by painted military trophies and sculpted classical gods in bellicose attire (Mars and Minerva alluding to William and Mary).¹³⁶ It can be inferred that these are the “deities” to be venerated in the navy’s sanctuary. Its sacred character was heightened even further when, in 1726, a balustrade was erected between the Upper and the Lower Hall,¹³⁷ barring the “uninitiated” from access.

Anya Lucas calls the transition between the Lower and the Upper Hall a “proscenium arch,” implying that the Upper Hall serves as a stage.¹³⁸ This interpretation is supported by Thornhill’s mural on the west wall, which shows a number of “actors” who seem to descend from yet another (painted) podium into the beholder’s space (pl. 111). However, this mural was an afterthought: Thornhill’s first design for the present royal group por-

Fig. 107 James Thornhill.
Design for a stage setting
(act 2, scene 1 of the opera
Arsinoë), 1705



trait only dates from 1723.¹³⁹ Originally, the west wall was pierced by three tall arched windows on the ground level of the Upper Hall, plus three mezzanine windows above. This is not only apparent from old ground plans¹⁴⁰ but is still visible on the exterior of the building (fig. 106). The central bay was bricked up in 1709,¹⁴¹ and the two lateral bays followed suit only in 1718, after Thornhill presented a memorandum “that the two windows at the West end of the Great Hall throw in so great a light, as to destroy the prospect of the painting on the wall.”¹⁴²

The “theatrical” character of the Painted Hall has often been remarked upon and is usually linked to Thornhill’s earliest known commission: the stage sets he designed for the opera *Arsinoë* in 1705 (fig. 107).¹⁴³ At first glance, the progression of arches that open up onto a painted backdrop bears a vague resemblance to the Painted Hall, but such similarities are purely accidental. Thornhill’s sketch builds on conventional motifs of seventeenth-century stage design¹⁴⁴ and has no relationship with the Painted Hall: On the one hand, the Upper Hall was originally meant to have three bays of windows rather than a painted backdrop on the west wall, and on the other, Thornhill was employed at Greenwich only years after the Painted Hall had been built. So, who conceived the sublime architecture of the hall, which had no precedents in Britain? And what were his sources of inspiration?

An Unrecognized Continental Model for Greenwich: The Galleria Colonna in Rome

It has hitherto gone unnoticed that numerous characteristic features of the Painted Hall refer to the Galleria Colonna, a highly prestigious building commissioned by one of the most prominent aristocratic families in Rome (plates 24–26). The innovative tripartite structure of the gallery had been designed by Gianlorenzo Bernini in 1674 and soon came to be imitated in other high-profile commissions, including the Château de Versailles, Stockholm Palace, and the Imperial Library in Vienna.¹⁴⁵

The similarities between the Galleria Colonna and the Painted Hall concern three distinct aspects: the build-

ing’s architecture, decoration, and use. Firstly, there are clear architectural parallels. Both structures are oriented around a very tall and vaulted hall with two bands of windows on either side, flanked by two roughly square spaces on its narrow ends (figs. 102, 108). Measuring 40.05 × 10.67 metres with a total height of 13 metres, the central hall of the Galleria Colonna is longer yet slightly narrower and lower than the Painted Hall.¹⁴⁶ Originally, it had seven bays of windows per side, two of which were bricked up in 1697.¹⁴⁷ The windows are framed by colossal pilasters of the Composite order.

What made Bernini’s design so revolutionary was the intercommunication of the three spaces to form one grandiose vista, bracketed by two pairs of giant free-standing columns. The columns are – as at Greenwich – of the Composite order though clad with yellow marble rather than just painted to resemble stone (cf. pl. 108). Between the second pair of columns a flight of marble steps ascends to the final space in the sequence (pl. 26). The marble window surrounds indicate that there were – as at Greenwich – originally three bays of windows on this concluding wall of the vista, but the lateral bays were bricked up sometime after 1703.¹⁴⁸

The second set of similarities between the Galleria Colonna and the Painted Hall concerns their interior decoration. In both cases, each of the three communicating spaces has ceiling paintings. In addition, the walls of both are articulated not only by giant pilasters but also by large hanging assemblies of trophies. In the Galleria Colonna, they are made of gilt stucco (fig. 109), while at Greenwich they are painted in grisaille (pl. 111). As at Greenwich, the trophies and the Composite order signal that the Galleria Colonna is a monument to military glory. It celebrates Marcantonio Colonna, who had triumphed over the Ottomans in the naval battle of Lepanto.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, all around the vault of the hall are painted spoils of war and galleys (fig. 110)¹⁵⁰ – a highly unusual feature in Baroque ceiling painting that reappears at Greenwich.

Moreover, the way in which Thornhill anchors his central painting to the cornice is directly inspired by the Galleria Colonna. Though the illusionist arches over the narrow ends of the Lower Hall recall Andrea Pozzo’s ceiling fresco at Sant’Ignazio (pl. 106),¹⁵¹ Thornhill did not wish

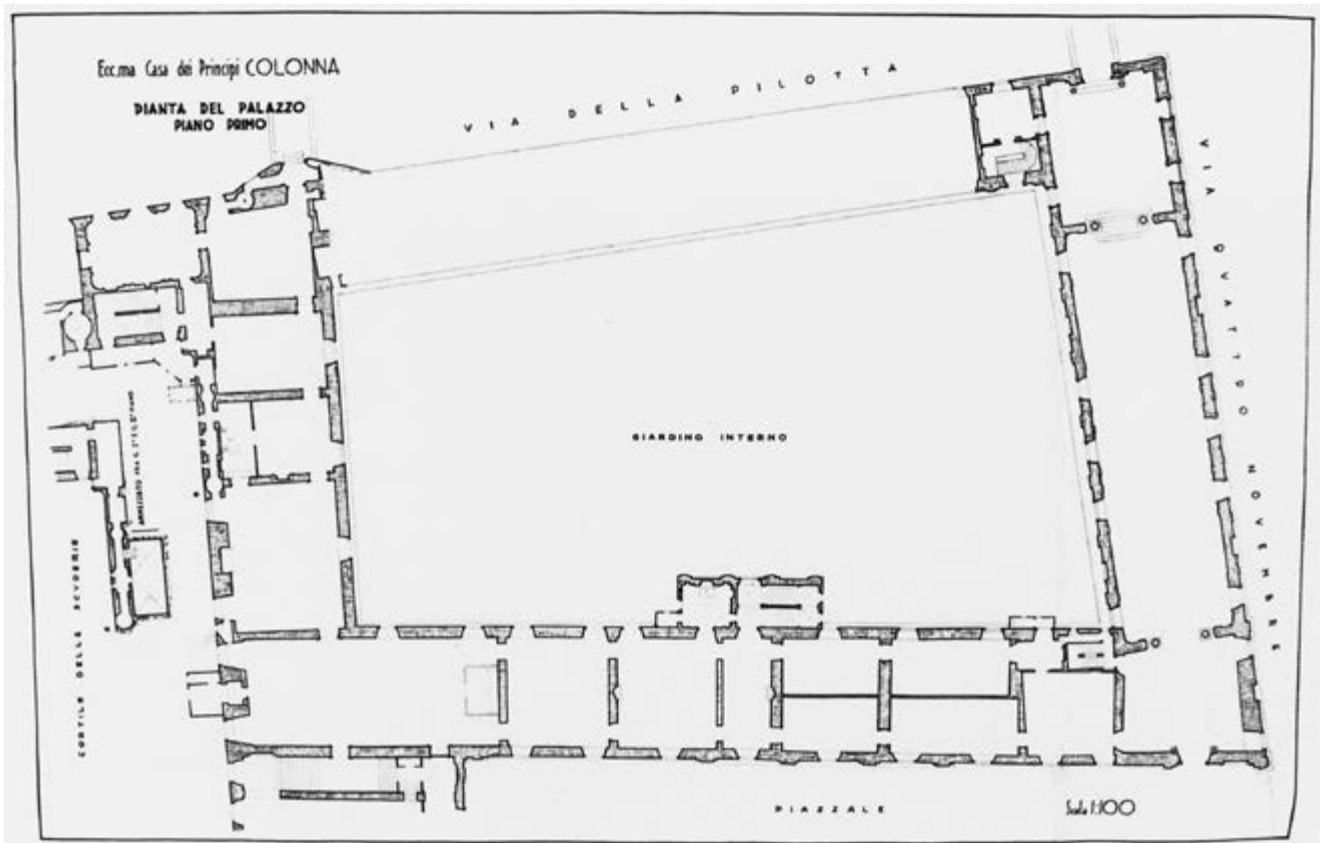


Fig. 108 *Piano nobile* (first floor) of the Palazzo Colonna in Rome, detail. The gallery is the tripartite structure on the right side of the plan

(or was unable) to extend this design principle to the whole vault. The central section of Thornhill’s ceiling is a *quadro riportato* set in a large painted frame that spans the entire vault, while the borders of the frame are embellished with figures and objects resting on the cornice (pl. 104) – a solution imported from the Galleria Colonna.¹⁵² In addition, Thornhill borrowed the motif of illusionistically rendered spectators who seem to move on the cornice and look up towards the *quadro riportato*.¹⁵³

Thirdly, there are also functional similarities between the two buildings. The Galleria Colonna was conceived as a throne room for Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, Duke of Paliano, who regarded himself as a sovereign head of state and wished to assert his precedence over the other Roman nobles. The raised platform at the end of the gallery formed the climax of the spatial experience and served to give visual form to Lorenzo Onofrio’s (contested) superiority.¹⁵⁴ It was meant as a stage for this prince, who delighted in sponsoring contemporary the-

atre productions and even erected a private theatre in his Roman palace.¹⁵⁵

At Greenwich, too, the stairs separating the Upper from the Lower Hall are markers of social distinction. The building documents refer to the Upper Hall as the “Officers Hall,”¹⁵⁶ while the Lower Hall was intended as a dining space for common pensioners. After the completion of Thornhill’s murals, the Painted Hall served primarily as a ceremonial space to be shown to visitors, but on festive occasions it was still used for banquets.¹⁵⁷ For instance, in 1730 the Board of Directors decided that on the anniversary of George II’s accession “the Pensioners should dine together in the Painted Hall, and the Officers in the upper Hall.”¹⁵⁸ This document is particularly relevant because it connects the Painted Hall to the celebration of the monarch. As pointed out in the previous section, the architectural design proclaims the Upper Hall to be a sanctuary for Britain’s monarchy. Therefore, it is not so much a stage for the officers as a place honouring

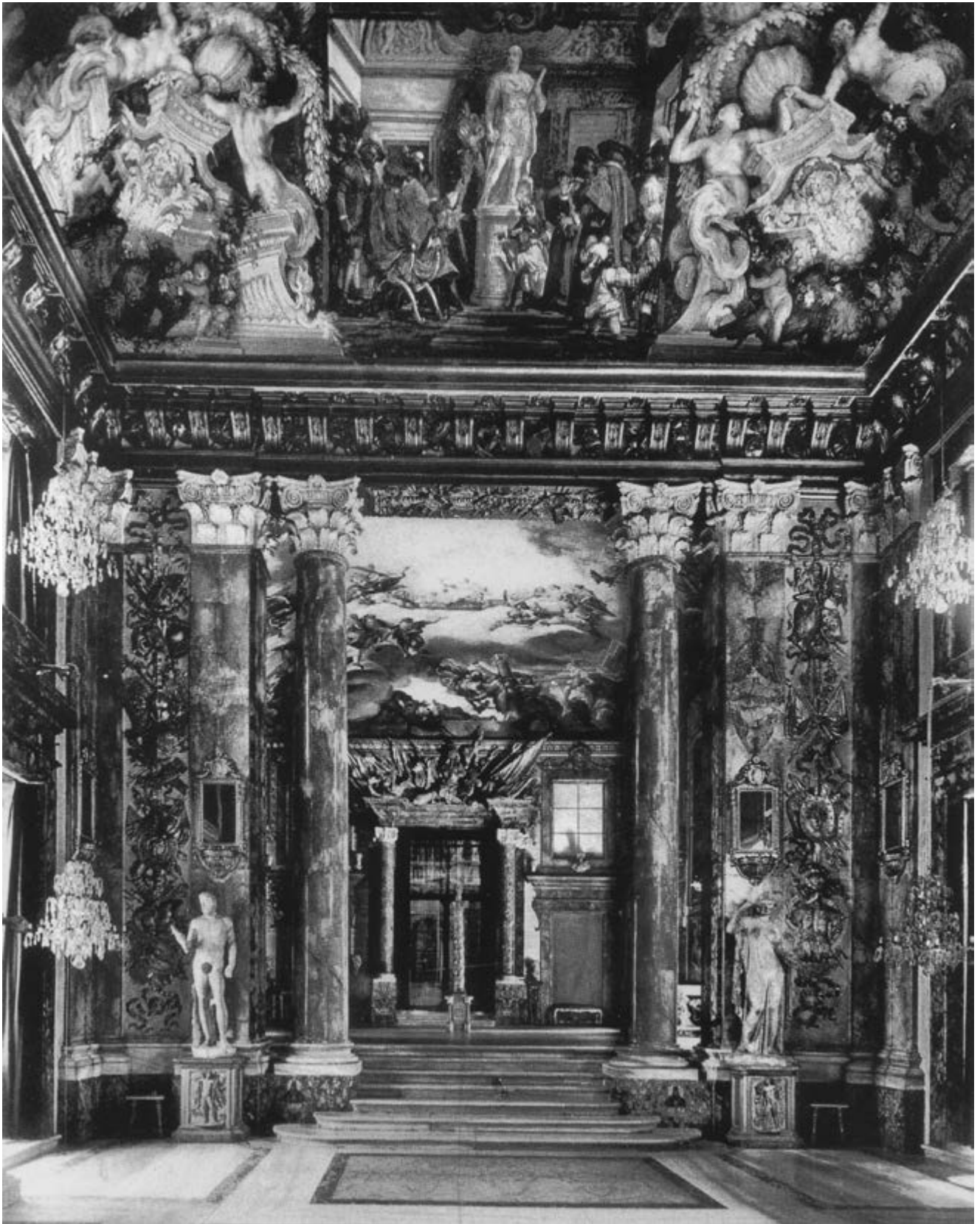


Fig. 109 Eastern end of the main hall. Galleria Colonna, Rome

the sovereign power they represent – a concept akin to the raised throne room of the Galleria Colonna.

The large number of similarities between the Galleria Colonna and the Painted Hall cannot be explained as a mere coincidence. The architects of the Royal Hospital must have had access to detailed visual documentation of the Galleria Colonna, which inspired their design and was consulted again when Thornhill embarked on his projects for the ceiling. But where did this information come from?

Neither Christopher Wren nor Vanbrugh, nor Hawksmoor, nor Thornhill is known to have travelled to Italy. Hawksmoor's assistant John James, who translated Pozzo's *Perspectiva*, was proud of his excellent command of the Italian language, but "the signature of one John James in the visitors' book at Padua University in 1717 does not appear to be his."¹⁵⁹ However, all of them were avid collectors. To this day, there exist many eighteenth-century drawings and watercolours of the Galleria Colonna, testifying to the enormous interest in that building.¹⁶⁰ The sale catalogues for Wren's, Hawksmoor's, and Thornhill's collections contain numerous Italian paintings, books, engravings, and drawings, but the items are often listed collectively (e. g. "Collection of Prints and Drawings relating to ancient Architecture, 79 in Number" or "Sixty-two Drawings of different Masters"),¹⁶¹ so it is impossible to identify each and every work that belonged to their drawing collections.¹⁶²

There are numerous possibilities as to how drawings of the Galleria Colonna may have reached London. James Gibbs, soon to become part of Wren's circle, spent the years 1703 to 1708 in Rome.¹⁶³ He studied with Carlo Fontana, who had had a share in designing the Galleria Colonna,¹⁶⁴ and seems to have been deeply impressed by this structure, as he imitated it in the Long Gallery that he built at Stainborough Hall in 1724/25.¹⁶⁵ However, when he arrived in Rome in 1703 the wing of the Royal Hospital containing the Painted Hall was nearly completed. Thus it is more likely that knowledge of the Galleria Colonna was transmitted at an earlier stage.

Some years prior to Gibbs, in 1699, John Talman travelled to Rome where he stayed until 1702.¹⁶⁶ His own architectural studies betray a predilection for "ornamen-

tal exuberance,"¹⁶⁷ i. e. he would certainly have appreciated the aesthetics of the Galleria Colonna. He amassed a large collection of architectural drawings not only for his own instruction but also as a source of reference for his father William, Comptroller of the King's Works at the time.¹⁶⁸ As he managed to acquire some sketches by Carlo Fontana,¹⁶⁹ John Talman seems to have had direct access to a studio involved in the design of the Galleria Colonna. His interest in the gallery may have been stimulated by his father's task to decorate the royal gallery at Hampton Court Palace.¹⁷⁰ It is therefore quite possible that he sent drawings of the Galleria Colonna to London, although it may be questioned whether William Talman would have shown them to other (competing) architects.

Another possible source of information on the Galleria Colonna was Charles Talbot, 1st Duke of Shrewsbury, whose Roman sojourn lasted from 1701 to 1705.¹⁷¹ Before he left London at age 40, Shrewsbury had made a distinguished career at court.¹⁷² In the foundation document for the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, "our right trusty & right entirely beloved Cousin & Counsellor Charles Duke of Shrewsbury one of our Principall Secretaries of State" was mentioned as one of the commissioners to whom William and Mary granted the site of the future hospital.¹⁷³ In the name of the king, Shrewsbury signed the royal warrant of 29 April 1696 that marked the official beginning of the building programme at Greenwich.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, the duke is commemorated as one of the hospital's main benefactors in an inscription placed in the vestibule of the Painted Hall.¹⁷⁵

During his stay in Rome, Shrewsbury was particularly interested in architecture. He hired an "Architect Master" and met the architects Fontana, Falconieri, and de' Rossi in person.¹⁷⁶ A biography published in the year of his death (1718) stated that "he Conversed indifferently with all sorts of People in Rome, especially the Literati, and improved his knowledge in Painting and Architecture, to which last he applied assiduously, and made a very good Collection of the first."¹⁷⁷

In 1701, shortly after his arrival in Rome, Shrewsbury met the "Countess Adelaide," a widowed daughter of Marchese Andrea Paleotti, whom he eventually made his wife, in 1705.¹⁷⁸ Adelaide's sister Diana Paleotti had



Fig. 110 Giovanni Coli and Filippo Gherardi. Central ceiling painting in the main hall, c. 1674–1678. Galleria Colonna, Rome

married Marcantonio Colonna in 1697.¹⁷⁹ Due to these family connections and his high social status, the duke of Shrewsbury would have been able to gain access to the Galleria Colonna.

As was customary, Shrewsbury established contact with several British artists working in Rome, among them Thomas Edwards and Charles Jervas, who accompanied the duke on his art-historical field trips.¹⁸⁰ The duke's

journal attests that he ordered copies of famous works of art from Jervas.¹⁸¹ It is therefore quite possible that he asked Jervas or Edwards to make drawings of the Galleria Colonna, as the naval theme of the gallery may have reminded him of Greenwich.

While in Rome, both Shrewsbury and Jervas purchased works of art for British friends and clients.¹⁸² At the time of his death, Jervas still held an enormous quantity of prints and drawings from Rome.¹⁸³ Thus the painter who had arrived in Italy in 1699 can be regarded as a further likely channel for artistic communication and may have been approached by British architects who had heard about the Galleria Colonna and wished to acquire visual material relating to it.¹⁸⁴ In addition, drawings of the Galleria Colonna had probably been in Antonio Verrio's possession since the late 1670s, when he based his decoration of St George's Hall on this model.¹⁸⁵

Who Designed the Architecture of the Painted Hall?

It is not easy to determine who can be credited with the innovative architecture of the Painted Hall, as three architects collaborated at Greenwich: Christopher Wren, Nicholas Hawksmoor, and John Vanbrugh. Their individual shares in the design of the Royal Hospital are still a matter of debate among architectural historians. However, the question has not yet been discussed with reference to the Painted Hall.

In another context, Caroline van Eck has pointed out that both Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor were familiar with the concept of the Longinian sublime.¹⁸⁶ At first glance, Vanbrugh seems more likely than Hawksmoor to have designed the Painted Hall. After all, he had begun his career as a dramatist, built his own playhouse (the Queen's Theatre), and sought to bring Italian opera to London.¹⁸⁷ As Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna was a leading patron of Italian theatre productions, Vanbrugh may well have heard and inquired about him.

The theatrical structure of the Galleria Colonna certainly aroused Vanbrugh's interest. Tripartite longitudinal spaces punctuated by pairs of columns appear in

four of his projects, at Grimthorpe, Seaton Delaval, Eastbury and in an unidentified project. In the latter three projects, tripartite halls are placed on the central axis and approached laterally through a door in one of the long walls.¹⁸⁸ Only the gallery at Grimthorpe was meant to be entered from the narrow ends, thus creating a visual impression similar to that of the Galleria Colonna.¹⁸⁹ However, as all of these projects date from a much later period (around 1720), they cannot be taken as evidence that it was Vanbrugh who introduced the model of the Galleria Colonna to Greenwich.

Back in 1929, Bolton and Hendry attributed two drawings to Vanbrugh that inform us about the evolution of the design for the west façade of the Painted Hall. The earlier drawing (fig. 111) features at ground level tall, open-arched, rusticated loggias.¹⁹⁰ The upper floor (the space that later became the Upper Hall) is decidedly lower than built (cf. fig. 106). The second drawing (fig. 112) comes much closer to the wing's present structure, but the elliptical-headed recess in the curved pediment is missing.¹⁹¹

Gordon Higgott attributes the earlier drawing to Hawksmoor¹⁹² and classifies the later one as a "record drawing" produced in c. 1735 for an engraving.¹⁹³ He interprets the numerous crucial differences between the drawing and the extant building as "amendments [...]" suggesting an intention to improve the original design," while Bolton and Hendry think that the drawing "may be only a copy of about 1730."¹⁹⁴ In the latter case, the engraving was made – for the sake of expediency – on the basis of a pre-existing earlier drawing that visualized a preliminary design for the west façade.

Be that as it may, the two drawings go to show that the wing containing the Painted Hall underwent considerable revision during the building process. But who was responsible for working out this change in design, Vanbrugh or Hawksmoor? Rather than questioning Bolton and Hendry's and Higgott's attributions respectively, I would like to approach this question by looking at the temporal sequence in which the design unfolded.

Building began in 1696 on the basis of the so-called three-block plan.¹⁹⁵ This project was represented in a set of three engravings produced in 1699 for the subscribers

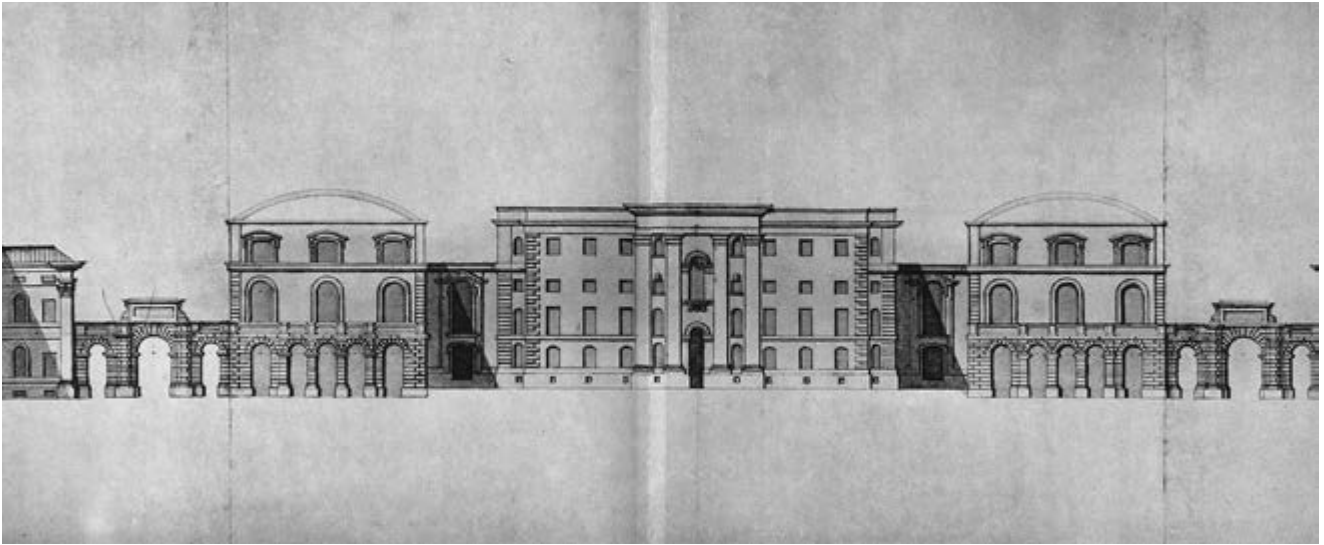


Fig. 111 Design for the west elevation of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich (detail), c. 1699. The western end of the wing containing the hall appears on the left side of the drawing. Soane Museum, London, volume 109/41

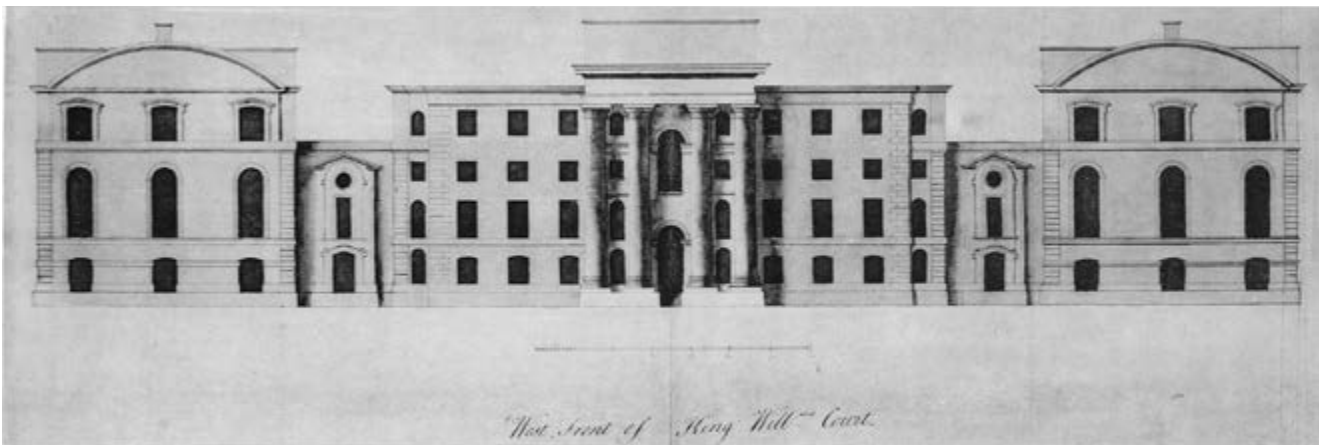


Fig. 112 Design for the west elevation of the King William Building at Greenwich. Soane Museum, London, volume 109/31

who funded the undertaking. The ground plan belonging to the set illustrates a separate Officers' Hall at the western end of the Pensioners' Hall (fig. 113).¹⁹⁶ It has three windows facing west, one window facing the southern courtyard, and three windows facing towards the base block of the King Charles Building. The east wall bordering on the Pensioners' Hall is completely closed, without any doors or steps leading into the larger hall. This explains why the ground floor of that wing appears comparatively high in the above-mentioned drawing (cf. fig. 111): Its height is designed to correspond with the

adjacent base block of the King Charles Building (on the left of the drawing), but it does not have a proportional relationship to the two-storey Pensioners' Hall, with which the Officers' Hall was not meant to communicate.

While the engravings for the subscribers were being produced, the surveyor Christopher Wren opted for a significant change of plan, replacing the two parallel blocks of dormitories on either side of the main axis with two open courtyards. A wooden model created in 1699 visualized the new design of the present King William and Queen Mary Buildings (fig. 114; cf. fig. 104).¹⁹⁷ Accord-

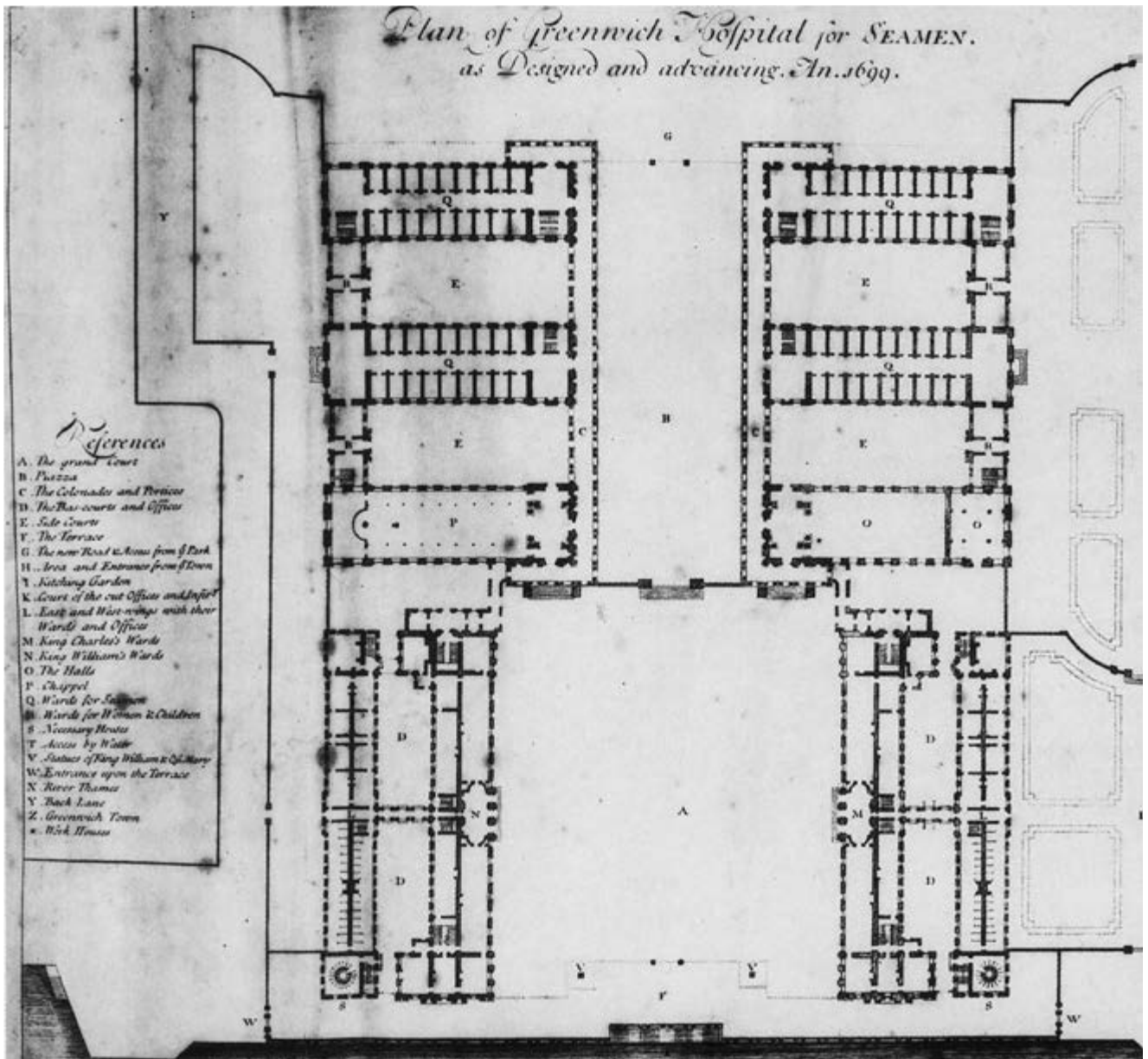


Fig. 113 Three-block plan of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, with the hall visible on the western (right) side. Engraving produced for the subscribers in 1699

ing to Kerry Downes, “the most probable hypothesis, the most credible with the characters we know to have been concerned, is that Wren gave Hawksmoor his own way in this part of the design.”¹⁹⁸

The drawing (fig. 111) must predate the wooden model. It shows the new western dormitory “with its monstrous applied Doric order that supports nothing but a parapet,” attributed by Downes to Hawksmoor,¹⁹⁹ but

the high ground floor of the wing containing the hall is still related to the plan of the previous three-block design that did not envisage a connection between the Pensioners’ and Officers’ Halls. Before the wooden model was produced, it must have been decided to unite these spaces, which meant that the Officers’ Hall needed to be made much taller. This is reflected both in the later design (fig. 112) and in the model (fig. 114), in which the

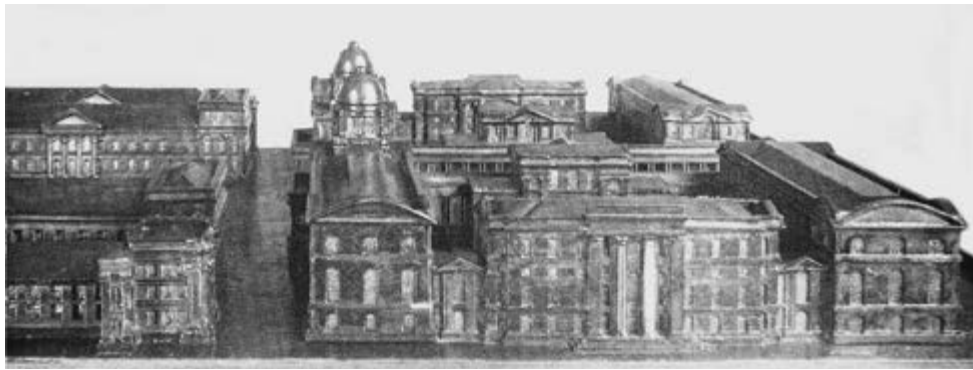


Fig. 114 Model for Greenwich Hospital; a view of the western side of the King William Building, 1699. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

rusticated loggia is replaced with three fairly low windows on the ground level. These windows now belong to the undercroft,²⁰⁰ while the Upper Hall has three tall windows, plus mezzanine windows above. The formerly separate three floors have been recombined so as to give more space to the Upper Hall.

A block plan of the new scheme confirms this analysis, as it shows a large opening between the two halls (fig. 115). The building blocks are labelled as “squadrons,” with the north-eastern one being called “The Squadron of Princess Ann.” Therefore, the accession of Queen Anne on 8 March 1702 provides a secure *terminus ante quem* for the drawing. Although it visualizes the plan to unite the Pensioners’ and Officers’ Halls, the definitive ground plan has not yet been arrived at (cf. fig. 102). Obviously, the details were still being worked out after 1699, aided by drawings of the Galleria Colonna.

It has now been established that the two drawings attributed by Bolton and Hendry to Vanbrugh (figs. 111, 112) document a stage of planning reached in 1699. Moreover, it has become clear that the decision to unite the two halls dates from 1699.²⁰¹ An attribution of the design of the Painted Hall to Vanbrugh is thus extremely unlikely because he only joined the Board of Directors in 1703.²⁰² As his cousin William Vanbrugh was secretary to the commissioners for the Royal Hospital, John Vanbrugh may have been “meddling in the Office before his appointment”²⁰³ – but there are no records for this. The idea to emulate the Galleria Colonna was no afterthought introduced after the shell of the hall had been completed (in 1703), but formed part of the large-scale change of

design in 1699. Therefore, it is more convincing to attribute this idea to the Wren-Hawksmoor team then in charge.

Hawksmoor may have been particularly interested in the Galleria Colonna because at Easton Neston he faced the task of creating a setting for the celebrated Arundel collection of antiquities.²⁰⁴ According to an inscription on the frieze of the garden front, Easton Neston was completed in 1702,²⁰⁵ i. e. it kept Hawksmoor occupied during precisely the period in which he was involved in designing the Painted Hall. As the Galleria Colonna was celebrated for its antiquities,²⁰⁶ Hawksmoor may have inquired about their display. In any case, his design for the hall at Easton Neston bears marked similarities to the Galleria Colonna in that it is tripartite and uses a combination of monumental free-standing columns and pilasters to frame the two lateral spaces (fig. 116).²⁰⁷

Hawksmoor’s leading role in the design of the Painted Hall at Greenwich is suggested by some rather inconspicuous entries in the minute books: “Resolved that a proportion of white Marble be laid among the Sussex Marble in the upper Hall; [...] the same to be laid according to the plan prepared by Mr. Hawksmoor and laid before the board” (29 August 1706);²⁰⁸ “Mr. Jones is to proceed in carving the undersides of the Arch in the Great hall, as Mr Hawkesmoor shall direct him. Mr Hawkesmoor is to bring a new design for the Arms, and for the Chimney piece in the Upper Hall” (12 December 1706); and “Mr Hawkesmoor brought sketches for the Queens Arms and the Chimney peice [sic] in the upper hall and of the Princes Arms also for the said hall” (9 January 1707).²⁰⁹ If Vanbrugh had indeed designed the Painted

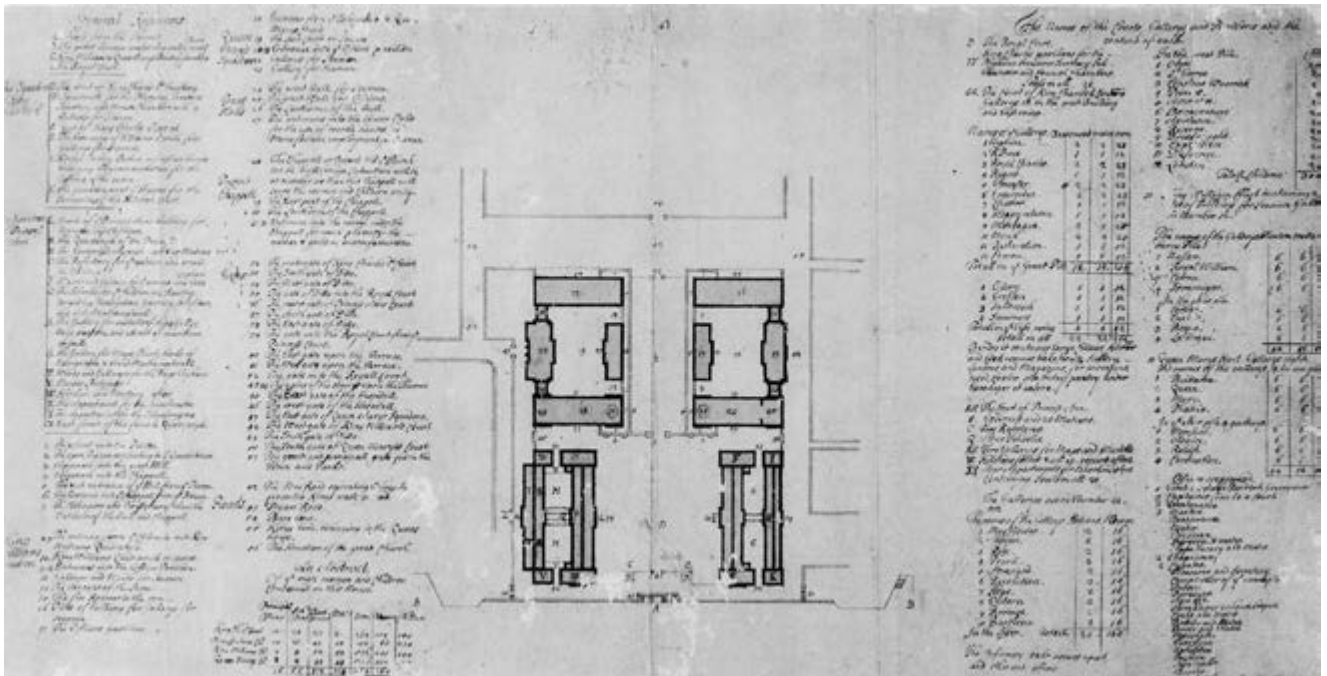


Fig. 115 Nicholas Hawksmoor. Block plan of Greenwich Hospital with explanatory key, c. 1699/1700

Hall, he would not have allowed Hawksmoor to interfere. In fact, Vanbrugh’s own chimney pieces are markedly different from the one by Hawksmoor in the Upper Hall.²¹⁰

All in all, it appears that the innovative sublime architecture of the Painted Hall is most likely to have been designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor. Since 1696, he had been Wren’s collaborator at Greenwich, and in 1698 he became his official deputy as Clerk of Works.²¹¹ In addition, he had an architectural practice of his own and received private commissions (like Easton Neston).²¹² As Wren was involved in many large building projects, Hawksmoor played an increasingly independent role in the handling of the Greenwich commission. His independent work possesses an abstract monumentality that betrays his interest in contemporary discourses on the sublime.²¹³ The interior of the Painted Hall displays similar architectural characteristics, although the total effect is much richer due to the murals commissioned by Hawksmoor’s patrons.

Thornhill’s work provides further clues for understanding Hawksmoor’s role at Greenwich. In a preparatory study for the figures on the painted balconies of the Lower Hall, datable to c. 1707, Thornhill envisaged him-

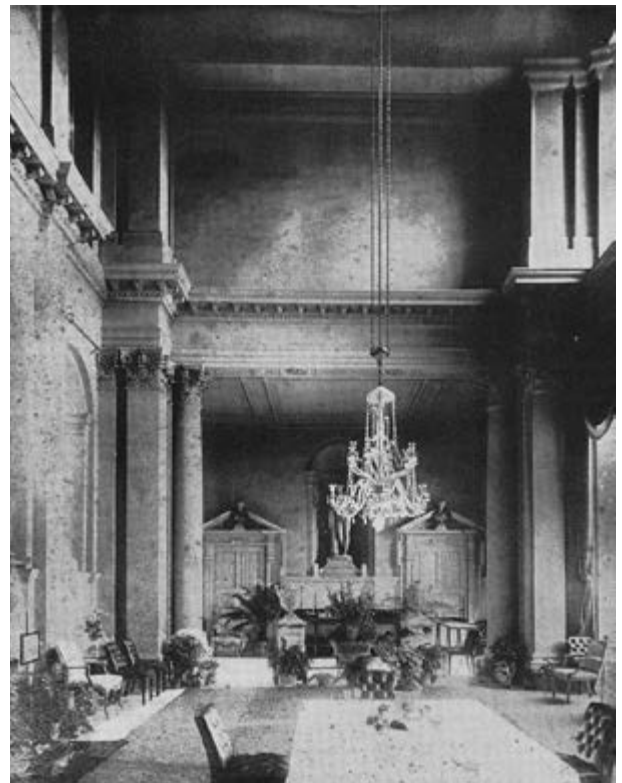


Fig. 116 Easton Neston. Historical photograph of the hall (before alteration)

self as the embodiment of “painting” and Hawksmoor and Wren as personifications of “architecture” and “surveying,” respectively.²¹⁴ In the painter’s view, Hawksmoor seems to have been the creative personality (representing architecture), while Wren was responsible for supervision and administrative tasks. I would like to argue that Thornhill even planned a painted monument to Hawksmoor in the decoration of the Upper Hall – but this is one of the topics of the next section.

The Painted Hall as a Monument to Queen Anne

Much has been written about Thornhill’s paintings over the past decades, but one important aspect has been overlooked. As I will demonstrate in this section, the entire pictorial programme was originally meant to celebrate Queen Anne. Nowadays, the Lower Hall seems to glorify William and Mary, while the Upper Hall focuses on George I. However, if we take the message of the architecture seriously, a reconsideration of the pictorial programme is unavoidable. The architectural structure makes clear that the Upper Hall forms the climax of the whole spatial sequence. Its present decoration was only created after the accession of George I. But what was its original theme? This question has curiously been neglected.²¹⁵

As explained in chapter 6, Queen Anne was involved in the War of the Spanish Succession from the start of her reign. Because she could not take on a lead military role herself, she promoted her husband Prince George of Denmark to the rank of Lord High Admiral and Generalissimo of her forces (in April 1702).²¹⁶ George did not see military action, but he eventually oversaw the creation of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.

Due to a lack of funds, work at Greenwich had come to a complete stand-still in the summer of 1702.²¹⁷ One year later, on 17 August 1703, a committee met at Windsor under the direction of “His Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark, the Lord High Admiral.” “Her Majesty’s Commission for the Royal Hospital at Greenwich for Seamen was read,” and “the Directors for the same were

desired to proceed in the execution thereof.”²¹⁸ This marked the start of a new building phase. While relatively little had been accomplished since the laying of the first stone in 1696, Queen Anne’s reign saw the completion of most of the King Charles, King William, and Queen Anne Buildings.²¹⁹ William III had been the “chief defaulter” (he failed badly in his promise of a regular £2,000 per year),²²⁰ but Anne actively helped to provide the necessary funding.²²¹

In his treatise *The Glory of Her Sacred Majesty Queen Anne, in the Royal Navy, and Her Absolute Sovereignty as Empress of the Sea*, dedicated to the queen in 1703, Joseph Gander had admonished Anne: “The Royal Hospital at Greenwich being Situated on the River Thames (the most Glorious Silver Stream under Heaven) and in the View of all Foreigners that Navigate the River up to London, so well as our own Natives [,] It must undoubtedly highly aggrandize Her Majesty, and the nation if it were Finished and Endowed, to the great Rejoycing of the Seamen, and the Astonishment of our Enemies, to see so Glorious a Pile of Building Completed and Endowed, notwithstanding the great Expence of War.”²²²

Gander defined the completion of the Royal Hospital as a task of the highest patriotic importance. By delegating her own husband to the management of this task, Anne emphasized the enormous significance of the building complex. She appointed the General Court of Commissioners as well as the directors, who were together charged with bringing the hospital to completion.²²³ During the following years, meetings of the directors (Wren, Vanbrugh, and high-ranking administrative staff), usually held at Scotland Yard, alternated with more official reunions of the “Generall Court of the Committee at the Admiralty Office,” to which the directors reported.²²⁴ On rare occasions, there were also meetings presided over by Prince George.²²⁵ He personally selected the “Lieutenant Governour of Greenwich” and decided who would be the first pensioners to move in to the new buildings in 1705.²²⁶ Both George’s involvement and the supervision of the project by the Admiralty underscored the links between Greenwich and the monarchy. In addition, there were direct consultations between Sir Christopher Wren and Queen Anne.²²⁷

Officially one of the directors, James Bateman, proposed to have the ceiling of the hall at Greenwich painted,²²⁸ but in view of the strong ties between the monarch and the administration at Greenwich it appears more likely that Bateman just voiced a royal wish and headed the fundraising committee. On 12 June 1707, the minutes record that “several of the directors have engaged to contribute towards the painting of the Great Hall, Salone and Cupola.”²²⁹ In the list of benefactors prefixed to the printed description of 1726, Bateman is immortalized as one of the donors, alongside many other more or less illustrious names.²³⁰

The pictorial programme of the Queen’s Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace, painted by Antonio Verrio and his team between May 1703 and January 1705, highlighted the paramount importance Anne attributed to the Royal Navy (cf. plates 96, 98). It seems rather logical that shortly after the completion of these murals the decision was made to paint the three communicating spaces at Greenwich: the “Great Hall,” the “Salone” (i. e. the Upper Hall), and the “Cupola” (i. e. Vestibule). The ceiling paintings in the Lower Hall and the Queen’s Drawing Room are both inspired by St George’s Hall at Windsor,²³¹ and there are even comparable individual motifs (the kneeling figure of Europe, her crown lying at her feet, asking the British sovereign for help: see pl. 99 in comparison to pl. 110). If Thornhill had indeed collaborated with Verrio on the Queen’s Drawing Room,²³² he was the natural candidate for the new undertaking.

The link with Queen Anne becomes even more apparent when Thornhill’s preparatory studies are taken into account. His first sketch for the central oval of the Lower Hall (fig. 117) bears the date “March 6th 1706/7,” which refers to the Act of Union between England and Scotland.²³³ As has already been pointed out, the composition is modelled on one of Rubens’s canvases in the Banqueting House.²³⁴ Rubens’s allegory celebrated the fact that the kingdoms of England and Scotland had been united under James I.²³⁵ But although James strove for a political union, this was only achieved a century later under Queen Anne. The Act of Union can be regarded as a chief success of her reign and was certainly an event worthy of commemoration²³⁶ – though entirely unrelated



Fig. 117 James Thornhill. First design for the central oval of the Lower Hall, 1707

to Greenwich. As Thornhill considered this subject for the central oval, the suspicion arises that he was thinking more about Queen Anne’s glorification than about the Royal Navy.

In July 1707, the directors instructed Thornhill to amend the design shown to them “by inserting what more he can relating to maritime affaires.”²³⁷ The galleys on the narrow ends of the ceiling certainly add naval flair to the decoration (pl. 109), but the connection of the central oval painting to the Royal Navy still remains rather weak (plates 105, 110). Steele describes William III as “presenting Peace with the Lamb and Olive Branch, and Liberty expressed by the Athenian Cap, to Europe, who laying her Crowns at his Feet, receives them with an Air of Respect and Gratitude. The King tramples Tyranny under his Feet, which is express by a French Personage, with his Leaden Crown falling off, his Chains, Yoke and Iron Sword broken to pieces, Cardinal’s Cap,

triple crown'd Mitres, &c. tumbling down."²³⁸ The guidebook of 1726 omits the reference to "a French Personage" and states more diplomatically that the king "tramples on Tyranny and Arbitrary Power."²³⁹

The "triple crown'd Mitres," a papal tiara, can be seen below the central group of figures (cf. bottom of plate 110), while the vanquished person just above it holds a broken sword decorated with French fleurs-de-lis. It is therefore evident that William III triumphs over "popery" and "tyranny," with the latter being characterized as absolutist rule in the French manner. As explained in chapters 5 and 6, "popery" and "tyranny" served as the key catchphrases of the revolution of 1688 and continued to play an important role in public discourse. The duke of Shrewsbury, one of the Greenwich directors, who spent the years 1701 to 1705 in Rome, was reported to have said "that all English ought to Travel, to value the more their so happy Constitution, for the more we saw of the Foppery of the Roman Religion, and the Oppression in Despotick Governments, the more we would support that Easie and Happy Government in Church and State we are under at Home."²⁴⁰

The duke of Devonshire, another Greenwich director with close ties to Shrewsbury,²⁴¹ voiced similar thoughts in his poem *The Charms of Liberty*, which must have been written between 1702 and 1707.²⁴² He referred to France as "abject state of such as tamely groan / Under a blind dependancy on One" and likened Louis XIV to a "tyrant."²⁴³ With reference to the War of the Spanish Succession, he declared that it was England's role to help the oppressed states on the continent: "While streams of Blood the Continent o'erflow, / Redning the Maese, the Danube, and the Po, / Thy Thames, auspicious isle, her Thunder sends / To crush thy Foes, and to relieve her Friends."²⁴⁴ According to Devonshire, the "Isle blest with Liberty" would eventually liberate Europe under the direction of Queen Anne: "As Rome of old gave Liberty to Greece, / Anna th'invaded sinking Empire frees. / The Allies her Faith, her Power the French proclaim, / Her Piety th'Opprest, the World her Fame."²⁴⁵

With reference to the pictorial programme of the Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court, I have already pointed out how important William III was as a model for

Queen Anne. From her accession, Anne emphasized that she continued his policies. In particular, "popery" and "tyranny," the catchphrases of his Glorious Revolution, were revived as key arguments to legitimate the War of the Spanish Succession. The main mural of the Queen's Drawing Room (pl. 99) accordingly visualized Anne's fight against "popery" (to the queen's right) and "tyranny" (to her left).²⁴⁶ I think the ceiling painting at Greenwich had a related political purpose. Tellingly, Queen Mary, the foundress of the hospital (who had been at loggerheads with her sister Anne all through her reign), was included only at a very late stage: The first five designs for the central oval omitted her completely.²⁴⁷ Thus the emphasis was entirely on the role of William as a guide and inspiration in Anne's current war against France.

The inclusion of two warships underlined the contemporary significance of the ceiling painting in the Lower Hall. The Spanish galleon at the east end of the hall refers to the taking of Gibraltar in 1704/05,²⁴⁸ while the galley on the west end depicts the "Blenheim Man of War," thereby pointing to the crucial triumph over France in the Battle of Blenheim in 1704.²⁴⁹ By alluding to two main victories of Queen Anne's reign, these ships forged a link between the past (William's fight against "popery" and "tyranny") and the present, emphasizing William's continuing relevance as a role model.

The fact that Thornhill initially considered depicting the Act of Union in the central oval indicates that the decoration was from the very start meant to celebrate Queen Anne rather than the Royal Navy. In the design process, the Act of Union then became the main theme of the Upper Hall. The first project proposal for this ceiling bears several notes, among them "Qu. An. Union touch w(i)th ye R(oyal) scepter," "She recom(mending) peace & union to Britannia," "Her triumph over vice," "Peace or Rhea Sylvia presenting ye Queen attended by ye virtues & muses w(i)th a laurel," "Victory brings Trophies," and "Plenty attending."²⁵⁰ While these notes seem to be the result of spontaneous brainstorming, the next preserved drawing is a finished and very detailed study for the ceiling of the Upper Hall (fig. 118). The figures are labelled a to z; an iconographic key can be



Fig. 118 James Thornhill. Design for the ceiling of the Upper Hall, 1707

found on the reverse.²⁵¹ Some researchers have classified this drawing as a study for Hampton Court, but the inscriptions make it abundantly clear that it refers to Greenwich.²⁵²

Queen Anne is enthroned at the centre of the ceiling, “leaning on a sheild [sic] on w(hi)ch is ye united Crosses of St George & the Andrew a dove at her feet.”²⁵³ The dove as a symbol of peace corresponds with the personification of peace who kneels before the queen, “drest in white w(i)th a palm in her hand.” Further down on the same diagonal, the naked personification of truth ap-

pears, illuminating with the radiant sun in her hand a book that bears an inscription praising the sovereign (“Anna Optima Regina”). The union of England and Scotland, expressed through the united crosses of the national patron saints, is presented as Anne’s work alone, with her husband relegated to a marginal position: “Neptune as God of ye sea bringing in ye Princes Picture as L(or)d High Admirall.”²⁵⁴

This, then, was the programme originally envisaged for the Painted Hall. While the Lower Hall celebrated William III as Anne’s guiding model in her current war with



Fig. 119 James Thornhill.
Design for the west wall of
the Upper Hall, c. 1713

France, the Upper Hall focused on peace and on the queen, making her rule appear as an improvement on the previous reign. Hawksmoor's architecture presented the Upper Hall as a sanctuary, and Thornhill's painted *quadratura* was meant to extend the built structure heavenwards, interpreting it as a temple to Peace, presided over by Queen Anne (fig. 118). Anne's and George's sculpted coats of arms were to complete the decoration.²⁵⁵

As the painted temple would only have been visible from close up, from 1709 an extension of the programme was considered: By blocking the central bay of the Upper Hall in 1713, additional painting space was made available, allowing for the formation of a triumphant conclusion to the main vista.²⁵⁶ Conservators' findings corroborate the information contained in the building accounts, i. e. the present decoration of the whole west wall was preceded by a phase in which Thornhill prepared designs for the central bay only.²⁵⁷

What is probably the first of these designs is a fairly conventional allegory similar to the main image in the Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace (pl. 99).²⁵⁸ Queen Anne sits enthroned, perhaps in the guise of Britannia, revered by personifications of the four known continents. Neptune and Cybele (representing sea and land) stand in the far left corner and watch a kneeling figure in armour who presents military spoils to his sovereign, while a winged personification of fame hovers above the scene (fig. 119).

This scheme was superseded by a more original design (fig. 120). It extended the built architecture by introducing framing columns and painted steps that lead into the picture. An inscription in Thornhill's hand explains the scene as "The Queen sitting on a throne [,] S(i)r W(il- lia)m Gifford bringing her a plan of a new ch(urch)." According to Anya Matthews, "the church in question may well be St Alphege in Greenwich which was destroyed in

Fig. 120 James Thornhill.
Design for the west wall of
the Upper Hall, c. 1713/14



a gale in 1710 and rebuilt under the New Churches Act of 1711.”²⁵⁹

In fact, the petition of the Greenwich parishioners was instrumental in bringing about the above-mentioned act that envisaged the construction of fifty new parish churches (of which ultimately only twelve came to be built).²⁶⁰ In October 1711, the commission appointed as surveyors Nicholas Hawksmoor and William Dickinson, and in June 1712 Hawksmoor produced a plan for St Alphege.²⁶¹ However, Sir William Gifford does not appear in any of the numerous documents relating to the “Queen Anne Churches.”²⁶²

Gifford was a navy commissioner whom Prince George had nominated as the first governor of Greenwich Hospital in 1708. He was also appointed ranger of Greenwich Park and granted the use of the Queen’s House.²⁶³ After the accession of George I, he lost all his offices, which makes the autumn of 1714 a secure *terminus ante quem* for Thornhill’s drawing.²⁶⁴

As Gifford did not have a share in the Fifty Churches programme, it is much more likely that Thornhill’s design relates to Hawksmoor’s grandiose plans for a new chapel to be built on the main axis of the Royal Hospital site. These plans can be dated to 1711 and were approved in

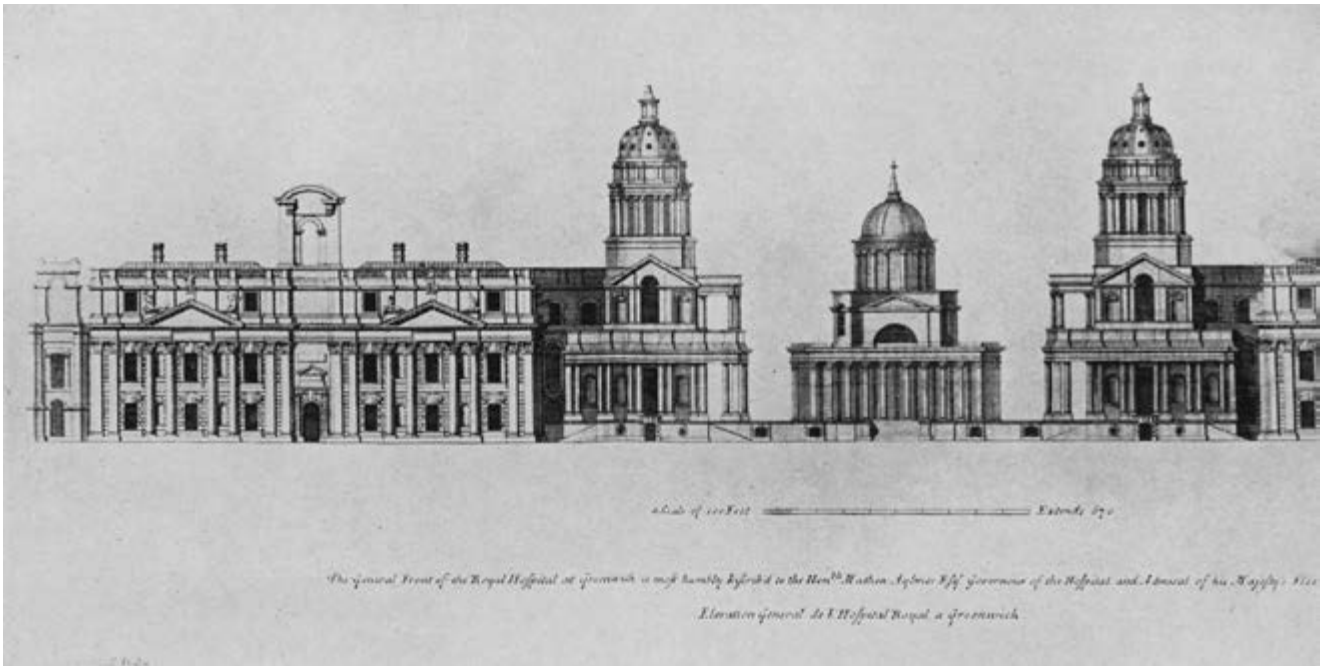


Fig. 121 Elevation of the river front of Greenwich Hospital, published in Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1715, detail

the same year.²⁶⁵ After the Greenwich directors sent a petition to the Commons in April 1711, an Act of Parliament allotted £48,000 for completing the hospital and building its chapel.²⁶⁶ An engraving published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1715 documents Hawksmoor's magnificent project that unfortunately remained only on paper (fig. 121).²⁶⁷

Due to Queen Anne's death in 1714, the mural on the west wall of the Upper Hall was never completed either. It would have presented a commanding, enthroned image of the sovereign as a conclusion to the main vista, underlining the fact that the Painted Hall was originally intended as a monument to the queen. By staging Anne as patron of contemporary Protestant architecture, the painting would have visualized her official title as "Defender of the Faith" and aligned her with King William, whose triumph over "popery" dominated the Lower Hall.²⁶⁸ In addition, Thornhill's choice of subject matter emphasized Anne's connection to the Royal Hospital and gave him an opportunity to include portraits of key protagonists. Most probably next to William Gifford would have appeared Nicholas Hawksmoor, the designer of the grandiose plans presented by the governor.

If the mural had been realized, then – alongside the queen, who had done so much for the hospital – the architect of the Painted Hall would have been commemorated.

Britain and the Continent II: Conflict and Cooperation

Up to this point, Greenwich's relationship with continental Europe has been discussed in terms of artistic rivalry. The previous chapters focused on various forms of artistic translation: interlingual translation (of Pozzo's *Perspectiva* into English), intermedial translation (from Pozzo's text into painted *quadratura* architecture), and intramedial translation (within the same medium: e. g. emulation of the Hôtel des Invalides and the Galleria Colonna in the architecture of the Royal Hospital). The agents and channels of such transfers have been investigated. The identification of the Galleria Colonna as the primary model for the Painted Hall necessitated a reconsideration of the pictorial programme. Because its architecture defines the Upper Hall as the climax of the whole

spatial sequence, it needed to be clarified to what extent the original programme corresponded to this climactic conception.

As it has now been established what the Painted Hall was meant to look like during Queen Anne's reign, we can finally turn to its present state and consider acts of interpersonal translation, i. e. the ways in which Thornhill's paintings address the political, military, and dynastic crises of the period 1707–1726. The section on the Lower Hall will build on some of the ideas developed above, while the section on the Upper Hall will discuss the new pictorial programme realized under George I.

The Lower Hall seems to celebrate the good government of William III and Mary II, but upon closer inspection underlying tensions become apparent. The central image of the vault encapsulates this conflict. The king's triumph over the personification of arbitrary power, whose sword is decorated with French fleurs-de-lis (plate 110), refers to William's epic battle against Louis XIV during the Nine Years' War (1688–1697). As in contemporary political propaganda, William is stylized as "arbiter Europae" who, presenting Europe with the cap of liberty (an allusion to the Peace of Ryswick), decides the continent's destiny by punishing an unjust ruler.²⁶⁹ But despite William's victories, war continued: The Spanish and British galleys on the narrow ends of the vault evoke crucial battles in Queen Anne's current war against Louis XIV, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713/14).²⁷⁰ Thus two armed conflicts with France are addressed in a pictorial programme that avoids any obvious reference to the atrocities of war.

To a certain extent, the solemn space of the Lower Hall can be understood as an answer to the *Dôme des Invalides* in Paris. The impressive central-plan domed church, which had been inaugurated in the presence of Louis XIV in 1706, contained a ceiling fresco by Charles de La Fosse that glorified the French monarchy as an ardent supporter of the Catholic faith.²⁷¹ At Greenwich, William and Mary were portrayed as defenders of Protestantism against "popery." With reference to Queen Anne, the projected decoration of the Upper Hall would have further underscored the official role of the Anglican monarchs as "Defenders of the Faith."²⁷² The British sover-

eigns were positioned as ideological counterparts to their French enemy, suggesting that the military conflict with Louis XIV had its roots in a sacred cause, alongside the political and economic reasons.

However, although the decoration of the Painted Hall responded to the French rival, there were also significant differences between the *Hôtel des Invalides* and the Royal Hospital. The refectories of the French institution were decorated with wall paintings depicting contemporary battles.²⁷³ The murals addressed the collective episodic memories of the veterans, who could identify with these scenes. At Greenwich, the seamen played a rather more marginal role, as the pictorial programme served primarily as a tool for monarchic glorification. The only elements the veterans could directly relate to were the images of two warships placed at the narrow ends of the Painted Hall (fig. 102, nos. 3 and 4). And even these ships are not shown in military action but appear as part of allegorical compositions extolling Britain's commercial and scientific success (pl. 109).

The bilingual guidebook published in 1726 addressed both an English and a French audience. With its help, visitors were able to understand that the Painted Hall constituted a multifaceted monument to British national glory. It honours the monarchy but also members of the social elite who had "given One Hundred Pounds or upwards towards the Building of this Charitable Foundation" that "helps to make a perpetual Supply of skillfull Seamen, who are the Safeguard of our Country."²⁷⁴ The allegories surrounding the galleys celebrate British commerce (through "treasures" being brought to the city of London) and refer to the natural riches of Britain ("coals," "lead," and "lampreys" are expressly mentioned), and the men on the painted balconies include famous British scientists like Isaac Newton and John Flamsteed.²⁷⁵

The lofty architecture of the Painted Hall, imbued with notions of the sublime, strengthens the emotion of national pride that the decoration was meant to evoke. The mode of representation chosen by Thornhill (a mixture of realistic and allegorical elements) seeks to involve the viewers, forging an effective link between them and the paintings. At the same time, the partitioning of

the vault creates a social hierarchy and helps to develop a visual discourse on several distinct levels. On the highest level, most remote from the beholder, “King William presents Peace and Liberty to Europe,”²⁷⁶ and meanwhile “The King tramples Tyranny under his Feet, which is exprest by a French Personage, with his Leaden Crown falling off, his Chains, Yoke and Iron Sword broken to pieces, Cardinal’s Cap, triple crown’d Mitres, &c. tumbling down” (plate 110).²⁷⁷ The allegorical language of this painting serves to highlight the official (legitimizing) reasons for military conflict, i. e. Britain’s opposition to “popery” (Catholicism) and “tyranny” (French absolutism).²⁷⁸ The painting provides a rather manicured version of history, concentrating on socially acceptable reasons for and outcomes of war (peace and liberty for Europe, though the real driving forces behind Britain’s policy were of a rather more egoistic nature). Hawksmoor’s architecture, inspired by the precepts of Longinus’s treatise on sublime style in rhetoric, corresponds to an equally rhetorical mode of representation.

Lower down, on the narrow ends of the vault, the mode becomes more realistic and popular. Eighteenth-century visitors could recognize contemporary celebrities on the balconies, relate to the depicted commercial goods, and may have known galleys from their own experiences. Through figures spilling out from the central oval, these topics are visually linked to the main subject of the vault (pl. 109). Whereas the painting that dominates the ceiling analyses the reasonings behind and the results of the conflict with France on an abstract level, war becomes a tangible reality in the battleships yet is also overshadowed by the many peaceful activities surrounding them. Peace and liberty, presented as the consequences of William’s military engagement, maintain the upper hand and appear to drive British commerce and science.

We must bear in mind that Britain was still in the midst of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713/14) when Thornhill defined the pictorial programme of the Lower Hall in 1707. This explains why the Nine Years’ War and the current war were combined. Although the outcome of the latter was still far from being clear, by concentrating on William’s success in the for-

mer the programme could convey an optimistic message. The past was presented as a guideline and inspiration for the present and the future. Thus pictorial conflict resolution worked on two levels. On the one hand, the central allegory exposed the (presumed) reasons legitimizing the conflict with France, seeking to arouse patriotic feeling and to obtain whole-hearted, active support for the shared values of liberty and Protestantism; on the other hand, the painting was conceived as a self-fulfilling prophecy.²⁷⁹ By focusing on William’s triumph over France and the positive consequences of peace on commerce and science, Thornhill raised hopes that the present war would end in a similar way. Both aspects of his work served to fuel his audience’s motivation to bring the War of the Spanish Succession to a victorious conclusion. It was only logical that he planned to decorate the Upper Hall as a temple to Peace under the auspices of Queen Anne.

For an early eighteenth-century audience, it may have been quite easy to identify with the positive vision of Britain developed in the Lower Hall. But how about the Upper Hall? Its decoration began shortly after the accession of George I, the first British king from the House of Hanover. The dynastic crisis that placed him on the throne opened an entirely new chapter in the relationship between Britain and continental Europe. How did Thornhill respond to the challenge this presented? In what ways did he seek to integrate the foreign king into the British tradition celebrated at Greenwich?

The decoration of the Upper Hall consists of five murals and one ceiling painting (fig. 102, nos. 5–10). Not surprisingly, George I and his family occupy the central position (no. 8). As will be explained in greater detail below, his reign is hailed as a new golden age. The two allegories placed on the opposite wall (nos. 9 and 10), appropriately “heightened with Gold,” celebrate the beneficial effects of the king’s rule under the Latin headings “Salus Publica” (Public Welfare) and “Securitas Publica” (Public Security).²⁸⁰ The two murals on the north and south walls, likewise painted in grisaille, are to be read as a pair, too: they parallel the arrival of George I with William of Orange’s landing at Torbay (nos. 6 and 7). The ceiling painting (no. 5) commemorates the reign

of Queen Anne though with significant differences from the previous scheme.

Originally, Thornhill wished to make Queen Anne the main protagonist of the ceiling (fig. 118). He meant to express the difference in rank and power between Anne and her consort George of Denmark by relegating him to a marginal position where he would have appeared as a picture within a picture. In the final version (pl. 112), both Anne and Prince George are contained within a framed oval, held aloft by “Virtue Heroick” (Hercules) and “Concord Conjugal.”²⁸¹ Whereas Anne would have been an active political protagonist in Thornhill’s original scheme, she is now presented as an exemplary wife in a happy marriage. As the portrait of the royal couple rests passively on the clouds, the real heroes of the painting are Juno and Aeolus, appearing below the portrait. Their vigorous gestures contrast markedly with the calm composure of the dead royals. Juno raises her sceptre to demonstrate that she is queen of the air; meanwhile, Aeolus, “God of the Winds,” takes centre stage. Together they “are commanding a Calm,”²⁸² transposing the previous theme of royal peace-making into the sphere of nature, but it is really the male protagonist who attracts the viewer’s glance with his bold movement and central position. By introducing a few subtle readjustments, Thornhill has made the image of Queen Anne conform to a patriarchal view of society, dominated by males. The ceiling painting is thus a suitable prelude to the group portrait on the wall below, which centres on George I.

The figures on the ceiling are oriented in such a way that they can be read in conjunction with the mural on the west wall (pl. 111). This orientation had already been employed in the Queen’s Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace (pl. 94). At Greenwich, Thornhill united the two zones in a conspicuous zigzag structure. Aeolus’s outstretched arms form a diagonal that leads the view downwards, where the same diagonal movement is taken up by the flying figure of Mercury. Quite appropriately, the messenger of the gods acts as a mediator between heaven and earth, at once gesturing upwards and downwards. With his left hand, he initiates the first sharp turn by pointing to a female “Figure holding a Pyr-

amid, which signifies Stability, or the glory of Princes” (pl. 113).²⁸³ The raised left arm of this woman is placed on the diagonal line indicated by Mercury, which continues in the pose of the male personification of time below her. The next turn in the zigzag, initiated by the direction of Time’s gaze and scythe, points the viewer to the portrait of George I, who occupies the centre of the mural.

The visual connection between the ceiling and the wall holds a deeper significance that is spelled out by the Latin text on the painted entablature. Dryden translated this line from Virgil’s fourth *Eclogue* as “A golden Progeny from Heav’n descends,”²⁸⁴ but the educated public would have known that the famous phrase “Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto” means in a more literal translation “a new breed of men is sent down from heaven.” And who has sent this “new progeny”? Thornhill’s visual argument suggests that Queen Anne and Prince George, who rule over the painted heaven above the Upper Hall, both supported and facilitated the accession of George I.

The paintings mask the dynastic crisis that caused Britain considerable anxiety and unrest. In fact, Anne and George lost seventeen children and were unable to guarantee a Stuart succession.²⁸⁵ The Act of Settlement, issued in 1701 even before Anne’s accession, stated that the electress Sophia of Hanover was next in line to the throne. Because of her death in 1714, her son George ultimately became the first British king from the House of Hanover.²⁸⁶ This rather problematic succession is smoothed over by Thornhill’s paintings, which claim that the heavens decided George’s fate. Not surprisingly, it is Divine Providence who hands him the sceptre (pl. 113).²⁸⁷

It has been suggested that St Paul’s Cathedral was added to the mural as a “self-referential detail” after, in 1715, Thornhill won the commission to paint its cupola.²⁸⁸ However, in the context just delineated, St Paul’s has quite another significance: It stands for the tenets of Protestantism and for George’s divinely sanctioned rule. The Act of Settlement had decreed that only Protestants were able to become kings of England.²⁸⁹ As St Paul’s Cathedral forms the Anglican counterpart to St Peter’s in Rome, its representation in the mural reiterates the anti-Catholic message of the Lower Hall and relates it to

George I. Just as Queen Anne was originally meant to appear on this wall as “Defender of the Faith,” now King George figures as champion of Protestantism.

By invoking George’s heavenly supporters (the deceased royal couple and the Lord himself), Thornhill sought to make the foreigner on the British throne more acceptable. This was all the more important given that quite a few British did not share his enthusiasm for the Hanoverian. In September 1715, the earl of Mar and a gathering of Scottish clan chiefs proclaimed James Francis Edward Stuart (the exiled son of the deposed James II) rightful king of Scotland and Great Britain.²⁹⁰ The ensuing rebellion generated “the most armed support of all the Jacobite risings” and succeeded in bringing a large part of Scotland under Jacobite control.²⁹¹ James Francis Edward Stuart set up court at Perth but was forced to return to France in February 1716.²⁹² The victorious Georgian regime founded the Forfeited Estates Commission and confiscated the property of some chief conspirators. In the summer of 1717, an offer of royal pardon was extended to ex-rebels, expressly intended “to quiet the minds of all.”²⁹³

Precisely in 1717, James Thornhill submitted some proposals for the Upper Hall to the Board of Directors,²⁹⁴ presenting two alternative designs for the north wall. One of them was a rather straightforward account of George’s landing at Greenwich in 1714, while the other sketch depicted the same event in an allegorical manner.²⁹⁵ Ultimately, the directors selected the latter composition, which incorporated select motifs from Samuel Croxall’s *Ode Humbly Inscrib’d to the King* of 1715.²⁹⁶ At Greenwich on 18 September 1714, George had stepped foot on English soil for the first time and was met there (according to *The London Gazette*) “by most of the Nobility, and great Numbers of the principal Gentry.”²⁹⁷ Croxall imagined an allegorical cavalcade accompanying the new king, led by Liberty who banished “Despair” and “Tyrannick Pow’r” from the scene.²⁹⁸

In Thornhill’s mural (pl. 114) Liberty appears on the left side of the painting, in front of the king’s triumphal chariot. The guidebook of 1726 describes George’s companions as follows: “On his Right-hand is Peace, on his Left-hand Happiness, He is led on by Truth and Justice,

Religion and Liberty; before him falls Rebellion.”²⁹⁹ The powerless soldier in the far left corner of the mural must therefore be interpreted as a reference to “Rebellion,” i. e. the Jacobite rising. The painting conflates two historical events, the king’s arrival in 1714 and his victory over the Jacobite opposition in 1715 – which explains why George enters the scene in such a triumphant mood, accompanied by St George, “the tutelary Saint of England,” whose horse tramples on a slain dragon.³⁰⁰ A poem written on the occasion of George I’s accession imagined the alarm and terror of papists, as “their Popish Dragon now must lose his Sting, / Because St George our Champion is, and King.”³⁰¹ Accordingly, Thornhill coupled Liberty with a personification of religion (to be recognized by her incense-burner). The fallen soldier who symbolizes rebellion raises his outstretched hand towards the cap of liberty, as if to protect himself from its overpowering force.

At first glance, it is somewhat surprising to realize that Thornhill depicted the crushing of opposition within his own country as an act of Liberty. However, this imagery is a logical extension of the pictorial programme in the Lower Hall, in which the cap of liberty was presented to Europe by William III and symbolized the triumph over Catholicism and French absolutism (plate 110). As James Francis Edward Stuart was a Catholic backed by France, Thornhill consequently presented the quelling of the Jacobite rising as a victory of (Protestant) Religion and Liberty over the “Popish Dragon.” The painter’s loyalist stance became even more apparent in the guidebook that he submitted to the Board of Directors in 1726, in which he described the upper half of the mural as “Eternity, holding an immortal Crown to reward good Princes, Fame flying before him [George] sounding his Praise.”³⁰²

As Hannah Smith has pointed out, loyalist writers likened George I to William III “to suggest that Georgian monarchy was, in many ways, an appendage of Williamite rule.”³⁰³ Thornhill did just that by associating George I and William III with the same attribute, the cap of liberty. In addition, he paralleled George’s arrival at Greenwich with William’s landing at Torbay (fig. 102, nos. 6 and 7). William is clad *all’antica*, suggesting his equality with the emperors of antiquity, but because of his lower, more modest position and gesture, he appears

inferior to George I (pl. 115). The inscription in golden letters to which Juno points, “Anglorum spes magna,” has been translated as “England expects great things,”³⁰⁴ but the Latin text is somewhat ambiguous as it can also (more literally) be understood to mean “the great hope of the English people.”³⁰⁵ In the latter reading, the combination of text and image identifies William as the person who fills Britain’s people with hope. By juxtaposing the murals on the north and south walls, Thornhill implies that this hope is then fulfilled under George I, who finally brings England liberty. As the visual parallel indicates, both William and George arrived in England as foreigners. Thornhill thus encouraged his contemporaries to infer that George’s reign would be equally beneficial for Britain as William’s rule – still another painted prophecy.

The paintings in the Upper Hall testify to Thornhill’s thorough knowledge of England’s High Baroque murals. At Windsor Castle, Antonio Verrio presented the sovereign as a picture within a picture (a device imitated in Thornhill’s ceiling painting: fig. 40; pl. 112), and at Chatsworth Laguerre framed his main mural with two large-scale grisaille paintings *all’antica* that were intended to be read as a pair (pl. 71). As at Chatsworth, Thornhill’s grisaille images depict events from the past, while the central mural alluding to the present and future is brightly coloured. At Greenwich, however, the main mural on the west wall does not resemble the one at Chatsworth but rather refers to Verrio’s Heaven Room at Burghley, in which the scene set under a colonnade seems directly accessible from the viewer’s space (plates 88, 113). In addition, Thornhill took inspiration from Andrea Pozzo (fig. 122), as is particularly apparent in his preliminary drawings for the west wall (figs. 120, 124). Whereas the Heaven Room has only a colonnade consisting of two rows of columns, Thornhill planned to include yet another fictive concave architecture behind the foregrounded screen of columns. And just like Pozzo, he used a flight of painted stairs to create a visual connection between the viewer and the group portrait of George I and his family.

Simon Schama and especially Andrea MacKean have sought to interpret the fictive accessibility of George I in

the west wall mural as a reference to constitutional monarchy. Schama claimed that “William III and George I both appear at Greenwich as monarchs invited by Parliament rather than appointed by God,” but did not provide evidence for this thesis.³⁰⁶ MacKean developed a more sustained argument: “By placing a frame around his portrait of Anne and George in the Upper Hall, Thornhill distinguished a separation between their private persons from their public figures by disembodiment [...]. He preserved a recognisable traditional presence of their figures but without compromising the representation of the difference of their constitutional placement, within which their personal selves did not figure as prominently. George I, the final of Thornhill’s monarchs chronologically speaking, is placed on the same ground as the viewer, within a coexistent space [...].”³⁰⁷ According to MacKean, “Thornhill presented his viewers with an image [...] of the king seated ready to converse. The intimate space of the Upper Hall sets an ambiance of familiar association between imagery and audience rather than the distance of awe.”³⁰⁸ She concludes that “The monarchs’ more intimate and worldly portrayals in the Upper Hall compared with those in the Lower Hall suggest a separating of the public symbol of the monarchy from the private individual of the monarch.”³⁰⁹

Although this theory may appear persuasive, it does not match the evidence of the paintings themselves. Firstly, placing a frame around Anne and George cannot be interpreted as a reference to constitutional monarchy because the same visual device had already been employed by Verrio for Charles II, who favoured absolutist rule (fig. 40), and secondly, although the stairs create a visual link between the audience and the family of George I, there are quite a few pictorial elements that install a social distance. The group portrait is certainly no informal conversation piece because in it George I wears the imperial crown. This occurs only rarely in royal portraiture, in which the crown usually lies on a table beside the ruler.³¹⁰ The crown on George’s head imbues the representation of the king with a particularly formal and aloof character, one that is heightened by the surrounding host of superhuman figures, among them Divine Providence. The inscription above identifies George



Fig. 122 After Andrea Pozzo. A Theater representing the Marriage of Cana. From Pozzo (ed. 1707), fig. LXXI

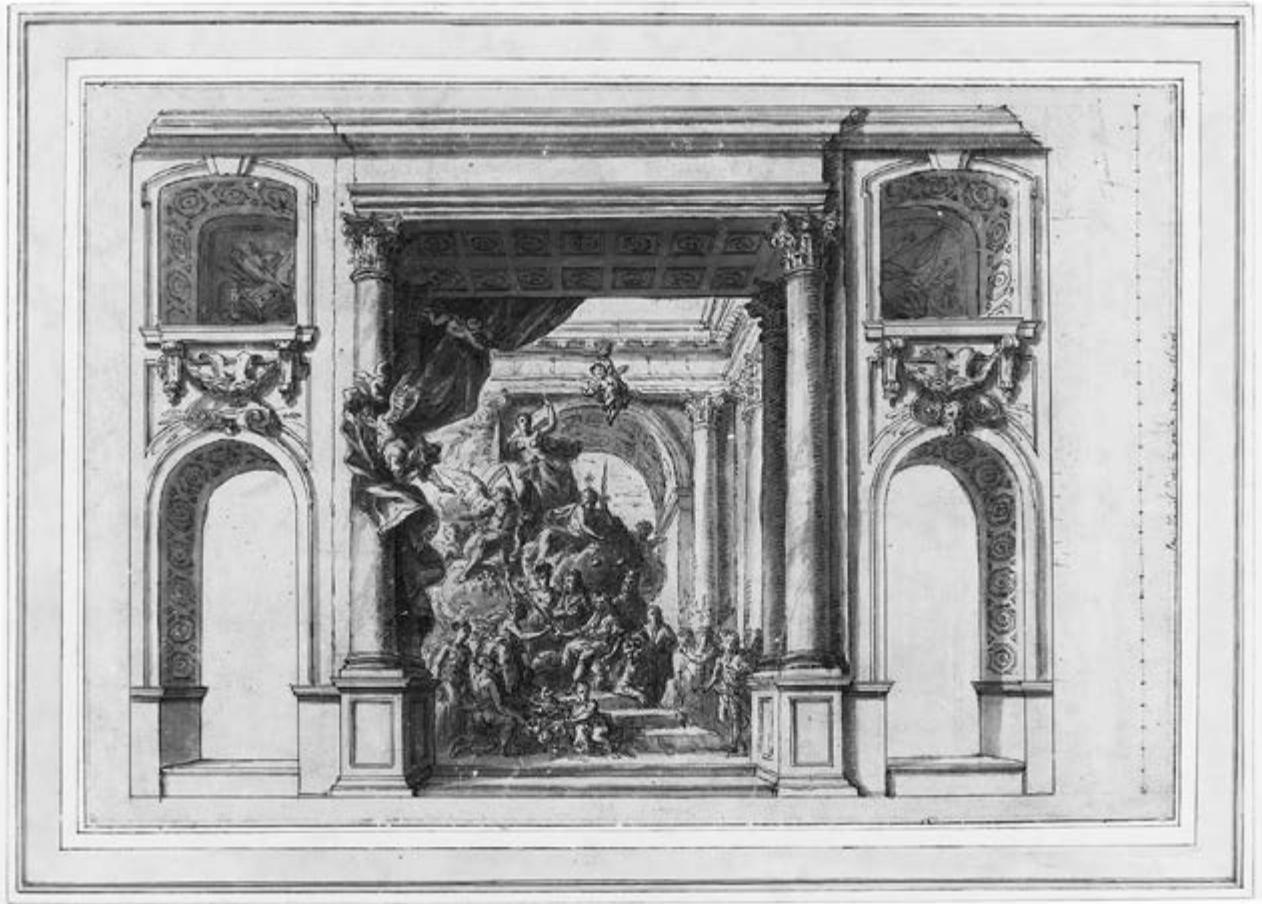


Fig. 123 James Thornhill. Design for the west wall of the Upper Hall of Greenwich, c. 1718

and his family as a heaven-sent “nova progenies.” There is certainly no reference to Parliament in this literary allusion! Instead, Thornhill seeks to convince his contemporaries that the Hanoverian rule has been ordained by God himself (hence the inclusion of St Paul’s Cathedral). The prominent red curtain emphasizes that the audience attends a sacred *revelatio*.³¹¹

As has become apparent in these pages, the dynastic crisis that led to the Hanoverian succession was addressed by a combination of several pictorial strategies. Thornhill aimed to win the beholder’s support for George I by suggesting that (1) his rule corresponds to God’s will and is legitimized by his predecessors, (2) his government is informed by the same values as was King William’s, (3) George even surpasses William, and (4) his reign will bring a new golden age that guarantees “Salus

Publica” (Public Welfare) and “Securitas Publica” (Public Security). In order to appeal to the seamen, Thornhill placed “Securitas Publica” next to a warship and included the personification of “naval victory” in the mural on the west wall.³¹² However, the Hanoverians rather than the battles of the Royal Navy constitute the main theme of the Upper Hall.

Virgil’s fourth *Eclogue*, from which the inscription on the entablature is taken, provides the most famous and most often quoted statement about the return of the Golden Age.³¹³ Thornhill visualized this idea through the personification of time, from whose cornucopia flows an abundant stream of golden coins (pl. 113). A second cornucopia with delicious fruit appears in the foreground, next to the king’s numerous grandchildren. They are presented as “fruits” of the marriage between the prince of

Wales (the future George II) and Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach. As Richard Johns has observed, “in an era when primogeniture – the ideology of the first-born – was paramount, it was highly valuable to portray this ‘new breed of men’ across three visually distinct generations.”³¹⁴ Thus, “the west wall maps out a long and healthy future for the Hanoverian succession, at the same time, it should be added, using the cosmetic of family portraiture to disguise the considerable antagonisms within George’s own rather dysfunctional family.”³¹⁵ In fact, the king’s wife is notably absent from the mural because, back in 1694, George had divorced and exiled her from his court due to adultery on her part.³¹⁶

The evolution of this royal group portrait deserves closer attention. Thornhill’s first sketch (fig. 123) dates from c. 1718, when he suggested to have the two lateral bays of windows walled up.³¹⁷ The king is seated on a raised podium, facing to his right, while an allegorical female figure presents him with his sceptre and holds a second sceptre that terminates in the Eye of Providence.³¹⁸ The couple standing behind them represent the prince of Wales and his wife, with the attribute of the mirror characterizing the latter as Prudence (an attribute associated with Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach in the finished mural, too).³¹⁹ To the king’s left are two more members of the family, a boy (his grandson Frederick) and a woman with a crown-like headdress. This woman must be the king’s mother, Electress Sophia, who according to the Act of Settlement would have succeeded Queen Anne, had she not died shortly before the queen. In the finished mural, the castellated crown of Cybele compensates Sophia for the royal crown she never got to wear (pl. 113).

Although the Board of Directors originally wished to convert the lateral windows into niches,³²⁰ Thornhill convinced them that he could achieve a more unified effect by painting the whole west wall. His next design visualizes the extended paint surface, now structured by a fictive architecture (fig. 124). Though the family group has been redistributed, it still consists of the same five figures. The king is now flanked by Sophia and Frederick, with the prince of Wales and his wife Caroline behind him.

The mural as executed departed from these plans through the inclusion of an additional figure. The guidebook of 1726 identified this figure as follows: “On his [the king’s] Right-hand is Prudence, represented by the Princess of Wales, also Concord with the Fasces by the Queen of Prussia.”³²¹ The text refers to the two women standing behind George I: Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Princess of Wales, holds a mirror as an attribute of Prudence, while her sister-in-law Sophie Dorothea, Queen of Prussia, presents the *fasces* (a tightly bound bundle of wooden rods) as a classical attribute of Concord (pl. 113). It has already been pointed out that Sophie Dorothea was George’s daughter,³²² but the message of the family group can only be fully understood when the relationships between these individuals are investigated in greater detail.

The courts at Hanover and Berlin were linked by a network of strong women. Electress Sophia had a reputation for being a particularly learned woman who maintained an intense intellectual exchange with the philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.³²³ Leibniz entertained a philosophical correspondence both with Sophia and with her daughter Sophie Charlotte, who became queen of Prussia in 1701.³²⁴ The orphaned Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach was raised by Sophie Charlotte at the court of Berlin, which “was queened over at this time by one of the most intellectual and gifted princesses in Europe.”³²⁵ In cooperation with Leibniz, Sophie Charlotte induced the king to found the Prussian Academy of Science, with the philosopher as its first president.³²⁶ Leibniz, the electress Sophia, and many renowned intellectuals frequented Sophie Charlotte’s residence at Lützenburg (later called Charlottenburg), where Caroline was “thoroughly educated, and carefully trained in the accomplishments necessary to her position.”³²⁷ In 1705, she married the electress Sophia’s grandson George (the future George II). Shortly before setting sail for Britain, Caroline invited Leibniz to her residence at Hanover, and the philosopher remarked in a letter to a friend: “I am very glad to enjoy as much as I can the good graces of such an accomplished, intelligent princess, who even wished to discuss the *Théodicée* with me, if you can believe it. She has read it more than once... it seems a great



Fig. 124 James Thornhill. Design for the west wall of the Upper Hall (second project), before 1723

deal when such a princess, surrounded by everything that might dissipate the intellect, pays so much attention to matters as lofty as those treated by my work. If I were free to obey her Royal Highness I should accompany her to England.”³²⁸

By representing Caroline, Princess of Wales, as the personification of prudence, Thornhill paid her a well-deserved compliment. In fact, during George II’s reign she was apostrophized as the “real king”: “You may strut, dapper George, but ‘twill all be in vain; We know ‘tis Queen Caroline, not you, that reign.”³²⁹

Sophie Dorothea, who stands next to Caroline in Thornhill’s mural, was Queen Sophie Charlotte’s daughter-in-law and Prince George’s sister. The Hanoverian princess had married Prince Friedrich Wilhelm (Frederick

William) in 1706 and became queen in 1713. As explained above, she was included in the Greenwich mural only at a fairly late stage. “Q. Prussia” is first mentioned in a list of royals that Thornhill drew up in 1723.³³⁰ It has hitherto gone unnoticed in this context that precisely in 1723 a marriage project between the courts of Great Britain and Prussia began to be considered in earnest: Sophie Dorothea’s daughter Wilhelmine was to marry Frederick, the presumed future king of Britain, George I’s grandson.

Since Wilhelmine’s birth in 1709, Sophie Dorothea envisaged a royal marriage for her daughter. Accordingly, a portrait by the Prussian court painter Antoine Pesne shows the baby princess in front of a royal throne.³³¹ When Sophie Dorothea’s brother George became king of

Great Britain in 1714, it was only logical that her ambitions turned to strengthening the bond between their dynasties.³³² Wilhelmine received a thorough training in the English language,³³³ and from childhood Prince Frederick and his Prussian *fiancée* exchanged gifts.³³⁴ From 1717, it was planned to cement the Anglo-Prussian alliance through a double marriage that would not only involve Wilhelmine and Frederick but also Frederick's sister Amelia and Wilhelmine's brother Friedrich (who later became known as Frederick the Great).³³⁵

In 1723, George I travelled to Berlin where he "inspected" the bride-to-be.³³⁶ Sophie Dorothea had a decisive share in promoting her daughter and made her converse with the guests, who were – according to Wilhelmine's *Memoirs* – delighted by her perfect command of the English language.³³⁷ During the same visit, the Treaty of Charlottenburg was finalized, a defensive alliance and the first direct treaty between Britain and Prussia since 1690.³³⁸ The text does not mention the double marriage,³³⁹ but an informal agreement about this private project was signed.³⁴⁰ However, at that stage the king thought the cousins too young for any public announcement.³⁴¹

On 3 September 1725, during one of George's visits to Hanover, a new triple alliance between Great Britain, Prussia, and France was formed. Consequently, "The links between Prussia and Britain seemed to be strengthened and the double marriage alliance fully secured."³⁴² Although in 1727 George I, Sophie Dorothea, and Caroline were still eager to pursue the marriage project,³⁴³ the plan finally fell through because of George's sudden death and changes in the system of intra-European alliances. In 1731, Wilhelmine married the prince of Brandenburg-Bayreuth (the future Margrave Frederick) and became the most distinguished patron of the arts and sciences in Franconia.³⁴⁴

By considering the historical background, it has now become clear why Sophie Dorothea was included in the Greenwich mural in 1723 and why she presents the *fasces* as a symbol of Concord: She stands for a political and dynastic alliance that held great significance for the British court. But how did Thornhill know about it?

George I held Thornhill in high esteem. In 1718, he appointed him "history painter-in-ordinary to the king"

and, in 1720, "sergeant painter"; shortly thereafter, Thornhill was knighted, "the first British-born artist to be so honoured."³⁴⁵ However, the portraits of the royal family were painted not by Thornhill himself but by Dietrich Ernst Andreae,³⁴⁶ a German-speaking painter from Latvia who had served the duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel from about 1717 and seems to have arrived in Britain by 1723.³⁴⁷ Further research might uncover whether he was a relative of the Prussian court chaplain Johann Ernst Andreae.³⁴⁸ During his time at the court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, he may have come into contact with the neighbouring court at Hanover. He must have had some visual information about Electress Sophia and Queen Sophie Dorothea in order to portray them in the Greenwich mural. Of course, he could have used printed portraits as models, but somebody with an intimate knowledge of the British court must have instructed Thornhill and Andreae to include the queen of Prussia.

I suspect that Princess Caroline herself had a share in developing the pictorial programme. After all, she had known Sophie Dorothea since her childhood and was actively involved in setting up the double marriages. She may have provided Andreae with the necessary prints and suggested the appropriate allegorical attributes (the *fasces* for Sophie Dorothea, the mirror for herself). As one of Andreae's patrons was Richard Arundell, Surveyor-General of the Office of Works from 1726 on,³⁴⁹ the painter clearly had ties with the court, and these may have been fostered by his German-language skills and his former service to the court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.

Seen within the mural as a whole, Sophie Dorothea's inclusion underlined King George's role as champion of Protestantism. St Paul's Cathedral in the background reminded the audience of the importance of Protestant values to the whole royal family, and the allusion to the double marriage envisaged in 1723 emphasized the alliance between two powerful Protestant dynasties. The 1725 treaty between Great Britain and Prussia was signed as the Upper Hall neared completion, but it confirmed a policy of peaceful alliance already propagated at Greenwich.

All in all, the Upper and the Lower Hall encapsulate two diametrically opposed forms of relation between

Britain and the continent. While the visual coherence of the pictorial scheme has repeatedly been stressed, the fundamental change in Britain's approach to the continent remained hitherto unrecognized. Morton Deutsch, one of the pioneers of research on social conflicts, identified competition and cooperation as the two main options in social relationships.³⁵⁰ In this terminology, the Lower Hall is clearly an example of competition (invoking military conflict with France and seeking to kindle national pride), while the Upper Hall exemplifies the ideal of cooperation between Britain and the continent. The concluding mural on the west wall suggests that only peace and cooperation are able to bring about a new golden age.

Epilogue: A Twenty-First-Century Response to the Painted Hall

As demonstrated in the preceding pages, the pictorial programme of the Painted Hall is only seemingly congruent. On the one hand, the Hanoverians were presented as heirs to the great British traditions, and the paintings in the Upper Hall sought to emphasize cooperation with continental Europe. The paintings in the Lower Hall, on the other hand, fostered a spirit of competition. It was this latter image that the British Prime Minister Boris Johnson chose to highlight when he gave a televised speech in the Painted Hall on 3 February 2020.

On 12 December 2019, Johnson had won the general elections and stylized this event as the beginning of a new age: *BBC News* opened their report on 13 December with the headline "Johnson hails 'new dawn' after historic victory."³⁵¹ On 19 December, Queen Elizabeth II delivered a speech to both Houses of Parliament in which she announced the new government's plans. The first sentences read: "My Government's priority is to deliver the United Kingdom's departure from the European Union on 31 January. My Ministers will bring forward legislation to ensure the United Kingdom's exit on that date and to make the most of the opportunities that this brings for all the people of the United Kingdom. Thereafter, my Ministers will seek a future relationship with the

European Union based on a free trade agreement that benefits the whole of the United Kingdom. They will also begin trade negotiations with other leading global economies."³⁵²

In its online edition, *The Times* reported on the same day: "Boris Johnson has said that Britain will enjoy a new 'golden age' as he presented plans for a decade of Conservative government today. The Queen's Speech, which set out 29 bills and outlined proposals for more to come, included legislation to strengthen national security, invest £20.5 billion in the NHS and end all-out train strikes."³⁵³ The Golden Age metaphor was soon seized on by caricaturists (pl. 116).

As Johnson had promised, on 31 January 2020 Britain left the European Union. Three days later, the prime minister delivered a strategic speech in the Painted Hall.³⁵⁴ The setting was carefully staged: Johnson stood at the west end of the Lower Hall in front of an ephemeral blue wall, approximately 3 metres high, that partially blocked the view of Thornhill's mural on the west wall. Above the ephemeral wall, the central section of the large inscription ("NOVA PROGENIES") must have been visible to most members of the audience (pl. 117).

The historic royal coat of arms that appears on the archway between the Lower and the Upper Hall (pl. 111) was echoed in the decoration of the ephemeral wall: It featured an enormously blown-up version of the present royal coat of arms, which may be used by the British government "in connection with the administration and government of the country."³⁵⁵ The coat of arms visualizes the unity of Great Britain, as it contains "the three passant guardant lions of England, the rampant lion and double tressure flory-counterflory of Scotland and a harp for Ireland."³⁵⁶ However, on the wall constructed as a backdrop to Johnson's speech, the unicorn as the heraldic supporter symbolizing Scotland was partly cut off so that the English lion appeared more prominent (pl. 117). The inscription below, "Dieu et mon Droit" (God and my Right), was clearly legible, as was the motto on the encircling Garter band, "Honi soit qui maly pense" (Shame on him who thinks this evil).³⁵⁷ The royal blue of the wall may be understood as a tribute to both the Royal Navy and the Order of the Garter, whose ceremonial gowns are

of blue velvet.³⁵⁸ The prime minister's lectern bore another highly significant inscription: "Unleashing Britain's Potential."³⁵⁹

Johnson's choice of venue, and the treatment of this setting for the occasion, served to suggest a link between the glorious traditions of Britain's royal past and its present historic mission. By hiding the Hanoverian royals behind a blue wall, the prime minister came to occupy their place in the pictorial composition. In lieu of George I, Boris Johnson figured temporarily as the focal point of the entire *mise-en-scène* analysed above. The inscription on the entablature, "NOVA PROGENIES" (A new breed of men), now seemed to refer to Johnson and his government. Those members of the audience with a public or grammar school education (like Johnson himself who read Classics at Oxford) would have been able to recognize the source for this famous line, i. e. Virgil's poem on the dawn of the new Golden Age. Johnson's ingenious visual strategy appropriated Virgil's prophecy to publicize his own political aims. In this context, "Honi soit qui mal y pense" appears almost like a self-ironic comment.

Both the solemn site and the speech strongly appealed to the national pride that had been a paramount factor in the design of the Painted Hall more than three hundred years ago. I will not endeavour to analyse the entire speech (its full text can be found in Appendix IV) but will limit myself to a discussion of its relationship to the painted decorations.

The prime minister began his address by asking the audience to look at Thornhill's ceiling painting in the Lower Hall: "It is great to welcome everyone here to Greenwich and I invite you first to raise your eyes to the heavens. The Vatican has Michelangelo. Greenwich has Thornhill who spent 20 years flat on his back on top of the scaffolding, so rigid that his arm became permanently wonky, and he's left us this gorgeous and slightly bonkers symbolic scene that captures the spirit of the United Kingdom in the early eighteenth century."

The humorous characterization of the ceiling as "slightly bonkers" echoes a long-lasting contempt for grandiloquent Baroque allegory in a country that came to develop a predilection for understatement.³⁶⁰ John-

son's rhetorical trope is in itself an understatement because it belittles what he really wants to praise, the "gorgeous" ceiling. Despite the informal vocabulary, Thornhill comes across as a rather heroic figure who devoted twenty years of his life to this work. Johnson compares the Painted Hall even to Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel and thus evokes the same competition between Britain and continental Europe that was at the heart of Thornhill's pictorial programme: the triumph over "popery."

Johnson's speech consists of seven distinct sections, which I have labelled for easier reference § 1–7 in Appendix IV. § 1 points to the contemporary relevance of Thornhill's ceiling painting: Johnson sees it as "the newly forged United Kingdom on the slipway" and parallels this with Britain's present situation "on the launching pad." § 2 portrays Britain as the champion of free trade. § 3 sketches Britain's future role in global trade. § 4, the central and longest section of the speech, deals with the relationship between Britain and the European Union (EU). The final three paragraphs mirror the first three, i. e. § 5 outlines Britain's future role within the world and § 6 extols free trade. The concluding § 7 returns to a consideration of Thornhill's ceiling painting, presenting it as an inspiration for the future. § 2–6 do not refer to the Painted Hall, but as they discuss the relationship between Britain, the continent, and the global community, they are relevant for Johnson's understanding of the ceiling painting, exposed in the final part of his speech.

Although the prime minister repeatedly stresses Britain's "friendship" with the EU and states that he is delighted to see many of "our European friends" in the room, the central passage of his speech (§ 4) exudes a strong sense of competition between Britain and the EU. Johnson makes a number of comparisons between regulations in Britain and the EU in order to illustrate his hypothesis that "In one field after another, Britain is far ahead."

Britain's leading role in the world is implied in quite a few passages of the speech. Johnson refers to "Harrison's sea clock [...] that allowed every ship in the world to determine how far they were from this Meridian [at Greenwich]" (§ 1) and claims that "the UK is ready" to act

as “the supercharged champion, of the right of the populations of the earth to buy and sell freely among each other” (§ 2). He invokes the “eagerness of our friends around the world to hear once again our independent voice” (§ 5) and implies that his policy is not limited to his own country, but considers the welfare of the whole world: “Our objective is to get things started again not just because it is right for the world, but because of course it is right for Britain” (§ 5).

The prime minister portrays Britain’s exit from the EU as the beginning of a new era in which the UK will play a much more active global role. The EU is cast as the evil power that has prevented Britain from fulfilling its historic mission: “And of course while we were in [the EU], the voice of the UK was of course muffled” (§ 5). Now Britain has “settled a long-running question of sovereign authority”; it “takes back control” and leaves “its chrysalis” as the country experiences a “moment on the launching pad” (§ 1). Consequently, Johnson interprets Thornhill’s main ceiling painting (pl. 105) as a conflict about authority (a “political question about who gets to sit on the throne of England”). When this conflict was decided in favour of William and Mary, the result was “stability and certainty and optimism and an explosion of global trade” (§ 1). Johnson stops short of using the term “a new golden age,” but the whole discourse suggests this parallel between the – supposedly – glorious past and the leading role that Britain will play again in the near future. Not surprisingly, Johnson regards Thornhill’s work as an expression of “supreme national self-confidence” (§ 1).

Having clarified his own ambitions for Britain’s role in the world, in the concluding section of the speech the prime minister returns to the ceiling painting and makes the parallel even more explicit. Once more, he incites the spirit of competition (“we are embarked now on a great voyage, a project that no one thought in the international community that this country would have the guts to undertake”), portrays Britain as the power “championing global free trade now when global free trade needs a global champion,” and interprets Thornhill’s painting as an inspiration to strive for a more important role within the world: “But this is the moment for us to think of our

past and go up a gear again, to recapture the spirit of those seafaring ancestors immortalised above us whose exploits brought not just riches but something even more important than that – and that was a global perspective” (§ 7).

In the context of his main theme of “global trade,” Johnson depicts the “seafaring ancestors” as merchants, but in reality the two ships on the ceiling of the Painted Hall are battleships. As explained above, the central image of the Lower Hall was actually meant to serve as an inspiration in Britain’s contemporary wars with continental Europe. In Johnson’s euphemistic vision, William and Mary were responsible for “an explosion of global trade,” but its consequences (slave trade and slave labour in the British colonies) remain unnamed.

Nevertheless, the prime minister’s analysis of the Lower Hall is quite close to its intended meaning. He certainly conveys a similar sense of competition between Britain and continental Europe and even seems to refer to the familiar seventeenth-century notion of Britain as “arbiter Europae” when he concludes his speech with the words: “I believe we can make a huge success of this venture, for Britain, for our European friends, and for the world.” In his view, it is still (or once again) Britain that decides Europe’s fate. Johnson’s repeated insistence on Britain’s role in the world may even have carried imperial associations for some listeners. After all, the “global perspective” of the “seafaring ancestors” clearly points to “Empire 2.0”, a catchphrase in current economic and political debates.³⁶¹

Johnson develops this whole argument from the initial information that Thornhill’s ceiling painting celebrates “the Triumph of Liberty and Peace over Tyranny” (§ 1). “Tyranny” is implicitly likened to the EU, from whose control Britain has now freed itself. “Liberty” means in Johnson’s discourse above all “global free trade,” a “fundamental liberty” that he even calls – quoting Cobden – “God’s diplomacy” (§ 2). He firmly opposes “protectionists” and tariffs “waved around like cudgels.”

With hindsight, it is rather eerie to read what consequences the prime minister drew from this position: “we

are starting to hear some bizarre autarkic rhetoric, when barriers are going up, and when there is a risk that new diseases such as coronavirus will trigger a panic and a desire for market segregation that go beyond what is medically rational to the point of doing real and unnecessary economic damage, then at that moment humanity needs some government somewhere that is willing at least to make the case powerfully for freedom of exchange, some country ready to take off its Clark Kent spectacles and leap into the phone booth and emerge with its cloak flowing as the supercharged champion, of the right of the populations of the earth to buy and sell freely among each other. And here in Greenwich in the first week of February 2020, I can tell you in all humility that the UK is ready for that role” (§ 2).

As I am writing this in August 2020, Boris Johnson has long since recovered from his own infection with the

coronavirus, which brought him to the brink of death. On 12 April 2020, *The Guardian* reported that “Boris Johnson has thanked the NHS for saving his life as he left hospital to recuperate at Chequers, after a week of treatment for Covid-19.”³⁶² Acting on the superhero rhetoric of his Greenwich speech, in the interest of “freedom of exchange” Johnson had initiated anti-Covid measures significantly later than other European heads of state. When, on 21 July 2020, EU leaders agreed on a Covid-19 recovery package of 750 billion € for the EU member states most affected by the virus, Britain was no longer represented at Brussels.³⁶³ The UK opted out of European solidarity rather than adopting the strategy of cooperation between Britain and continental Europe propagated by Thornhill’s murals in the Upper Hall. But as we witness history in the making, the Golden Age prophesied by Boris Johnson is perhaps still to come.

NOTES

1 Hamlett 2020b, 107.

2 See chapter 4.

3 The document is transcribed in Cooke and Maule 1789, 1–7. See *ibid.*, 1: “William and Mary, by the Grace of God King & Queene of England, Scotland, France & Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, & c. to all to whome these Presents shall come Greeting. Whereas it is our Royal Intent and purpose to erect and found an Hospital within our Mannor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent for the reliefe and support of Seamen serving on board the Shippes or Vessells belonging to the Navy Royall of Us our Heires or Successors or employ’d in our or their Service at Sea who by reason of Age Wounds of other disabilities shall be incapable of further Service at Sea and be unable to maintain themselves And for the Sustentation of the Widows and Maintenance and Education of the Children of Seamen happening to be slaine or disabled in such Sea Service and Also for the further reliefe and Encouragement of Seamen and Improvement of Navigation.”

4 Newell 1984, 45.

5 Dickinson 1999, 106–107.

6 Johns 2019, 78, fig. 10: “An Explanation of the Painting in the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. By Sir James Thornhill. Published By Order of the Directors of the said Hospital, for the Benefit of the Charity-Boys maintain’d there.” On the date of the *Explanation* see below note 55.

7 See chapter 4, especially the section titled “Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes: Rome, Paris, London.”

8 Pevsner 1952, 90; Stevenson 2000, 59.

9 See chapter 6, especially the section titled “Questions of Precedence: William and Mary’s Residences.”

10 Lucas 2019a, 20.

11 Lucas 2019a, 20.

12 Higgott 2017, Greenwich Hospital, [1] Side-step scheme.

13 Excellent reconstructions of the design history can be found in Bold 2000, 95–136, and Higgott 2017, Greenwich Hospital.

14 Lucas 2019b, 37.

15 Lucas 2019b, 39.

- 16 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 43.
- 17 Lucas 2019b, 39.
- 18 The most exact measurements can be found in MacKean 1999, 181. See also Lucas 2019b, 42.
- 19 Lucas 2019b, 41–42. MacKean 1999, 185, gives the measurements of this space as 17.07 × 17.07 metres.
- 20 Cf. The National Archives (hereafter TNA), ADM 68/681, April 1706, Day work done by Edward Strong Mason “in [...] letting in Portland stone about the Doorways as one descends from the Vestibule to the lower Hall” (no pagination). For a photograph of the King William Undercroft see Lucas et al. 2019, 9.
- 21 See, for instance, TNA, ADM 68/681, February 1706, Day work done by Richard Billingham Bricklayer “in making good the Poynts of the Peers in the wall that separates the Officers Hall from the great Hall” (no pagination).
- 22 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 51. For the building phases of the hospital see Bold 2000, 109–111.
- 23 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 51.
- 24 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 51.
- 25 Lucas 2019b, 50–51.
- 26 Lucas 2019b, 59.
- 27 Osmun 1950, 276; Newell 1984, 34.
- 28 Newell 1984, 37. According to Osmun 1950, 277, Thornhill received £300 on that occasion.
- 29 Osmun 1950, 27. At that time the painting may have been finished for quite a while; cf. Bold 2000, 145.
- 30 Johns 2019, 85 and 102, note 8.
- 31 Steele 1715, 189–195; the quote is from p. 189 (which by accident appears twice in the book). Steele’s account is often quoted as having been written in 1714 (e. g. by Lucas 2019c, 59) because the first entry in this volume dates from “February 25, 1714.” However, at that time the new year was counted from 25 March, i. e. “25 February 1714” is 25 February 1715 in contemporary usage.
- 32 Osmun 1950, 278.
- 33 Barber 2004, 618.
- 34 Lee-Woolfe 2018, 204, 207.
- 35 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 77; Newell 1984, 51.
- 36 A transcription of Thornhill’s petition is provided by Osmun 1950, 197–199. See also the printed versions in Cooke and Maule 1789, 97–99; Bolton and Hendry 1929, 77–78.
- 37 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:75–76; Newell 1984, 52.
- 38 Newell 1984, 52.
- 39 Osmun 1950, 291; Newell 1984, 56.
- 40 Osmun 1950, 295; Newell 1984, 56. On a possible reason for this indignant comment see below note 312.
- 41 Osmun 1950, 277.
- 42 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 77; Osmun 1950, 279; Johns 2019, 96 and 102, note 12.
- 43 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 78.
- 44 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 79; Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:76.
- 45 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 79; Osmun 1950, 286.
- 46 See the illustration in Lucas et al. 2019, 147, in which the chimney underneath this painting is clearly visible.
- 47 Osmun 1950, 101, 288.
- 48 Johns 2019, 100–101.
- 49 Osmun 1950, 101.
- 50 Minutes of 1 May 1725, quoted from Osmun 1950, 291–292.
- 51 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 79; Osmun 1950, 293.
- 52 Osmun 1950, 294.
- 53 Osmun 1950, 285. The “Polander” was Dietrich Ernst Andreea; see Walczak 2001, 13–14.
- 54 According to Bolton and Hendry, 1929, 79, “the year 1727 is given as the date of the final completion of the painting”; but see also Osmun 1950, 101, 294; Newell 1984, 56; Barber 2004, 621; Johns 2019, 101. For a detailed discussion of the payments to Thornhill see Osmun 1950, 296–297. According to Bold 2000, 152, Thornhill received only £3,187.
- 55 Newell 1984, 57. According to Johns 2004, Appendix B (unpaginated), “the directors of Greenwich ordered three printings of the *Explanation*, with parallel texts in English and French, on 10 December 1726, 20 August 1730 and 4 July 1741 (each of 1,000 copies).” As it is not clear when the French translation was produced, the first edition may have been printed only in 1727, but I will adopt the date 1726 according to Johns 2019, 78.
- 56 Steele 1715, 188–194; Johns 2019, 79.
- 57 According to Johns 2004, Appendix B (unpaginated), “though published anonymously, it was probably written by, or certainly with the co-operation of, the artist.”
- 58 *Explanation* 1726; Johns 2019.
- 59 Lucas et al. 2019, 136–143.
- 60 Ames 2016, 49.
- 61 Newell 1984, 3; for illustrations of this palace see Bold 2000, 39 (figs. 55, 56) and 53 (fig. 73).
- 62 Bold 2000, 52.
- 63 Bold 2000, 34–93. The date 1635 is recorded in an inscription on the north façade, but payments continued until 1638 (*ibid.*, 54, 58).
- 64 Colvin et al. 1976, 140–152; Bold 1989, 126–127; Bold 2000, 51, fig. 72 (phase 4).
- 65 Bold 1989, 128–129.
- 66 In 1669, all the lower windows were boarded up, and in July 1670 Webb received his last salary (Bold 1989, 142–143). However, until 1673 it was still intended for work to resume at Greenwich: *ibid.*, 131.
- 67 Colvin et al. 1976, 151.
- 68 Hawksmoor 1728, 13: “her Majesty received the Proposal of

- pulling down that Wing, with as much Indignation as her excellent good Temper would suffer her, order'd it should remain, and the other Side of the Royal Court made answerable to it, in a proper Time.”
- 69 Hawksmoor 1728, 8. “Mr. Bridgeman” was one of the “Commissioners appointed for the carrying on the Fabrick”: *ibid.*, 11.
- 70 Hawksmoor 1728, 12; Bold 1989, 126–127, 131. Although the grant of land was only finalized after Mary’s sudden death in December 1694, it was deliberately backdated to 25 October 1694 in order to stress her importance as co-foundress (Lucas 2019a, 20). The grant had already been marked out on a survey drawing created in October 1694 while Mary was still alive (Higgott 2017, Greenwich Hospital, Design and construction history).
- 71 Hawksmoor 1728, 12.
- 72 Stevenson 2000, 72–73; Lucas 2019a, 23.
- 73 Lucas 2019a, 23.
- 74 Bold 2000, 100–101; Stevenson 2000, 46–53; Jestaz 2008, 1:111–126, 290–297; Gady 2015a and b; Lucas 2019a, 21–23.
- 75 Watkin 1972, 42 (lot 41).
- 76 Hawksmoor 1728, 6.
- 77 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:71.
- 78 Osmun 1950, 26.
- 79 Barber 2004, 619.
- 80 Hamlett 2020b, 106.
- 81 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:71.
- 82 Lucas 2019c, 57, 59. On Thornhill’s work at Chatsworth see Johns 2004, 135–155.
- 83 Delaplanche 2015, 34–35.
- 84 See chapter 4.
- 85 This has already been pointed out by Johns 2004, 175–176. St George’s Hall was 32.9 metres long (Thurley 2018b, 236), while the Lower Hall measures 32.31 × 15.7 metres (MacKean 1999, 185).
- 86 On the term “magnificence” see Hawksmoor 1728, 8, and Stevenson 2000, 72–73.
- 87 Hawksmoor 1728, 14; see also Stevenson 2000, 72.
- 88 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:69–70.
- 89 Osmun 1950, 450, no. 8: “A Sketch of King Charles the 2nd giving the Charter to Christ’s Hospital by Varrio.” As this is listed among paintings, it was probably an oil sketch rather than a drawing.
- 90 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:69–70.
- 91 Thurley 2003, 213; Barber 2004, 618.
- 92 Brett 2020, 26.
- 93 Downes 2004a, 951–953.
- 94 Thurley 2003, 213: Highmore’s work at Hampton Court “included painting statues and painting and gilding Tijou’s iron-work.”
- 95 See chapter 5, especially notes 111, 113, and 119.
- 96 On Devonshire’s office as lord steward see Hosford 2004, 669.
- 97 Lucas 2019c, 57, 59.
- 98 See the illustrations in Johns 2019, 90–91, figs. 26–27.
- 99 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:71. On Pozzo’s frescoes see, for instance, Kanz 2007, 339–346. On *quadratura*: Sjöström 1978; Roettgen 2020.
- 100 Croft-Murray 1962–1970, 1:71, note 1.
- 101 Toury 2012, 22.
- 102 Toury 2012, 21.
- 103 Elsum 1703, Preface (no pagination).
- 104 Bisagno 1642.
- 105 On James’s biography see Jeffery 2004, 716–717.
- 106 Pozzo (ed. 1707), “Preface to this Translation” (no pagination).
- 107 See Johns 2004, 12.
- 108 Pozzo (ed. 1707), “Subscribers” (no pagination).
- 109 Pozzo (ed. 1707), “Approbation of this Edition” (no pagination).
- 110 Jeffery 2004, 716.
- 111 Newell 1984, 56.
- 112 Quoted from Johns 2004, 13.
- 113 Soo 1998, 153. See also Levine 1999, 177.
- 114 For a survey of the enormous body of literature on this field see Strunck 2017b, 435–450.
- 115 Van Eck 2007, 31–52, 89–136; Van Eck 2012.
- 116 For a pioneering analysis of the sublime in sacred art see Preimesberger 1991. Surveys of the field are provided by Van Eck et al. 2012 and Brassat 2017.
- 117 Brassat 2017, 599.
- 118 Longinus (ed. 1652); Van Eck 2007, 110–122; Hamlett 2012, esp. 188–189, 204–206, 215.
- 119 Hamlett 2012, 193. In fact, although the central oval of Rubens’s Banqueting House ceiling can be compared to Thornhill’s oval painting glorifying William and Mary, the structure of the ceiling as a whole is entirely different, as Rubens inserted nine canvases into a flat wooden ceiling. The *quadratura* that makes Pozzo’s work in the church of Sant’Ignazio so spectacular was only introduced to Britain by Thornhill.
- 120 It is not actually certain who authored *On the Sublime*, but since the text is usually referred to as being by Longinus, this name will be retained. Cf. Longinus (ed. 1988), 135–138.
- 121 Longinus (ed. 1988), 7, 27, 39, 55; §1 (4), §9 (10), §12 (4), §17 (3).
- 122 The destroyed king’s and queen’s staircases at Windsor Castle appear to have been domed, but there is no visual record of them (cf. chapter 3, notes 90, 92–93, 173–174). Therefore it

- is impossible to say whether their domes were just “deeply coved ceilings” (as suggested by Downes, *ibidem*, note 93) or more likely a lantern (as above the vestibule of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea: cf. pl. 51). The building of the main wing of Castle Howard (with the cupola) was begun in 1702: Downes 1977, 32. A wooden model of the definitive design for the dome of St Paul’s was produced only in December 1706 and preceded the building of the cupola in the following years: Whinney 1971, 106.
- 123 In his description of the triumphal arches erected for James I’s entry into London in 1604 Dekker noted: “for as our worke began (for his Majesties entrance) with Rusticke, so did wee thinke it fit, that this our Temple, should end with the most famous Columne, whose beauty and goodlinesse is derived both from the Tuscan, Doricke, Ionicke and Corinthian, and received his full perfection from Titus Vespasian, who advanced it to the highest place of dignitie in his Arch Triumphall, and (by reason that the beauties of it were a mixture taken from the rest) he gave it the name of *Composita* or *Italica*.” Quoted from Hart 2011, 207.
- 124 Quoted from Hart 2011, 207.
- 125 Longinus (ed. 1988), 5–7, 87–91; §1 (4), §35 (2–5), §36 (1–3).
- 126 In another context, Caroline van Eck introduces two quotes from Hall’s translation of Longinus, whose metaphors play on the same traits that characterize the Painted Hall: “Height whenever it seasonably breaks forth, bears down all before it like a whirlwind [...]” and “For see how like a small gleam approach’t by the sun in its full lustre presently disappears, so the sophistry of rhetoric is wholly overshadowed, being so circumfused an covered by Height.” Quoted from Van Eck 2007, 117.
- 127 Johns 2019, 90, fig. 26.
- 128 Longinus (ed. 1988), 7, 67; §1 (4), §24 (2).
- 129 Longinus (ed. 1988), 43, 51; §15 (1), §15 (12).
- 130 On the Baroque interplay of illusion and “disillusionment” see Büttner 2011, 203.
- 131 On superhuman virtue see above. Wars belong with Longinus’s category of “terrible” and threatening sublime subjects; cf. Longinus (ed. 1988), 33, 35, 89; §10 (3, 6–7), §35 (4).
- 132 The translation is taken from Longinus (ed. 1652), 58, §39 (the numbering of the paragraphs does not correspond with modern editions). This final emphasis on freedom makes evident why Longinus was first translated during the Commonwealth period. In fact, in the same paragraph the author asks: “Shall wee I beseech you believe that which hath been in many mens mouths, that a Democracie is the best Nurse of high Spirits, and under it so many great Oratours have in a manner not only flourish’d, but even decay’d with it? For just liberty feeds and nourishes the thoughts with great notions, and draws them forward, and encreases their emulations [...].”
- 133 Longinus (ed. 1652), 70, §34: “We are now arrived at the fifth branch, which we said in the beginning was to glorifie speech, and that is (my noble friend) the disposure and Architecture which we have already sufficiently discoursed of in two Treatises. Yet for so much as I did then insert to this purpose, I thought it but necessary to transcribe hither: as, that harmonious fabrick of speech is not only very fortunate in persuasions, and naturally full of allurement and delight, but also a most admirable promotion and engine of liberty and passion.” On metaphors and figures of speech see *ibid.*, 67, §33; Longinus (ed. 1988), 43–75, §15 (1) – §29 (2). Other examples of Longinus’s parallel between architecture and the composition of speeches are listed by Van Eck 2007, 117–119.
- 134 Osmun 1950, 252, translates the inscription as follows: “By royal piety, under the auspices of Mary, the Palace of Greenwich is dedicated to seamen needing help, so that they may dwell securely and be publicly maintained, who have watched over the public security, in the reign of William and Mary, 1694.”
- 135 Longinus (ed. 1988), 37–39, 89; §12, §36 (1).
- 136 Lucas 2019b, 48.
- 137 MacKean 1999, 245.
- 138 Lucas 2019b, 49.
- 139 Johns 2019, 100–101.
- 140 Bolton and Hendry 1929, pl. XVI, XLV
- 141 According to Matthews 2016, 34, the mason contractor Edward Strong blocked the central window in 1713, but she gives no archival reference for this information. MacKean 1999, 185, states that the window was covered in 1709. Osmun 1950, 283, quotes the relevant document of 2 June 1709: “A Covering is to be put up on the Great Window at the West end of the Hall, to Darken it for the use of the painter.” Possibly in 1709, a temporary cover was put in place, until the permanent walling-in of the window in 1713.
- 142 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 79; Osmun 1950, 284; MacKean 1999, 185; Matthews 2016, 34.
- 143 Osmun 1950, 24; Lucas 2019c, 57; Hamlett 2020b, 107–108.
- 144 Similar motifs can already be found in Inigo Jones’s stage designs inspired by Florentine models (cf. Orgel and Strong 1973). For comparable continental stage sets see, for instance, Tamburini 1997, figs. 25, 33, 34; Feigenbaum and Freddolini 2014, pl. 8.
- 145 Strunck 2007a, 185–226, 353–375.
- 146 Strunck 2007a, 450. The Lower Hall measures 32.31 × 15.7 metres, with the entablature being located at a height of 12 metres (see above note 19).

- 147 Strunck 2007a, 201 (fig. 8ob), 449.
- 148 Strunck 2007a, 448–449.
- 149 Strunck 2007a, 227–278.
- 150 Strunck 2007a, plates 28–36.
- 151 Cf. Kanz 2007, 342–343, fig. 6.
- 152 Cf. Strunck 2007a, plates III, 28a (no. 3), 29.
- 153 Compare Johns 2019, 90–91, figs. 26–27, to Strunck 2007a, plates IV, VI, 30a, 31a, 32, 33, 35a, 36.
- 154 For an English summary of my doctoral thesis see Strunck 2007b.
- 155 On Colonna as a patron of contemporary theatre see Tamburini 1997, esp. 53–77, 285–340, 397–404. Tamburini interprets the gallery as Lorenzo Onofrio’s courtly “teatro grande” – as opposed to the “teatro piccolo” in his palace, which was open to the public (*ibid.*, 405–426).
- 156 See, for instance, TNA, ADM 68/681, February 1706, Day work done by Richard Billingham Bricklayer “in making good the Poynts of the Peers in the wall that separates the Officers Hall from the great Hall” (no pagination).
- 157 MacKean 1999, 180.
- 158 MacKean 1999, 180, note 10.
- 159 Jeffery 2004, 716.
- 160 Strunck 2007a, 353–363, plates IIb, IIc.
- 161 Watkin 1972, 39 (no. 566), 81 (no. 4). Among Wren’s large collection of architectural drawings (*ibid.*, 42) there may have been quite a few pieces representing works not by him, but the summary catalogue does not provide precise information.
- 162 Osmun 1950, 446–453 (Thornhill); Watkin 1972, 1–43 (Wren), 45–105 (Hawksmoor).
- 163 Ingamells 1997, 398–399.
- 164 On Fontana’s contribution to the Galleria Colonna see Strunck 2007a, 292–326. On Gibbs’s studies with Fontana see Friedman 1984, 6–7, 36–38; Ingamells 1997, 398. Gibbs’s account of his Roman sojourn has recently been discussed by Aslet 2017.
- 165 Friedman 1984, 125–126, 342 (note 59).
- 166 Ingamells 1997, 924–926.
- 167 Kieven 2008, 202.
- 168 Harris 1992, 31–32; Kieven 2008, 189–190.
- 169 Kieven 2008, 192.
- 170 On William Talman’s role at Hampton Court see Harris 1992, 31–32; Thurley 2003, 152, 187–188, 194.
- 171 Ingamells 1997, 855–857.
- 172 Handley 2004, 675–677.
- 173 The document is transcribed in Cooke and Maule 1789, 1–7; the reference to Shrewsbury can be found *ibid.*, 2.
- 174 Bolton and Hendry 1929, pl. I; Newell 1984, 12, fig. 2.
- 175 Lucas 2019a, 31, fig. 24.
- 176 Ingamells 1997, 857.
- 177 *Life and Character* 1718, 8.
- 178 Nicholson and Turberville 1930, 149–150, 157–159.
- 179 Strunck 2007a, 53–54. On the family ties between Adelaide and Diana Paleotti (both of whom were daughters of Cristina Paleotti née Dudley) see McLeod 2019, 287.
- 180 Giometti 2008, 161; Pegum 2009, 55–60.
- 181 Pegum 2009, 57, note 59.
- 182 Pegum 2009, 52, 57–59, 63–64.
- 183 Catalogue Jervas/Jarvis [1740]; Pegum 2009, 56, 72.
- 184 On Van Eck’s dating of Jervas’s arrival in Italy see Bottoms 2004, 66; Pegum 2009, 53.
- 185 See the section of chapter 3 titled “Throne and Altar: St George’s Hall and Its Relationship to the Chapel.”
- 186 Van Eck 2007, 117–122.
- 187 Downes 2004b, 72–74; Hart 2008, 40–43. On the Queen’s Theatre see Downes 1977, 40–44.
- 188 Downes 1977, 96 (fig. 13 B and C), 116 (fig. 17); Hart 2008, 98 (fig. 146), 166 (fig. 240).
- 189 Hart 2008, 196 (fig. 291). The gallery could also be approached through the vestibule on the garden side, but visitors entering the house through the hall would have been led via two lateral corridors to the two narrow ends of the gallery.
- 190 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 98, pl. XXXII.
- 191 Bolton and Hendry 1929, pl. XXXIII.
- 192 Higgott 2017, Greenwich Hospital, [7/2].
- 193 Higgott 2017, Greenwich Hospital, [12/24].
- 194 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 98.
- 195 Higgott 2017, Greenwich Hospital, [5] Executed Design (three-block scheme).
- 196 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 83. Both spaces are labelled “O. The Halls.” Cf. <https://www.architecture.com/image-library/RIBApix/image-information/poster/royal-hospital-greenwich-london-plan/posterid/RIBA82690.html> (last accessed 25 July 2020).
- 197 Downes 1980, 85–87; Higgott 2017, Greenwich Hospital, [6] Revised executed design.
- 198 Downes 1980, 86.
- 199 Downes 1980, 86.
- 200 On the undercroft see above note 20.
- 201 A somewhat similar solution had already been pondered but was rejected in c. 1695: Geraghty 2007, 132, fig. 194.
- 202 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 44.
- 203 Downes 1980, 86. On William Vanbrugh’s role see Bold 2000, 116–117.
- 204 Downes 1980, 62. On Easton Neston see also Hart 2002, 105–111.
- 205 Downes 1980, 57.
- 206 Carinci 1990; Picozzi 1990.

- 207 A ground plan of the hall is reproduced in Downes 1980, 58.
- 208 TNA, ADM 67/3, fol. 179.
- 209 Osmun 1950, 274–275.
- 210 Hawksmoor’s very austere design seems to have been regarded as insufficient by Thornhill, who later (after 1717) augmented it by adding a painted overmantel. See the illustration in Lucas et al. 2019, 147. For Vanbrugh’s chimney pieces cf. Downes 1977, plates 98–101; Hart 2008, 22–23.
- 211 Downes 1980, 84. See also Hart 2002, 221–227 (on Greenwich in general but with no reference to the Painted Hall).
- 212 Downes 2004a, 951–952.
- 213 Ploeg 2005; Van Eck 2007, 110–134; Van Eck 2012.
- 214 Matthews 2016, 21, cat. 9; Lucas 2019c, 60, fig. 50. The drawing makes it explicit that Hawksmoor was to represent “architecture,” while Wren stood for “surveying.”
- 215 In 2016 Anya Lucas (née Matthews) published a short catalogue of Thornhill’s drawings for the Painted Hall, but neither she herself nor Johns 2019 nor Hamlett 2020b integrated her very brief catalogue entries into a comprehensive interpretation of the pictorial programme.
- 216 Gregg 1980, 137, 160; Speck 2004a, 795–797.
- 217 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 43.
- 218 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 44.
- 219 The reconstruction published by Bold 2000, 109 (fig. 147), masks this fact by subsuming the whole period 1696–1710 under one building phase.
- 220 Newell 1984, 42–43.
- 221 Newell 1984, 23, 25, 29, 31, 36–37. Nevertheless, in the table of benefactors Anne was made to appear secondary to William: *ibid.*, 41–43.
- 222 Quoted from Johns 2004, 166.
- 223 Johns 2004, 172.
- 224 TNA, ADM 67/3, fols. 50 (2 November 1704), 99 (2 April 1705), 115 (22 August 1705), 174 (20 August 1706) etc.
- 225 TNA, ADM 67/3, fols. 1 (17 August 1703), 18 (27 April 1704).
- 226 TNA, ADM 67/3, fols. 80–81 (20 January 1705), 136 (8 December 1705).
- 227 This is documented in at least one instance, but there may have been more informal meetings that were not recorded in the minutes. See TNA, ADM 67/2, fol. 198 (3 June 1702): “Mr. Thomas, Mr. Evelyn & Mr. Draper came; but Sir Christopher Wren being gone to attend her Majesty at Windsor, they did not proceed upon any businesse.”
- 228 Steele 1715, 195: “Sir James Bateman was the first Proposer and the first Benefactor to this Cieling.” See also Osmun 1950, 26.
- 229 Quoted from Osmun 1950, 275–276.
- 230 See the transcription of the booklet in Johns 2004, Appendix B, 6.
- 231 See note 85 above and the section of chapter 6 titled “Nation and Gender in the Queen’s Drawing Room.”
- 232 See above notes 90–97.
- 233 Osmun 1950, 247; Matthews 2016, 14.
- 234 Matthews 2016, 14.
- 235 Martin 2011, 148–158.
- 236 By concluding the Act of Union, the last queen from the Stuart dynasty had accomplished the political project envisaged by the first Stuart king, James I.
- 237 Quoted from Lucas 2019c, 59. It is unknown which design the directors are referring to. Fig. 117 is too rough to have been presented to them, but there may have existed a worked-up version of the same subject.
- 238 Steele 1715, 192.
- 239 Explanation 1726, 8; a literal French translation of the same text *ibid.*, 9.
- 240 Life and Character 1718, 7–8.
- 241 Both Devonshire and Shrewsbury had been among the “Immortal Seven” who invited William of Orange to England in 1688: Pincus 2006, 37.
- 242 Devonshire 1709. The poem was published posthumously (the duke having died in 1707). As it mentions Queen Anne, it cannot have been written earlier than 1702.
- 243 Devonshire 1709, 4–5.
- 244 Devonshire 1709, 5.
- 245 Devonshire 1709, 7.
- 246 See the section of chapter 6 titled “Nation and Gender in the Queen’s Drawing Room.”
- 247 Matthews 2016, cat. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7. Mary makes her first appearance in the oil sketch now kept at the V&A: Matthews 2016, 20, cat. 8. On the conflict between Mary and Anne see Gregg 1980, 74–104.
- 248 Johns 2004, 183.
- 249 Steele 1715, 193. As Blenheim (Blindheim) is in Bavaria, it was definitely no naval battle, but via the naming of the battleship the famous victory could be commemorated.
- 250 Matthews 2016, 24, cat. 12, published the drawing but did not transcribe the inscriptions. They can be deciphered via the scan provided by the British Museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1884-0726-40-61 (last accessed 27 July 2020).
- 251 Matthews 2016, 25, cat. 13, published the drawing, but transcribed only the text for figures a, b, e, f, m, n, r, and s.
- 252 Matthews 2016, 25: Beneath the figure of Queen Anne is “Liberality [...] pointing to ye Queen – as an Emblem of her Hospitality to ye Seamen.” In addition, Neptune with the portrait of Prince George as Lord High Admiral confirms the destination for Greenwich.
- 253 Matthews 2016, 25.

- 254 Matthews 2016, 25.
- 255 See above note 209.
- 256 See above note 141.
- 257 Stewart and Paine 2019, 123: “To this day, a clear distinction is apparent: one may notice two vertical cracks to the left and right of the main central area of plaster, and also observe the distinctly coarser quality of plaster used by Weatherill, compared to the much smoother central section applied by Doo-good some thirteen years earlier.”
- 258 In fact, Brett 2020, fig. 9, published the sheet in her article on Hampton Court, but the similarities with the other designs for Greenwich (see the following note) are fairly striking.
- 259 Matthews 2016, 34, cat. 24; a variant of this scheme is cat. 25.
- 260 Downes 1980, 156–157.
- 261 Downes 1980, 157, 159–160.
- 262 Bill 1979, ad indicem.
- 263 Watson 1983; Colvin et al. 1976, 151.
- 264 Watson 1983.
- 265 Downes 1980, 88–98; Newell 1984, 36–37.
- 266 Downes 1980, 90, note 22.
- 267 Bolton and Hendry 1929, 93.
- 268 On the title “Defender of the Faith” see above note 3.
- 269 On William III as “arbiter Europae” see Kampmann 2001, 283–301, and the section of chapter 6 titled “The King’s Staircase: Previous Interpretations and a New Proposal.”
- 270 See above notes 248 and 249.
- 271 Gustin-Gomez 2015, 70–71.
- 272 See the previous section.
- 273 Delaplanche 2015, 34–35.
- 274 Explanation 1726, 1, 5. See the transcription of the booklet in Johns 2004, Appendix B.
- 275 Explanation 1726, 10.
- 276 Explanation 1726, 8.
- 277 Steele 1715, 192.
- 278 See the previous section.
- 279 Cf. chapter 6 on the Queen’s Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace, where Verrio was asked to create another self-fulfilling prophecy, one that would not, however, become reality.
- 280 The guidebook describes these scenes as follows: “As you go out of the Hall, on the Left-hand of the Arch in Basso-Relievo, heightened with Gold, is shewn that our Trade, Commerce, and Publick Wealth are chiefly owing to our Navy. Britannia pointing to a figure denoting the Publick Weal, while Mercury points to the Stern of a Ship, on the Ensign of which is written SALUS PUBLICA. Plenty underneath, pouring Riches into the Lap of Commerce, who is sitting on Bails of Goods, & c. On the Right-hand side of the Arch is represented the British Power by Britannia holding the Trident between Oceanus and Cybele, pointing to a Figure, leaning on a Pillar, which signifies Publick Security; by her is a Man of War, where there is this Motto. SECURITAS PUBLICA.” Explanation 1726, 20. For preliminary studies of the two compositions see Matthews 2016, 33, cat. 23; for a photograph of the east wall: Lucas 2019b, 46–47, fig. 37.
- 281 Explanation 1726, 14.
- 282 Explanation 1726, 14.
- 283 Explanation 1726, 18.
- 284 Johns 2019, 98. In his *Carmen Seculare* of 1700, Matthew Prior alluded to the same line: “Rome by Degrees advancing more in Age, / Show’d sad Remains of what had once been fair: / Till Heav’n a better Race of Men supplies; / And Glory shoots new Beams from Western Skies.” Prior (ed. 1959), 163, lines 68–71.
- 285 See chapter 6 on the pictorial programme of the Queen’s Drawing Room.
- 286 Barmeyer 2005.
- 287 Explanation 1726, 16: “Providence descends and puts the Scepter into his Hands.”
- 288 Matthews 2016, 37; Hamlett 2020b, 107.
- 289 Worton 2018, 25: “The Act of Settlement [...] applied only to the English crown.” It was passed without consulting the Scottish Parliament.
- 290 Worton 2018, 28.
- 291 Worton 2018, 28; Baynes 1970.
- 292 Worton 2018, 29.
- 293 Worton 2018, 30–31.
- 294 See above notes 42–44.
- 295 Johns 2004, 190–193; Matthews 2016, 30–31.
- 296 Johns 2004, 193–195.
- 297 Johns 2004, 186; Johns 2019, 96.
- 298 Johns 2004, 194.
- 299 Explanation 1726, 16.
- 300 Explanation 1726, 16.
- 301 Quoted from Smith 2006, 27.
- 302 Explanation 1726, 16.
- 303 Smith 2006, 24.
- 304 Matthews 2016, 32, cat. 22; Johns 2019, 97.
- 305 I’m grateful to my colleague Andreas Grüner for discussing this matter with me.
- 306 Schama 1986, 167.
- 307 MacKean 1999, 227.
- 308 MacKean 1999, 238.
- 309 MacKean 1999, 242.
- 310 For examples see Bird and Clayton 2017, 45 (cat. 13), 110 (fig. 24), 127 (cat. 54); Rumberg and Shawe-Taylor 2018, 134–135 (fig. 64), 137 (fig. 66), 138 (fig. 67), 228 (fig. 134). John Michael Wright’s portrait of Charles II in coronation robes and

- with the crown on his head is an exception: Bird and Clayton 2017, 115, cat. 49.
- 311 On the role of curtains in a sacred *revelatio* see chapter 4, notes 241–243.
- 312 See Thornhill's description of "Securitas Publica" in note 280. The personification of "naval victory" was only an afterthought; originally, Thornhill intended to portray Governor Jennings in her place (Matthews 2016, 39, cat. 29). Perhaps Jennings's replacement was the reason for the indignant comment that "the sketches he [Thornhill] has laid before the General Court of his Design have not been observed" (Newell 1984, 56).
- 313 Mund 2015, 26–29.
- 314 Johns 2004, 199.
- 315 Johns 2004, 201.
- 316 Gibbs 2004, 806.
- 317 The windows were in fact bricked up in 1718; see above note 142. According to Matthews 2016, 36, the drawing was created in 1717 and predates the bricking up of the windows. Osmun 1950, 283–284, suggests that Thornhill produced the drawing a year later because the minutes of the Board of Directors of 17 May 1718 contain the following paragraph: "Mr Thornhill informed the Board that the two Windows at the West end of the Great Hall throw in so great a light as to destroy the prospect of the painting on the wall, and the same being demonstrated to the board by two sketches he brought with him. Ordered that the said windows be stopped up, and remain as niches for the future."
- 318 On this attribute see Sharpe 2013, 585.
- 319 Cf. Johns 2019, 98.
- 320 See above note 317.
- 321 Explanation 1726, 16.
- 322 Johns 2019, 98.
- 323 Daniel 1997, 212; Feuerstein-Praßer 2004; Hoppenstedt 2018, 143–153.
- 324 Leibniz (ed. 2011); Hoppenstedt 2018, 143–160.
- 325 Wilkins 1901, 14.
- 326 Wilkins 1901, 25.
- 327 Wilkins 1901, 17–21.
- 328 Quoted from Arkell 1939, 64.
- 329 Quoted from Marschner 2014, 1.
- 330 Johns 2019, 100, fig. 34.
- 331 Krückmann 1998, 16–18.
- 332 Krückmann 1998, 21–22.
- 333 Berger 2018, 24.
- 334 Wilhelmine von Bayreuth (ed. 2018), 7.
- 335 Berger 2018, 24; Wilhelmine von Bayreuth (ed. 2018), 16.
- 336 Berger 2018, 23.
- 337 Wilhelmine von Bayreuth (ed. 2018), 45, 47.
- 338 Lodge 1923, 19.
- 339 Lodge 1923, 19.
- 340 Gibbs 2004, 818; Wilhelmine von Bayreuth (ed. 2018), 48.
- 341 Hatton 1978, 162.
- 342 Lodge 1923, 19–20. See also Hatton 1978, 158, 162.
- 343 Arkell 1939, 133, 158–160; Hatton 1978, 280–281.
- 344 Her multifaceted cultural activities have been analysed in a recent collection of essays (Strunck 2019f).
- 345 Barber 2004, 620.
- 346 Stewart and Paine 2019, 121.
- 347 Walczak 2001, 8–9.
- 348 Johann Ernst Andreae officiated at Princess Wilhelmine's confirmation in 1724; see Berger 2018, 19.
- 349 Walczak 2001, 10.
- 350 Deutsch 1983, 438.
- 351 <https://www.bbc.com/news/election-2019-50776671> (last accessed 4 August 2020).
- 352 <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/queens-speech-december-2019> (last accessed 5 February 2020).
- 353 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/queens-speech-boris-johnsons-30-bills-to-unite-country-after-brex-qmrb8ng9s> (last accessed 4 August 2020).
- 354 See the full text in Appendix IV.
- 355 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal_coat_of_arms_of_the_United_Kingdom (last accessed 4 August 2020).
- 356 Ibid.
- 357 <https://www.royal.uk/order-garter> (last accessed 4 August 2020).
- 358 Ibid.
- 359 <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-speech-in-greenwich-3-february-2020> (last accessed 4 August 2020).
- 360 Johns 2013, 82–83, 89–95. On the roots of pictorial understatement see chapter 6, especially the section titled "The Author of the Programme: Matthew Prior and the Culture of Understatement."
- 361 See, for instance, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/08/empire-fantasy-fuelling-tory-divisions-on-brex> (last accessed 4 August 2020).
- 362 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/apr/12/boris-johnson-leaves-hospital-as-he-continues-recovery-from-coronavirus> (last accessed 4 August 2020).
- 363 https://ec.europa.eu/info/live-work-travel-eu/health/coronavirus-response-o/recovery-plan-europe_en (last accessed 4 August 2020).



CHAPTER 8

THE INTERACTION OF IMAGES AND SPACES: TOWARDS A NEW METHODOLOGY

The field of art history has traditionally been divided into two camps. While architectural historians focus primarily on buildings, art historians in the classical sense of the word tend to concentrate on works of painting and sculpture. This makes the study of murals a particularly complex field. Although historians of mural paintings acknowledge that these works depend on architectural settings, they tend not to engage with the architectural aspects of such ensembles. Even the most recent standard works on the topic do not offer a systematic analysis of the interaction of images and spaces.¹

Over the past decades, art history has been inspired by two “turns,” the “spatial” and the “pictorial” respectively. On the one hand, the spatial turn redressed the long-standing bias towards Western art and shifted attention towards contact zones between different cultures.² This new perspective was also applied to Western art and architecture in the context of a sociology of space investigating how certain environments condition, facilitate, or hinder exchange between distinct cultural groups.³ Consequently, the spatial turn is highly relevant for the study of courtly spaces, in which interactions between people of various social and national backgrounds took place.

On the other hand, the pictorial or “iconic” turn focused on the omnipresence of images in contemporary culture and led to the development of a new methodology for the analysis of images, namely *Bildwissenschaft* (image studies, often translated into English as visual studies).⁴ The chief German proponent of this method,

Horst Bredekamp, conflated the distinction between two- and three-dimensional works of art by using the term *Bild* (image; picture) as a synonym for *Kunst* (art), including three-dimensional art objects, works of architecture, and landscape gardening.⁵

With *Bildwissenschaft* having held a dominant position at German universities for several decades, I think it is time to expand this concept by establishing a new *Bild-Raum-Wissenschaft* (literally image-space studies, better translated as the study of spatially embedded art) that investigates the interaction of images and spaces.⁶ This method seeks to overcome the traditional divide between historians of art and architecture and draws inspiration from both the spatial and pictorial turns. It needs to be developed by examining works of art and architecture from many different regions, epochs, and cultures. Therefore, the present book is only a first step in that direction.

In chapter 1, I explained my procedure for analysing mural paintings, which takes into account a panorama of different aspects: cultural transfer and the translational turn, political iconography, conflict resolution and the agency of the image, individual and cultural memory, performativity, and modes of reception. In this final chapter, I will focus exclusively on the interaction of images and spaces. While the full range of the following issues has never before been discussed with reference to British murals, some of them have been addressed in publications on the Continental Baroque.⁷ What is new in this chapter, however, is the comprehensive, systematic approach to the interaction of images and spaces,

as well as the methodological emphasis on combining research on architecture and the visual arts.

Chapters 2 to 7 presented case studies of nine major commissions for pictorial cycles in architectural settings: the coronation entry of 1661, the King's and Queen's Apartments at Windsor, the "tandem" concept for the Royal Chapel and St George's Hall at Windsor, Antonio Verrio's mural for Christ's Hospital, the Dining Hall of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, the Painted Hall at Chatsworth, the King's Staircase and Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace (considered two separate commissions because they were initiated by successive monarchs), and the Painted Hall of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich. Building on the results of these chapters, I will now turn to a systematic overview of aspects that ought to be considered in analysing painted interiors. The headings of the following sections can serve as a "checklist" that may well be expanded by future studies on similar topics.

Avenues of Approach

The Continental Baroque privileges straight, frontal approaches. Such avenues of approach open up a series of successive, symmetrical vistas as a prelude to the painted interiors. Among the buildings studied in the present volume, only the Royal Hospitals at Chelsea and Greenwich offer this type of grandiose approach, which seems to have been desirable, though not absolutely indispensable, for British patrons (fig. 56; pl. 103).

Continental patrons strove to conceive a building and its interior as a unified whole. Even in cases where a pre-existing building was integrated into a new fabric (as at Versailles), architects sought to convey an impression of aesthetic coherence. In Britain, on the contrary, a lack of funds and a respect for tradition resulted in a number of hybrid creations that did not mask the discontinuity between past and present. Although William III considered razing Hampton Court to the ground,⁸ in the end he retained the old structures and only added a new quadrangle in the Baroque style.

At Windsor, Christ's Hospital, Chatsworth, and Hampton Court, visitors reached the new Baroque interiors by traversing courts that displayed markedly disparate, traditional building styles. On the one hand, British patrons could justify this as a show of pride in the historic traditions of a given place, but on the other hand their discomfort with stylistically hybrid buildings is evident in various experiments to create a transition between old and new, with the exteriors preparing the viewer for what lay inside.

The Relationship between Exterior and Interior

Although continental Baroque architecture loves to surprise its viewers, the façades of secular and sacred buildings usually correspond to and express outwardly certain structural characteristics of their interiors (e. g. by emphasizing the central nave or hall). Moreover, they display a repertoire of decorative detail that reappears inside the building.

At Windsor, Chatsworth, and Hampton Court, British architects sought to imitate this principle, each in different ways. At Windsor Castle, Hugh May modified the façades of the royal apartments by inserting large, round-headed windows.⁹ They provided the luminosity that was a central feature of Baroque interiors, while at the same time their forms could be understood as a continuation of the medieval architecture of the castle. May thus aimed to create an aesthetic balance between the exterior and interior architecture. However, when visitors left the Upper Ward of the castle and entered Horn Court, the forecourt of the royal apartments, they stepped into a completely different environment. May accentuated the approach to the King's Apartment with a monumental triumphal arch, and Antonio Verrio's feigned reliefs on the façades of Horn Court sought to transform the medieval building into a classical palace (fig. 39). Evidently, this commission was motivated by a desire to announce the forms and themes that a visitor would encounter within the palace.

Similarly, William Talman treated the exterior and interior of the Painted Hall at Chatsworth as an aesthetic

totality. The classical style of its façade (pl. 67) corresponded to the classical subject matter of the paintings but stood in marked contrast to the Elizabethan wings of the court.¹⁰ Only successively was the classical style extended to all four wings of Chatsworth House (fig. 64) – doubtless because the variation among different architectural styles was deemed unpleasant. Chatsworth thus sought to imitate the unified environment that had been created at Horn Court.

Talman introduced fashionable large windows whose gilding underlined the nobility of the east wing, i. e. the function of the Painted Hall as the duke of Devonshire's main reception space. The façade was ornamented with sculpted trophies resembling the painted trophies that frame the central painting of the hall (plates 67, 71). However, the martial programme of the façade (originally decorated with statues of Mars, Fortitude, and Prudence)¹¹ formed a clear-cut contrast to the corresponding wall painting, which extolled a new Augustan era of peace (fig. 74, A and no. 4). The exterior and interior of the Painted Hall were therefore interrelated both on a formal and a thematic level, with the interior being conceived as a culmination of the themes announced on the exterior.

Inspired by the model of Windsor Castle, Christopher Wren aimed to develop the new royal apartments of Hampton Court Palace around an aesthetically coherent court in an up-to-date continental style (fig. 92, no. 1). Here again, the subject matter of the exterior and interior decoration was coordinated. The oculus windows on the façades of Fountain Court are surrounded by Herculean lion skins and laurel wreaths alluding to the conquests of William III.¹² Quite fittingly, twelve roundels containing depictions of the Labours of Hercules sit above the rectangular windows on the southern side of the court,¹³ thus “foreshadowing” the triumphal and martial themes of the King's Apartment located just behind this façade. In a similar way, on Wren's garden front the tympanum relief of Hercules overcoming Superstition and Tyranny (pl. 85) announces the main themes of the Queen's Drawing Room that lies behind the showy frontispiece.¹⁴

Wren's quest for aesthetic unity was, however, hampered by the pre-existing structures. The royal apart-

ments at Hampton Court Palace were not accessible via the new Fountain Court but via the Great Stair (fig. 92, A) that opened onto Clock Court, which was in turn dominated by Henry VIII's late Gothic Great Hall (fig. 90).¹⁵ Although Wren had made numerous plans for a new, grandiose approach to the royal apartments, in the end the two preceding late medieval courts remained largely untouched. Therefore, the mediation between old and new, exterior and interior was on the whole less successful than at Windsor Castle.

Despite the fact that the façades created by Hugh May, William Talman, and Christopher Wren differ significantly in their architectural style, all of them were concerned with adopting a continental, classical vocabulary, which they sought to integrate with older British buildings. In that sense, their *modus operandi* resembled the work of the mural painters, who strove to amalgamate continental European forms with British subject matter. However, the relationship between architects and painters was not always harmonious, as the example of Christ's Hospital goes to show.

There, a remodelling undertaken in the 1670s had hidden the medieval cloister behind a new south front in a High Baroque style.¹⁶ The architecture of the façade emphasized the location of the Great Hall by placing a large, round-headed window under the western (left) pediment (fig. 48). Seen from the interior of the hall, this window sat opposite the main entrance and organ loft;¹⁷ it formed the optical climax of the space (fig. 49). But when Antonio Verrio was commissioned to design a mural for the hall, he claimed precisely this spot for his painting. After some deliberation, the governors of the hospital agreed to have the window walled in so that Verrio could realize the envisaged triptych (fig. 49, nos. 3a, 3b, 3c).¹⁸ Rather than respecting the pre-existing architecture and seeking to integrate exterior and interior, Verrio managed to have the building transformed so as to suit his own plans. The resulting blind window actually destroyed the visual impact of the exterior (fig. 51).

Vestibules and Stairs

Vestibules and staircases are liminal spaces that mark the transition from exterior to interior. For example, at Windsor Castle a spectacular aisled vestibule featuring two rows of Ionic columns and “antique Bustos” led from the medieval Upper Ward to the inner courtyard, thus announcing entry into the classicizing world of Horn Court and the royal apartments.¹⁹ In a similar way, painted staircases formed a prelude to the richly outfitted apartments a visitor would encounter upon arriving at the first floor.

As staircases counted among the most public spaces of a palace or mansion, they often received particularly elaborate decoration. Painters were able to exploit the great height of the staircase walls, plus the ceiling space above. This prompted them to choose topics that stressed the vertical axis: either scenes of ascent (e. g. Alexander the Great and Caesar battling for reception into Olympus, pl. 91) or of descent and rejection (Phaethon’s fall from heaven, Jupiter expelling the Giants from Olympus).²⁰

In the 1680s, British architects began to experiment with top-lit staircases and vestibules, offering the British public entirely new visual experiences.²¹ The architecture drew the viewer’s gaze upwards to the then still novel spectacle of light entering a building from above, preparing him or her to look up at the ceiling paintings characteristic of Baroque decorative schemes.

For visitors approaching a building, flights of stairs always convey a sense of ascent. This effect was exploited even when the painted spaces were located on the ground floor rather than on the first floor. For instance, after stepping into the top-lit vestibule of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, visitors must ascend a few steps in order to reach the Great Hall and the chapel respectively (pl. 59). At Greenwich, too, the vestibule is placed on a slightly lower level than the Painted Hall (pl. 108). While visitors climb the stairs, they experience a physical and metaphorical transition from their everyday lives to a “superior level.” This heightens the impact of the murals they are about to encounter. By introducing a second flight of stairs between the Lower and the

Upper Hall, Hawksmoor underlined the almost sacred character of this sanctuary to Britain’s monarchy.²²

At Chatsworth, stairs formed an integral part of the Painted Hall. Originally, they resembled two arms reaching out to visitors (fig. 74). William Cavendish’s guests ascended on two opposite flights of stairs, meeting on the upper landing. The process of reunification and reconciliation proposed by the murals was thus translated into a bodily experience through the architecture of the staircase.²³

Doors, Openings, Visual Frames

In human encounters as well as in the sphere of art, the first impression is decisive. Therefore, painters generally strove to position their murals in such a way that they would achieve maximum effect at first glance. This meant that the layout of murals had to respond to the location of the main entrance to a painted room.

According to Baroque aesthetics, which privileged a central axis, the ideal solution consisted in placing the main image opposite the main door. In addition, the ceiling paintings were usually oriented so as to be taken in from the main entrance (e. g. plates 19, 23, 48, 66, 111). A painted space organized along these lines formed the culmination to the whole theatrical build-up described above. Not surprisingly, then, such an arrangement can be found most often in large painted halls.

In the living quarters of a Baroque palace, however, additional criteria had to be taken into consideration. Each noble inhabitant of a palace occupied at least one so-called apartment (a set of rooms of gradually diminishing size with clearly defined functions).²⁴ Ideally, the rooms succeeded one another like pearls on a string, with the doors being placed in one straight line (enfilade). This planning principle created a long, unbroken vista from one end of the apartment to the other. The doors were usually placed close to the windows so that the enfilade ran directly behind the façade (see fig. 92, B–H). As one wall of each room was taken up by windows, the other three walls formed a structure that resembled a triptych, with the long wall facing the win-

dows at its centre, framed by two shorter side walls.²⁵ In keeping with the Baroque emphasis on symmetry, the ceiling paintings were almost always oriented in such a way that their bottom edge met the wall opposite the windows. This is the case in Windsor, Chatsworth, and Hampton Court Palace (plates 7, 11, 14, 15, 16, 82, 94), as in countless other Baroque palaces all over Europe.

The arrangement described had multiple advantages. Because of the proximity of the doors to the windows, each room offered three unbroken wall spaces that could easily be furnished. There was enough room to place a throne opposite the main entrance (plates 7, 8). As the bottom edge of the ceiling painting was located opposite the windows, visitors entering the room saw the ceiling from an oblique point of view that gave a special dynamic to the image (according to the predilection of Baroque painters for compositional diagonals). The intended vantage point was only reached when a guest advanced a few steps into the room and turned his or her back to the windows. From that position, the mural appeared centred over the middle of the triptych formed by the three unbroken walls, and the lighting conditions were ideal.

The attraction of the *enfilade* consisted chiefly in its ability to channel the view. When the doors were open, a visitor entering a room could see the long row of successive spaces via the aligned doorframes (plates 7, 97). This served to arouse interest in what lay behind the present room, creating a subtle visual titillation in line with the aesthetics of the so-called “age of curiosity.”²⁶

A number of other architectural features were employed to elicit visual curiosity, too. For instance, at Windsor Castle Hugh May created an oval opening between the Queen’s Staircase and the adjacent “Carved Stairs” of the King’s Apartment, allowing the queen’s visitors to catch a glimpse of the wall paintings in the private realm of the king.²⁷ At Greenwich, Nicholas Hawksmoor applied the logic of the *enfilade* to a monumental space. Instead of doorframes, he used free-standing columns and an archway to channel the view (pl. 108), but the effect remains similar to that of the *enfilade*. As visitors can see part of the adjacent rooms through the large openings, they are encouraged to pro-

ceed along the central axis, seeking to discover what is still partially hidden from view. By veiling and revealing successive spaces, the architecture stimulates the viewer’s interest in the mural paintings.

Windows, Vistas, and Murals

The principal apartments of a Baroque palace often commanded a splendid view of the gardens. As Baroque planning strategies sought to unite the exterior and interior of a building, the main axes of the garden usually centred on the palace, and the geometrical layout of the latter was extended to the realm of nature, visualizing the owner’s control over his or her territory. Therefore, windows and vistas played a key role in palace design.

At Chatsworth, the state rooms on the top floor of the south wing overlooked a garden newly designed in the French manner (fig. 67; pl. 61).²⁸ Queen Anne’s main reception room at Hampton Court Palace was located on the central axis of the building, an axis optically continued by the central avenue and grand canal of the garden (figs. 90, 91). The three windows of this room (fig. 92, N), crowned on the exterior by the majestic east pediment (pl. 85), conditioned Verrio’s design for the mural on the opposite west wall: The tripartite structure of the painting and the large openings offering views of a garden reflect the architectural setting of the room (pl. 99).

At Windsor, too, vistas seem to have been a guiding factor in the design of the new royal apartments. From the Middle Ages, the King’s Great Chamber had faced south and overlooked the Upper Ward, while the Queen’s Great Chamber was to be found in the north range (fig. 36). Elizabeth I reversed this arrangement. As monarch in her own right, she did not occupy the rooms of the queen consort but rather the king’s lodgings (fig. 37).²⁹ Charles II, however, did not move into the rooms used by previous sovereigns, whether male or female. When Hugh May remodelled Windsor Castle on Charles’s orders, Queen Catherine of Braganza was allocated the spaces on the south and west sides of the building block where Elizabeth I had resided (fig. 35, A–F). Rather surprisingly, for Charles II a new apartment

was created on the north side where the queens consort had once lived (fig. 35, nos. 1–7). In this way, Charles could enjoy an unimpeded view of the countryside, whereas Catherine of Braganza's rooms faced the Upper Ward of the castle. Moreover, a giant gilt star placed on the north façade symbolized Charles's control of both the castle and his territory.³⁰

The King's Chapel and St George's Hall retained their original location on the south side (fig. 35) but were extensively remodelled. The hall originally had tall lancet windows and square mezzanine windows above,³¹ while the chapel was lit by tall, round-headed windows that were partly covered by the pews.³² Hugh May homogenized the fenestration by outfitting both spaces with large arched windows surmounted by square ones. The circular window surrounds in St George's Hall seem to have been an afterthought, motivated by a desire to introduce the Garter band in a prominent position (pl. 23).³³ Echoing the previous arrangement, the lower portion of the chapel's windows was hidden behind the pews. It appears that the space immediately above the pews was intentionally covered so as to block a view of the exterior (pl. 19).

While vistas were a chief concern in the design of apartments, in spaces of worship the congregation was meant to focus on the divine service. Therefore, windows in chapels were partly covered or placed high up on the wall in order to impede any visual distractions from the outside (plates 19, 57, 66).³⁴ Similarly, the painted halls at Chelsea and Chatsworth had windows well above eye level (fig. 74; pl. 48).³⁵ It may be inferred that this served to focus the viewer's attention entirely on the murals. Perhaps due to similar considerations, the eight large windows on the south side of the Painted Hall at Greenwich were boarded up in 1725 or 1726 (fig. 102).³⁶

Windows are obviously important for the lighting of murals, but an abundance of light may interfere with their legibility. On this basis, James Thornhill argued that the windows on the west side of the Upper Hall ought to be walled in.³⁷ The mural he then created on this surface is lit from the left, i. e. from the south (see pl. 113 where the right halves of the columns appear in the shade). Thornhill thus respected the direction of the natural light

source, as light enters the Upper Hall primarily through its south window (cf. fig. 102, no. 8).

Plate 34 demonstrates convincingly that mural painters strove to reflect in their paintings the lighting conditions in the physical spaces for which such murals were destined. As explained in chapter 4, Verrio's mural for Christ's Hospital originally covered the upper east, south, and west sides of the hall (fig. 49, nos. 3a, 3b, and 3c). Windows were located further to the north on both the east and west walls of the hall.³⁸ The two lateral "wings" of the triptych reflect this situation: In the left panel, the light seems to come from the left, whereas the light source for the right panel comes from the right (plates 36, 39).³⁹ The perspective of the painted loggias corresponds to the spatial situation, too.⁴⁰

Painted Architectures

In analysing painted architectures, it is useful to distinguish between various types, depending on the relationship of these architectures to the viewer's space. The following remarks concern painted architecture on walls, whereas architectural elements in ceiling paintings will be discussed in a subsequent section. I will start by considering examples in which painted architectures inhabit their own distinct spaces and will then turn to works that seek to bridge real and painted spaces, attending to visual methods with varying degrees of illusionistic persuasiveness.

Many murals feature ancient cityscapes that locate the setting of a given scene. The ancient temples and palaces in the background of plates 21, 64, and 70 inform the viewer that he or she is looking at an episode from the remote past. However, even when a story was set in the Middle Ages (like the *Triumph of the Black Prince* at Windsor Castle), the painter framed it with classical rather than Gothic architecture (plates 23, 28). This goes to show that painted architecture in Baroque murals generally conforms to the aesthetic preferences of the age, i. e. it looks back to antiquity, sometimes enlivening the canon with a spritz of Baroque licence (e. g. plate 21).⁴¹

Contemporary architecture, too, may appear in the background of murals. In such cases, it needs to be confirmed whether the buildings are represented in their actual state or in an idealized form. For instance, when Antonio Verrio depicted the Royal Hospital at Chelsea (pl. 46), Wren's architecture had not yet been completed.⁴² The painted building, which Verrio imagined in its finished condition, creates a link between the imagined space of the mural and the real space of the viewer who moves within the very same building. Nevertheless, the painted architecture is clearly distanced from the beholder. It forms the backdrop to a composition with manifestly non-realistic traits (the king triumphing over a dragon, surrounded by allegorical figures). A painted golden frame delineates the border between real and fictive space. And yet, at the upper corners of the mural, winged nudes seem to exit the painted space, flying towards the beholder. Putti are shown drawing back red curtains seemingly placed in front of the painted frame, i. e. in the viewer's own space.⁴³

Numerous Baroque murals blur the boundaries between real and imagined spaces. As will be demonstrated in the following paragraphs, this effect could be achieved by a number of distinct means. For instance, painted architecture could be used to push the figures forward, as exemplified by Louis Laguerre's murals at Chatsworth. Laguerre and his assistant Ricard covered the walls of the Painted Hall with a fictive architecture consisting of piers inscribed with grotesque ornament, trapezoidal pedestals supporting (painted) oval bronze reliefs, and niches filled with busts and statues (plates 69, 71, 72). As the painted figures acting out Caesar's assassination overlap the painted architecture, the murder seems to take place in front of the wall, i. e. within the space of the beholder (pl. 69). This heightens the emotional appeal of the dramatic event and underlines its relevance as a warning against autocratic rule, addressed to William III and his contemporaries.⁴⁴

Antonio Verrio used a similar pictorial strategy at Christ's Hospital, where he placed the portraits of benefactors and members of the institution in front of a long, painted loggia (pl. 34). As the loggia covered three sides of the hall, it "enveloped" the beholder and pushed the

painted figures towards him or her. On the whole, however, the illusion must have been less successful than at Chatsworth because there did not exist continuity between real and fictive architecture. Verrio's paintings were set into wooden frames that constituted a clear boundary between the painted loggia and the walls of the hall.⁴⁵ Therefore, the loggia could not be construed as a realistic extension of the viewer's space. It had a rather more symbolic function, suggesting the sovereign's accessibility and the harmonious union of the Court, the City, and Christ's Hospital.⁴⁶

At Windsor Castle, Verrio combined aspects of both the works described above. In St George's Hall as in the King's Chapel, he decorated the walls with a painted colonnade. The columns, visible on the three walls shown in plates 19 and 23 respectively, were closely related to the real space in that they seemed to support the entablature over which the ceiling rose. The columns marked the boundary between the viewer's space and the painted space. By making some of the painted figures overlap the columns, Verrio suggested that they were entering the beholder's space (a visual device later repeated by Laguerre at Chatsworth). In addition, Verrio opened up a deep space seemingly behind the north walls of both rooms. The creation of a continuous architectural space that ran parallel to and behind the real wall resembled his work at Christ's Hospital. The frieze-like groups of figures displayed in this fictive space evoked a world that literally "paralleled" that of the viewer, inviting him or her to make comparisons between the painted protagonists and contemporary reality. In this way, the beholder could discover in the *Triumph of the Black Prince* (pl. 28) allusions to the duke of Monmouth's victories,⁴⁷ and likewise the depiction of Christ as healer paralleled the ceremony of Charles II curing the so-called "king's evil" (pl. 21).⁴⁸

By placing the figures well above the ground, Verrio distanced them from the viewer and implied that they inhabited a "higher" space, i. e. were able to serve as models for his audience.⁴⁹ In addition, their placement reflected a social hierarchy. As the seats for the royal family were located on a gallery over the entrance to the chapel,⁵⁰ the biblical scenes stood at the king's eye

level, beyond the reach of the other members of the congregation (pl. 19). Laguerre imitated this arrangement in the chapel at Chatsworth, where the duke and his family sat in the first-floor gallery, the murals being contiguous with their space (pl. 64).⁵¹

On the contrary, in the King's Staircase at Hampton Court Palace, visitors from all ranks are able to overcome the distance between them and the painted images. The first mural one encounters, depicting various classical gods, soars high above the viewer's space (plates 89, 90), but the next painting, whose subject matter is more "down to earth" (concerning the deification of two mortals, Alexander the Great and Caesar), can be approached more directly. While climbing the stairs, a visitor nearly reaches the level of these ancient heroes (plates 89, 91, 92). He or she therefore seems to share their depicted experience of ascent to an upper sphere.

At Burghley House, decorated shortly before Hampton Court Palace, Verrio had united real and painted space in an even more striking way. By placing his painted colonnade on the ground level of the so-called Heaven Room, he puts the beholder on a par with the classical gods who appear to step out into the room (pl. 88). James Thornhill recreated this "immersive" experience in the Upper Hall at Greenwich, where painted steps establish a link between the visitor and the group portrait of King George's family (pl. 113).

The stronger the illusion of continuity between real and painted space, the more a mural succeeds in transforming the beholder's space. For instance, the setting of Emperor Julian's portrait positions the beholder as part of this classical scene (pl. 92). He or she catches a glimpse of the emperor seated in front of an ancient round temple. As the viewer stands ostensibly within the same spatial continuum, the inference is that London has turned into a classical city. The mural therefore evokes a topos of British urbanism that had been reiterated at least from the beginning of Charles II's reign: The idea that London should aspire to become a new Rome seemed finally actualized through Verrio's illusionist wall painting.⁵² In this way, the fictive space was able to "overwrite" the real space temporarily.

However, it would be wrong to conclude from the preceding paragraphs that the history of British mural painting developed logically towards ever greater illusionism. The Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace, decorated by Verrio immediately after the King's Staircase, exemplifies exactly the opposite tendency, as its murals carefully avoid the illusion of spatial depth. The pilasters sit flatly on a closed wall, and the wall paintings are presented as feigned tapestries, thus emphasizing their two-dimensional character (plates 94, 97).

It follows that the degree of illusionism depended on the intended message of the mural. When the painter wished to involve his audience emotionally and/or intellectually, he sought to create a direct dialogue between fictive and real space. However, the situation in the Queen's Drawing Room was different since it served as the dignified centrepiece of the whole palace, communicating Britain's claim to superiority over France.⁵³ The "untouchable," distanced mode of representation therefore expressed the sense of aulic aloofness encapsulated in the murals' iconography.

Architectural Ceilings and Painted Skies

The murals of Windsor Castle illustrate a vast spectrum of possibilities regarding the design of painted ceilings. Antonio Verrio's earliest work at the castle, created in the summer of 1676 in the King's Guard Chamber, was a simplified adaptation of the Galleria Pamphilj in Rome (pl. 6). He placed seated figures on the cornice, imitating stucco sculpture, and distributed three individually framed allegories in front of an open painted sky.⁵⁴ In the next two rooms of the King's Apartment, he covered the vaults with painted architecture that surrounded his allegorical compositions (fig. 35, nos. 2 and 3). In the King's Presence Chamber, the ceiling appeared flat and closed, with only the central painting opening up a view of the sky (pl. 7). The ceiling of the adjacent King's Privy Chamber was more ornate and achieved a more three-dimensional effect, but the painted architecture seemed rather heavy and covered a large part of the ceiling (pl. 8). Having traversed these spaces, in the fourth room

of the sequence a visitor would have been struck by the vast, open sky spanning the King's Drawing Room (pl. 9). Verrio relegated the painted architecture and feigned stucco sculptures to the very margins of the ceiling, giving centre stage to figures moving freely in open space (fig. 41).

The design of the King's Drawing Room found particular favour at court, as it was not only published in an engraving but also replicated in the Queen's Apartment. There, too, Verrio treated the vaults as illusionistic wholes, framed by a very small amount of painted architecture (plates 14–18). This organization of the ceiling space differed markedly from the decorative system employed by Charles Le Brun contemporaneously at Versailles. Whereas Le Brun's ceilings were characterized by many separately framed spaces painted with images from mythology or ancient history, Verrio's large, unified allegorical compositions allowed him to convey more complex messages through the great number of figures he was able to include in his painted skies. Moreover, the illusionistic mode of decoration reinforced the spectators' involvement, heightened the emotional appeal of the painted messages, and thus sought to win consensus.⁵⁵

Louis Laguerre, who (like Verrio) had worked in Paris before coming to Britain, introduced a clever innovation to Le Brun's system. In the State Drawing Room at Chatsworth, he adopted the "French" partitioning of the vault but created a surprising illusionistic link between the main and subsidiary paintings. Alerted by Mercury's pointing gesture, the viewer discovers that the assembly of the gods in the centre of the ceiling is witnessing the adultery of Mars and Venus, which takes place under a red curtain in the coving (pl. 82). As the lovers appear in front of the painted framework, they seem to share the beholder's space. Painted architecture is used to push them forward into the real space of the room – a strategy already analysed in the previous section with reference to wall paintings.

Since painters of the Baroque era strove to bridge real and painted space, it comes as no surprise that many murals dissolved the boundaries between ceiling and wall. While the classical gods preside over the King's

Staircase at Hampton Court, the clouds on which they are seated overlap the painted architecture and continue on the wall below, seeming to descend into the viewer's space (pl. 91). Similarly, at Greenwich James Thornhill created visual continuity between the ceiling and the west wall in order to link Queen Anne to her successor George I (plates 112, 113).⁵⁶ In many Baroque ceiling paintings, figures appear to spill out of the central opening right into the beholder's space (plates 19, 20, 23, 104). However, even in the Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court, where Verrio consciously avoided this pronounced form of illusionism, he nevertheless sought to address the wall and ceiling as a conceptual unity. Whereas a battle of virtues and vices was often placed in the lower third of a ceiling painting (fig. 44; plates 105, 109), Verrio transposed this conflict to the mural on the west wall that is intended to be read in conjunction with the ceiling painting (pl. 94).⁵⁷

Very large ceilings presented a special challenge for painters. At Chatsworth, Louis Laguerre tried to treat the entire ceiling of the Painted Hall as open sky (pl. 79). He oriented the figures in such a way that they achieve maximum effect when seen from the main entrance to the hall (fig. 74, no. 1). The part of the ceiling above the opposite (south) wall forms the bottom register of the image and is densely populated. On the north end of the rectangular ceiling are but a few figures, who appear upside down because they are meant to refer to the image on the wall below (pl. 69). These conflicting directions within the painting make the illusion unconvincing – especially where the flat ceiling meets the long walls, as there is no smooth transition between wall and ceiling space (pl. 71).

Antonio Verrio approached the problems posed by the extremely large ceiling space in St George's Hall by updating a solution he had previously employed in the King's Apartment: He covered part of the vault with flat architectural ornament that framed three openings containing figurative paintings (pl. 23; cf. plates 6 and 7). For the King's Chapel, he adapted Gaulli's ceiling painting at Il Gesù, placing an illusionistically rendered group of figures seemingly in front of a closed vault decorated with feigned stucco rosettes (plates 19, 20).

Based on the first English translation of Andrea Pozzo's treatise *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*, it was finally James Thornhill who created a proper *quadratura* ceiling in Britain (pl. 104).⁵⁸ While previous British architectural ceilings had looked more or less flat, Thornhill mastered the difficulties of geometrical perspective. Although he did not manage to unify the whole vault (as Pozzo had at Sant'Ignazio: pl. 106), he convincingly evoked arched galleries that appear to rise high above the narrow sides of the ceiling (pl. 109).

However, as already mentioned in the section on wall paintings, it would be an oversimplification to present the history of British murals as an entirely linear development towards ever greater illusionism. Just as in the case of wall paintings, the mode of presentation depended on the intended message. For instance, for the juxtaposed spaces of the King's Chapel and St George's Hall, Verrio intentionally chose two quite different types of ceilings. The more "modern," illusionistic ceiling of the chapel was created first (in 1680/81), followed by the more traditional decoration of the vault in the hall (1681–1683/84). I think that this nuanced treatment of the vaults was not only motivated by a desire for variety but also by considerations regarding the subject matter of the paintings. Although the juxtaposition of the two rooms suggested a strong relationship between spiritual and secular lords, between Christ and King,⁵⁹ Verrio subtly subordinated Charles II to the heavenly ruler. The ceiling over St George's Hall is much more closed than the vault of the chapel, implying that the king does not, after all, enjoy full access to the heavens, as the Redeemer does (plates 19, 23).

Louis Laguerre adapted the ceiling painting that Verrio had created in the King's Chapel in a rather significant way when he was commissioned to decorate the chapel at Chatsworth. His patron, the duke of Devonshire, a stout Anglican, took pains to avoid the accusation of Catholic "idolatry" that could have been levelled against the Windsor murals.⁶⁰ Therefore, he asked Verrio to create an altar painting of St Thomas that constituted a warning against belief in images (pl. 66).⁶¹ Moreover, though Laguerre imitated Verrio's ceiling painting, he placed the resurrected Christ in an unbroken oval frame

(pl. 65). While at Windsor the figures surrounding the Redeemer overlapped the painted architecture, seemingly entering the beholder's space (pl. 19), Laguerre emphasized the boundary between real and painted space. Obviously, he wished to eschew "idolatry" by barring the viewer from involvement in the scene. In my view, this example shows very well that the choice of a certain mode of presentation, i. e. the degree of illusionism employed, was not only a stylistic matter but also depended on thematic considerations.

"Visual Doubles," Imagined Space, and the Space of the Viewer

The two preceding sections have elucidated various ways in which the design of wall and ceiling paintings can suggest communication and even continuity between real and pictorial space. An additional strategy, employed both in wall and ceiling paintings, consisted in introducing "visual doubles," i. e. representations of people or objects that the beholder knew to be "real." For example, I already mentioned the painted view of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea in the hospital's refectory (pl. 46). This visual doubling must have surprised visitors who had approached the building from precisely that angle (cf. fig. 56). Similarly, the well-known views of the London Exchange and Tower on the Naval Arch (fig. 3) or of St Paul's Cathedral in the Upper Hall of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich (pl. 113) invited the viewer to relate those paintings to his or her own contemporary reality.

It must have been even more striking to discover one's contemporaries or even oneself in murals. When the lord mayor, aldermen, and governors visited Christ's Hospital for the regular public suppers, the participants in these meals saw themselves mirrored in Verrio's mural, all gathered in one harmonious group. In this way, the mural sought to inscribe the value of cooperative behaviour into the collective memory.⁶²

Antonio Verrio allegedly represented himself in the King's Chapel,⁶³ but above all he portrayed Charles II and Catherine of Braganza in numerous ceilings of Windsor

Castle (figs. 40, 41, 43, 44; plates 14, 15, 23). James II and his courtiers appeared in Christ's Hospital (pl. 34), William III was incorporated into the *Triumph of the Black Prince* (plates 28, 31), Queen Anne in person presided over her drawing room at Hampton Court Palace (pl. 95), her husband was immortalized amidst allegorical figures (pl. 96), and the family of George I seemed to visit the Royal Hospital at Greenwich (pl. 113). All of these murals were created during the lifetime of the depicted royals, meaning that on special occasions beholders may have seen both the real person and his or her painted likeness in the same room. Such a visual doubling made it evident to a contemporary audience that the mythological, historical, and allegorical personages surrounding these portraits were meant to relate to British society, too. In addition, when placing royals among clouds, the painter posited the exalted, almost god-like status of his patron(s).

"Visual doubles" had been introduced at Windsor Castle even before Charles Le Brun employed them at Versailles.⁶⁴ During the 1680s and 1690s, however, Versailles was almost overflowing with royal portraits, such that Matthew Prior observed: "His house at Versailles is something the foolishest in the world; he is strutting in every panel and galloping over one's head in every ceiling [...]. I verily believe that there are of him statues, busts, bas-reliefs and pictures, above two hundred in the house and gardens."⁶⁵ In my view, this explains why William III is conspicuously absent from the King's Staircase at Hampton Court Palace (pl. 91): Guided by Prior's satirical wit, William avoided having a visual double of himself precisely as a response to Louis XIV, seeking to outdo the Sun King through a new culture of understatement.⁶⁶

Ceilings and Floors

Aside from the doors, windows, walls, and ceilings discussed in the preceding sections, the only basic element of a room left to be considered is the floor, an often-neglected topic. The most sumptuous Italian palaces and churches have marble floors whose ornamentation re-

flects the structure of the ceiling paintings. For instance, the floor of Sant'Ignazio contains the famous marble disc that marks the ideal point from which to view Pozzo's painted perspective.⁶⁷ In the Galleria Colonna, the much-admired pavement made of coloured marble mirrors the tripartite structure of the ceiling (pl. 25).⁶⁸

To my knowledge, this level of refinement was never reached in Britain. The King's and Queen's Apartments at Windsor Castle had fairly simple wooden floors (plates 6–9, 13, 16).⁶⁹ Only the King's Chapel and St George's Hall boasted marble pavements, made up of a chequerboard arrangement of black and white squares (plates 19, 23).⁷⁰ Floors of the same type can to this day be observed in the chapel and hall of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea (pl. 57).⁷¹

More sophisticated floors may be found at Chatsworth and Greenwich, but they, too, are made up of black and white marble squares (plates 68, 111). The building accounts inform us that the pattern at Greenwich was designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor.⁷² The floor in the Lower Hall features swastika-like elements (pl. 111), but there is absolutely no connection between the design of the floor and the ceiling. It seems that British craftsmen lacked the know-how of their Italian colleagues and were unable to produce floors incorporating circular or oval forms that would have mirrored the ceiling.

Rank and Gender: The Relationship between the Function and Decoration of Painted Spaces

Having discussed the ways in which murals referred to the main architectural components of a room (walls, ceilings, doors, windows, and floors), I will now proceed to consider architecture-related, though immaterial, factors that conditioned the design of mural paintings. First of all, the function of a painted interior should be examined.

As explained above, the main organizational unit of a Baroque palace was the apartment, a set of rooms of gradually diminishing size with clearly defined functions

and destined for one particular occupant. Since the decoration of the apartment was “tailor-made” for its first inhabitant, it is vital for the analysis of Baroque murals to consider (1) whom a particular apartment was decorated for and (2) how a mural related to the function of the room for which it was painted.

In the palaces of the nobility (e. g. at Chatsworth), the most magnificently decorated spaces were reserved for the sovereign, forming the so-called state apartment that was only used on festive occasions.⁷³ In royal palaces, the most prestigious apartments were destined for the king and queen respectively, but in special circumstances there could be exceptions to the rule: Although the king and queen normally used separate sets of rooms, at Kensington Palace William III and Mary II shared one centrally placed apartment in order to express their status as joint sovereigns.⁷⁴

At Windsor Castle, the King’s and Queen’s Apartments were similarly structured (for instance, each had a Guard Chamber, Presence Chamber, and Privy Chamber), but there existed also significant, gender-related differences. Only the king had two bedchambers, one of which could be used for public functions like the *lever* (a custom imported from France), whereas the queen was allocated just one bedchamber, restricted to her private use (fig. 35, nos. 5, 6, and F). However, only the queen had a gallery (fig. 35, D). It served as an “extension” of her drawing room, reflecting the special importance of the so-called circle held in her apartment. The circle was the equivalent of the French *salon*, an evening assembly for conversation and social games attended by the king and other senior members of the court. This event allowed the king a flexibility of communication that was impossible in the formal surroundings of his own apartment.⁷⁵

In Baroque society, rank generally counted more than gender. According to courtly etiquette, a high-ranking woman preceded a man from a less distinguished family. Analogously, the status of king and queen depended not so much on their gender as on their position as sovereign and consort, respectively. When these roles were modified or even reversed (as during William and Mary’s and then Queen Anne’s reign), the distribution of courtly

spaces reflected such shifts in the balance of power. For instance, William III inhabited the previous King’s Apartment at Hampton Court Palace, but his wife Mary claimed the more prestigious new apartment located behind the main façade of the palace because her right to the throne was stronger than his.⁷⁶ Consequently, when Anne became queen, she made the central space of Mary’s former apartment her main reception room. Through its position within the palace, this room visualized Anne’s place at the top of Britain’s hierarchy – a message then spelled out and reinforced by Antonio Verrio’s murals.⁷⁷

There are a number of relevant sources for the interpretation of Baroque murals. Only quite rarely does one find explicit explanations of murals in historical documents, and early modern guidebooks usually give rather unsatisfactory and incomplete accounts. However, guidebooks provide important clues regarding the function and furnishing of individual rooms. As furniture (most prominently a throne or a bed) indexes the function of a space, inventories may also be valuable sources. In addition, it is useful to study inventories because they list easel paintings and sculptures that may have extended and amplified messages encoded in the mural paintings.⁷⁸

Documents on courtly ceremonial constitute a further, highly important basis for the interpretation of murals because they codify the etiquette that was acted out in the individual spaces of an apartment. For instance, the *Ordinances made by King Charles the Second for the Government of His Household* provide a clear picture of what took place in which room.⁷⁹ As chapter 3 offers a very detailed analysis of the relationship between the function and decoration of the spaces in the King’s and Queen’s Apartments at Windsor Castle,⁸⁰ I will not repeat my findings here but will limit myself to pointing out that murals could relate to the function of a set of rooms in several distinct ways, e. g. by referring to the person of its owner and by commenting on the precise function of a specific room.

A contemporary source (Thomas Otway’s poem on Windsor Castle) tells us that each mural was interpreted in relation to the apartment’s inhabitant, even if it depicted seemingly remote mythological or allegorical fig-

ures.⁸¹ However, the connection became especially strong when portraits of the apartment's owner were included in the murals. As such portraits appeared in the context of a narrative, they defined the patron's or patroness's role with reference to his or her rank and gender. Moreover, portraits in murals could establish a link between the inhabitant and the function of the individual room, indicating how he or she was meant to act in a given situation.

For instance, it is telling to compare the ways in which Charles II and Catherine of Braganza were presented in their most prestigious audience room, the Privy Chamber. Catherine appeared as the ideal wife, surrounded by virtues like chastity, modesty, and obedience, cherishing a flaming heart as a symbol of her loving loyalty to the king (pl. 15). This suggested that in audience situations she would not foreground political aims of her own but rather support the king's policies. Charles II, on the contrary, presided in his privy chamber over personifications of his territory, England, Scotland, and Ireland, seeking to impress guests with the large extent of his power base. In addition, the four cardinal and three theological virtues visualized the principles that (purportedly) formed the basis of his government, while three further allegories underscored the king's role as defender of the Anglican faith. Visitors were thus confronted with a panoramic display of the values and considerations that would guide the king's decisions during his audiences.

As apartments consisted of several rooms, the messages of the wall and ceiling paintings should be read in the sequence in which visitors originally traversed these spaces. In analysing the murals, it can be quite instructive to study the relationship between successive rooms. For example, certain visual "guides" may reappear in several locations (like the heavenly messenger Mercury who "accompanied" visitors from the King's Guard Chamber to the Presence Chamber). The repetition of similar themes in different rooms inscribed them more forcefully into the beholder's memory, suggesting for example that opposition to the king was always unsuccessful and therefore pointless.⁸² Moreover, pictorial messages could unfold in a climactic sequence across suc-

cessive spaces: The ceiling painting in the Queen's Presence Chamber evoked Catherine of Braganza's dramatic defeat of her enemies, whereas in the adjacent Privy Chamber she was depicted on a triumphal chariot driving towards a temple that signified peace.⁸³

Although the pictorial programme of an apartment referred to its first inhabitant, it was clear from the start of a decorative campaign that the murals would remain in place for many decades or even centuries. Therefore, at Windsor Castle and Hampton Court Palace a straightforward depiction of contemporary history was strictly avoided. Instead, allegorical figurations reflected the function of individual rooms within an apartment and thus contained timeless messages that could be appropriated by subsequent inhabitants. For instance, every British queen consort should have been able to subscribe to the virtues depicted in the Queen's Privy Chamber. Yet, at the same time, Catherine of Braganza's contemporaries were encouraged to discover topical allusions, as murals often combined multiple layers of meaning.⁸⁴

What has been said with reference to Baroque apartments holds true for other painted spaces, too: The subject matter of a mural usually relates to the function of the room in which it is located. It is therefore useful to consider the relationship between the painting and its intended audience and to ask why a particular scene (from a whole repertoire of possible themes) was chosen. As St George's Hall served as a hall of reunion for the knights of the Garter, its decoration naturally had to feature episodes from the history of that order – but why did Verrio decide to depict the triumph of the Black Prince? It is equally clear that a mural in the Great Hall of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea had to refer to the military service of the Chelsea veterans – but why did the patron opt for an allegory instead of battle paintings? What were the additional layers of meaning communicated by the "non-military" elements of the painted allegory?⁸⁵

In the process of interpreting murals, it can be particularly fruitful to focus on discrepancies between subject matter and setting. For instance, in the Painted Hall at Greenwich one would expect a pictorial cycle celebrating the Royal Navy. However, the very first ideas for the programme were entirely unrelated to naval themes, and

Thornhill had to be told to insert “what more he can relating to maritime affaires.”⁸⁶ A reconstruction of the original programme clarifies that the painter intended to pay homage to Queen Anne rather than glorify the navy.⁸⁷ Even in their final form, the Greenwich murals refer to the navy only in passing. The use of the Painted Hall was therefore adapted to the function implied by the murals: Soon after its completion, the hall became primarily a memorial to Britain’s monarchs and a sight-seeing spot rather than serving its intended purpose as a gathering place for veterans.⁸⁸

The Disposition of Murals within a Painted Room: Pairs and Groups of Images

The distribution of wall and ceiling paintings in a given space necessitated a number of crucial choices. Where would the most important image be placed? Were subordinate scenes to be introduced? If so, how should they be related to each other and to the main image?

According to the emphasis on symmetry that characterized Baroque aesthetics, subordinate images were often presented as pairs. By creating visual pendants, painters followed a trend established in contemporary easel painting, which also conditioned the hang of Baroque picture galleries.⁸⁹ Images forming a pair are not only the same size but also share certain formal characteristics. Pairs are often presented in grisaille and have a peculiar form (e. g. they are set in oval or octagonal frames) in order to distinguish them from surrounding images. They may combine similar pictorial elements in a similar composition (plates 96, 98) or feature the same protagonist (e. g. the two oval paintings depicting the Labours of Hercules in fig. 41). They can be placed on opposite walls (plates 114, 115), on opposite sides of a ceiling (fig. 41), or on either side of a door or central opening (figs. 2, 3, 5). Moreover, inscriptions may serve to explicate the link between them.⁹⁰

Pairs of images frequently frame a central painting that is visually distinct from the lateral ones. Such centralized, symmetrical groups of three can be found on ceilings (plates 6, 7, 23, 104), on a single wall (pl. 71),

or on three adjacent walls resembling a triptych (plates 96, 98, 99).⁹¹ The central image is usually more prominent in its size, its shape, and its greater degree of “presence” (stronger colour, more pronounced illusionism). The tripartite structure sometimes came to be employed in a single composition, too (pl. 99).

In addition, groups of four images can also be found. The four corners of a vault were normally decorated with similar ornamental or figurative motifs (e. g. plates 11, 14, 15, 41, 82), and four related images could be placed above each wall (pl. 13). In the Queen’s Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace, four reddish (“porphyry”) rectangles are set over the walls, while four “cameos” with golden backdrops grace the corners of the vault (pl. 94). A pair of greenish painted reliefs placed over the opposite doors of the enfilade completes the decoration (pl. 97).

The pairing or grouping of images certainly achieved a pleasing symmetrical effect but was not motivated by aesthetic reasons alone. Pairs of images that frame a central painting heighten its impact. Moreover, the similar visual form of paired images invites the beholder to compare and contrast them in order to discover thematic links.

Meaningful relationships between pairs of images fall into four distinct categories. Firstly, by placing two similar images alongside each other their messages are emphasized and enhanced. For instance, the twin images of “Salus Publica” and “Securitas Publica” at Greenwich both highlight the beneficial effects of George I’s rule.⁹² In an analogous way, Verrio stressed Queen Anne’s virtuous government by framing the personification of Britain’s monarchy with two groups of virtues overcoming vices (pl. 99).⁹³ Secondly, paired images can complement each other so as to generate a new, composite message. In the coronation entry of 1661, Ceres and Bacchus appeared as a couple in order to signify bread and wine, food and drink, bodily and spiritual nourishment (fig. 5).⁹⁴ The pairing of Mars and Neptune alluded to war at sea, both on the Naval Arch (fig. 3) and in Verrio’s murals in Horn Court.⁹⁵ Thirdly, two spatially linked images may actually depict opposites. This was the case on the Restoration Arch, where reward

was juxtaposed with punishment (Fig. 2), and equally on the Naval Arch (fig. 3), where images of the Tower and the Exchange evoked two contrasting aspects of London's recent history.⁹⁶ Finally, the fourth category of paired images presents them as a succession in the sense of a narrative arc. For instance, in the Upper Hall at Greenwich William of Orange is staged as Britain's "great hope" (pl. 115), whereas the opposite mural suggests that George I brought the fulfilment of that hope (pl. 114).⁹⁷

Visual Hierarchies and Degrees of Reality

Early modern European culture is characterized by a deep-rooted suspicion of all things left (as evidenced by the fact that the Latin word for "left," *sinister*, has evil connotations). In courtly ceremonial, the place on a ruler's right is always more prestigious than the one on his left. The same hierarchy also pervades the sacred sphere as, according to the Apostles' Creed, Christ is seated to his father's right. Accordingly, the Gospel side of a church, being regarded as its more dignified side, is placed to the right of the main altar (from the vantage point of a person facing the congregation from the altar).

Because of these traditional connotations of right and left and the fact that Europeans read texts from left to right, paired images have an inherent hierarchy: The right one is generally more "valued" than the left. In the above-mentioned example, George I occupies quite logically the right side of the Upper Hall at Greenwich (fig. 102, no. 7). The same holds true for the Painted Hall at Chatsworth where William Cavendish's hero, the prince of Orange, appears in the right-hand oval, whereas Caesar, his negative counterpart, is placed on the left (pl. 71).⁹⁸

However, we must bear in mind that directions within a work of art may also be conceived in a liturgical or ceremonial sense, especially when the sovereign forms its centre. In images of the Last Judgement, the blessed appear to the right of Christ (as seen from his perspective, i. e. on the left side of the painting from the beholder's view). Similarly, Charles II was presented as a God-like

judge on the Restoration Arch, with the good citizens to his right and the villains to his left (fig. 2).⁹⁹

Consistent with early modern gender hierarchies, in the foundation picture of Christ's Hospital the boys stand to the right of King Edward VI, whereas the girls are relegated to the less dignified side to his left (pl. 41). Significantly, this arrangement was reversed in the triptych created by Antonio Verrio, in which he allocated the girls the more prestigious space in the left panel (to the sovereign's right: pl. 34). Their placement reflected the position of the Girls' Ward, which was directly adjacent to the left panel (fig. 49, nos. 3a and 5). As Verrio's patrons wished to honour Sir Robert Clayton, who had financed the new Girls' Ward, the traditional hierarchy of right and left was for once overruled.¹⁰⁰

Whereas in groups of four images (e. g. in the four corners of a room) no evident hierarchy exists, groups of three have a clearly defined centre with two subordinate lateral paintings. The latter often serve to comment on the main image or to expand on its meaning. For instance, in the King's Guard Chamber at Windsor Castle the ceiling was dominated by a representation of Jupiter and Juno, flanked by a pair of images that depicted opposites: war and peace, respectively. The circular lateral paintings appeared like the pans of a giant balance (pl. 6). The group of three suggested that Jupiter and Juno (i. e. king and queen) held this balance in place, maintaining a just equilibrium. A perceptive visitor could have inferred from this spatial arrangement that it depended on his or her own performance during a courtly audience to what side the balance might tip.¹⁰¹

In the Painted Hall at Chatsworth, two grisaille paintings visualize a contrast between Julius Caesar (who had led Rome into civil war) and William of Orange (who brought liberty rather than civil war to England). The oval images frame a huge rectangular painting that shows Emperor Augustus – i. e. William of Orange – closing the Temple of Janus (pl. 71). Laguerre's colourful mural idealizes the state of peace that William (purportedly) would bring about, rescuing Britain from the turmoil that the policies of Caesar (Charles I) had caused.¹⁰² Despite obvious formal differences, the dynamic among the three images resembles that among the group of three

ceiling paintings in the King's Guard Chamber. In either case, the fundamental opposition between war and peace brackets the central image, which presents the person or persons who decide the fate of the kingdom.

Chatsworth is a good example of the way in which visual hierarchies were established. This process not only involved the placement of images but also their "degree of reality."¹⁰³ Louis Laguerre and his team strove for the utmost variety, seeking to demonstrate their skill through the imitation of many different objects and textures. Following the example of the Italian masterpieces of mural painting, they built a fictive architecture composed of heavily ornamented pilasters and niches; created a feigned "marble" statue of Pompey and "marble" busts as well as "bronze" reliefs supported by "stucco" figures; suspended the spoils of war from the ceiling; conceived the central image as a giant easel painting set in a gilt frame; and crowned the room with a vast expanse of "open sky" populated by countless deities who seem to move in a spatial continuum with the viewer's own space (plates 69, 71, 79).¹⁰⁴ The painters imitated inanimate objects and living beings alike, using illusionistic techniques in order to make them look "real."

The images on the ceiling of the Painted Hall stand at the top of the visual hierarchy, both through their placement and their lifelike appearance. As in other Baroque palaces, the ceiling painting visualizes the loftiest ideas. According to the "top-to-bottom" logic of Restoration society, which had already been spelled out in the coronation entry of 1661,¹⁰⁵ vaults were reserved for a "high society" composed of kings and courtiers, their attendant virtues, and personifications of abstract concepts. In the case of the Painted Hall at Chatsworth, the ceiling painting gives tangible form to the ideal of constitutional monarchy.¹⁰⁶

The images in the Painted Hall display different "degrees of reality," i. e. they are characterized by varying degrees of closeness to the viewer's own reality. The illusionistically rendered figures on the ceiling seem to share the beholder's space, whereas the main wall painting is clearly "only an image," as a prominent golden frame marks the boundary between pictorial space and the viewer's space. The oval paintings imitat-

ing ancient reliefs are even farther removed from the sphere of the beholder (pl. 71).

This hierarchy created via distinct "degrees of reality" guides the viewer's perception and understanding of the pictorial cycle. The "remote" mode of the two ovals informs the beholder that these scenes refer to the past and are to be read as a pair, i. e. it encourages him or her to search for points of likeness and difference. The main image, presented as a framed easel painting, is closer to the reality of the viewers and invites them to contemplate this seemingly historical image in relation to contemporary society. Finally, the illusionistic mode of the ceiling paintings establishes direct contact with the beholder, emphasizing the contemporary relevance of the concept of constitutional monarchy.

Last but not least, in considering "degrees of reality" it may prove fruitful not to neglect the role of artistic materials and techniques. Few British mural paintings have yet undergone an expert technical analysis, but most of them seem to have been executed in oil on plaster.¹⁰⁷ This technique differed markedly from Italian *al fresco* painting. Frescoes have a matte surface but brighter and longer-lasting colours, whereas oil on plaster darkens and deteriorates more quickly. In their original states, however, the shimmering surfaces of oil paint may have imparted an additional touch of liveliness to the painted scenes, especially when seen by candlelight.

Points of View, Sequential Perception, Movement in Space, and Directions within Paintings

In designing murals, painters had to accommodate a number of interrelated considerations. As explained in the preceding sections, the chosen topics needed to be distributed in such a way as to produce pleasing symmetrical effects. At the same time, the establishment of visual hierarchies via the individual paintings' placement and mode of rendering was meant to assist viewers in deciphering the visual messages. In addition, the most important image needed to be positioned in such a way that it could be seen from the main entrance of a

room, achieving maximum effect at first glance.¹⁰⁸ But despite their focus on immediate visual impact, painters knew that visitors would study the murals through “peripatetic seeing,” i. e. by walking about.¹⁰⁹ This required artists to introduce several points of view and visual clues that served to guide the beholder through the painted scheme. Ideally, visual surprises would come into view only at second glance, thus keeping the beholder’s interest alive.

On a very simple level, Antonio Verrio accomplished this via his triptych compositions. Although at Christ’s Hospital and the Royal Hospital at Chelsea the central image was placed opposite the main entrance, the viewer could not take it in as a whole.¹¹⁰ Only when one approached the mural could the lateral panels be appreciated. The closer the viewer came to the upper end of the room, the more he or she felt surrounded by and involved in the images, discovering an increasing number of portraits and objects (plates 34, 46, 49).

In the Painted Hall at Greenwich, James Thornhill applied the same principle on a much grander scale. There, too, the culminating image is positioned opposite the main entrance but is from that vantage point partly hidden by a framing arch (pl. 108). This kindles viewers’ curiosity and entices them to proceed through the succession of grandiose painted spaces in order to discover the visual surprises that lie in store. Only when the beholder sets foot in the Upper Hall can he or she apprehend the full extent of the concluding mural (pl. 113), as well as the four additional wall paintings and the painted ceiling that had all been invisible from the entrance (fig. 102, nos. 5–7, 9–10).

At Hampton Court Palace, the visual surprise consists in the portrait of Emperor Julian that is completely hidden from view when one enters the King’s Staircase. Visitors are first confronted by some classical gods (pl. 90), before encountering numerous ancient Caesars in the main image (plates 89, 91). Only upon ascending the steps is the viewer’s gaze directed towards the emperor seated at his desk (pl. 92). This last image provides the key to interpreting the pictorial programme because it clarifies that the depicted scenes refer to the writings of an ancient emperor, i. e. to Julian’s satire *The Caesars*.¹¹¹

At Chatsworth, too, an initially hidden scene changes one’s understanding of the whole pictorial cycle. Originally, guests entered the Painted Hall from the court (fig. 74, no. 1). From that position, they could see each of the murals, but their attention would clearly have been drawn towards the main image located opposite the entrance (fig. 74, no. 4; pl. 71). The dynamics of the composition, which unfolds diagonally from left to right, along with the pointing gestures of Emperor Augustus and the priest, direct viewers to the right side of the room (pl. 70), i. e. towards the stairs that ascend to the state apartment. The ceiling painting underlines this direction of movement, as the south wall (over the stairs) forms the bottom edge of the composition (pl. 68). Visitors are therefore conducted to the stairs and on to rooms still to be discovered. Only when they descend the steps on their return do they gain a full view of the *Assassination of Caesar* on the north wall (pl. 69). This scene presents viewers with a dramatic, perhaps even shocking, contrast to the celebration of an Augustan age of peace that they had encountered upon entering the room. The visual surprise was intended to stir the beholder in order to stimulate a profound political discourse about good governance.¹¹²

Directions within murals often mirror the envisaged movement of spectators within a specific painted room. We have already seen this in pl. 70, but numerous other examples can be adduced. For instance, in St George’s Hall the knights of the Garter’s procession towards their sovereign paralleled the painted procession of the Black Prince towards Edward III’s throne (plates 23, 28). Similarly, in his *modello* for Christ’s Hospital Verrio positioned Charles II so that he was turned in the direction of viewers coming through the main entrance (pl. 40).¹¹³

This close coordination between the viewer’s movement in space and the positioning of figures within paintings is particularly striking in the case of the Queen’s Privy Chamber at Windsor. If one looks at the illustration only (pl. 15), the orientation of the queen’s chariot is puzzling because it moves from right to left, against the standard European reading direction, i. e. seemingly “backwards.” However, a glance at the ground plan clarifies the matter: Visitors approached this room

from the east, through a door located to the right of the painting (fig. 35, C). Therefore, their direction of movement paralleled that of the queen's chariot. They seemed to belong to the queen's entourage, and, like her painted likeness, they approached a temple signifying peace and concord. The painting thus suggested a harmonious relationship between the court and the queen who was in fact under heavy scrutiny during the time of the mural's creation.¹¹⁴

In the Upper Hall at Greenwich, too, James Thornhill clearly tailored the pictorial composition of his *Arrival of George I* to its location within the room. According to the traditional hierarchy of right and left, he placed George I on the right-hand wall (fig. 102, no. 7).¹¹⁵ This meant that the triumphal procession had to move from right to left (pl. 114), towards the culminating image on the west wall (fig. 102, no. 8). The movement of a visitor entering the Upper Hall therefore paralleled the direction of the painted procession, engaging the beholder in the king's triumphant arrival.

Architectural Forms as Signifiers

Interpretations of murals tend to focus on the depicted events or allegories as they appear to encapsulate the "message" of a certain room. But it is often overlooked that architectural forms can act as signifiers, too, and need to be included in any analysis of spatially embedded art.

The coronation entry of 1661 demonstrated John Webb's perfect grasp of the principles underlying ancient architectural theory. Hierarchy played out both on a vertical and a horizontal axis, through the superposition of orders on each triumphal arch and the narrative sequence of the arches in relation to one another. The architectural forms visualized the return of a "ruinous" (Commonwealth) society to a traditional, top-to-bottom order that was a primary concern of Restoration society.¹¹⁶

Not surprisingly, the hierarchical system of orders came to be applied to interior design, too. Many of the

spaces discussed in this book feature classical columns or pilasters, either in built or painted form. At Greenwich, the massive size and height of the columns placed between the vestibule and the Lower Hall contribute significantly to the sublime effect of the whole ensemble, thus setting the tone for a visitor's reading of the murals (pl. 108).¹¹⁷ Feigned colonnades were similarly meant to bestow a particular sense of dignity on a painted interior. Very often, such columns or pilasters belong to the most ornate orders, namely Corinthian and Composite, especially as the *Composita*, "the most famous Columnne," signifies triumph (plates 23, 64, 88, 92, 97, 113).¹¹⁸ Solomonic columns carry associations that are no less flattering, being legible as a reference to King Solomon's proverbial wisdom and establishing a *paragone* with papal Rome (plates 19, 21).¹¹⁹

A further ancient marker of dignity was the apse, yet another architectural form imitated in painted interiors. At Windsor Castle, the Lord appeared seated in a painted apse (pl. 19), facing the king who was originally enthroned in front of a monumental painted niche (pl. 23).¹²⁰ Verrio thereby quoted the architectural vocabulary of the ancient basilica, in which the apse had been the seat of the secular judge and ruler.¹²¹ In Constantine's time, this structure was adopted for churches so as to stress the parallel between Christ and ruler¹²² – a parallel forcefully restated at Windsor Castle. The painted architecture served to highlight the reciprocal relationship between throne and altar and, thereby, to illustrate Charles II's divine right to rule.

Last but not least, the symbolic value of painted architectures within pictorial compositions should not be underestimated. St Paul's Cathedral identifies George I as champion of Protestantism (pl. 113),¹²³ whereas the Temples of Janus in Windsor and Chatsworth evoke a new era of peace (plates 15, 70).¹²⁴ Verrio's mural at Chelsea Hospital not only immortalizes the newly erected building but also combines it with a pleading allegorical figure of London in order to designate the hospital as Charles II's contribution to the rebuilding of the city after the great fire of 1666 (pl. 46).¹²⁵ In all four cases, the painted architec-

tures do not simply illustrate specific buildings but aim to transmit larger, more significant messages.

Concettismo: Image, Architecture, and Text

The Italian term *concettismo* refers to the early modern predilection for elaborate metaphors, emblems, and *imprese*. Artists sought to display their originality by conveying intellectual conceits in a surprising manner, e. g. through the combination of an image and a short text in order to generate a new, somewhat cryptic message. Inventing and deciphering such messages was a favourite pastime for the educated classes of the Baroque age. Emblems and *imprese* often appeared in print but could be realized in all media. For instance, *concettismo* informed the hang of Baroque picture galleries and inspired the creation of built *imprese*.¹²⁶

Imitating the structure of emblems and *imprese*, the inclusion of text could amplify the meaning of a mural. Sometimes, Latin mottoes were incorporated into the paintings themselves;¹²⁷ alternatively, texts could be inscribed into the architecture of a particular building or room. In this section, I will concentrate on the latter cases because they concern the relationship between images and their surrounding spaces.

The lofty architecture of the Painted Hall at Greenwich evokes notions of imperial grandeur. Following the example set by the buildings of antiquity, a monumental Latin inscription in golden, classicizing letters fills the frieze of the Lower Hall (fig. 105). It celebrates Mary II as the foundress of the Royal Hospital, but it also serves to denote a particularly elevated stylistic level. The most prominent words of the text, “*Pietas augusta*” on the west wall (pl. 111), suggest an understanding of the space as a sublime imperial sanctuary.¹²⁸ They enhance the message of the ceiling painting, which glorifies the rule of William and Mary, and prepare visitors for the shrine to Britain’s monarchy that is the Upper Hall.

In the Upper Hall, viewers encounter yet another massive classical inscription on the painted frieze of the west wall (pl. 113). As Joseph M. Levine has pointed out, in early modern Britain the ancient languages were re-

garded as “the two indispensable keys to success.”¹²⁹ In John Evelyn’s view, the main point of academic studies consisted in “conquest of the two learned languages, an easy and natural style of writing of Greek into Latine and Latine into Greek.”¹³⁰ Every educated eighteenth-century beholder would therefore have been able to recognize the source of the famous words “*Iam nova progenies coelo [demittitur alto].*” By combining this line from Virgil’s fourth *Eclogue* with a group portrait of George I’s family, James Thornhill gave the classical quote a new meaning. He identified the Hanoverians with the “new breed of men” who had been “sent down from the heavens,” i. e. he encouraged a providential reading of their accession.¹³¹

Louis Laguerre’s first design for the ceiling of the Painted Hall at Chatsworth featured a scroll containing the patron’s motto “*Cavendo tutus*” (Safety through caution; fig. 75).¹³² The same inscription appeared in gilt letters on the newly created south front of the building (pl. 62). Although the scroll was omitted from the final version of the mural, the chiselled motto remained in place and served as a giant “heading” for the new state rooms that lay behind the south façade.¹³³ The text, which puns on the patron’s family name, implied Cavendish’s safe possession of his lands and of assets to be found both within and beyond this innovative piece of architecture.¹³⁴ The motto can be viewed as a grandiloquent broadcast that sought to condition a visitor’s perception of William Cavendish. It provided a guideline not only for the duke’s conduct but also for one’s interpretation of the murals displayed in his magnificent country house.

At Windsor Castle, the exterior and interior of the building were linked in a similar way. In the King’s Presence Chamber, the ceiling painting over the royal throne represented “Justice in Stone-colour shewing the Arms of Britain to Thames and his River Nymphs, with the Star of Venus, and this label, *Sydus Carolinum.*”¹³⁵ The star held a double significance. On the one hand, its combination with the personification of justice hinted at the so-called Star Chamber, a much-criticized court of justice that had been abolished by Charles I’s enemies.¹³⁶ On the other hand, the label “*Sydus Carolinum*” defined the constellation as the “Caroline Star” or “Charles’s

Star,” alluding to the fact that at Charles II’s birth a brilliant star had shone brightly in the daytime skies over London.¹³⁷ This was regarded as a positive omen comparable to the Star of Bethlehem.¹³⁸ Through the combination of text and image, the mural therefore suggested that Charles II had ushered in a new era of justice, eliminating abuses that had been criticized during his father’s reign. In addition, these purported messianic qualities of the king were broadcast to the surrounding territory through the placement of a giant, gilt star on the outside of the new Star Building, in which Charles II resided at Windsor.¹³⁹

Extended Forms of *Concettismo*

Emblems and *imprese* serve to express abstract concepts. They take a visual image as their starting point but transform it via the inclusion of a text that introduces new levels of meaning. When the resulting *compositum* is deciphered correctly, one discovers its essence: a certain term or concept.¹⁴⁰

The triumphal arches designed by John Webb and John Ogilby for the coronation entry of Charles II can be regarded as extended forms of *concettismo*. Each of the four arches featured a number of paintings and Latin inscriptions that commented on each other (figs. 2–5).¹⁴¹ The architecture of the arches provided a structure on which several such *composita* could be displayed in order to stage meaningful confrontations and juxtapositions between them. On the upper levels of the arches, the messages became ever more abstract, with the crowning element supplying a conceptual “heading” for the whole structure.¹⁴²

I would like to suggest that the peculiar predilection of British patrons for juxtaposed rooms stemmed, too, from such conceptual thinking and can therefore be interpreted as *concettismo* by architectural means. It is indeed striking that the juxtaposition of chapel and hall, first realized by Hugh May and Antonio Verrio at Windsor Castle, was then imitated both at Chelsea and at Greenwich. What constituted the particular appeal of this spatial configuration?

During the Baroque rebuilding of Windsor Castle, Hugh May moved the altar of the Royal Chapel from the east to the west wall. This fundamental change in its liturgical disposition enabled the architect to open up a central connecting axis between the chapel and St George’s Hall. Throne and altar were located at opposite ends of that axis and could be perceived together when the doors were open (fig. 35). The new arrangement intimated a close relationship between the ruler and his ultimate model, the Lord; it visualized the divine legitimation of the king’s prerogatives.¹⁴³

The pairing of two rooms extended the pairing of images that was a fundamental design principle of Baroque murals.¹⁴⁴ Not surprisingly, Antonio Verrio conceived the decoration of both spaces in tandem. He underlined the relationship between altar and throne by positioning each of them in front of painted niches framed by giant columns. On the ceilings of the two halls, he placed the images of Christ and the king in such a way that they faced one another (plates 19, 23). The large murals that covered the north walls of the chapel and hall, respectively, formed a thematically linked pair that alluded to the king’s sacred and secular tasks, thus giving visual form to the monarch’s special position as supreme governor of the Church of England.

Because of their function as *summus episcopus* (highest-ranking bishop), only Protestant rulers were allowed to place their seats opposite or even above the altar.¹⁴⁵ Catholic rulers, being subject to the Pope, usually sat to the side of the main altar.¹⁴⁶ The confessional status of the British (Anglican) sovereign therefore enabled Verrio to create his conceptual masterpiece, a juxtaposition of throne and altar that had no precedent in Italy.

This visualization of the British king’s special prerogatives proved so attractive that it was replicated both at Chelsea and at Greenwich. In the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, the chapel and hall face each other across a vestibule (fig. 54). The altar and the image of the sovereign were positioned along the same visual axis, establishing a link between them (plates 46, 59). In this way, veterans and visitors were encouraged to relate the king to the altar, i. e. to perceive the secular and spiritual lords as a divinely sanctioned pair.¹⁴⁷ At Greenwich, too, Wren’s

plans envisaged a juxtaposition of the chapel and hall from the start of the design process (see, for instance, fig. 113), but due to the slow completion of the building scheme the chapel came to be finished only several decades after the Painted Hall.¹⁴⁸

Probably guided by Charles II's orders and the ideas of the earl of Arlington,¹⁴⁹ at Windsor Castle May and Verrio succeeded in creating a highly significant spatial and pictorial configuration whose symbolic potential was immediately recognized and imitated. In a manner characteristic of Baroque *concettismo*, two distinct media, namely architecture and painting, interacted so as to generate a new message. In tandem, they gave tangible form to the abstract concept of the king's divine right to rule. Moreover, by highlighting his special position as supreme governor of the Church of England, this extended form of *concettismo* suggested Charles's superiority to the Catholic kings of Europe.¹⁵⁰

Spaces of Translation

An interpretation of spatially embedded art requires a vast arsenal of methods. In this chapter, I have traced methods for analysing the interaction of images and spaces. The headings of the individual sections provide a "checklist" of the numerous aspects that are to be considered in any such analysis. However, in order to decode the complex messages of Baroque murals, a new *Bild-Raum-Wissenschaft* must deploy an even more complex set of methods.

The case studies presented in this book build on a wide range of approaches from the history of art, architectural history, cultural and social history, *Kulturtransferforschung*, cultural memory studies, Social Representation Theory, the sociology of space, and psychological research on conflict resolution. As these methods have been discussed at length in chapter 1, it is unnecessary to reintroduce them here. In this concluding section, I would like to focus only on one particularly relevant field, namely translation studies.

As mentioned in the introduction, the present book was written in the context of a DFG Priority Programme

titled "Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit" ("Early Modern Translation Cultures, 1450–1800"). In the following paragraphs, I will provide a brief overview of the various processes of translation addressed in this book, before proceeding to clarify how research on translation relates to *Bild-Raum-Wissenschaft*.

The field of translation studies, in the classical sense, is first and foremost concerned with interlingual translations. According to the skopos theory of translation, we must ask why certain texts are translated, i. e. why the target culture is interested in them. As analysed in chapter 5, English translations of *Pharsalia* were produced because Lucan's epic poem played a central role in discourses on republican and monarchical government, respectively.¹⁵¹ The translation of Andrea Pozzo's *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum* gave British painters access to a manual that helped them decorate ceilings with optically convincing *quadratura* architecture,¹⁵² whereas John Evelyn's translation of the *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* by Roland Fréart de Chambray sought to inspire British architects to transform London into a "new Rome."¹⁵³

In the context of the present book, such interlingual translations are studied as a starting point for artistic (pictorial or architectural) translation processes. For instance, the *Parallèle* provided a model for the portico of Christopher Wren's Royal Hospital at Chelsea and can be used to elucidate the debate between "ancients" and "moderns" that found visual expression in Antonio Verrio's Chelsea mural.¹⁵⁴ Thomas May's translation and "continuation" of Lucan influenced the choice of subject matter for the Painted Hall at Chatsworth, and in addition some of its murals were based on the illustrations in a French edition of *Pharsalia*.¹⁵⁵

As explained in chapter 1, artistic translation can be divided into three different types. Intermedial translations concern processes of translation between different media, e. g. the translation of Emperor Julian's satire *The Caesars* into the murals of the King's Staircase or the translation of a print from the *Parallèle* into Wren's built architecture. By contrast, intramedial translations occur within the same medium, for instance when Louis Laguerre's *Augustus closing the Temple of Janus* refers

to a painting of the same subject by Carlo Maratta (plates 70, 76). Intramedial translations can equally involve statues quoting statues or buildings quoting other buildings (as does the south façade of Chatsworth House).¹⁵⁶ Finally, a third form of translation may be called “mediation” and designates the translation of a verbal message into an artistic medium when this message has not previously been formulated in a literary source or a work of art.

The murals discussed in chapters 2 to 7 may all be subsumed under the category of mediation because only single elements of them refer to other works of art or literature. As murals were tailor-made for specific rooms with specific functions and reflected the agenda of a specific patron, their pictorial programmes were conceived *ex novo*. Therefore, the entire decoration of a painted interior usually has no direct model,¹⁵⁷ even though some parts of the design may be regarded as translations of literary or visual source material.

Inter- and intramedial translations are processes that concern the making of a work of art. An artist or architect uses a repertoire of models in order to assist him in creating new designs. As most of the murals discussed in this book were painted by foreign artists, this process also involved cultural transfer, i. e. translations of exemplary Italian or French works of art into a British context.

Certainly, such translations could be classified as acts of “reception” of certain models. However, I prefer the term “translation” because it is active rather than passive. Much like the term “mediation,” it expresses the communicative function of mural paintings. Therefore, in the design of murals two kinds of translation intersect: on the one hand, artistic translation (primarily concerned with the making of a work of art) and, on the other hand, interpersonal translation (primarily concerned with the visualization of certain messages that were meant to condition the audience’s response).

This is where space comes into play because the spatial setting of murals has a decisive impact on the way in which viewers perceive them. As demonstrated in the preceding sections of this chapter, much conceptual thinking went into the arrangement of individual paintings within a given room.

According to Martina Löw, space is constituted via two interrelated processes: “spacing” (the positioning of certain social goods, people, or symbolic markers in designated places) and *Syntheseleistung* (a cognitive effort that connects these elements).¹⁵⁸ In the case of Baroque murals, the “spacing” (i. e. the disposition of individual murals on specific wall surfaces) was designed in such a way as to aid the viewer’s *Syntheseleistung*. By pairing, grouping, and juxtaposing certain images, painters guided beholders towards an intended interpretation.

Painted interiors are therefore “spaces of translation” in a double sense. On the one hand, during the design process numerous acts of artistic translation occurred that shaped the way in which certain topics were presented. On the other hand, artists assisted viewers in “translating” the paintings, i. e. in decoding their messages. This mental process, a *Syntheseleistung* guided by the “spacing” of images, led to a re-translation of visual into verbal messages.

Although Martina Löw developed her sociology of space with reference to contemporary cities, her method is equally useful for the study of Baroque palaces. In her terminology, “spacing” and *Syntheseleistung* constitute a specific social space. The same can be said of Baroque painted interiors because through deciphering the visual messages, beholders received important clues as to their expected behaviour. For instance, the paintings in the King’s Apartment at Windsor Castle showed visitors that they ought to respond to the king with awe, that he held superhuman powers of judgement, and that opposition against him was futile.¹⁵⁹ Thus, the design of the murals sought to condition the course and outcomes of audiences.

Homi Bhabha’s theorization of contemporary trans-cultural exchange can also inform our interpretation of Baroque murals. Following his lead, rooms with large-scale political murals can be seen as “third spaces,” i. e. as settings for intercultural negotiation during audiences, receptions, and festivals.¹⁶⁰ As the highly codified language of Baroque murals would have been universally understood by members of the European elite regardless of their language skills, murals were able to serve as mediators in such acts of cultural translation.

While Verrio's paintings at Windsor conveyed rather oppressive messages, the example of the Painted Hall at Chatsworth demonstrates that at least some murals were conceived so as to encourage a liberal political discourse around topics like freedom from tyrannical rule and constitutional monarchy.¹⁶¹

Painted rooms may be regarded as *lieux de mémoire* in that they seek to eternalize a certain view of the past, the present, and sometimes even the future. However, as has been clarified by the field of cultural memory studies, the memory of the past is always related to the

present. Societies "(re)construct their past [...] according to their present needs and current plans for the future."¹⁶² For instance, the Painted Hall at Greenwich sought to foster pride in Britain's past in order to generate patriotic support for Queen Anne's current war against France.¹⁶³ In that sense, too, painted interiors are "spaces of translation" because viewers were to infer from the murals certain maxims for their own conduct, whether during audiences or more generally in their roles within society. After all, the ideals encoded in the murals were meant to be translated into action!

NOTES

- 1 Hamlett 2020b; Hoppe et al. 2020.
- 2 Bachmann-Medick 2010, 284–328.
- 3 Löw 2001; Schroer 2006; Löw 2008; Löw et al. 2008. For case studies from the early modern period see Strunck 2017a.
- 4 Bachmann-Medick 2010, 329–380.
- 5 Bredekamp 2003, 56–58.
- 6 I would like to thank Professor Joseph Connors for suggesting the translation “spatially embedded art.”
- 7 See, for instance, Bauer 2000; Fürst 2002; Ganz 2003; Kliemann and Rohlmann 2004; Roettgen 2007; Strunck 2007a; Büttner et al. 2008; Friedrich 2014; Delarue et al. 2017; Engelberg 2017.
- 8 Thurley 2003, 152–163.
- 9 Downes 1966, 16.
- 10 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “The Painted Hall: State of Research and Open Questions.”
- 11 Thompson 1949, 202, note 4; Lees-Milne and Cornforth 1968, 8.
- 12 See, for instance, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Hampton_Court,_Christopher_Wren%27s_sections#/media/File:Hampton_Court_02.jpg (last accessed 4 March 2021).
- 13 Colvin et al. 1976, 160.
- 14 See chapter 6, especially the section titled “Nation and Gender in the Queen’s Drawing Room.”
- 15 See the ground plan in Thurley 2003, 144, and the aerial view on <https://tudortimes.co.uk/guest-articles/hampton-court-palace-wlseys-masterpiece> (last accessed 4 March 2021).
- 16 Cf. chapter 4, especially the section titled “The Rebuilding of Christ’s Hospital and the Original Site of Verrio’s Mural.”
- 17 Trollope 1834, 104–105.
- 18 See the section of chapter 4 titled “Conflict Resolution: Verrio’s Final Design for Christ’s Hospital.”
- 19 See the section of chapter 3 titled “A Visit to the King’s Apartment.”
- 20 See chapter 3, notes 90, 174, 178. While the two staircases of the King’s and Queen’s Apartments at Windsor Castle (featuring the Battle of the Giants and Phaethon’s fall respectively) came to be destroyed in the nineteenth century, Burghley House preserves a particularly striking example of a staircase whose decoration proceeds downwards: Antonio Verrio’s “Hell Staircase.”
- 21 The Royal Hospital at Chelsea and the Royal Naval College have top-lit vestibules (fig. 54; plates 51, 107), and the destroyed King’s and Queen’s Staircases at Windsor Castle were probably lit from above. At that point in time, domed buildings were extremely rare in British architecture: see chapter 7, note 122. Moor Park, restructured during the 1680s for the duke of Monmouth, boasted one of the first top-lit staircases in Britain (according to Simon Thurley’s lecture “Royal Restoration: Estates of the Duke of Monmouth,” delivered on 17 March 2021: <https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/monmouth-estates>).
- 22 See chapter 7, especially the section titled “The Architecture of the Painted Hall and the Aesthetics of the Sublime.”
- 23 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “Interaction with the Audience: Conflict Resolution and Cultural Memory.”
- 24 On the Baroque apartment see the section of chapter 1 titled “*Bild-Raum-Wissenschaft*: Spaces of Translation, Performativity, Reception.”
- 25 In addition to Hampton Court Palace (fig. 92) see also the plan of Chatsworth (figs. 65–67). In the medieval Windsor Castle, this planning principle could not be applied consistently but only in some of the main spaces: Fig. 35 shows three enfilades connecting rooms 2 and 3, B and C, and C, D, E respectively.
- 26 On the Baroque culture of curiosity see, for instance, Strunck 2014, esp. 225–228.
- 27 See chapter 3, note 244.
- 28 The elaborate original design of this garden can be seen in Jan Siberechts’s view of 1699/1700: Lim 2020, 98, fig. 87.
- 29 Thurley 2018a, 183, fig. 16.4. Unlike the other reconstructions (figs. 35, 36), Thurley’s drawing (fig. 37) is oriented with north at its foot. Elizabeth I’s lodgings consisted of the space between the Great Chamber and the Queen’s Gallery (Thurley 2018a, 186–190). See also Thurley 2014, 70: “Throughout Queen Elizabeth I’s long reign (1558–1603) she occupied her father’s lodgings in each of his many houses.”
- 30 See chapter 3, notes 116 and 117.
- 31 This is documented by an engraving of 1672: Brindle 2018b, 112 (fig. 11.11).
- 32 Thurley 2018a, 185 (fig. 16.6) and 193 (fig. 16.13).
- 33 As can be seen in pl. 23, the circular Garter bands partly cover the square structure of the windows.
- 34 At Chatsworth, the windows of the chapel (pl. 66) are set opposite the murals on the first floor.
- 35 The windows on the ground-floor level of the Painted Hall at Chatsworth were only inserted during the 1830s: see chapter 5, notes 148 and 149.
- 36 See chapter 7, note 53.
- 37 Osmun 1950, 283, quotes a document of 2 June 1709: “A Covering is to be put up on the Great Window at the West end of the Hall, to Darken it for the use of the painter.” The minutes of the Board of Directors of 17 May 1718 contain the following paragraph: “Mr Thornhill informed the Board that the two Windows at the West end of the Great Hall throw in so great a light as to destroy the prospect of the painting on the wall, and the same being demonstrated to the board by two sketches he brought with him. Ordered that the said windows be stopped up, and remain as niches for the future” (Osmun 1950, 283–284).

- 38 The windows on the west wall were bricked up in 1762 (chapter 4, note 61), whereas the large window on the south front was closed up due to Verrio's intervention (see the above section titled "The Relationship between Exterior and Interior").
- 39 For instance, observe the arcades of the middle-ground loggia. Their piers are lit from the left (in the left panel) and from the right (in the right panel) respectively.
- 40 This is particularly evident if plate 34 is juxtaposed with plate 35, a miniature memorial to the whole scheme. The comparison shows that both the lighting and the perspective were readjusted, as the smaller version was conceived as a two-dimensional rather than three-dimensional painting.
- 41 Although Gothic forms found a certain resonance in Baroque art and architecture (see e.g. Fürst 2002 and Engelberg 2005), this was not the case in British murals of the period examined in this book.
- 42 See chapter 4, especially the section titled "*Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: Rome, Paris, and London."
- 43 On the Baroque fashion of hiding particularly important paintings behind curtains see Strunck 2014, 220–221.
- 44 See chapter 5, especially the section titled "Interaction with the Audience: Conflict Resolution and Cultural Memory."
- 45 On the frames see chapter 4, notes 84 and 206.
- 46 See chapter 4, especially the section titled "Mediators: Samuel Pepys, Antonio Verrio, and Collective Memory."
- 47 See chapter 3, especially the section titled "Modes of Reception, Layers of Meaning, and the Blessings of Ambiguity."
- 48 On the "king's evil" see chapter 3, note 385.
- 49 In the case of the Christ's Hospital mural (pl. 34), the harmonious gathering of the hospital community could serve as a model for the rather more conflictual reality: cf. chapter 4, especially the section titled "Mediators: Samuel Pepys, Antonio Verrio, and Collective Memory."
- 50 Bickham 1742, 159: "On the West Side, fronting the Altar is erected a Gallery for the Reception of the Royal Family, beautifully embellish'd with carv'd Work, consisting of Crowns, Stars, Garters, Cyphers, &c. and furnish'd with a large Scarlet Velvet Canopy, Curtains, and Cushions trim'd with Gold." See also Pote 1755, 32–33.
- 51 See chapter 5, note 120.
- 52 See the section of chapter 2 titled "Past – Present – Future" and the section of chapter 4 titled "*Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: Rome, Paris, and London."
- 53 See chapter 6, especially the section titled "Nation and Gender in the Queen's Drawing Room."
- 54 On the Galleria Pamphilj see Preimesberger 1976. In place of its central ceiling painting the King's Guard Chamber had an octagonal top light with a painted "dome": see the section of chapter 3 titled "A Visit to the King's Apartment."
- 55 See chapter 3, especially the section titled "Models from England, France, Italy? Cultural Transfer and Pictorial Translation."
- 56 See chapter 7, especially the section titled "Britain and the Continent II: Conflict and Cooperation."
- 57 See chapter 6, especially the section titled "Nation and Gender in the Queen's Drawing Room."
- 58 See chapter 7, especially the section titled "Britain and the Continent I: Artistic Rivalry."
- 59 See chapter 3, especially the section titled "Throne and Altar: St George's Hall and Its Relationship to the Chapel."
- 60 See chapter 3, especially the section titled "Confessional Issues in the King's Chapel."
- 61 See chapter 5, notes 118–122.
- 62 See chapter 4, especially the section titled "Mediators: Samuel Pepys, Antonio Verrio, and Collective Memory."
- 63 Cf. Bickham 1742, 159: "All along the North Side are represented as many of the Miracles of our Blessed Saviour, as Verrio, who painted it, thought proper to introduce, and between each Division are painted Columns, twisted, and adorn'd in a very agreeable Manner. Amongst the Group of Spectators is Verrio himself, in a full black Wig, who looks directly at you, whilst all the rest appear very attentive to the Subject of the Picture."
- 64 See chapter 3, especially the section titled "Models from England, France, Italy? Cultural Transfer and Pictorial Translation."
- 65 Wickham Legg 1921, 68. This famous passage has often been quoted, e.g. by Ziegler 2010a, 178; Ziegler 2010b, 378; Barber and Batchelor 2020, 131.
- 66 See chapter 6, especially the section titled "The Author of the Programme: Matthew Prior and the Culture of Understatement."
- 67 Kanz 2007, 344–345; Engelberg 2017, 227, fig. 2.
- 68 Several drawn copies of the pavement testify to its great visual appeal: Strunck 2007a, 356–357 (figs. 136–137) and plates III, IX, 12b.
- 69 Although these views were taken only in the early nineteenth century, it is inconceivable that the apartments previously had marble floors that would have been replaced with simple wooden floors at some later stage.
- 70 The nineteenth-century views may well reproduce floors laid in the seventeenth century, as Elias Ashmole already noted a marble pavement in the chapel: Ashmole 1719, 3:119.
- 71 In this case, the floors may have been added at a later date because a print of 1810 does not show such a floor in the hall (pl. 48).
- 72 See chapter 7, note 208.
- 73 See chapter 5, note 86.
- 74 See chapter 6, especially the section titled "Questions of Precedence: William and Mary's Residences."

- 75 See chapter 3, notes 189–207.
- 76 See chapter 6, especially the section titled “Questions of Precedence: William and Mary’s Residences.”
- 77 See chapter 7, especially the section titled “Nation and Gender in the Queen’s Drawing Room.”
- 78 For an analysis of the hang of Baroque picture galleries, see for instance Strunck 2014.
- 79 Collection of Ordinances 1790, 352–367.
- 80 See the sections of chapter 3 titled “A Visit to the King’s Apartment” and “The Queen’s Apartment.”
- 81 For Otway, it was evident that the mythological and allegorical subject matter of the ceiling paintings referred to the king’s deeds: “Through all the lofty Roofs describ’d we find / The Toils and Triumphs of his Godlike mind.” Cf. Otway 1685, 17.
- 82 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “Verrio’s Murals as Agents of Conflict Resolution.”
- 83 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot.”
- 84 See chapter 3, especially the sections titled “Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot” and “Modes of Reception, Layers of Meaning, and the Blessings of Ambiguity.”
- 85 Answers to the above-mentioned questions can be found in the section of chapter 3 titled “Modes of Reception, Layers of Meaning, and the Blessings of Ambiguity” and in the section of chapter 4 titled “*Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: Rome, Paris, and London.”
- 86 Quoted from Lucas 2019c, 59.
- 87 See chapter 7, especially the section titled “The Painted Hall as a Monument to Queen Anne.”
- 88 See chapter 7, notes 55, 56, and 157.
- 89 Strunck 2014, 219, 222.
- 90 In the Upper Hall at Greenwich, grisaille depictions of “*Salus Publica*” and “*Securitas Publica*” frame the large opening between the Upper and Lower Halls: see the illustration in Lucas 2019b, 46–47, fig. 37. The inscriptions “*Salus Publica*” and “*Securitas Publica*” are not only linked through the repetition of the word “*Publica*” but also appear in corresponding positions within the two images, both being inscribed within a painted banner.
- 91 For a triptych placed on three walls see also plates 34 and 46, the latter framed by two symmetrical panels (pl. 49 and its pendant on the wall opposite).
- 92 See note 90 above and chapter 7, note 280.
- 93 See chapter 6, especially the section titled “Nation and Gender in the Queen’s Drawing Room.”
- 94 See chapter 2, notes 226–228.
- 95 See chapter 2, notes 160–162, and chapter 3, notes 83–84.
- 96 See chapter 2, especially the sections titled “Britain and the Continent in the Coronation Entry” and “Conflict Resolution.” On the Naval Arch, a painting of the Tower of London, a site of imprisonment and of many executions, was coupled with the inscription “*Clauduntur Belli Portae*.” This referred to the closing of the Temple of Janus, an act signifying the end of war, and could be understood as an allusion to England’s recent civil war and the “horrors” of the Commonwealth period. The pendant picture, a view of the London Exchange with the inscription “*Generis Lapsi Sarcire Ruinas*,” alluded to the fruits of peace and the flourishing of commerce that would follow the restoration of Stuart monarchy.
- 97 See chapter 7, notes 304–305.
- 98 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “The Wall Paintings: Inter- and Intramedial Translations.”
- 99 See chapter 2, especially the section titled “Conflict Resolution.”
- 100 See chapter 4, especially the section titled “The Rebuilding of Christ’s Hospital and the Original Site of Verrio’s Mural.”
- 101 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “A Visit to the King’s Apartment.”
- 102 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “The Wall Paintings: Inter- and Intramedial Translations.”
- 103 The term “degrees of reality” refers to Sjöström 1978, 12–13.
- 104 For comparable Italian mural paintings see, for instance, Rottgen 2007.
- 105 See chapter 2, especially the section titled “Sites and Subjects of the Triumphal Arches.”
- 106 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “The Ceiling Paintings: An Image of Constitutional Monarchy.”
- 107 Cornforth 2000; Gowing and Pender 2007.
- 108 See the above section titled “Doors, Openings, Visual Frames.”
- 109 The term “peripatetic seeing” refers to Ganz and Neuner 2013.
- 110 According to the ground plan of Christ’s Hospital (fig. 49), several doors led into the Great Hall, but an early nineteenth-century description indicates that the main access was located on its north side. See chapter 4, note 61.
- 111 See chapter 6, especially the section titled “The King’s Staircase: Previous Interpretations and a New Proposal.”
- 112 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “Interaction with the Audience: Conflict Resolution and Cultural Memory.”
- 113 See chapter 4, note 85.
- 114 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “Pictorial Conflict Resolution at Windsor Castle: Antonio Verrio, Catherine of Braganza, and the Popish Plot.”
- 115 See the above section titled “Visual Hierarchies and Degrees of Reality.”

- 116 See chapter 2, especially the section titled “Sites and Subjects of the Triumphal Arches.”
- 117 See chapter 7, especially the section titled “The Architecture of the Painted Hall and the Aesthetics of the Sublime.”
- 118 Hart 2011, 207.
- 119 See chapter 3, notes 342–344.
- 120 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “Throne and Altar: St George’s Hall and Its Relationship to the Chapel.”
- 121 Burchard 2011, 109.
- 122 Krautheimer 1986, 39–43.
- 123 See chapter 7, especially the section titled “Britain and the Continent II: Conflict and Cooperation.”
- 124 See chapter 3, notes 299–300, and chapter 5, notes 266–273.
- 125 See chapter 4, especially notes 262–263 and the section titled “*Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: Rome, Paris, and London.”
- 126 On picture galleries see, for instance, Strunck 2014 and on built *imprese* Strunck 2007a, 219–226.
- 127 To quote but a few examples discussed in this book: “Persius Britannicus” and “Europa Liberata” in the ceiling painting of the Queen’s Gallery at Windsor Castle, “Sydus Carolinus” in the King’s Presence Chamber, “Anglorum spes magna,” “Salus Publica,” and “Securitas Publica” in the murals of the Upper Hall at Greenwich.
- 128 See chapter 7, especially the section titled “The Architecture of the Painted Hall and the Aesthetics of the Sublime.”
- 129 Levine 1999, 6.
- 130 Quoted from Levine 1999, 13.
- 131 See chapter 7, especially the section titled “Britain and the Continent II: Conflict and Cooperation.”
- 132 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “The Painted Hall: State of Research and Open Questions.”
- 133 For an interpretation of the pictorial programme of the state rooms see Peterson 2020.
- 134 On the design of this façade see chapter 5, especially the section titled “Rivalry with the Courts of England and France.”
- 135 Pote 1755, 27.
- 136 See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Star_Chamber (last accessed 26 March 2021).
- 137 Jackson 2016, 6.
- 138 Jackson 2016, 6–9.
- 139 Colvin et al. 1976, 317. For representations of this façade, with the star, see Downes 1966, plate 3; Brindle 2018a, 248 (fig. 20.9) and 264–265 (fig. 22.3). The star has been understood as a reference to the Garter Star, but since it sat on the exterior of the king’s most private rooms (fig. 35, between nos. 6 and 7), its relation to the king himself must have been evident at least for courtiers.
- 140 For an extended discussion of the phenomenon see Warncke 2005.
- 141 Not all of the inscriptions are visible in Loggan’s prints, but they are documented by the descriptions in Ogilby 1661 and Ogilby 1662. Knowles 1988 provided a masterful interpretation of the inscriptions.
- 142 See chapter 2, especially the section titled “Sites and Subjects of the Triumphal Arches.”
- 143 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “Throne and Altar: St George’s Hall and Its Relationship to the Chapel.”
- 144 See the above section titled “The Disposition of Murals within a Painted Room: Pairs and Groups of Images.”
- 145 Biermann 2019, 252–255.
- 146 Biermann 2019, 255–256.
- 147 See chapter 4, especially the section titled “Throne and Altar at Chelsea Hospital.”
- 148 Cooke and Maule 1789, 100–103; Whinney 1971, 185.
- 149 On Arlington’s role at Windsor see chapter 3, notes 39–46.
- 150 This was a central concern of Charles’s rule. In 1664, his “historiographer royal” James Howell published the monograph *Proedria Basilikè: A Discourse Concerning the Precedency of Kings* that sought to prove the precedence of Britain’s king over every other Christian monarch, especially those of France and Spain. See Kampmann 2001, 243–251.
- 151 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “The Wall Paintings: Inter- and Intramedial Translations.”
- 152 See chapter 7, especially the section titled “Britain and the Continent I: Artistic Rivalry.”
- 153 See chapter 4, especially the section titled “*Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*: Rome, Paris, and London.”
- 154 See previous note.
- 155 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “The Wall Paintings: Inter- and Intramedial Translations.”
- 156 For a discussion of the south façade of Chatsworth House see chapter 5, especially the section titled “Rivalry with the Courts of England and France.”
- 157 There are some exceptions to this rule, e. g. when a painter repeated a particularly successful design for another patron. Thus, the Great Hall of the palace of Wörlitz contains copies after the murals of the Galleria Farnese in Rome.
- 158 Löw 2001, 158–161.
- 159 See chapter 3, especially the section titled “A Visit to the King’s Apartment.”
- 160 Rather strikingly, the idea of a neutral “third space” can already be encountered in a seventeenth-century document: see chapter 3, note 196.
- 161 See chapter 5, especially the section titled “Interaction with the Audience: Conflict Resolution and Cultural Memory.”
- 162 Assmann 2012, 167.
- 163 See chapter 7, especially the section titled “The Painted Hall as a Monument to Queen Anne.”

NOVA PROGENIES



CHAPTER 9

RESULTS

This monograph examines the most prestigious political paintings created in Britain during the High Baroque age and offers new interpretations for each of them. It investigates a period of change characterized by numerous social, political, and religious crises, concentrating on the years between the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 and the death of the first British monarch from the House of Hanover (1727). On the basis of hitherto unpublished documents, the book elucidates the creation and reception of nine major commissions that involved the court, private aristocratic patrons, and civic institutions: Charles II's coronation entry, the decoration of the King's and Queen's Apartments at Windsor, the "tandem" concept for the King's Chapel and St George's Hall, the murals in the refectories of Christ's Hospital and the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, the Painted Hall at Chatsworth, the King's Staircase and Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace (considered two separate commissions because they were initiated by successive monarchs), and the Painted Hall at Greenwich.

On a methodological level, this study presents three innovations. Firstly, it defines a procedure for the interpretation of mural paintings (chapter 1). Secondly, it draws inspiration from fields that are less commonly referenced in art history, including psychological research on conflict resolution and translation studies. And thirdly, it traces the contours of a new *Bild-Raum-Wissenschaft*, i. e. an area of study that focuses on the interaction of images and spaces (chapter 8). Whereas chapter 1 is theory oriented, chapter 8 develops methods for analysing spatially embedded art on the basis of the

case studies examined in chapters 2 to 7. Each case study expands our understanding of these artworks through a precise reconstruction of the ways in which they responded to contemporary conflicts. Following brief summaries of the case studies, I will conclude this book with an overview of the pictorial approaches to conflict resolution that have emerged from the preceding chapters.

Chapter 2 opens the analysis of political imagery by taking a fresh look at the triumphal arches erected for Charles II's coronation entry in 1661. As the procession was intended to showcase London's joy about the return of the king, the triumphal arches had to be commissioned by the City as a tribute from the grateful citizens. Charles II neither could nor wished to intervene directly. But although the pictorial programme of the arches is usually seen as John Ogilby's work on behalf of the City of London, I argue that the court was involved behind the scenes both in the design of the arches and the evolution of the iconography. The royal privileges granted to Ogilby and, above all, striking similarities between the Restoration Arch and the coronation medals indicate that Ogilby presented his ideas for royal approbation long before the explanatory text was printed. The architect who designed the arches concealed his identity precisely because of his close ties to the court.

Contrary to previous interpretations, which attributed the triumphal arches either to Balthazar Gerbier or Edward Pearce, I present new evidence pointing to John Webb as their designer. Webb was at this moment England's first (and only) trained professional architect with

a comprehensive knowledge of continental architecture, having been educated by Inigo Jones on the orders of King Charles I. In 1660, he had prepared Whitehall for Charles II's return and was commissioned to remodel the royal Cockpit Theatre. As Webb aspired to the surveyorship, it was only natural to test his capacities by asking him to prepare drawings for the arches. Many features of their design relate to continental models, Inigo Jones's works, and other drawings by Webb.

In the architecture of the triumphal arches, hierarchy played out both in a vertical and in a horizontal sense, through the superposition of orders and the climactic sequence of arches. The architectural forms visualized the return to a traditional, top-to-bottom order that was a central concern of Restoration society. They paralleled the hierarchy embodied in the performative order of the cavalcade. Webb created Restoration architecture by looking back for inspiration to his teacher Inigo Jones, whose works epitomized the style of the first decades of Stuart rule. Yet, at the same time, his triumphal arches were a forceful statement about modern British architecture, defined as a style that was up to date in its knowledge of continental trends though recognizably different and nurtured by British traditions.

Webb used architectural forms as a communicative language that joined forces with the paintings on the arches in order to transmit complex political messages. In analysing these messages, I devote particular attention to the overarching themes of the present book: the conflictual relationship between Britain and the continent, the no less problematic relationship between the immediate (Commonwealth) past and the present of Restoration London, and last but not least the strategies for conflict resolution proposed by the design and decoration of the arches.

In comparison to James I's entry into London in 1604, Charles II's coronation entry had a strongly nationalist flavour. The festivities sought to outdo the sumptuous entry of Louis XIV and Maria Theresa of Austria into Paris in 1660. Since this festival had boastfully appropriated Virgil's famous line "*Imperium sine fine dedi*" to describe the rule of the French kings, Ogilby sought to demonstrate that "*Imperium sine fine*" (Empire without

end) had in fact been granted to Britain rather than France.

In his design for the pictorial programme, Ogilby was guided by the rules of epideictic speech but modified them in one important respect: He minimized or even suppressed references to the past. Just as Charles II had issued an "Act of Oblivion," Ogilby, too, sought to steer clear of the problematic aspects of recent history. Instead, he chose to concentrate on the future through the images of concord and plenty, which he expected would draw the consensus of London's citizens.

By casting Charles II as a modern St George and paralleling him with Christ the Judge, Ogilby sought to suggest the infallibility of the king's judgement and his ability to overcome any opposition. The Restoration was presented as a result of Charles's personal merit rather than as a collaborative effort. Ogilby's version of history portrayed God and the king as sole agents of change, neglecting the contributions of soldiers, politicians, and merchants. His approach to conflict resolution did not comprise a discussion and synthesis of several distinct opinions; instead, he urged his fellow citizens to submit to the authority of the king and to trust in the latter's superior knowledge. As a proven strategy of conflict resolution, aggression was channelled towards the common enemies, the French and the Dutch, thus shifting attention away from internal conflicts.

Chapter 2 concludes by tracing the reception of Charles II's coronation entry and thus leads into chapter 3, which deals with his most prestigious pictorial commission, the decoration of Windsor Castle, where numerous themes from Ogilby's programme reappeared. Chapter 3 provides the first political reading of the extensive pictorial cycle created by Antonio Verrio between 1676 and 1684. Although the eighteen ceiling paintings in the King's and Queen's Apartments at Windsor, along with the murals of the two main staircases, the King's Chapel, and St George's Hall, constitute the English counterpart to the decoration of Versailles under Louis XIV, their political significance has never before been interpreted in the context of their time of creation.

In order to understand the performative use of the royal apartments as spaces of translation, chapter 3 combines methods from political iconography with research on courtly ceremonial. A close analysis of the murals reveals that the pictorial programme was not worked out in every detail before the start of the decorative campaign. In 1676, the themes for the murals in the King's Apartment had been fixed, but during the second phase of the works (from 1679) new subjects with topical relevance were introduced. Verrio's paintings in the Queen's Presence and Privy Chamber, the King's Staircase, and St George's Hall clearly refer to the crisis of the British monarchy brought about by the so-called Popish Plot and the subsequent campaign for the exclusion of the king's brother from the succession. The mode of representation (a combination of allegories and recognizable portraits of the king and queen) ensured that the relation of the murals to contemporary history would be evident, while diplomatically avoiding any straightforward depiction of political acts. Therefore, the ceiling paintings in the royal apartments operated on two levels: They held general, timeless messages and, at the same time, Charles's contemporaries were able to interpret them as comments on recent significant events.

The pictorial programme of the royal apartments had a somewhat repetitive character. Certain messages (like Charles's role as "arbiter Europae" and his triumph over his opponents) were reiterated time and again in order to inscribe them ever more forcefully into the collective cultural memory. However, a reconstruction of the political context shows that the stability evoked by the paintings was wishful thinking rather than reality. The murals were intended as self-fulfilling prophecies: By propagating an ideal social and political order, they sought to bring about the situation they purported to portray. They emphasized that opposition against the monarch was futile and never successful. Seen from Charles's point of view, Verrio's paintings thus served as agents of conflict resolution during a time of crisis. They were meant to influence the way in which courtiers, visitors, and foreign ambassadors perceived the king, thereby seeking to condition the course and outcomes of audiences.

The Windsor murals constituted an elaborate dis-

course on the British monarchy that aimed to prove that Britain's king took precedence over every other Christian monarch (a claim formulated by Charles's "historiographer Royal" James Howell in his *Proedria Basilikè* of 1664). By employing Antonio Verrio, who boasted an up-to-date knowledge of the most recent artistic developments in Italy and France, Charles demonstrated his desire to eclipse the rivalling continental courts. In his quest for artistic opulence, he even encouraged Verrio to decorate the Royal Chapel in a style reminiscent of Catholic churches. In order to legitimate this unprecedented decorative scheme, the royal chaplain Thomas Tenison authored a treatise *Of Idolatry* in which he addressed – and mitigated – the Anglican scruples regarding religious imagery.

Verrio managed to tailor the High Baroque pictorial idiom to new uses, i. e. to the needs of a British and Anglican monarchy. Building on numerous hitherto unrecognized Italian models, he developed an innovative mode of representation that did not imitate Versailles but, on the contrary, would come to be emulated by Charles Le Brun. Although the aesthetics of the High Baroque had been developed in a Catholic context, Verrio realized that Anglicanism supplied him with special opportunities. Only the special confessional status of the British sovereign enabled him to create his conceptual masterpiece that visualized Charles II's role as a Christ-like judge via a most expressive juxtaposition of chapel and throne room without precedent in Catholic Italy.

The last section of chapter 3 traces the reception of Verrio's Windsor murals. As St George's Hall was the most magnificent space available for royal audiences and receptions in the kingdom, Charles's successors wished to use this hall for their own purposes and introduced modifications of varying subtlety in order to adapt the pictorial programme to their personal self-representation. This process of "reformatting" began in 1685 when Thomas Otway reinterpreted Verrio's iconography for James II, and it continued under William III, who sought to turn the space into a memorial to himself. Whereas on the ceiling of the hall Charles II had presented himself as a God-like absolute monarch, aloof and not accountable to Parliament, William III emphasized his orientation towards the

British citizens, his care for their liberty and their rights. His changes to St George's Hall thus reformatted the entire conception of monarchy.

In contrast to chapter 3 focusing on the courtly public, chapter 4 discusses two buildings to which all levels of London society had access, Christ's Hospital and the Royal Hospital at Chelsea. Christ's Hospital was an institution that provided first-class education to orphans, while the Royal Hospital at Chelsea served as a home for war veterans. Antonio Verrio decorated the dining halls of both institutions with large-scale representations of British monarchy. On festive occasions, each hall formed a space for veterans from all military ranks, orphans, members of the nobility, wealthy benefactors, and city officials to gather and interact. It is therefore particularly revealing to consider what political messages were transmitted to such a wide and diverse audience. Rather curiously, however, Verrio's murals have remained virtually unstudied.

On the basis of documents transcribed in Appendix I, it is possible to reconstruct the long and troubled history of the Christ's Hospital commission. In 1677, the General Court of the hospital decided to honour Charles II, who had founded the Royal Mathematical School in 1673, but only in 1688 could Verrio's large group portrait finally be placed in the Great Hall. This delay was not least due to the Exclusion Crisis (1678–1681) that opened a deep rift between prominent Whig and Tory governors of the hospital. The Tory Samuel Pepys, who had been the prime mover of the commission, went through a long phase of marginalization and regained his former influence only in 1684, when he was promoted to the position of Secretary for the Affairs of the Admiralty of England. As the mathematical school served to equip orphans with nautical skills for a career in the Royal Navy, Pepys held a key position in the relationship between the hospital and the monarchy. Not surprisingly, from 1684 the commission to Verrio finally gathered momentum. It seems that Verrio received precise indications from Pepys during the latter's prolonged stay at Windsor in the spring of 1684.

Early in 1682, Verrio had provided a first, rather con-

ventional sketch, but the design adopted in 1684 was expanded to the gigantic size of 4.87×26.51 metres and introduced about a hundred additional portraits. It had an innovative triptych format that spanned three adjacent walls at the upper end of the Great Hall. As the hospital building no longer exists, the chapter reconstructs the original spatial configuration from plans and documents. I thereby establish that the distribution of the portraits within the painting corresponded to the spaces allocated to the respective groups within the building. The female pupils, who had not been part of the 1682 sketch, were given a particularly prominent place to the right of the sovereign because the recently constructed Girls' Ward bordered on this part of the mural. The boys occupied the opposite side of the canvas, next to the equally new building of the Royal Mathematical School.

Since the painting was originally meant to honour Charles II as the founder of the mathematical school, the presence of the girls – who were not allowed to attend this school – is rather puzzling. I argue that the girls were included as a tribute to the influential Whig politician and former lord mayor of London Robert Clayton, who financed the erection of the new Girls' Ward. Precisely because during the Exclusion Crisis Clayton had been one of Pepys's main enemies, the acknowledgement of his positive role for the hospital was a gesture of reconciliation. In the same spirit, the painting contained portraits of all the teachers from the hospital's various schools in order to mitigate their long-standing rivalry, which in Pepys's view hindered the future development of the institution.

In this way, the mural responded to internal conflicts within the hospital's government, but it also addressed the conflict between Charles II and the City of London that had led to the revocation of London's charter in 1683. The composition of the group portrait suggested a harmonious relationship between the sovereign, his court, the lord mayor, Pepys, benefactors, and staff and students of the hospital, presenting unity, cooperation, and mutual esteem as central values for the community. The performative context in which the mural was viewed (above all, at the public suppers with city officials and benefactors) helped to anchor these values in a shared cultural memory. Allusions to the tradition of religious

painting heightened the dignified impact of the mural, which proclaimed Britain's dominion of the seas as the central goal of the mathematical school.

While Christ's Hospital had a strong connection with the Royal Navy, the Royal Hospital at Chelsea was founded in 1681 specifically for veterans from the army. Charles II developed this initiative in the context of the Exclusion Crisis as a means of demonstrating his good care for his people. The new institution emulated the *Hôtel des Invalides* in Paris and thus formed part of the ongoing rivalry between Charles II and Louis XIV.

The central range of the building complex at Chelsea contains the Great Hall and the chapel, which face each other as symmetrical entities. The spatial layout designed by Christopher Wren thus mirrored the arrangement of the King's Chapel and St George's Hall at Windsor Castle. In both cases, the secular and spiritual Lord were to be understood as a divinely sanctioned pair. The monogram of the Lord at the centre of the Chelsea altarpiece stood in programmatic unity with Verrio's painted image of the king on the opposite wall of the Great Hall, i. e. as at Windsor, the spatial configuration suggested the divine legitimation of the king's prerogatives.

Only after the accession of James II were the chapel and hall ready to be decorated. Work in the chapel is documented from 1687, but Verrio may have been involved in the design of the hall as early as 1686, when the westernmost pair of windows was covered. This enabled him to create a tripartite painting that resembled the Christ's Hospital triptych in its structure though not in its subject matter.

Although Verrio lost the commission to Henry Cooke after King James's flight to France in 1688, the design of the mural clearly antedates the Glorious Revolution. Verrio represented Charles II on horseback as a modern St George, triumphing over a "dragon" characterized as the Lernaean Hydra, a symbol of foreign threats and civic discord. The king is surrounded by Father Thames, the cardinal virtues, Victory, Fame, and the four continents, the latter offering him a large globe, thus alluding to Britain's global dominion. A hitherto unrecognized figure stands for the city of London. She points to the hospital in the background, emphasizing Charles's important

contribution to the rebuilding of the city after the great fire of 1666.

Verrio contrasts the personifications of London and Europe in a telling way: Europe appears as the splendid model for the rather despondent City of London. Indeed, especially after the catastrophe of 1666, architecture and urbanism in London sought to emulate Rome and Paris. Ancient Rome was an obvious model for Britain's aspiration to imperial greatness, while the Paris of Louis XIV had to be outdone because it presented itself as the rightful heir to ancient Rome. In the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, some authors even professed France's superiority to the Rome of the ancients.

John Evelyn, who had an important share in the foundation of Chelsea Hospital, was very well aware of the *Querelle*. In 1680, he republished his translation of Roland Fréart de Chambray's *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne*, complete with the original translation's dedication to the king expressing Evelyn's hope for a "renascency" of architecture in London under Charles II. Wren's hospital building fulfilled this wish by integrating ancient motifs into a decidedly modern ensemble.

Similarly, Verrio's mural can be read as a pictorial contribution to the *Querelle*. His equestrian portrait of Charles II was a painted answer to the equestrian statues of Louis XIV commissioned in 1685/86 for installation in numerous French cities. But while all of these portrayed the French king *all'antica*, Verrio presented Britain's sovereign decidedly *alla moderna*. He staged a multiple *paragone* to prove the superiority of painting over sculpture, contemporary art over that of antiquity, and Britain over France. Rather than imitating an obvious ancient model, such as the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill, he amalgamated motifs from Italian and Flemish High Baroque art, quoting Van Dyck's and Rubens's famous equestrian portraits. In this way, he not only referenced masterpieces by earlier English court artists but also showcased his international outlook, thus recording his own vision of modernity.

The conflict with continental Europe that had played only a secondary role at Christ's Hospital took centre stage at Chelsea and was addressed on two levels. The

portrait of the triumphant king recalled the military victories of his veterans, and the triptych composition as well as the king's position directly opposite the altar imbued him with the dignity of a saintly hero. On another level, Verrio's allegory pointed to artistic rivalry with the continent, juxtaposing the bleak personification of London with a much more florid representation of Europe. By alluding to select continental models, the painter implied, however, that London would eventually rise to an equal or even superior artistic status.

Chapter 5 deals with the work of Antonio Verrio's most gifted collaborator Louis Laguerre, who oversaw the decoration of the Painted Hall at Chatsworth. This chapter forms a pendant to chapter 3 on Windsor Castle, as it analyses the new conception of sovereignty that emerged after the so-called Glorious Revolution. The patron William Cavendish, a leading Whig politician, had been one of the "Immortal Seven" who invited William of Orange to England and served on the Privy Council of the new king from 1689 until 1702. Both in the architecture and pictorial decoration of his country seat Chatsworth House, the immensely rich and ambitious 4th earl of Devonshire sought to rival English and French royal residences. The murals in the Painted Hall were created between 1692 and 1694 by a team of French artists headed by Laguerre. On stylistic and iconographic grounds, I argue that this team also included Louis Chéron, to whom the two oval *camaïeu* paintings can be attributed.

The murals have hitherto been explained as a series of episodes from Julius Caesar's life that were meant to glorify William III. However, the message of the pictorial cycle is far more complex. William Cavendish, who had a reputation for being a competent classicist, based the programme on Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Thomas May's translation of this epic poem on Caesar's civil war, first published in 1627, had been sponsored by William's grandfather, the 2nd earl of Devonshire. In the years leading up to the English Civil War, *Pharsalia* formed a centre-piece of republican discourses. In 1630, Thomas May wrote a *Continuation* of Lucan's poem that ended with Caesar's assassination. May presented Caesar's murder as a consequence of the civil war and a punishment for

the dictator's tyrannical rule, thus supplying a commentary on Lucan that was later echoed at Chatsworth.

In the literature on Chatsworth, Caesar is usually interpreted as King James II, who was ousted by William of Orange. This begs the question of why Caesar's apotheosis dominates the ceiling of the Painted Hall. Moreover, it has not previously been recognized that the main wall painting does not represent Caesar but Augustus closing the Temple of Janus. Therefore, the pictorial programme addresses two different moments in time, with the reign of Augustus, the peacemaker (i. e. William III), being contrasted to that of Caesar, who led his country into civil war. It is thus logical to interpret Caesar as Charles I, who was beheaded as a consequence of the English Civil War. His apotheosis visualizes his rehabilitation after the Restoration and his important role as ancestor to both William and Mary, whose joint rule was legitimated through their descentance from him.

While the ceiling of St George's Hall at Windsor gave visual expression to the absolutist tendencies of Charles II's government, the ceiling of the Painted Hall at Chatsworth presents a diametrically opposed view of British monarchy. William and Mary appear off centre in the guise of Jupiter and Juno, hardly visible in a large gathering of Olympian gods. An allegory of the House of Cavendish holds a prominent place within this assembly that stands for the peers who form the British Parliament. The ceiling painting may therefore be read as a celebration of constitutional monarchy.

In the years in which the hall was being decorated, Britain went through a period of intense crisis, characterized by Jacobite opposition and the engagement of British troops both within and outside Britain's territory. The pictorial programme shows that William Cavendish, a member of the King's Privy Council, sought to act as mediator. The paintings offered visual cues for a complex discourse on good and bad forms of government. Since Cavendish was an expert orator, he could use the Painted Hall as a *theatrum memoriae*, i. e. a mnemonic device intended to stimulate political discussions with his guests. In cooperation with the French painters, Cavendish created a pictorial cycle that addressed fundamental hopes and concerns of his age. In doing so, he

helped to shape a collective identity based on shared values (freedom and Protestantism as opposed to “popery and slavery”) and sustained by a common belief in constitutional monarchy as the ideal form of government.

Chapter 6 on Hampton Court Palace explores the ways in which King William III himself wished to commemorate the Glorious Revolution. It revises Edgar Wind’s hitherto uncontested view that the pictorial decoration of the King’s Staircase at Hampton Court Palace visualizes William’s victory over James II. As is revealed through a careful analysis of Wind’s argument, historical context, visual evidence, and textual sources, the celebration of the Glorious Revolution constitutes in fact only a secondary aspect of Antonio Verrio’s murals. Their main message relates to William’s long-standing conflict with Louis XIV, which was (at least temporarily) resolved in 1697 by the Peace of Ryswick. This treaty forced the seemingly invincible Sun King to return some of the territories conquered during the previous years and was regarded by William as a personal triumph because it stipulated his international recognition as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Verrio’s staircase murals, created in 1701/02, are based on intermedial translation: They depict several episodes from the emperor Julian’s satire *The Caesars*, written in AD 361. The choice of this literary genre was an absolute novelty. Verrio seems to have been alerted to Julian’s work by Matthew Prior, who had elaborated on some of its motifs in his recent *Carmen Seculare* (1700). Numerous references to the *Carmen Seculare* in the staircase murals suggest that Verrio and Prior developed the pictorial programme in tandem. In addition, Verrio is likely to have consulted the French translation of Julian’s Greek text, as a first sketch for the central mural paraphrases the frontispiece of the 1696 French edition.

Verrio and Prior knew each other well from their years of service to the earl of Exeter at Burghley. Prior then embarked on a diplomatic career that brought him into close contact with William III and Louis XIV. In 1698/99, he had been a member of the English embassy in Paris, before coming in 1700 to stay at Hampton Court where

he re-encountered the Italian painter. Just as Prior’s ballad *On the Taking of Namur* of 1695 staged William III and Louis XIV in a satirical confrontation, Verrio’s central mural opposes Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. Alexander has long been interpreted as William’s alter ego, but a new reading of Julian’s text, along with a consideration of contemporary judgements on Louis XIV, shows that the boastful dictator Caesar refers to none other than the so-called Sun King.

During his stay in France, Prior mocked Louis’s vain-gloriousness and ridiculed his self-glorification in the pictorial programme at Versailles. The King’s Staircase at Hampton Court can therefore be read as a response to the Escalier des Ambassadeurs at Versailles. While the French king sought to impress and humiliate foreign guests through panoramic depictions of his victories, William III and Prior chose a much more diplomatic approach. Rather than celebrating William in the usual ostentatious way, they hinted by means of pictorial satire at his triumph over Louis XIV. Thus they heralded a culture of understatement that was a complete innovation in Baroque mural painting.

On a first level, the pictorial programme addressed viewers’ semantic memory, with the fictive portrait of Julian serving to remind them of his well-known text. Verrio’s illusionist presentation of the scene, seeming to invade the beholder’s space, implied that the episode related to the beholder’s own reality. Therefore, on a second level semantic memories came to interact with episodic memories (of recent military events and current political discourses), alerting viewers that the ancient text was meant to be interpreted as a prefiguration of contemporary history. Although only a select circle of courtiers and scholars was able to enjoy this witty celebration of William’s military as well as cultural superiority, Verrio’s murals can nonetheless be regarded as a milestone in the development of the quintessentially British concept of understatement.

It may be further proof of William’s tendency towards understatement that he refrained from moving in to the main (east) wing of Hampton Court Palace, which had once been designed for his consort Mary II. As at Kensington, he embellished his own apartment but did not

occupy his wife's rooms, whose greater architectural prominence, size, and luxury reflected Mary's superior claim to the throne. After her premature death in 1694, the queen's rooms in Hampton Court Palace were left unfinished, awaiting the arrival of William's designated successor Anne.

Queen Anne employed Verrio to decorate her drawing room, placed at the very centre of the palace. Its location corresponded to that of the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles – certainly no coincidence, as the remodelling of Hampton Court Palace had rivalled Versailles from its inception in 1689. However, Anne did not continue William's policy of pictorial understatement but sought to express her royal prerogatives as forcefully as Louis XIV.

In his design for the Queen's Drawing Room, executed between 1703 and 1705, Verrio expanded the triptych format with which he had experimented at Christ's Hospital and the Royal Hospital at Chelsea. The east wall is completely taken up by windows overlooking the main axis of the park, whereas the north and south walls are treated as almost symmetrical pendants framing the image on the west wall. The ceiling painting is aligned with this latter mural so that both works are intended to be read from the same viewpoint. The individual murals are as symmetrically arranged as the whole ensemble, bestowing a highly formal and dignified character on the room.

The mode of representation is mainly allegorical, with some references to contemporary history. There exists no unifying textual source, although some aspects of the programme are based on Lucan's *Pharsalia* and Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*. In addition, Verrio introduces numerous pictorial quotations: He alludes quite openly to Henry VIII's Hampton Court tapestries, the large group portrait *The Family of Henry VIII*, his own *Sea Triumph of Charles II*, and the ceiling paintings in St George's Hall and in the Queen's Presence Chamber at Windsor Castle. The viewer is meant to recognize and interpret these quotes by contrasting the original with Verrio's intramedial translation. In this way, two fundamental messages become apparent. Firstly, Anne wished to build on and continue the work of her predecessors; secondly, she sought to define her agency as a female monarch by re-

ferring to both male and female role models. Building on the self-representation of Elizabeth I and Catherine of Braganza, Anne presented herself as a feminine equivalent to Charles II and William III, i. e. as "arbiter Europae" and the incarnation of Justice.

Appropriately, "Semper eadem" (Always the same), the motto Anne had taken over from Elizabeth I, appears like a headline over Verrio's central mural allegorizing Britain's monarchy. The personifications of religion and reform point to the monarch's spiritual and secular tasks and highlight Anne's willingness to enforce the law as a guiding principle of constitutional monarchy. Following the model of the classical *Psychomachia*, the flanking groups represent the fight against "popery" and "tyranny." These were the key catchwords both during the revolution of 1688 and during the War of the Spanish Succession that occupied Queen Anne from 1702. Britain's main enemy in this war, Louis XIV, was openly declared to be a "tyrant." Consequently, Verrio's personification of Europe appeals to Britain to liberate her from such evil.

The visual discourse developed by Antonio Verrio unfolds on three temporal levels. The glorious past of Britain's monarchy is evoked not as a nostalgic "retrotopia" (Bauman) but as an inspiration for the present and future. In this context, "Semper eadem" means that the same principles (opposition to "popery" and "tyranny") are as valid for Anne's fight against Louis XIV as they were for William's Glorious Revolution. The mural on the north wall refers to Britain's present wars (by alluding to the Battle of Vigo Bay of 1702), while the painting on the south wall envisions as a self-fulfilling prophecy the future birth of Anne's desired heir. The visual parallels between the two lateral murals suggest continuity between present and future: Like Prince George, his son, too, will be a glorious leader of the British navy.

In comparison to the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles, the pictorial programme of the Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace is less varied but infinitely more clever. Each of these spaces forms the centre of the respective palace complex, visualizing the monarch's control over his or her state through a commanding position over the central axis. But while Louis XIV chose to

decorate his gallery with narrative accounts of his victories, Queen Anne opted for an allegorical decoration that focused on the principles of her rule, celebrated constitutional monarchy, and culminated in her portrait on the ceiling in the guise of Justice. Virtues, values, and principles had a timeless quality, whereas Louis's history paintings were destined to look ridiculous as soon as conquered territories were lost and borders revised.

Through their timeless message, Verrio's murals could aid the queen and successive monarchs in decision-making. They visualized the values that ought to guide Anne's actions and identified the reasons for the current conflict with France by drawing attention to different principles of government. Verrio did not stage Anne's triumph over Louis XIV but proclaimed Britain's moral superiority. By focusing on Justice, constitutional monarchy, and the fight against "popery" and "tyranny," the pictorial programme suggested that Britain's values and principles would eventually prevail over the France of Louis XIV.

Finally, chapter 7 analyses the Painted Hall at Greenwich as a public monument to Britain's national glory. The first reference to its planned decoration dates from 1705, directly after the completion of Verrio's work at Hampton Court Palace. Some guiding themes of the Queen's Drawing Room were transported to the public sphere via James Thornhill's murals, created between 1707 and 1726.

The Painted Hall, which consists of three interconnected spaces (the Vestibule, the Lower Hall, and the Upper Hall), was originally built as the main dining room of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, an institution for elderly and disabled seamen, but after the completion of Thornhill's paintings it served primarily as a ceremonial space to be shown to visitors. The public could gain easy access by paying a small fee and was instructed with a bilingual guidebook probably written by the artist himself.

The languages of the guidebook (English and French) point to the fact that the message of the pictorial programme was at once addressed to the British public and to Britain's former enemy, France. Louis XIV's Hôtel des

Invalides, which had already inspired the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, continued to be a model for Greenwich. While the central fresco in the Dôme des Invalides celebrated the French monarchs as the mainstay of Catholicism, Thornhill's murals in the Upper and the Lower Hall emphasized the role of Britain's sovereigns as defenders of the Anglican Faith. Just as in the Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace, the pictorial programme at Greenwich highlighted the British triumph over "popery" (Catholicism) and "tyranny" (French absolutism) and presented William III's victories as an inspiration for Queen Anne's war against France – a war that was far from decided when Thornhill embarked on the project. His ceiling painting in the Lower Hall may therefore be read as yet another painted prophecy.

It has hitherto gone unnoticed that, despite the obvious rivalry with France, the main source of inspiration for the architecture and decoration of the Painted Hall can be found in Italy and more precisely in the Galleria Colonna in Rome. The gallery served as the primary reception space of the dukes of Paliano, who considered themselves Rome's most noble dynasty. The similarities between the Galleria Colonna and the Painted Hall concern three distinct aspects (the architecture, the decoration, and the use of the building) and are so numerous that they cannot be accidental. The designers of the Royal Hospital must have had drawings of the Galleria Colonna at their disposal, which could have reached London via a number of possible intermediaries, among them connoisseurs like John Talman and Charles Talbot, 1st Duke of Shrewsbury, as well as artists like Charles Jervas and Thomas Edwards.

Most likely, Nicholas Hawksmoor was responsible for modifying the initial designs for the hall according to the Roman model. The chapter analyses the ways in which the architecture and decoration of the Galleria Colonna were adapted. I highlight how painting and architecture interacted in an attempt to impress and overwhelm the beholder, a process in which numerous references to the aesthetics of the sublime (as set out in Longinus's *Peri Hypsous*) can be detected.

While the reception of the Galleria Colonna may be characterized as a process of intramedial translation,

the creation of Thornhill's ceiling painting in the Lower Hall necessitated a double act of translation, both interlingual (the first translation of Andrea Pozzo's *Perspectiva* into English) and intermedial (by turning Pozzo's precepts into the first *quadratura* ceiling painting in Britain). In addition, the murals served as agents of interpersonal translation and conflict resolution.

As the Upper Hall came to be decorated only in George I's reign, the chapter reconstructs the original pictorial programme under Queen Anne and uncovers previously neglected messages. Via an analysis of administrative structures, pictorial models, and visual discourses, I argue that the Painted Hall was originally intended as a monument to Queen Anne. Thornhill meant to focus on her role as peacemaker both on a national and international level; at a later stage, he also included references to her positions as "Defender of the Faith" and as benefactor of the Royal Hospital. However, the messages he wished to inscribe into Britain's cultural memory were completely reformatted after the accession of George I.

The dynastic crisis that led to the Hanoverian succession was addressed through a combination of several pictorial strategies. Thornhill aimed to win the beholder's support for George I by suggesting that (1) his rule corresponded to God's will and was legitimized by his predecessors, (2) his government was informed by the same values as King William's rule, (3) George even surpassed William, and (4) his reign would bring a new golden age guaranteeing "Salus Publica" (Public Welfare) and "Securitas Publica" (Public Security).

My analysis of the Upper Hall concentrates on a previously neglected though distinctly relevant aspect: the reasoning behind the incorporation of Sophie Dorothea, Queen of Prussia, into the group portrait at a fairly late stage (in 1723). Precisely in 1723, Britain and Prussia agreed on a double marriage between the four eldest royal children, the likely successors to the crowns, in order to cement a new political alliance between their dynasties, the so-called Treaty of Charlottenburg. The inclusion of Sophie Dorothea therefore signalled that Britain's relationship to continental Europe was changing dramatically. While the ceiling painting in the Lower Hall stressed competition (invoking military conflict with

France and seeking to kindle national pride), the Upper Hall propagated a mutually beneficial cooperation between Britain and the continent.

The final section of chapter 7 discusses Prime Minister Boris Johnson's response to Thornhill's murals as documented by a televised speech he gave on 3 February 2020 in the Painted Hall. The speech celebrated Britain's recent exit from the European Union and interpreted Thornhill's "gorgeous" ceiling as an inspiration to the British people to strive for a more dominant role in the world. There could be no better concluding example of the visual appeal and political relevance of Baroque mural paintings, which continue to fascinate at least some of their beholders to this day.

By examining numerous processes of cultural translation, inter- and intramedial as well as interpersonal, this study has demonstrated how British and foreign artists shaped pictorial visions of the British past, present, and future. In the context of cultural memory studies, the book highlights the contribution of such images to the formation of a British cultural identity defined by Britain's conflictual relationship to continental Europe.

The period of time examined in this book was characterized by several fundamental ruptures in forms of government. In 1660, the Commonwealth was succeeded by a renewed monarchical and increasingly autocratic rule; in 1688, the Glorious Revolution brought a foreign prince to the throne, who ruled jointly with his wife; from 1702, Britain was governed by a woman; and in 1714, the Hanoverian dynasty replaced the Stuarts. Under such circumstances, changes in approach to conflict resolution are to be expected. And indeed, notable innovations can be observed in this period, though they do not follow a chronological pattern corresponding to the political changes outlined above.

The mural paintings at Windsor, Chelsea, Hampton Court, and Greenwich, which eulogize Charles II, William III, Queen Anne, and George I respectively, are remarkably homogeneous in terms of how they address conflicts. Following the example set by continental European courtly art, they seek to pre-empt rather than re-

solve conflicts. Accordingly, they stress the divinely sanctioned powers of the sovereign as a means of repressing criticism of his or her “infallible” judgement. By staging allegorical triumphs over “evil powers,” they discourage opposition. At the same time, these mural paintings advertise an ideal, harmonious society. As self-fulfilling prophecies, they seek to bring about the stability they purport to portray.

The above-mentioned British painted interiors visualize the monarch’s virtues and focus on allegorical depictions of values with the potential to draw consensus (concord, peace, and plenty, for example). Some of these values were new (like the emphasis on constitutional monarchy in Queen Anne’s drawing room), but Anne’s general approach to conflict resolution remained remarkably traditional. Precisely because a woman’s rule was an innovation, she sought to imitate her predecessors. For similar reasons, the murals at Greenwich construed a seeming continuity between Stuart and Hanoverian rule. The Jacobite rebellion was allegorized as an unsuccessful attempt to oppose the virtuous monarch, who appeared as the defender of “real” liberty.

Starting with the coronation entry of 1661, aggression was channelled towards foreign enemies in order to shift attention away from internal conflicts. Many of the murals studied in this book encapsulate strong nationalist feeling. Both in the Queen’s Drawing Room at Hampton Court and in the Lower Hall at Greenwich, Britain’s conflict with France was explained as a conflict of values: The wall and ceiling paintings identify “popery” and “tyranny” as the reasons why the French needed to be vanquished to defend British liberty and Protestantism. This analysis of motivations underlying a conflict resembles modern strategies of mediation, but the paintings adduce only those motivations that appear honourable, leaving others aside. The murals do not attempt to resolve international conflicts but rather deploy visual propaganda that provides a legitimation for armed conflict.

During the whole period covered in this book, conflicts between nations played out via artistic rivalries. Britain sought to outdo France and Italy in architecture as well as in mural painting and monumental statuary. However, Antonio Verrio and Matthew Prior experi-

mented with an entirely new approach when they conceived the decoration of the King’s Staircase at Hampton Court. In this case, they aimed to top the Sun King not by his own means (epitomized in the Escalier des Ambassadeurs) but by a diametrically opposed method, namely an innovative culture of understatement.

A further significant innovation may be noted at Chatsworth, especially when its Painted Hall is compared and contrasted with St George’s Hall at Windsor. Both pictorial cycles referred to Britain’s special system of government, which was unique at that time. They commented on the conflictual relationship between the king and Parliament, though in completely different ways. Verrio’s destroyed paintings at Windsor propagated autocratic rule, in line with Charles II’s policy during the Exclusion Crisis. Verrio alluded to the conflict surrounding Charles’s succession (via the depiction of the Black Prince) but focused on the king’s authority and his God-like power to make the right decisions, without the aid of Parliament. At Chatsworth, on the contrary, William Cavendish commissioned a pictorial programme emphasizing the checks and balances that are characteristic of Britain’s political system. The novel conception for the Painted Hall was meant to stimulate a dialogue between members of opposing parties about good and bad forms of government. Whereas the Windsor murals sought to suppress conflict, those at Chatsworth aimed at conflict transformation and reconciliation.

In a similar way, though on a less ambitious scale, Verrio’s mural at Christ’s Hospital strove for conflict transformation as well. Not surprisingly, the man behind the commission, Samuel Pepys, was, like William Cavendish, a gifted politician. In order to overcome conflicts both between Whig and Tory governors and between teachers from different schools of the hospital, Pepys had all of them included in one large group portrait that evoked mutual esteem and shared values. Verrio’s visualization of the hospital’s (purported) spirit of cooperation was later echoed in Thornhill’s group portrait in the Upper Hall at Greenwich, which alluded to a planned marriage alliance between Britain and Prussia. Both murals can be seen as anticipating Morton Deutsch’s research on conflict resolution in their underlying assump-

tion that images of cooperation will induce cooperation.

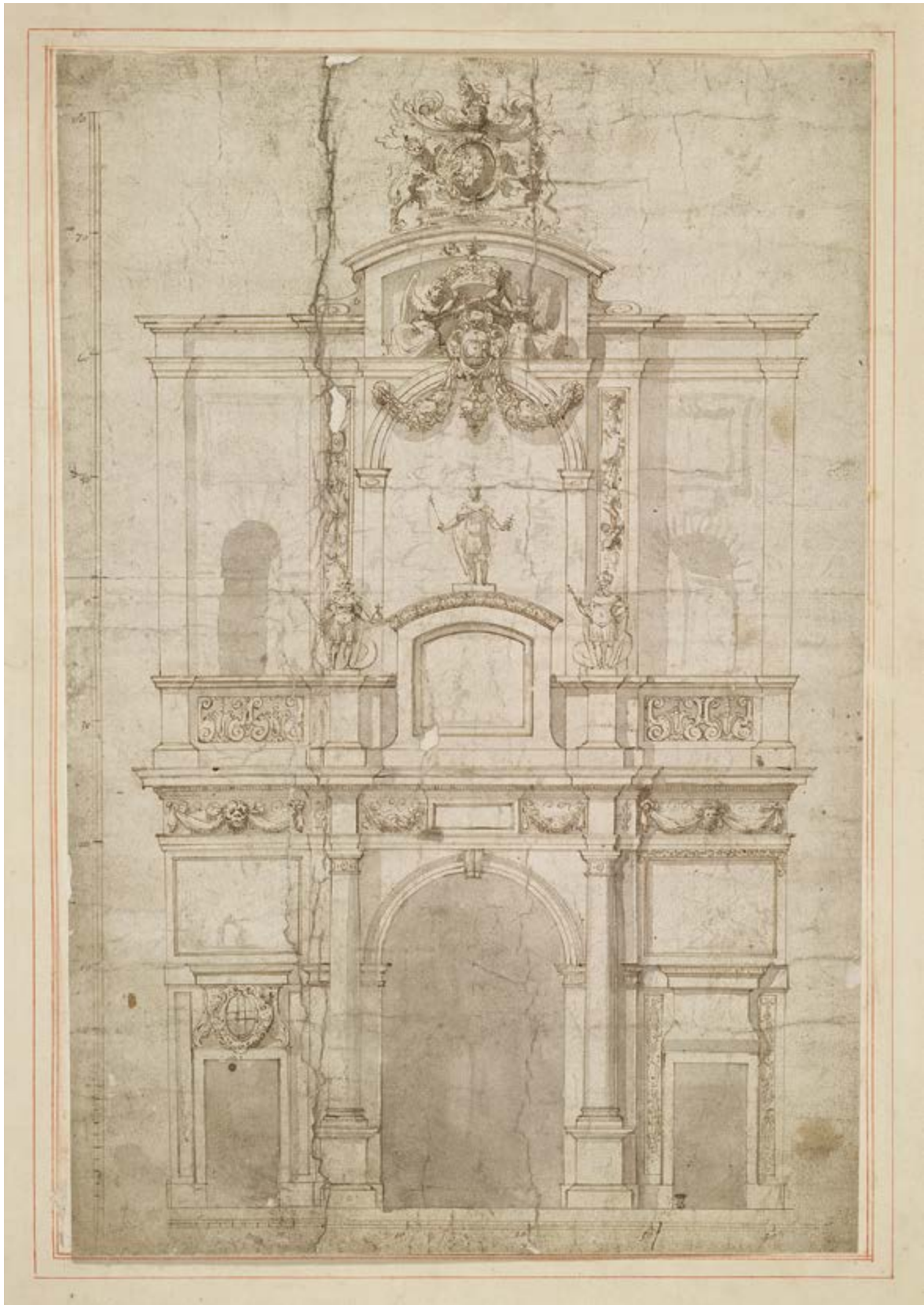
Painted interiors served as spaces of translation in that they sought to condition the encounters taking place within them. As explained in chapter 8, through the well-considered arrangement of images in a given room painters stimulated a viewer's *Syntheseleistung* and suggested a specific interpretation of the ensemble as well as a corresponding, specific course of action. Depending on the intended message of the pictorial programme, some painted interiors encouraged cooperative behaviour, whereas others promoted submission.

In deciphering such messages, both the paintings themselves and their placement in a particular room must be taken into account. The study of murals can therefore help to open up a field of art-historical enquiry focused on the interaction of images and spaces. The

relevant methodology, which I have outlined in chapter 8, requires further development through the consideration of a far larger number of case studies from different epochs, regions, and cultures. However, I hope to have shown some directions that might open a path toward subsequent refinements of the method.

As demonstrated in chapters 1 and 8, the spatial turn has fostered research on contemporary societies that proves inspirational for the study of the Baroque age, too. Reciprocally, the study of Baroque murals can also power forward our understanding of other temporal and geographical areas. Rethinking the criteria outlined in chapter 8 with reference to medieval, modern, or extra-European works of art may lead to a more systematic understanding of spatially embedded art as a global phenomenon.

PLATES



Pl. 1 Anonymous architect (here attributed to John Webb and his office). Design for the first arch of the 1661 coronation entry



Pl. 2 Anonymous architect (here attributed to John Webb and his office). Design for the second arch of the 1661 coronation entry



Pl. 3 Anonymous architect (here attributed to John Webb and his office). Design for the third arch of the 1661 coronation entry



Pl. 4 Anonymous architect (here attributed to John Webb and his office). Design for the fourth arch of the 1661 coronation entry



Pl. 5 Antonio Verrio. The sea triumph of Charles II, c. 1676



Pl. 6 Thomas Sutherland after Charles Wild. The King's Guard Chamber at Windsor Castle, 1818



Pl. 7 James Stephanoff. The King's Presence Chamber at Windsor Castle, c. 1818



Pl. 8 Charles Wild. The King's Audience (Privy) Chamber at Windsor Castle, c. 1818



Pl. 9 James Stephanoff. The King's Drawing Room at Windsor Castle, c. 1817



Pl. 10 Antonio Verrio and assistants. *Banquet of the Gods*, c. 1676–1678. Ceiling painting in the Dining Room, Windsor Castle



Pl. 11 Charles Wild. *The King's Old State Bedchamber at Windsor Castle*, c. 1816



Pl. 12 Thomas Sutherland after Charles Wild. Ceiling painting of the King's State Bedchamber at Windsor Castle, 1819



Pl. 13 Charles Wild. The Queen's Guard Chamber at Windsor Castle, c. 1817



Pl. 14 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Queen Catherine of Braganza surrounded by an assembly of the Olympian gods and the cardinal virtues, 1679. Ceiling painting, Queen's Presence Chamber, Windsor Castle



Pl. 15 Antonio Verrio and assistants. The triumph of Queen Catherine of Braganza, 1679. Ceiling painting, Queen's Privy Chamber, Windsor Castle



Pl. 16 Charles Wild. The Ball Room at Windsor Castle, c. 1817



Pl. 17 Charles Wild. The Queen's Drawing Room at Windsor Castle, c. 1816



Pl. 18 Antonio Verro and assistants. Queen Catherine of Braganza surrounded by an assembly of the Olympian gods and the cardinal virtues, 1679. Ceiling painting, Queen's Presence Chamber, Windsor Castle, detail



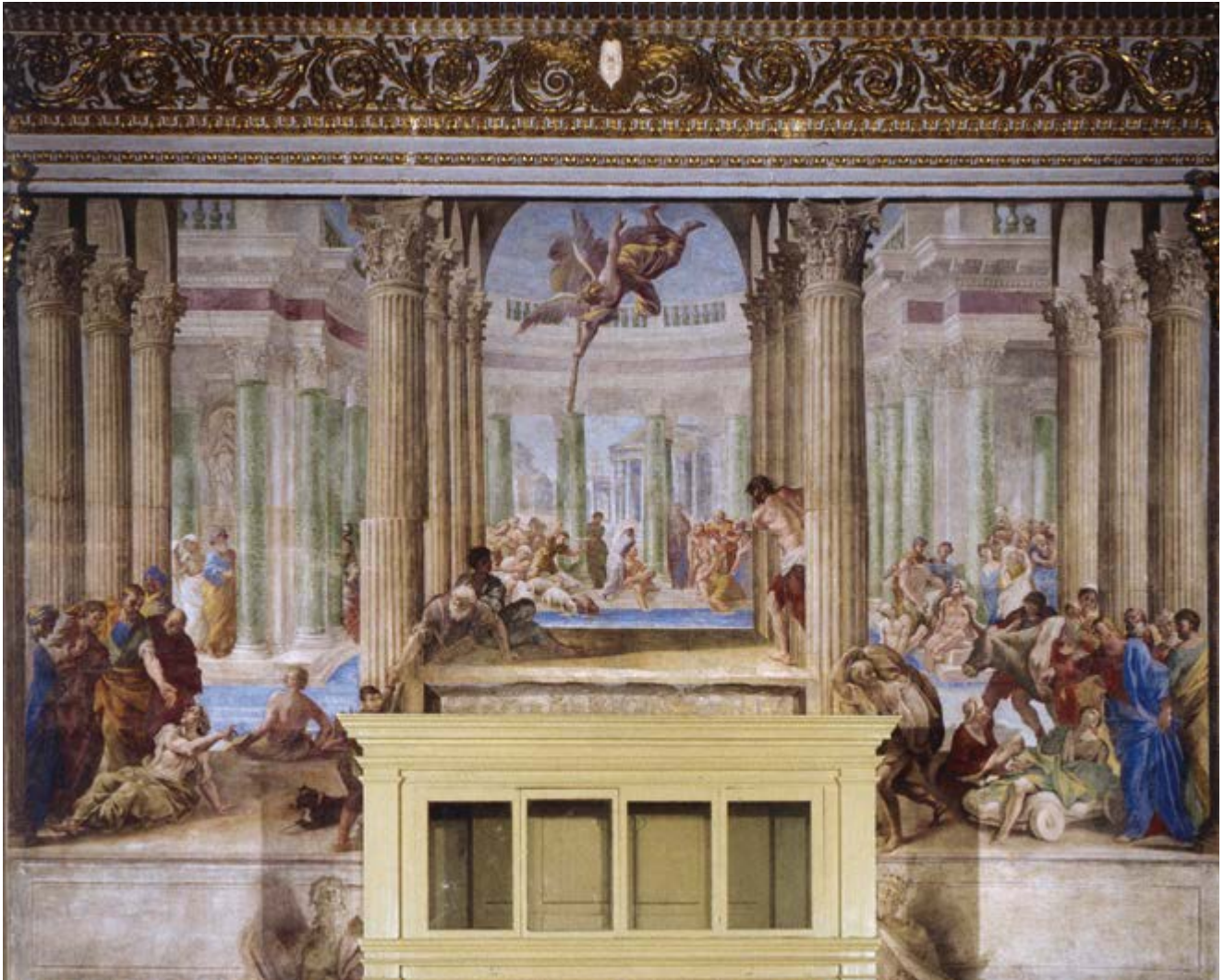
Pl. 19 Charles Wild. The King's Chapel, Windsor Castle, decorated by Antonio Verrio in 1680/81. Watercolour, c. 1818



Pl. 20 Giovanni Battista Gaulli. The triumph of the name of Jesus, 1677–1679. Ceiling painting, nave, Il Gesù, Rome



Pl. 21 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Christ healing the sick at the Pool of Bethesda, c. 1678–1682



Pl. 22 Giovanni Lanfranco. Christ healing at the Pool of Bethesda, 1640–1644. Wall painting, Santi Apostoli, Naples



Pl. 23 Charles Wild. St George's Hall, Windsor Castle, decorated by Antonio Verrio in 1681–1683/84. Watercolour, c. 1818



Pl. 24 View of the Galleria Colonna, Rome, from the west. Design by Gianlorenzo Bernini, 1674



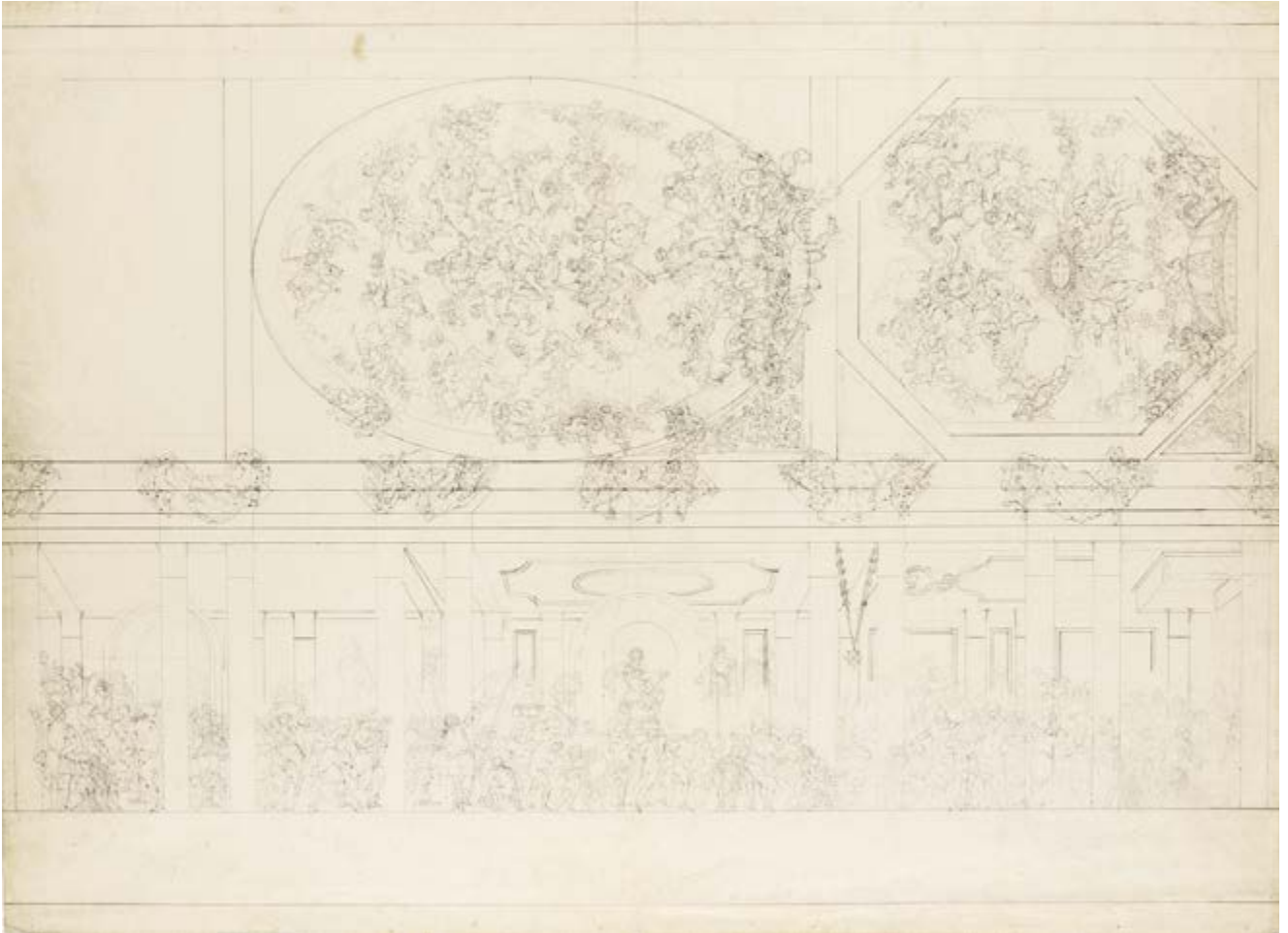
Pl. 25 Galleria Colonna, Rome



Pl. 26 View from the central hall into the saloon at its east end. Galleria Colonna, Rome



Pl. 27 Bernardino Poccetti. An allegorical representation of Cosimo I de' Medici on a rainbow, c. 1612. Ceiling painting, Sala di Bona, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, detail



Pl. 28 John Francis Rigaud (?). Copy after Antonio Verrio's wall and ceiling paintings in St George's Hall, c. 1805

Pl. 29 Angelo Michele Colonna and Agostino Mitelli. The apotheosis of Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici, 1641. Ceiling fresco, Terza sala di rappresentanza, Palazzo Pitti, Florence



Pl. 30 Angelo Michele Colonna and Agostino Mitelli. The apotheosis of Alexander the Great, 1640. Ceiling fresco, Sala dell'Udienza privata, Palazzo Pitti, Florence





Pl. 31 Antonio Verrio. The triumph of William III; sketch for part of the long wall of St George's Hall at Windsor Castle, c. 1699



Pl. 32 John Hayls. Samuel Pepys, 1666



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Pl. 34 Antonio Verrio and Louis Laguerre. James II receiving members of Christ's Hospital, 1684–1688. Christ's Hospital, Horsham



Pl. 35 Studio of Antonio Verrio. James II giving audience to members of Christ's Hospital, c. 1688



Pl. 36 Antonio Verrio and Louis Laguerre. James II receiving members of Christ's Hospital (detail of left panel), 1684–1688. Christ's Hospital, Horsham



Pl. 37 Antonio Verrio and Louis Laguerre. James II receiving members of Christ's Hospital (left side of the central panel), 1684–1688. Christ's Hospital, Horsham



Pl. 38 Antonio Verrio and Louis Laguerre. James II receiving members of Christ's Hospital (right side of the central panel), 1684–1688. Christ's Hospital, Horsham



Pl. 39 Antonio Verrio and Louis Laguerre. James II receiving members of Christ's Hospital (detail of right panel), 1684–1688. Christ's Hospital, Horsham



Pl. 40 Antonio Verrio. Charles II giving audience to members of Christ's Hospital, c. 1682



Pl. 41 Unknown British painter. Edward VI presents the royal charter to Christ's, St Thomas, and Bridewell Hospitals in 1553



Pl. 43 Henri Testelin. Jean-Baptiste Colbert presenting the members of the Académie royale des sciences to Louis XIV in 1667, c. 1667



Pl. 44 Agostino Tassi. Painted loggia (detail), 1616/17. Sala Regia (today Sala dei Corazzieri), Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome



Pl. 45 Charles Arquinet. Reconstruction of the Escalier des Ambassadeurs at the Château de Versailles, 1958



Pl. 46 Antonio Verrio and Henry Cooke. Allegorical portrait of Charles II, c. 1687–1692. Great Hall, Royal Hospital, Chelsea



Pl. 47 Inscription placed underneath the allegorical portrait. Detail of Verrio's mural



Pl. 48 Thomas Rowlandson. View of the Great Hall of Chelsea Hospital with Verrio's and Cooke's mural, 1810



Pl. 49 Antonio Verrio. Left panel of the triptych. Great Hall, Royal Hospital, Chelsea



Pl. 50 Detail of Verrio's mural: Temperance pouring water into wine and Prudence with her snake



Pl. 51 Entrance to the main block. Royal Hospital, Chelsea



Pl. 52 Lantern over the vestibule of the main wing.
Royal Hospital, Chelsea



Pl. 53 Detail of Verrio's mural: London and Europe



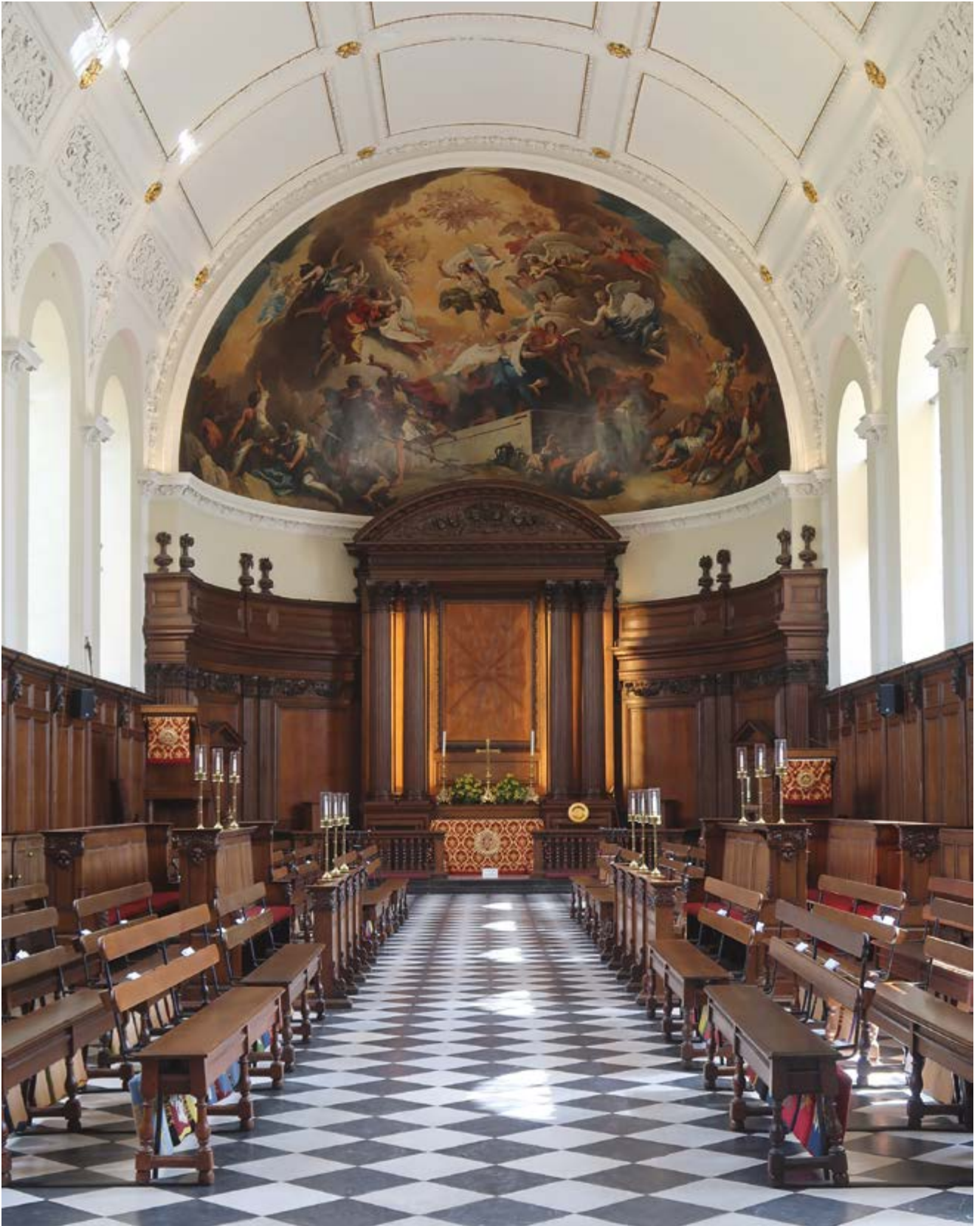
Pl. 54 Grinling Gibbons. Statue of Charles II (detail),
c. 1686. Royal Hospital, Chelsea



Pl. 55 Unknown Italian sculptor and Jasper Latham.
Equestrian statue of Charles II, 1672. Formerly at
Stocks Market, London, now at Newby Hall near Leeds



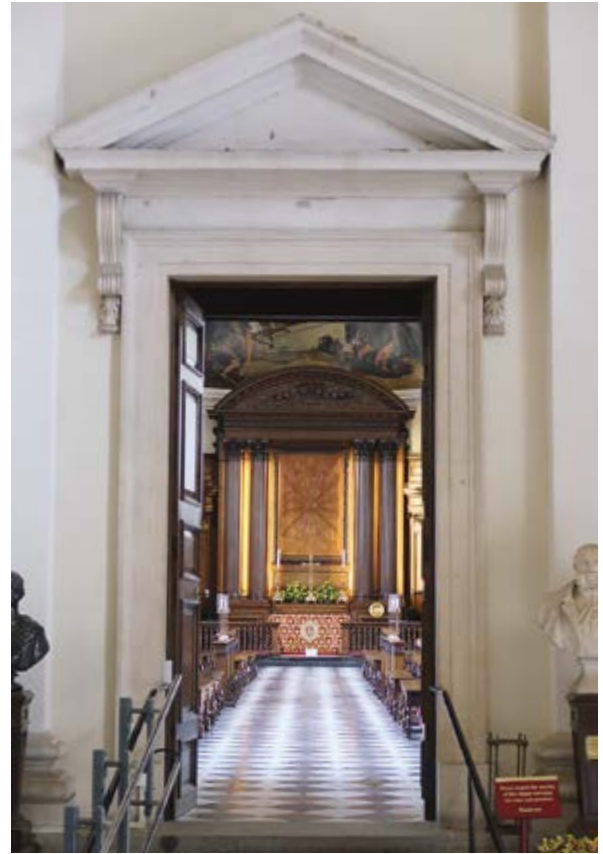
Pl. 56 Anthony van Dyck. Equestrian portrait of Charles I with Seigneur de Saint Antoine, 1633



Pl. 57 Chapel, Royal Hospital, Chelsea



Pl. 58 Detail of the altar. Chapel, Royal Hospital, Chelsea



Pl. 59 View of the chapel and its altar from the entrance to the Great Hall. Royal Hospital, Chelsea



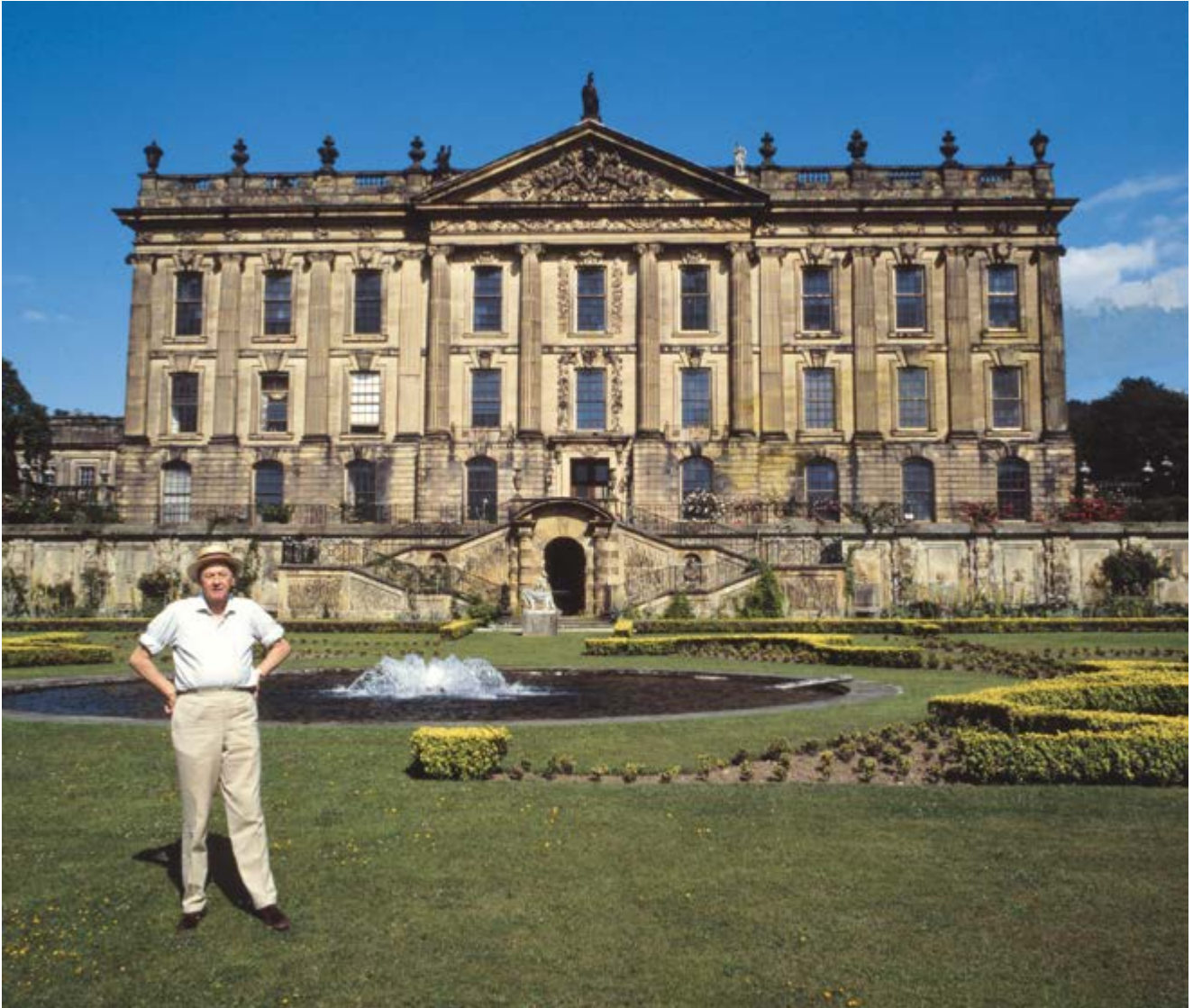
Pl. 60 Richard Wilson (copy after Jan Siberechts?).
View of Elizabethan Chatsworth (detail), 1740–1749



Pl. 61 South façade of Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 62 South façade of Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 63 West façade of Chatsworth House (with the 11th duke of Devonshire)



Pl. 64 Louis Laguerre and assistants. Christ healing the sick, c. 1689–1690. Mural on the north wall of the chapel, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 65 Louis Laguerre. Christ in glory, c. 1689–1690. Ceiling painting, Chapel, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 66 View of the chapel from the gallery. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 67 Court façade (west front) of the east wing of Chatsworth House, containing the Painted Hall



Pl. 68 View of the Painted Hall from the north. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 69 Louis Laguerre and assistants. The assassination of Caesar, c. 1693–1694. Mural over the north entrance of the Painted Hall, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 70 Louis Laguerre and assistants. Augustus ordering the closing of the Temple of Janus, c. 1693–1694. Central painting on the east wall of the Painted Hall, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 71 Louis Laguerre and assistants. Murals on the east wall of the Painted Hall, c. 1693–1694. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 72 Louis Chéron (?). Caesar crossing the Rubicon, c. 1693–1694. Northern (left) oval painting on the east wall of the Painted Hall, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.



Pl. 73 Louis Chéron (?). William of Orange crossing the Channel, c. 1693–1694. Southern (right) oval painting on the east wall of the Painted Hall, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.



Pl. 74 The assassination of Caesar, Brussels, 1549



Pl. 75 Louis Laguerre and assistants. Augustus ordering the closing of the Temple of Janus, detail: Janus (relief over the door of the temple). Central painting on the east wall of the Painted Hall, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 76 Carlo Maratta. Augustus closes the Temple of Janus, c. 1660



Pl. 77 Raphael. Madonna of the Goldfinch, c. 1505/06



Pl. 78 Raphael. The sacrifice at Lystra, c. 1515/16



Pl. 79 Louis Laguerre and assistants. The apotheosis of Caesar, 1692–1693. Ceiling painting, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 80 Detail of the central section of the ceiling of the Painted Hall. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 81 Ludovico Gimignani. The apotheosis of Caesar, c. 1680–1690. Ceiling fresco, Palazzo Madama, Rome, Galleria dell'Eroe



Pl. 82 Louis Laguerre and assistants. Ceiling painting, c. 1689–1690. State drawing room, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 83 Detail of the ceiling painting: the dethroned queen. Painted Hall, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 84 Detail of the ceiling painting: a female figure symbolizing the House of Cavendish (*Desiderio verso Iddio*). Painted Hall, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire



Pl. 85 Central frontispiece of the east façade of Hampton Court Palace, London



Pl. 86 South façade of Hampton Court Palace, London



Pl. 87 Godfrey Kneller. Equestrian portrait of William III, 1700/01



Pl. 88 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Decoration of the Heaven Room, c. 1693/94.
Burghley House, Stamford



Pl. 89 General view of the King's Staircase at Hampton Court Palace, from the main entrance (from south-west)



Pl. 90 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Mural on the north wall of the King's Staircase at Hampton Court Palace, 1701/02



Pl. 91 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Murals on the ceiling and the east wall of the King's Staircase at Hampton Court Palace, 1701/02



Pl. 92 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Mural on the south wall of the King's Staircase at Hampton Court Palace, 1701/02



Pl. 93 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Ceiling painting in the King's Staircase at Hampton Court Palace, 1701/02



Pl. 94 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Murals on the west wall and ceiling, c. 1703–1705. Queen's Drawing Room, Hampton Court Palace, London



Pl. 95 Ceiling detail: Queen Anne as Justice. Queen's Drawing Room, Hampton Court Palace, London



Pl. 96 Antonio Verrio and assistants. Prince George and the English fleet, c. 1703–1705. Mural on the north wall, Queen's Drawing Room, Hampton Court Palace, London



Pl. 97 Vivian Charles Hardingham. View of the north wall of the Queen's Drawing Room at Hampton Court Palace, c. 1940s



Pl. 98 Antonio Verrio and assistants. A triumph at sea, c. 1703–1705. Mural on the south wall, Queen's Drawing Room, Hampton Court Palace, London



Pl. 99 Antonio Verrio and assistants. An allegorical representation of Queen Anne's rule, c. 1703–1705. Mural on the west wall, Queen's Drawing Room, Hampton Court Palace, London



Pl. 100 Unknown artist. The family of Henry VIII, c. 1545



Pl. 101 Detail of the mural on the west wall: Allegorical representation of British Monarchy. Queen's Drawing Room, Hampton Court Palace, London



Pl. 102 Detail of the mural on the west wall: The royal coat of arms with the motto "Semper eadem." Queen's Drawing Room, Hampton Court Palace, London



Pl. 103 The Royal Naval College at Greenwich seen from the River Thames



Pl. 104 James Thornhill and assistants. Ceiling of the Painted Hall, c. 1707–1714. Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 105 Detail of the central ceiling painting. Lower Hall, Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 106 Andrea Pozzo. The Triumph of St Ignatius, 1691–1694. Ceiling fresco, Sant' Ignazio, Rome



Pl. 107 View looking upwards into the interior of the vestibule dome. Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 108 View from the vestibule into the Lower Hall, with the Upper Hall beyond. Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 109 James Thornhill and assistants. A British man-of-war with a winged figure of Victory carrying an armful of captured French colours, c. 1707–1714. Ceiling painting at the west end of the Lower Hall, Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 110 Detail of the central ceiling painting in the Lower Hall: William and Mary triumphing over Popery and Tyranny while William offers the cap of liberty to Europe. Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 111 View looking west from the Lower into the Upper Hall. Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 112 James Thornhill and assistants. Ceiling painting, c. 1720–1722. Upper Hall, Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 113 James Thornhill and assistants. George I and his family, c. 1723–1726 Mural on the west wall, Upper Hall, Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 114 James Thornhill and assistants. The arrival of George I at Greenwich in 1714, c. 1718/19. Mural on the north wall, Upper Hall, Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 115 James Thornhill and assistants. William of Orange being welcomed ashore by Britannia in 1688, c. 1718/19. Mural on the south wall, Upper Hall, Royal Naval College, Greenwich



Pl. 116 Chris Riddell. Caricature published in *The Guardian*, 21 December 2019



Pl. 117 Boris Johnson's speech at Greenwich on 3 February 2020

APPENDICES

A Note on Datation

Since Britain refused to accept the calendar reform promoted by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, the continent was eleven days ahead of the British Isles.¹ Consequently, the date chosen for Charles II's coronation (St George's Day, 23 April 1661) carried symbolic meaning only in Britain, whereas for the continental audience the event fell on 3 May, as an Italian description of the coronation pointed out.² Documents concerning foreign affairs therefore often give two dates. For instance, Matthew

Prior's commission as secretary to the British embassy in France was dated "Kensington, Dec. 29/Jan. 8, 1697/98."³

In addition, readers of archival documents need to be aware that in Britain the new year began with Lady Day (the feast day of the Annunciation, 25 March). Some writers adopted the continental style, however. "A letter dated February 13, 1701, was thus probably, though not necessarily, written on February 13, 1702."⁴ The dates given in the text of this book correspond to current usage.

Appendix I

Documents concerning Christ's Hospital from the Metropolitan Archives, London

1677,12,10 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 10 December 1677 (Christ's Hospital, Minute and memoranda book, 1673–1686; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/006/MS12873/001):

[fol. 68] This Com.te considering the Ninth Defect & Remedy desired the Treasurer Esq.r Collwall Es.qr Copping Mr. Doyley Mr. Woods Mr. Short and Mr. Brewer [fol. 69] or any foure or more of them to take a strict Inventory of all the Plotts Mapps Books Globes and other Instruments either given by Benefactors or provided at the Charge of this House for the publick use of the Mathematicall Schoole [...]

[fol. 70] As to the 13.th and last Remedy for perpetuating the Memory of our Royall ffounder the [fol. 71] Com.te did desire Secretary Pepys to consider the fittest method

for doing thereof [,] a worthy Gentleman and a Member of this House having declared he will be at the Sole Charge thereof and whether it shall be by Statue Inscription or Painting he will wholly leave it to the said Secretary Pepys [.] The said Secretary did promise the Com.te he would in some short time Consider thereof [.] the Com.te gave that Gentleman thanks for his kind offer As alsoe that Gentleman that hath declared while he lives he will give ffive pounds per Anno to the Governors and visitors of the other Schooles in this Hospitall and will appoint it to be paid for over by his last will and Testament.

1678,01,08 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 8 January 1677/8 (Christ's Hospital, Minute and memoranda book, 1673–1686; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/006/MS12873/001):

[fol. 72] The 8th of January 1677 [= 1678] Daniell Collwall Esq.r Mr. Doyley Mr. Woods Mr. Brewer and Mr. Short did examine the Inventory of a Shipp Globes Mapps Instru-

ments and other things as alsoe a Catalogue of the Bookes as are in the Custody of the Master of the Mathematicall Schoole in this Hospitall [...].

1678,01,09 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 9 January 1677/8 (Christ's Hospital, Minute and memoranda book, 1673–1686; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/006/MS12873/001):

[fol. 72] Pursuiant to the desire of the last Committee [,] Secretary Pepys did acquaint them that for perpetuating of his Ma.ties Bounty to his new Royall ffoundation in this Hospitall It will be best done on the wall of the right hand of the great Hall from ye Pulpitt to the upper end which containes 32 foot ½ in length and 19 foot in depth and that one Window next [fol. 73] the Pulpitt must be Closed up And a large fframe with a back of Board fixed for preservation of the Picture that shall be made which the Com.te doe very well approve off.

This Com.tee did desire Secretary Pepys to get some Historian Painter that may draw a faire Table [sic]⁵ representing his Ma.ty and some cheife [sic] Ministers of the State the Lord Maior the President and some Governors with the Children of his Ma.ties new Royall ffoundation A Shipp Globe Mapp Mathematicall Instruments and such other things as may well express his Ma.ties Royall ffoundation and Bounty to this Hospitall.

1678,01,17 Excerpt from Court Minutes of 17 January 1677/8 (Christ's Hospital, Minute and memoranda book, 1673–1691; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/006/MS12873/002):

[fol. 44] At a Generall Court holden in Christ Hospitall the 17th day of January 1677 [= 1678]

This Court was acquainted that his Majesty being attended by severall of the Governors this day he was graciously pleased to condescend to the humble desire of the last Court That there shalbe but twenty of the Children of the New Royall ffoundation in the Mathematicall Schoole at one time being as many as the Master can well teach, the other twenty to be in the Grammar and Writing Schooles fitting themselves for the Mathematicall Schoole and to be from time to time removed thither as there shall be vacancies.

[...] And it pleased Secretary Pepys to acquaint the Court That within a little time he would present his Majesties consent in writing, signed by his gracious Majestie for which the Court gave him thanks.

1681,12,19 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 19 December 1681 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 6] The 19th day of December 1681

Samuel Pepys Esq.r Dep.ty Hawes and D.ty Woods mett Mr. Vario Painter in the great Hall and had some discourse with him aboute the place and method best to expresse his Ma.ties ffoundation in this Hospitall [.] Mr. Vario very well approved the place which the Com.te had thought fitting to expresse the same, and promised to draw a Moddell which he would designe and when the Governo(rs) with the Children went up to the King he would acquaint his Ma.tie therewith and show him the same for his approbation.

1682,02,02 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 2 February 1681/2 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 11] Esq.r Pepys acquainted this Com.te since the last meeting he had spoken with Seignior Vario Painter concerning a method best to express his Ma.ties ffoundation in this Hospitall, and that the said Seignior Vario is [preparing?] a modell in order thereunto and as soone as he is ready he will present the draught thereof to this Com.te.

1683,05,18 Excerpt from General Court minutes (Bolton and Hendry 1934, 69):

Whereas a Generall Court of the 20th November 1677, and severall times since, desired a Committee to consider of and report their opinion touching the fittest method of perpetuating the memory of his Gracious Majesty, that is the Royall founder of the Mathematicall Schoole in this Hospitall, either by Statue, Inscription or Painting, which as yet is not done. This Court doth againe desire the Mathematicall Committee with all convenient

speed to take care thereof. And the Court ordered Mr. Parrey to speak with Mr. Vario, historian painter, at Windsor, who formerly was spoken unto aboute, and promised to doe something in this affaire, & to report to the next Committee whether he hath done anything thereon or not, and if not, that the Committee will forthwith take care the same be done.

1684,04,09 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 9 April 1684 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 166] Mr. Treasurer was desired by this Com.te to procure if possible from Mr. Vario the Scetch made by him for perpetuating the memory of his gracious M.tie founder of the Mathematicall schoole in this Hospitall that soe this Com.te may come to some agreement with the said Vario concerning the finishing thereof.

1684,05,12 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 12 May 1684 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 170] To this Com.te was presented the Scetch or modell drawne by Seinor Vario Historian Painter of what is intended to perpetuate the memory of his gracious Ma.tie in this Hospitall, as he is ffounder of ye Mathematicall Schoole therein, And for severall reasons moving this Com.te the further consideration thereof was put off till M.r Vario can have time to attend the Com.te concerning the same.

1684,05,16 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 16 May 1684 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 174] This Com.te resolved at their next meeting to take into consideration the Modell made by Mr. Vario Historian Painter relating to the Mathematicall schoole.

1684,06,12 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 12 June 1684 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 178] It was Ordered that M.r Parrey should attend Sam. Pepys Esq.r, and to let him know that the Com.te desire his Company at such time as he can well spare, to consult with him about the designe drawne by Mr. Vario, and that if he cannot appoint a time, then the designe to be carryed to him, and to intreat his opinion concerning the same.

1684,06,19 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 19 June 1684 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 181] Mr. Parrey reports that pursuant to an Order of the last Com.te hee had attended Esq.r Pepys with the designe drawne for the Mathematicall schoole by Mr. Vario who seemes to approve thereof, but his bussiness would not give him leave to come to the Com.te, but that hee did resolve to be at the Hospitall on ffryday next to view the place where it is to be sett.

1684,10,02 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 2 October 1684 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 215] The Com.te went up into the Hall with Signior Vario to consider where and in what manner the picture that is to be made for describing his Majesties new Royall ffoundation shall be [.] After some discourse with Mr. Vario about the same They desired Mr. Parrey forthwith to attend Esq.r Pepys and to know his pleasure what shall be done therein, and to agree for the price of dooing thereof, if he thinks it convenient the picture to be sett oppositt to the new picture of Edward the sixth, with which Mr. Vario was not pleased.

1684,10,13 Excerpt from Court Minutes of 13 October 1684 (Christ's Hospital, Court Minute Book, 1677–1689; London Metropolitan Archives CLC210/B/001/MS12806/007):

[fol. 592] Whereas his gracious Ma.tie is not onely the Royal ffounder, but a bountifull Benefactor to the Mathematicall Schoole in Christ Hospitall, And the Court having resolved to draw such a designe of the Mathematicall

ffoundation, as may transmitt to posterity, the Honour due to his Ma.ty, and the Hospitall's gratitude and piety to his memory by painting, and whereas Seignior Vario historian Painter hath severall times been conferred with aboute the same, and drawne a designe, which hath bin approved but nothing further as yet done [thereon?] Now that this good work may forthwith be put in hands and finished This Court desires the Worshipful Peter Parvaten Esq.r Aldran S.r Mathew Andrews S.r William Russell and S.r Anthony Deane K.ts Mr. Comon Serj.t Dep.ty Midgley and Dep.ty Woods or any three or more of them to goe to Esq.r Pepys, and to request his Comp.a to Seignior Vario and to let him know that the Court doe make it their Earnest request to him, that he will withall convenient [space?] goe in hand with the said designe, and finish the same, the Court having left the whole management thereof to him, as also to place the same in such parte of the great hall, as he shall think fitt, and if the picture of Edward the Sixth is in his way, to let him know the Court have resolved to remove it to some other place.

1684, 10, 30 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 30 October 1684 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):
[fol. 225] To this Com.te appeard Seignior Vario Historian Painter to whom was read the Order of the last Generall Court [...].⁶

1684, 11, 12 Excerpt from Court Minutes of 12 November 1684 (Christ's Hospital, Court Minute Book, 1677–1689; London Metropolitan Archives CLC210/B/001/MS12806/007):
[fol. 600] To this Court was read the report following
At a Com.te of the Schooles the 30th October 1684
To this Com.te appeared Seignior Vario Historian Painter, to whom was read the Order of the last Generall Court, with which he was very well pleased.
He went with the Com.te into the great hall, showing them where he proposeth to have the designe placed, which was in that parte of the great hall, where the picture of Edward the Sixth now Stands, joyning to the Maidens Ward, the upper end of the hall where now the window is,

and on that side of the hall next the new Mathematicall Schoole, and seemed to be of Opinion, that the closing up of the window, and inlarging the two next side windows, will give the farr more advantagious prospect to the picture, and give an opportunity withall of placing the King in the more August and Stately posture.

To all which the Com.te did readily assent, and agreed to propose it to the Court, with the advantage of their approbation.

And desired withall to know of him what satisfaction he Expected for dooing it well, he said, he would doe it so well, that if any Artist that should see it, did not say it was worth one thousand pounds, he would give the poore of this Hospitall one hundred pounds.

The Com.te prayed hime to express himself plainly what he Expected, at last he said 300 [pounds] viz. one hundred pounds in hand, another 100 [pounds] when he had finished a third parte of the worke, and the other 100 [pounds] when he had finished the whole, which he would endeavour to doe, by May next, the lining of the walle, and dooing such things as are necessary in order to this worke.

[fol. 601] The Com.te told him they would acquaint the Court with his proposall, which would be very suddainly called, and they did noe way doubt of their ready compliance with him, in the mean time they prayed him to proceed in his work with all speed.

And he promised that over and about the said worke he would adorne the Ceiling at that end of the hall where his picture is to be placed, with such figures as should be a great Ornament to the same, for which he would not require a farthing.

This Court after serious consideration of every part of the said report, readily and unanimously agreed to the proposal of the said Seignior Verrio, and resolved to put it in execution accordingly.

And desired the Com.te of the Schooles to cause the picture of Edward the Sixth, to be removed to such a place in the hall as they and the said Seignior Verrio shall think is the fittest place.

And further the said Com.te or any four of them are desired to cause such alteration to be made at the upper end of the hall, as shall be judged requisite for carrying

on of this worke; the beginning and finishing whereof this Court leaves to the care of the said Com.te.

And this Court doe now authorize their Treasurer to make payment of the summes, and at the times mentioned in the report, and without any further or other Authority than is now given him by this Court.

1685,02,24 Excerpt from Court Minutes of 24 February 1684/5 (Christ's Hospital, Court Minute Book, 1677–1689; London Metropolitan Archives CLC210/B/001/MS12806/007):

[fol. 630] Mr. Treasurer acquainted the Court That he hath received a letter from Seignior Verio Historian Painter to pay him fifty pounds more than the hundred he hath already received in further parte of the money he is to receive for drawing the designe of the Mathematicall foundation and that the said Seignior Verrio had proposed to make some alteration of the said designe in regard his Ma.tie King Charles the second of blessed memory is lately deceased.

This Court desires Esq.r Bridgman now present to see what progresse the said Seignior Verrio hath made in the worke, & if he finds soe much done as that the said Seignior Verrio [desires?] fifty pounds more and certifies the same under his hand then Mr. Treasurer to pay it him, otherways not And the said Esq.r Bridgman is likewise desired to consult with the said Seignior Verrio aboute the alteration he proposeth and report the same to the Court with his opinion.

1685,06,18 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 18 June 1685 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 266] This Com.te was acquainted that the time set by Mr. Verrio Historian Painter, for the finishing of the picture for the upper end of the hall, expired last month, and that the said picture was soe farr from being finished, as that it is scarcely begun as is testified by them that have seene what hath been done thereunto, and that it is feared, that if some speedy course be not taken, the said picture will never be finished, he having hinted, that he cannot proceed any further therein; And soe the money

being 110 [pounds] that hath been already paid to the said Verrio is likely to be lost, This Com.te after some debate Ordered Mr. Parrey to waite upon S.r Anthony Deane and Esq.r Pepys, and to acquaint them herewith, and to receive their directions what shall be further done, and if possible Mr. Parrey to report to the next meeting.

1685,06,25 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 25 June 1685 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 267] To this Com.te Seignior Verrio appeared and acquainted them, that the picture he had now in hand should be finished in August or beginning of September next. The Com.te prayed him to proceed with all cheerfullness to the finishing thereof, and acquainted him that the Court had desired Esq.r Bridgman to looke after the same, and that when the said Esq.r Bridgman Certifies what is done and what money is fitt to bee paid to him [,] The Court hath Ordered Mr. Treasurer to pay it accordingly.

1686,01,13 Excerpt from Schools Committee Minutes of 13 January 1685/6 (Christ's Hospital, Schools committee minute book, 1681–1688; London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/210/B/007/MS12873A):

[fol. 304] This Com.te being satisfied by Esq.r Bridgman That Mr. Verrio had done a 3.d parte of the picture intended for this Hospitall, Ordered he should be paid by Mr. Treasurer 40 [pounds] more in further parte of the contract made with him for the dooing thereof.

1687,08,17 Excerpt from Court Minutes of 17 August 1687 (Christ's Hospital, Court Minute Book, 1677–1689; London Metropolitan Archives CLC210/B/001/MS12806/007):

[fol. 801] Whereas the Right Worshipful S.r John Moore hath been a great Benefactor to this Hospitall, and may be further so This Com.te desire the Court will show their respects to him by [giving?] order that his picture may be taken and sett up in the Court roome.

This Court unanimously desires the Com.te of the Schooles forthwith to take care for the dooing thereof.

And that this [house?] may transmit to posteritie their gratitude to his Majestie for his great love and Bounty shewed to the Mathematicall ffoundation in this Hospitall the Com.te is desired to cause his Ma.ties Picture forthwith to be drawne by a good hand and placed in the Court roome.

Appendix II

Reports to the Tuscan Court

Between 1657 and 1680, Giovanni Salvetti Antelminelli held the position of “residente toscano in Inghilterra,” i. e. official representative of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in England. From 1670, Grand Duke Cosimo III was supplied with additional information about the English court by Francesco Terriesi, a Tuscan merchant who became “console della nazione fiorentina” in 1674. In 1680, Terriesi replaced Salvetti Antelminelli but was not formally named “residente.” He acted as “agente” and “informatore della Segreteria di Stato fiorentino” and maintained a close relationship with the Catholic king James II. In 2003, Stefano Villani authored an excellent survey of the biographies of and correspondence between the two men. Anna Maria Crinò used many excerpts from their letters in her study of the Popish Plot (1954). The following transcriptions focus on topics of particular relevance to the present book. However, they represent but a very small fraction of the immense wealth of information contained in these still unpublished letters.

*Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MDP 4212: Inghilterra / S.r Terriesi dal 1680 al 1683 / Lettere e Minute*⁷

1683,06,25 Terriesi's report from London, 25 June / 5 July 1683:

[...] Il dì 18 del corrente [mese] andò a Windsor il Mylord Major, dove si ritrova la Corte, con li Aldermani, et altri cittadini, eletti come la passata [lettera] si descrisse, per portare a piedi reali della Maestà del Rè la resulta del comun consiglio di questa città, in ordine alli privilegij,

They are likewise desired forthwith to cause a letter to be written to Seignior Vario Historian Painter and to let him know that if he doo not forthwith finish the picture which he hath had in his hands ever since October 1684 and hath already had 200 [pounds] money in part they must be compelled to complain to his Majestie of his ill usage.

statili iuridicamente confiscati dalla Giustitia, o più tosto dal indignità delle di lei procedure, ad istanza della Maestà sua, per ristabilire il Governo monarchico, e la religione stabilita dalle leggi non de Dio, ma del paese, che con maniere tali d'agire, s'andavano a sconvolgere. E fatta l'istanza d'essere ammesso alla sua real presenza, ne fu dalla Maestà sua gratiato, sedendo nel suo privato consiglio, dove li presentò la seguente petitione [...]

*Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MDP 4213: Londra / Sig. Francesco Terriesi / 1684 – 1685 – 1686 – 1687 / Lettere e Minute*⁸

1685,04,27 Terriesi's report from London, 27 April / 7 May 1685:

[...] Li Ambasciatori predetti non son entrati ne meno sin'ora in altri negoziati con la Corte, ma la causa sarà forse delle grandi occupationi, che ad'essa ha portato la coronatione, che si fece il dì 23 del corrente delle Maestà del Rè, e di quella della Regina, la quale fu veramente corrispondente alla magnanimità di così gran Rè, et al opulenza di questo ricco Regno, perche si puol dire veramente, che lo splendore del argento, del oro, delli Diamanti, delle perle, e d'ogni specie di pietre pretiose, che in essa apparve, supplisse nel principio a quello del sole, coperto da più ore di pioggia che cadde, e che emulasse infine con esso, quando, dileguate le nubi, fu dato complimento alla festa con il più chiaro del suo lume. Garreggiò l'ordine ammirabile ancora, che nella funtione tutta fù tenuto, con la pompa, e con la dispositione di essa. Fecero dalla gran sala di Westminster sino alla chiesa di esso nome, dove si fece l'incoronatione, una strada serrata da ambi le parti da balaustri, e per la quale marciorno sopra panni turchini con tutta la proces-

sione, e con tutto il seguito la Maestà del Rè, e quella della Regina, ciascheduna delle quali con il proprio corteggio sotto il suo baldacchino, portato dalli Baroni delli cinque porti.

La detta gran sala fu il rendezvous [sic] di tutti quelli, che formare dovevano la processione, e dove pure, nelle stanze di essa per ciò fatto, andorno per la fiumara ad abbigliarsi delli abiti reali la Maestà del Rè, e quella della Regina, et essendosi messa in ordine la processione, cominciò la marcia per sei femmine giardiniere, che spardevano [sic; spargevano] fiori per la strada dove doveva essa con le Maestà loro passare [...]

[...] la Maestà del Rè, e quella della Regina in chiesa furono unti, e coronati dal Arcivescovo di Canterbury con tutte le funzioni, che si fanno alla coronatione ancora delli Rè protestanti, eccetto quella della comunione, che le Maestà loro havevano fatto alla Cattolica, prima d'andare costì.

[...] Doveria farsi adesso la descrizione della funzione, seguita nella chiesa, e nella gran sala, ma non havendola veduto, per farla esattamente, conviene attenderne quello, che farà pubblicare il Mylord gran Maresciall [...]

Archivio di Stato di Firenze, MDP 4214: Inghilterra / Sig. Francesco Terriesi / 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691 / Lettere e Minute⁹

1688, 12, 03 Terriesi's report from London, 3 /

13 December 1688:

[...] Il dì 28 [novembre] venne una lettera alla Maestà del Rè del Principe di Danimarca, con la quale metteva la sua fuga sopra la religione, affermando, non dovere stare esso otioso, mentre tutti li Principi protestanti, confederati contro de Cattolici, travagliavano al estirpatione di essi dal Inghilterra, e che credeva di trovarvisi tanto più obbligato quanto che erano sopportati dalli istessi Principi Cattolici. Altra lettera ricevè Sua Maestà dal Mylord Churchill, che metteva pure la sua ribellione et il suo tradimento sopra la sua religione. Et a mistura, che credeva questa Città, che li si avvicinassi il Principe d'Oranges, appariva maggiore nel cospetto di essa il contento, con la speranza, che la di lui venuta fusse per portarli, tanto nello spirituale, che nel temporale, aumento di quiete, e di felicità. [...]

Il dì 29 [novembre] tra l'altre stravaganze, si veddero sparse lettere per la Città, e per il Regno, che avvisarono li protestanti d'un massacro, che havevano appuntato di fare di essi li Cattolici; e vi furono diversi la notte, che messero in allarme alcuni quartieri della Città con l'andare ad avvertirli casa per casa, che doveva seguire quella notte istessa; Et essendosi inteso, che aumentassero ogni giorno le crudeltà de protestanti contro delli Cattolici alla campagna, con il saccheggiarli, rubarli le case, batterli, e carcerarli, si risolvettero li Giesuiti di serrare ancora le scuole, e la cappella, che li restavano aperte nel luogo di questa Città, chiamato la Savoia. [...]

Il dì 30 [novembre] se n'andò con passaporto reale l'Ambasciatore d'Olanda a trovare il Principe d'Oranges [...]

Il dì primo del corrente [mese di dicembre] sortì la proclamazione per il parlamento [...]¹⁰

Il dì 2 [dicembre] partirono li tre Commessarij per il Principe d'Oranges con disegno, di riscontrare in cammino il di lui passaporto. S'intese essere stata falsa la morte di Oates, e che non fusse che un'attacco di apoplezia, che per ora l'ha risparmiato. Che li Cattolici per il regno fusero più che mai saccheggiati, e molti in oltre massacrati. Che Mylord Clarendon fratello della prima moglie di Sua Maestà fusse andato ancor'esso, ad'accrescere il numero de ribelli, doppo avere fatto a Sua Maestà un'aranga in consiglio, che non si sa, perche non lo gettassero fuori delle finestre. [...]

1688, 12, 24 Terriesi's report from London, 24 December 1688 / 3 January 1689:

Come che li tempi, che corrono, forniscano materia così fluente, e degna del esterna notizia, sono più veloci nel loro passaggio le transationi di essa, che non puole essere la penna e l'attione nel farne la raccolta e la descrizione; sendosi inteso, doppo sigillato il dispaccio ultimo de 17 -, che oltre l'havere convitato [sic; invitato?] la Maestà del Rè il Principe d'Oranges, ad alloggiare nel pallazzo di San James, l'havesse dichiarato Generalissimo delle sue forze terrestri, e marittime, e che per le mani del Conte Du Roy gle n'havesse mandata la patente [...]. Che havesse scritto il Principe a questa Città, che arriverebbe in essa la sera de 18 -, e che per ciò prendesse cura sin'a quel tempo di preservare la pace di

essa, che nel avvenire poi vi penseria esso; li faceva sapere, che il Rè se ne ritornava in dietro, benchè esso non gli n'avesse dato il consenso etc. La Città lo ringraziò, invitandolo ad alloggiare in essa, e lontano da questa Corte, che era piena di papisti. [...]

[...] Onde si vedde la mattina di esso giorno partirsene per questa fiumara la Maestà Sua, per andarsene a Rochester, scortato dalle guardie del Principe d'Oranges; sortire da questa Città le truppe, e le guardie di Sua Maestà; entrare in luogo di esse con applauso innarrabile l'armata olandese, prendere tutti li posti di guardia, delli palazzi reali, et in specie di Whitehall, dove abita la Maestà del Rè, di Somersethouse [sic] dove è la Maestà della Regina vedova, e della fortezza, chiamata la Torre. [...] Verso la sera poi comparve esso Principe in un Calessò con il Marescial di Sciombergh, scortato da molte delle sua militie, e servito da molti di questi Pari, passando per due miglia fuori della Città tra li sua soldati, e tra numero infinito di popolo, accorso al incontro con nastri colore d'arancio al Cappello, e con aranci infilzati al bastone, che ad alta voce acclamavano la sua venuta.

[...] Havevano carcerato qui li Giudici, che diedero per opinione alla Maestà del Rè, di potere dispensare dalle leggi. Liberorno dalle carceri il famoso Oates, Johnson, et altri gran criminali, e si vedevano pubblicamente passeggiare il Dottore Burnet, il Ministro Ferguson, et altri fuorgiudicati da queste leggi.

Il dì 19 arrivò qui il restante del armata olandese [...], nè applicò ad'altro il Principe, che a darli quartiere, fuori che verso la sera, che andò a visitare la Maestà della Regina Douarriera, la quale lo ricevè in letto, andandovi per acqua, per evitare il gran concorso di popolo, che haveria attirato, se l'avesse fatto per terra. [...]

Arrivorno quell' giorno la reale Principessa, e Principe di Danimarca, et andorno ad alloggiare nel solito loro quartiere di Whitehall, tirando felicemente avanti quella la sua gravidanza.

Il dì 20 si vedeva già fatto un deserto il real palazzo di Whitehall, diloggiandone li gran ministri, e cortigiani, accorsi parte a idolatrare il sole, che nasce, e parte a procacciarsi altra fortuna, credendo ormai dileguata quella delli loro impieghi; e li piccioli, che non havevano

forza da sostenersivi, ne furono dal principio delli disordini forzivamente fatti diloggiare dalli soldati doppo haverli rapito le loro sustanze, a pretesto di fare luogo per il seguito del Principe d'Oranges. [...]

[...] Andò la rappresentanza della Città solennemente a congratulare il Principe d'Oranges sopra la venuta, fatta in essa, et in questi regni, e si servì di termini nell'aranga, che non offendevano meno la Maestà del Rè, e la religione Cattolica, di quello che si essaltassero l'Altezza Sua, e la religione protestante.

Il dì 21 [...] Convocò quell'giorno il Principe d'Oranges a San James, dove è alloggiato, circa 70 Pari del Regno, che sono al presente in questa Città e li fece leggere la sua dichiarazione, che indica li motivi della di lui venuta in Inghilterra, et in ordine ad essi li aggiunse, che vorria dunque, che consultassero il modo, di come potere nella presente congiuntura convocare un parlamento libero, che potesse dare effetto al contenuto di essa dichiarazione [...]

1689,04,08 Terriesi's report from London, 8 /
18 April 1689:

[...] L'Arcivescovo di Canterburij, che a pretesto d'infermità, non è mai sortito dalla sua abitazione, doppo il cambiamento di sovrano, e che ha recusato l'approvazione di tutto quel, che è passato, replicò ad una lettera minatoria, scrittali dal governo, che poteva fare tutto quello, che li piaceva, eccetto che di farlo operare contro la sua coscienza; da poi che era un'uomo, che poteva vivere così bene con 40 lire l'anno, che con tutta l'opulenza del Arcivescovato; E dichiarandosi impotente al maneggio delli affari della diocesi, costituì per essi commessarij, li quali hanno principiato dal permettere la consecratione del Dottore Burnet, che fu nominato al Vescovato di Salisbury, et in conformità di ciò fu subito consacrato.

[...] Al dì 2 [Aprile] [...] Principiorno quel giorno, a comparire d'Olanda li Ministri delli Principi protestanti, che qui attendano, per complimentare questi regnanti sopra la venuta loro alla corona; Ma delli Principi Cattolici non se ne sente ancora in moto a tal effetto alcuno; Credendosi però, se non l'ha fatto sin'ora la Spagna, che non sia ad altro effetto, che del volere esigere al incontro da questo governo con ciò, se potrà, la dichiarazione della guerra alla Francia.

Il dì 3 [Aprile] Considerò di nuovo il parlamento la conditione del Irlanda, e l'atto d'indennità, e d'obblivione; Et essendo venuto il regnante da Hampton Court, andò con l'abbigliamento reale nella camera de Signori, e diede con la firma l'assenso al atto di naturalizzazione per il Principe Giorgio di Danimarca, a quello di punire li desertori, e soldati mutinij del armata, ad modum belli [...] Il dì 4 [Aprile] Il Maresciall di Sciomberg, e Monsieur Benting presero li giuramenti per essere ambi naturalizzati, sendo quello stato dichiarato Duca, e questo Conte. Et in oltre fece sapere questo regnante per l'Oratore alla Camera del Comune, che per il dì 11 che sarà la di lui coronatione, aveva fatto appuntare luogo per essa nella chiesa di Westminster, et ordinato, che si preveda in seguito un desinare per la medesima nella Camera del Exchequer. [...] Furono date la giar(et)tiera da questo regnante al pre-nominato Maresciall di Sciombergh, et a Mylord Conte di

Davonshire [sic; Devonshire] le medesime che ad altri ha conferito ancora il Rè Giacomo, sendo in Francia, e molti altri titoli ancora, et onori sta per conferire, che si nomineranno a misura, che sono conferiti. [...]

1689,04,15 Terriesi's report from London, 15 / 25 April 1689:

[...] Il dì 11 furono coronati questi regnanti solennemente nel accostumata maniera, marciando alla funtione nella guisa descritta dal aggiunta stampa,¹¹ alla quale per brevità se ne rapporta la narrativa; et havendone fatti la notte li soliti fuochi di gioia, non lasciorno di denigrarli al solito con la solita barbaria, et empietà, d'abbrucchiare in essi il Papa, il Padre Piter [sic; Petre], il Principe di Wales, croci, Immagini, e quanto di sacrosanto hanno li Cattolici nella loro religione, doppo haver trenato [sic; trainato] il tutto per le strade con l'immaginabile vilipendio sin al'ora del esecuzione.

Appendix III

A Tuscan Embassy to London, 1695

Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato 6391, fasc. 10: Memorie delle cose più notate nel Viaggio di Firenze a Londra per propria sodisfazione dal P. Anton Francesco dal Pino, in occorrenza d'aver servito di Cappellano all'Ill.mo Sig.re Commendatore F. Tommaso Del Bene Inviato Straordinario del Ser.mo Gran Duca di Toscana alla Maestà del Re Guglielmo della Gran Bretagna l'anno 1695

The manuscript consists of 280 pages of which the following excerpt transcribes only those which are particularly relevant to the topics of this book.

[fol. 1] The reason of the embassy to William III: „per congratularsi seco della Assunzione al Trono, e condolarsi della morte della Regina Maria di lui moglie”

[fol. 1–2] The travelling party: Tommaso Del Bene (“della Religione di Malta”), Cav.re Marchese Francesco Maria del S.r Giuliano Medici, S.r Marchese Tommaso del S.r

Marchese Donato Maria Guadagni, S.r Conte Orso del S.r Conte Filippo D'Elci, S.r Conte Giulio del S.r C.... [sic] da Montauto, S.r Tommaso Deirham [sic; Dereham]¹² Cavaliere Inglese

[fol. 2] Maestro di Casa: Luigi Gualtieri, Segretario: Tommaso Gozzi

[fol. 116] Venne dunque il Mercoledì mattina [26.10.1695] a seconda dell'intimazione M. de Cotterel a ore 11 e ¾ colla Carrozza a 6 Cavalli di S. M. a levare il S.r Inviato di Casa, dicendoli d'aver avvertito tutti in forma che non credeva dovesser seguire sconcerti, e noi non partimmo che alle 12 sonate andando adagio a Quinsinton [sic; Kensington] seguitati dalla nostra Carrozza a 6 abbrunata, e perche non vi era luogo per le Camerate nella nostra a 6, si fece seguitare un'altra Carrozza abbrunata, dove veniva M. Platt, M. Dereham, e i Sig.ri Cagnoni, e Magnoni, avendo mandato avanti altri fiorentini con i nostri Uffiziali in Carrozze non abbrunate, che aspettavano a Quinsinton, e i due nostri Paggi erano sulle Cigne avanti della nostra Carrozza, dove erano le S.re Camerate, perche nella Carrozza [fol. 117] regia si stima bene non far salire

alcuno. Parte delli staffieri vennero a piedi intorno alla Carrozza regia, et il resto fino al n.o di 15, che 8 del S.r Inviato, e il resto delle S.re Camerate tutti abbrunati venivano pure a piedi intorno alla due nostre Carrozze.

Quando venne qua il S.r M. Capponi le sue Camerate erano servite dalle Carrozze del S.r Bernardino Guasconi, e del S.r Terriesi, onde è convenuto prenderne una per loro servizio, perche potessero seguitare, non vi essendo luogo ordinariamente nella Carrozza del S.r Inviato che per tre di loro. Non introdusse alcuno delle S.re Camerate nella Carrozza regia, perche non volse decidere chi doversi venirvi, ne essi si curarono che si venisse a questa decisione. Arrivati avanti al Palazzo di Quinsinton si squadronarono all'apparire della Carrozza tutte le Guardie appiedi, che stanno nella piazza avanti al Palazzo sud.o con bandiera spiegata, e i soldati con i moschetti in spalla, e i picchieri con le picche avanzate. Scese il S.r Inviato alla porta del Palazzo ove è un grande andito, che porta alle scale, allo scendere di Carrozza trovò pronto alla detta Carrozza il Maresciallo delle Cirimonie per darli il braccio allo scendere. Al principio delle scale sino ad alto [fol. 118] si trovò la Guardia delli Alabardieri schierati colle loro alabarde dritte in mano sino all'entrare delle prime anticamere. A capo delle scale si trovò il Capitano di d.i Alabardieri che complimentò col S.r Inviato, et all'entrare della p.ma Anticamera fu pure complimentato dal Cav.re Scioper Grandusier [sic], che è la prima carica dopo il Ciamberlano, e Vice Ciamberlano, che di sua natura comanda quell'Anticamera, che è capo dei Cav(alie)ri Doursieri [sic], che è una specie dei nostri scudieri. Il S.r Inviato non stette in anticamera se non tanto, che fu portata l'ambasciata a S(ua) M(aestà), e a Milord Ciamberlano, essendo che S. M. stava ad aspettare il S.r Inviato. Venne dunque Milord Ciamberlano alla porta dove era il S.r Inviato a riceverlo colla sua bacchetta bianca in mano, e l'introdusse nella Gran galleria andando un poco innanzi, stante la gran folla che vi era, che appena vi era luogo per noi. All'entrare il S.r Inviato nella gran Galleria fecero ala di qua, e di la, onde vedde il Rè sotto il baldacchino, et a sedere, gli fece la sua prima reverenza all'entrare di essa Galleria, la 2.a a mezzo, la 3.a sopra lo strato del trono, ove era S. M. a sedere [fol. 119] col suo Cappello in testa, essendoselo

già cavato ogni volta che il S.r Inviato gli fece le tre reverenze. Erano intorno alla M. S. i sette che erano rimasti reggenti nel regno, inclusive l'Arcivescovo di Canterberi, e fece il suo Complimento, conforme si vedrà qui notato, in lingua francese, così consigliato dal Maestro delle Cirimonie, come più gradita da S. M.

La S. M. nel nominare il G(ran) D(uca) S(erenissi)mo si cavò sempre il Cappello, et al p.mo Complimento di congratulazione, dopo averlo fatto anco in nome del S.mo P(rinci)pe di Toscana rispose S. M. Dicendo che aveva avuto sempre una stima singolare per il G. Duca suo fratello, e che era un pezzo che erano buoni amici, e che avrebbe sempre fatto conoscere in tutti i riscontri la continuazione della sua buona amicizia. E rispetto alla persona del S.r Inviato, rispose che il G. Duca non poteva scegliere soggetto più gradito a S. M. Passò poi a fare il Complimento che si leggerà rispetto alla Condoglienza, al quale egli stette cheto, ricevendo la lettera, alla quale si rimetteva il S.r Inviato per non s'allungare. Gli presentò poi le S.e Camerate, al qual atto lui si levò in piedi, per non riceverli in forma d'audienza, mostrò cortesie a tutti, et il S.r Inviato si ritirò, facendoli le medesime [fol. 120] riverenze che all'entrare, essendo S. M. in piedi, e col cappello in mano. Fù accompagnato il S.r Inviato tutta l'anticamera dalli scudieri del G. Ciamberlano, che lo tenne sempre alla dritta, e reputando fuori di detta anticamera aver terminato le sue funzioni, giudicò bene ritornare confidentemente nell'anticamera con tutti i suoi a far corte; dove vi era gran quantità di gran Signori Ministri del P(rinci)pe; e dopo trattenutosi un poco, ora con quello, or con quell'altro di quei Signori venne in detta anticamera S. M., ed appoggiatosi famigliarmente ad un tavolino gli fecero corona molti di quei Signori, con i quali discorse, e particolarmente col nostro S.r Inviato del passaggio fatto per mare, nel quale anco S. M. aveva patito, della qualità di molti vini, e altri varij discorsi per $\frac{3}{4}$ d'ora, e fatto gentil saluto a quei Signori si ritirò in un gabinetto quivi vicino a desinare, dove pranzò ad un tavolino basso, in un angolo in servito di tondini d'oro osservandovisi per cirimonia maggiore, che quello che gli diede da bere lo servì così in ginochioni, facendogli la salva in vaso a parte in tal positura, dalla quale si levò dopo che S. M. [fol. 121] ebbe bevuto.

Mentre S. M. pranzava, il S.or Inviato partì senza far motto, e perche aveva già ricevuto il complimento come si è detto dal G. Ciamberlano a tutta l'anticamera, quando fu dopo quella, e che si arrivò immediatamente ove stavano gl'Alabardieri nell'istessa positura che quando si venne fu quivi di nuovo complimentato dal già detto Comandante, et al rientrare egli nella Carrozza del Re, si rimessero le guardie a piedi in parata come era seguito all'arrivo, e fu rimesso dal Maresciallo delle Ciri monie in Carrozza del Re, dove con M. de Cotterel ritornò conforme era venuto, et andarono a smontare al Veital [sic; Whitehall], dove Milord Ciamberlano gli aspettava per dargli un sontuoso Banchetto, e cominciorno a bere alla salute del S.mo G. Duca, e prima il G. Ciamberlano, e da nostri si beveva per quella del Rè che tutti andarono in giro, e stettero a tavola vicino a 3 ore. Il Cav. re Cotterel dopo gli menò alla Commedia Inglese. [...]

[fol. 134] Il dì 10 gbre [Novembre] si andò tutti col S.r Barone Scarlatti 25 miglia lontano a Windsor Villaggio assai grande per vedere il Castello dei Rè, che è in questa forma. Nel principio d'un elevato Colle, son per la medesima via poco distanti due porte guardate da due soldati, una delle quali condurrebbe al Palazzo del Re, l'altra, che è la principale, o la più frequentata ha nel primo adito una gran piazza declive, perche nella parte del Colle, a mano sinistra della qual piazza si vede in bella prospettiva un palazzo di pietra per il Decano della Chiesa a mano destra, e uno spedale dove si refugiano i Cavalieri poveri del Regno con i proprj assegnamenti per mantenergli, rimpetto alla già detta porta è la Chiesa principale dei Cavalieri di S. Giorgio detti della Giarrettiera, i quali portano per insegna detta Giarrettiera, o legaccia turchina alla gamba sinistra, poi nastro turchino che pende dalla spalla sinistra, alla quale sta appesa una medaglia nella quale vi è un S. Giorgio, ed (h)anno al petto nella [fol. 135] mano destra una Croce rossa con raggi attorno d'argento partiti in 6 divise. Detta Chiesa e di struttura assai grande, aldifuori tutta di pietre, di dentro ha tre navate tutte tre assai grandi, e con volte, che dicono essere le più piane che si trovino in macchine grandi, e sono tutte lavorate di Arabeschi alla Gotica con una maestria eccellentissima. Il Coro è chiuso [sic; chiuso?] ed ha in faccia l'Altare simile ai

Cattolici con paliotto, tovaglia, due lumi e quattro libri come messali, che due posavano sul piano dell'Altare, e due ritti sull'altare detto appoggiati ad un grado, che vi era, sopra al quale era affisso al muro un arazzo, nel quale si vedeva Giesu Cristo quando si pose dopo la resurrezione a tavola con due discepoli che venivano di Emaus. Nell'ingresso del Coro a mano destra in facciata dell'Altare vi è la residenza di velluto paonazzo e broccato d'oro, con inginocchiatoio o piuttosto banco ove è un [cuscino?] con libro, tutto di velluto, e broccato come sopra, e questa è per il Decano della Religione di detti Cavalieri. Il detto Coro ha tre gradi, che sul primo superiore stanno quando ci sono i Cavalieri sudetti alle manganelle sopra ciascuna delle quali forma tribuna finissimo intaglio [fol. 136] antico, e di sommo pregio, nel grado di sotto vi sono i luoghi per i Canonici, e sull'altro per i Cappellani, vestendo quelli con abiti talari paonazzi, e questi con Cotta, vi sono ancora alcune panche per i cherici, i quali cantano alcune lodi in Coro accompagnati dall'organo con canto molto regolato e grazioso, al quale rispondano tutti del Coro, dove in vece dei Cavalieri erano donne ben all'ordine, che rispondevano con quei del Coro sopra a certi libretti che dispensano i cherici, avendo già cantato i Salmi, che sono tutti sulle note, intorno alle quali note stanno certi numeri, e avevano ancora ascoltato un Capitolo dell'Esodo stato letto da uno di quei Cappellani al leggio, che è nel mezzo del coro, e guarda con due libri le parti laterali. Sopra le tribune dei Cavalieri vi sono 26 Insegne, una per ciascuno che tanti sono, cominciando la prima quella del Rè, poi quella di Svezia, Brandemburgo [sic], quella di Danimarca, e di altri Principi, e altri Signori, dei più nobili del Regno per anzianità.

Alla fine della detta piazza vi è il Corpo di Guardia, dopo il quale passate poche braccia si vede un mastio fortissimo sulla mano destra, che si forma da un monte, [fol. 137] la maggior parte del quale pare sia alzato dall'arte, ha gran fosso a torno che potrebbe aver l'acqua, poi si alza con muro grosso a scarpa, ò a piramide di terra cotta per circa 40 braccia sopra il quale vi è parapetto di terra, dietro al quale segue per alquanto la positura del monte coperto d'erbe, sopra del quale si alza in piombo una rocca che circonda tutta la Cima di detto monte, in capo

alla quale sono ben disposti molti pezzi d'Artiglieria, osservandovisi in detta circonferenza civile e capace abitazione per ben fortificarvisi, essendo impossibile levati i passi l'avervi l'accesso, e quello è più riguardevole detto monte è tutto minato, e quivi è l'appartamento del Governatore di detto Castello, che è il Duca di Norfoc [sic; Norfolk]; fra questo e alcune mura si passa una porta, che conduce alla vista di un pezzo di Cortile, che pare che subito appaghi, ma avanzatosi alla fin di detto se ne scopre uno riquadrato che forma come teatro, poi che da tre parti spicca con fastosa veduta il gran Palazzo dei Re tutto di pietre riquadrate con finestroni ordinati alla moda a 4 gradi, e con 7 torri, che due nelle testate, due negl'angoli, e tre nei mezzi, che considerate con la grandezze di questo Palazzo, che è vastissimo, e dei più [fol. 138] ordinati, grandi, e finiti dell'Europa fanno concepire ammirazione a chi si sia. Risiede in mezzo sopra vaga base di marmo il Rè Carlo II a Cavallo di bronzo, donato, e collocato costì da un Domestico, sotto suo Guardaroba, l'anno 1680. Rispetto all'apertura del detto Cortile si vede detta rocca elevata a guardare questo Palazzo.

Ci avanzammo dentro per vederlo dalla parte della regina che per ben disegnata scala con tribuna dipinta conduce ad una sala delli Alabardieri ove sono molte armi per detti ma benissimo aggiustate; si passò all'Anticamera, e Camere, gabinetti, e ricetti, dei quali bisogna rilasciarne la descrizione a chi vi abitasse più mesi ad esaminar tutto, e per far meno ingiuria restringer tutto in poche parole giacche veduto così solamente per transito. Si osserva moltissime Camere parate di Arazzi finissimi uni meglio degl'altri, ma la maggior parte con oro in gran copia rappresentanti le stagioni dell'anno, boscherecci, pastorali, bacchanali, cacce, istorie, favole, e altre cose espresse così al vivo, che pare, che l'arte sia quivi giunta all'ultimo segno, le soffitte dipinte da un'allievo di Pietro [fol. 139] da Cortona, fra questi vi sono molti ornamenti benissimo disposti d'Intaglio, che per la sua finezza obbligano il tatto a non appagarsi dell'occhio, e per detta inabile alla doratura per il maneggio quasi impossibile, se non in alcuni fregi d'oro, che rompano e rendon più vaghi, tanto gl'Arabeschi quanto le foglie, e frutti, e animali, lavorati tutti a perfezione. Vi

sono altre camere parate di drappi, broccati, e ricami di vaghezza e ricchezza una maggior dell'altra con letti che accompagnano, e altri paramenti, e letti con ricami, e lavori dell'Indie con oro che sono di preziosità e vaghezza incomparabile. Vi sono gallerie di quadri, che una con moltissimi dei più celebri pittori, e con rappresentazioni d'ogni sorte, in specie della Passione di Nostro Signore, e di diversi Santi, Miniature, lavori di penna gentilissimi. Porcellane di ogni sorte finissime tanto in vasi, figure, e galanterie con molta diversità, e bizzarria. Lavori di stipi, tavolini, vasi, e minutaglie in grandissima copia. Si tralasciano l'altre cose più comunali.

Dalla parte del Rè cose simili, ma molte stanze con residenza, tutte differenti, il tutto però disposto con [fol. 140] modi differenti all'Italia, e che obbligano l'attenzione ad una particolare ammirazione. Si veddero in molte stanze diverse pitture, e in specie ove desinava il Rè Carlo secondo, con istorie, e ritratti di detto Rè. Nella maggior parte delle stanze nei sopraporti vi si vede il Gigante Golia decapitato, e una S. M.a Maddalena penitente. Nel Salone pure delli Alabardieri del Rè, che è grandissimo, e tutto dipinto, sono disposte molte armi con grande aggiustatezza, e lindura da armare qualche migliaia di persone. Di qui si passò a vedere tra le cose che richieggino maraviglia particolare, la Cappella dove il Rè Giacomo faceva ufiziare i Cattolici capace di 300 persone con pitture dei più celebri pittori, alcuni chiari scuri di noce, e dorature con un terrazzino ove è la tribuna del Rè von velluti ricamati d'oro ricchissimi, e con lavori di finissimo intaglio ordinata così bene, che non so se sia al mondo la più vaga, retta da 4 Giganti dorati, dove si da la Giarrettiera. Dietro a questa è la Sala dei banchetti di S. Giorgio maggiore dell'altra, nel resto simile, dove si fanno i banchetti quando [fol. 141] i Cavalieri prendono la Giarrettiera, e in luogo più elevato sta il Rè. Dipinto tutto con i trionfi e istorie di Odoardo III fondatore della Giarrettiera. La sua Instituzione fù così: Ballava il Re con la Contessa di Salsbri [sic; Salisbury] alla qual Dama cadde una legaccia della gamba per accidente, la quale era turchina, il Re la raccolse e gliela rese. Su questo i Cortigiani mormoravano, che il Rè fusse innamorato di detta, come in effeto era e ne bispigliavano. Il Rè accortosi di questo disse, che di li avanti

voleva che una simil legaccia fussi di sommo decoro e fregio ai maggiori Principi d'Europa, e istituì l'ordine di detta Giarrettiera sotto la protezione di S. Giorgio dandola a tutti il Re medesimo nella detta Cappella come si è detto praticandosi così già per 350 anni quando il Re raccolse la legaccia, e si avvedde che mormoravano disse Honi soit qui mal y pense, e fece scolpire dette Parole nella Giarrettiera, che vi sono ancora, e vi si vedono attorno tutte le Armi reali.

Si scese poi a vedere i terrazzi che circondano tutto il Palazzo, e questi sono forse stimati la più bella cosa [fol. 142] che vi sia. Sono questi a pie del Palazzo (del quale di qui si gode le prospettive esteriori) e posano sopra bastione di pietra alto più di 30 braccia appie del quale vi è una scarpa a 2 ordini o tre, che misurata così al declive, credo che arrivi circa alle 100 braccia, dopo il qual declive che sostiene tutto il Palazzo, si vedono vastissimi Prati che pigliano le pianure, che con viali bellissimi attaccano il Parco, che dura così la foresta di 40 miglia, godendosi da questi terrazzi una veduta la più vaga del mondo, e sono assistiti dalle guardie, che sono in molti luoghi più principali, e tenuti puliti con pareggiarli sempre con una colonna di ferro. Si rende questo luogo così forte, che si poteva dire quasi inespugnabile. In somma considerata tutta questa gran fabbrica, o Castello, o tenuta che si potessi dire con tutto quello che ci si vede si per la fabbrica, che proprio è da Gran Signore, per gl'addobbi, e ornamenti di ogni sorte, e per tutto quello che vi è di somma magnificenza, si può dire per la principale dell'Europa come per tale l'(h)anno confessata i più, ai quali e riuscita maggiore di quello già l'avevano [fol. 143] sentita esaltare per fama.

Di qui si partì l'istesso giorno 10 gbre e ci avanzammo verso Londra a 12 miglia a vedere il Palazzo di Hamtomcourt [sic; Hampton Court]. Questo è un Palazzo già fabbricato dal Cardinale Vuolseo [sic; Wolsey] Ministro d' Enrico VIII ed aveva tre grandi Cortili, due dei quali si vedono ancora come erano, l'altro con parte di detto Palazzo la Regina Maria defunta, e già moglie del Rè Guglielmo vivente, ha atterrato, e principiato un Palazzo, che sarà più alla moderna dell'altro detto di Windsor, e per Villa sarà fra i maggiori edifizj che si vedino, e forse non meno vago del detto, e finito più di mezzo, ed ha le

stanze tutte grandi, e alla moderna con bellissimo disegni tanto sotto, che sopra con lavori di marmi, stucchi, e di legno vaghissimi, un Cortile assai grande con pitture, le logge però sono piccole; ha due facciate che rispondono su due diversi giardini, che una [sic] per il Rè, e una per la Regina con bellissimo lavori di Architettura, e di Stucchi, e con Vasi alti 5 braccia di marmo tutti istoriati di basso rilievo. Il Giardino della Regina è con lavori d'erbe diverse in un modo che rapiscono la vista [,] vi sono varj fiori, e frutti [fol. 144] e molte piante di diversi agrumi, risiede in mezzo una bella fontana con statua di marmo, attorniata da diverse figure di bronzo, che buttano acqua, e questo resta circondato da alcuni risalti di terra a scarpa con erbe, e con lavori di pergolate con verdure. In capo a questo è una Palazzina sul Tamigi, che si può dire più tosto una Galleria, nell'ingresso della quale è una stanza addobbata di varie galanterie di più sorti, nei 4 angoli sono in quattro torri piccoli ricetti, che uno tutto di marmi, uno tutto di specchi dipinti con fiori etc. uno di Porcellane, e l'altro di varie galanterie, ma briosi a maggior segno. In altra stanza sono quadri circa 12 con fondo, ove ripartiti a caselle sono di rilievo lavori d'India di varie rappresentazioni di quei paesi. Vi è poi una Galleria con ritratti di diverse Dame al naturale ma vaghissimi.

Vi è dopo altra stanza con lavori di Porcellane, accompagnando così tutti i mobili di detta stanza, tanto i quadri, spere [,] buffetti, sedie etc. che invaghiscono a maggior segno. Si scende poi al bagno della regina, prima di arrivare al quale è un gabinetto con varie galanterie e quadretti, dopo una Camerina con [fol. 145] letto superbissimo, e dopo il bagno di terra bianca di Delft. Dopo questa vi è un'altra stanza con porcellane, e terre di Delft, con tutti gl'accompagnamenti simili dove la Regina faceva fare diversi Latti, e altre galanterie. Si salì poi sopra la palazzina ove è tutto un terrazzo scoperto, e due gabinetti di Cristalli sopra il Tamigi, e un altro verso il giardino, che tutto questo con quello si è veduto oggi a Windsor è capace di far concepire quali siano le grandezze dei Rè, che solo per questo ci (h)anno tutti fatti stupire.

Il Palazzo di Quinsinton [sic; Kensington] lontano come si è detto dalla Città 2 miglia è ancor esso in aperta Cam-

pagna con un piccolo borgo al contorno. Qui abita il Rè per esservi meglio aria, che in Città, e per Villa è gran Palazzo, capace di tutto il servizio più necessario del Re. Di riguardevole vi è una Galleria della Regina con bellissimi arazzi, quadri, specchi, nella qual Galleria la regina con sue Dame solevano fare i loro lavori, e risponde sopra vago giardino, che ha viali, e fontane vaghissime. Gli appartamenti del Rè erano tesi di bruno, ed è palazzo piuttosto comodo, che magnifico, avendosi però fuori del [fol. 146] Bruno addobbi da Re, e da Gran Signori.

Il Palazzo pure che oggi si dice in Città, chiamato Weital [sic; Whitehall] è gran Palazzo, e benissimo capace con quantità di sale, e Camere, le quali perche erano abbrunate tutte ci dimostrarono poca vaghezza. Vi è una gran Galleria con quadri, dove aspettano quelli che vogliono porgere ginochioni qualche memoriale al Re mentre che passa. Ha sull'acque del Tamigi un giardinetto assai vago e delizioso, perche su detta riviera [,] principato già dalla Regina Maria d'Este che è in Francia, e moglie del Re Giacomo, e ora fatto maggiore e finito dalla Regina Maria ora defunta. Vi è un grandissimo Salone grande quanto quello di Palazzo vecchio di Firenze dipinto tutto da Pietro Paolo Rubens fiammingo, nel quale si ricevono gl'Ambasciatori, e altre funzioni regie, come di ricevere il Parlamento, e banchetti pubblici.

Presso a questo Palazzo è un Parco, che gira sopra due miglia, che ha bellissimi giardini, Viali bellissimi; con riscontri di alberi, e vivai, con il giuoco del maglio, che è in mezzo a 4 stradoni, in uno dei quali solo passano le Carrozze dei Signori, alcuni privilegiati, e principi di Corte, che sempre si vedono [fol. 147] vuote, negl'altri viali, che sono tenuti con somma pulizia si vedono tutto l'anno a passeggiare a piedi quantità grandissima di genti in molte centinaia, che moltissimi a corteggiar Dame, e Signore di ogni qualità, che sebbene vestono per tutta la Città con tutto sfarzo, compariscano qua con attillatura e gala i maniera tale, che a chi non è assuefatto reca continuo stupore, e a dire la verità dicono ci vogli tesori a mantenerle con quelle gale, con tanta varietà, e senza risparmio. Le più vanno senza maschera, e molte con essa tanto di Dame di qualita, che di donne poco oneste, usandola ciascheduna donna tutto l'anno, e per tutto. [...]

[fol. 149] [...] vicino alla Chiesa [Westminster Abbey] vi è il Palazzo antico dei Re [Westminster Palace], il quale presentemente serve per la radunanza del Parlamento, ove è una grandissima sala, che è la maggiore dell'Europa, fabbricata con architettura gotica con [fol. 150] magnificenza incredibile. In questa sala vi si tengono diversi tribunali dei Giudici del regno [...]. All'uscire di questa gran Sala si sale una scala antica, e si entra nelle stanze della Camera bassa, la qual Camera bassa si raduna in un gran salone dove sono molte panche ben ordinate, e coperte di saia verde capaci di 500 persone. Verso la parte di questa sala vi è una seggiola alta in forma di Cattedra, ove siede il Presidente della Camera; questo Salone anticamente si chiamava la Cappella di S. Stefano, ed era la Cappella delli Antichi Re. Intorno a questo Salone si vedono altre Camere, che servono per servizio dei Signori della Camera bassa. Usciti da questo appartamento si entra in una gran sala, la quale conduce nell'anticamera della Camera Alta, la quale anticamera è molto grande. La Camera alta è un altro Salone grande ripieno di panche sopra di saia rossa capace di 600 persone. Vi è il trono del Re col baldacchino con 2 sedie accanto per li Principi del Sangue. Vi è una panca per i 2 Arcivescovi [fol. 151] cioè Canturberi [sic; Canterbury] e Iorc [sic; York]. Vi è un'altra per i Vescovi del Regno in numero di 24, i quali sono tutti Pari del Regno, che tanto è Pari, che Milord. L'altre panche servono per gl'altri Pari laici, che sono Duchesi [,] Marchesi, Conti, Visconti, e Baroni in numero di circa 150 e son tutti chiamati Milordi. Il Re suole venire in questa Camera Alta all'apertura del Parlamento, dove sedendo nel trono con corona in testa, e abiti regij, e facendovi venire la Camera bassa, la quale resta in piedi mentre tutti i Milordi sono a sedere, e coperti, S. M. fa il suo discorso alle dette due Camere; Il Rè poi si ritira, la Camera bassa poi ritorna al suo salone, e così si principia la tenuta del Parlamento, dove ciascheduna Camera tratta i suoi negozzi, e non si può concludere nulla se le dette due Camere, e il Re non siano d'accordo insieme. [...]

Si vedde nel mezzo della Città una Colonna altissima più di altra cosa che vi sia di dove si scopre tutta la Città fatta alla Maniera della Colonna troiana [sic; traiana]; questa è di pietre riquadrate grossa braccia [fol. 152] uno, e

mezzo nel mezzo di essa, vuota dentro ove si sale per scala a chiocciola per 348 scalini. Questa fu fatta dopo tre anni dell'incendio, che seguì l'anno 1666 che abbruciò 13.000 case, e 97 Chiese Parrocchiali. Costò di spesa 40.000 scudi, fatta dal Pubblico, avendo nella base iscrizioni con lavori di basso rilievo, che dichiarano la causa perche fù fabbricata; si misurò, ed è alta fra le 100, e le 105 braccia.

[fol. 156] Si vedde la Chiesa di S. Paolo rifabbricata dai fondamenti dopo l'incendio di Londra, perche sebbene di pietre queste furono tutte guaste dal fuoco. Sono circa 24 anni che vi fabbricano, e vi è ancora da fare per 20 altri anni, quantunque vi tenghino quotidianamente a lavorare 300 persone, spendendovi dugentomila scudi l'anno assegnati dal Parlamento fino a che sia terminata, oltre a [fol. 157] quelli che sono lasciati di limosine manuali, e per altri legati pij; è tutta di pietre riquadrate e pulite alla moderna tanto al difuori che di dentro, dove fa tre navate assai grandi, e dicono S. Pietro in Roma, e S. Paolo in Londra, cioè, che di Chiese la maggiore che sia nell'Europa la Prima è S. Pietro in Roma, e l'altra Seconda è S. Paolo in Londra, che di verità pare si possa dire così particolarmente per la lunghezza, che è grandissima, ma a comparazione di questa pare vogli riuscire molto stretta. Per altro il disegno, che è del Cavaliere Cristofano Ren [sic; Wren] Inglese bravissimo il più stimato, e ha fabbricato più di 100 chiese, e vaghissimo inteso bene, e ottimamente finito. Nel mezzo della traversa della Croce vi sarà la Cupola, che riuscirà assai alta da quello si vede ora, che detta fabbrica senza quella passa di già tutte l'altre. La parte del Coro, che pare una gran Chiesa, servirà per ufiziarvi adesso, e mostra estrema vaghezza si per l'Architettura, come per i riscontri, lavori di pietre, e di marmi finissimi e in gran copia, come anco per gl'stucchi nella volta, e per i lavori di disegno di sontuoso intaglio nel gran Coro. Sotto è tutta vuota in volta con [fol. 158] colonnoni fortissimi per i sodi; e certo che è vaga e considerabilissima, e si può dire la maggior fabbrica che si veda alzare ai nostri tempi. [...]

[fol. 161] La maggior parte dei Ministri Cattolici tengono Cappella in Casa, dove pubblicamente vi si va a sentir la Messa, e gli Ufizj Divini. In Londra però vi si celebrerà più

di 300 messe per mattina, essendovi tanti sacerdoti fra secolari, e regolari, i quali campano delle limosine dei Cattolici, che molti ne (h)anno in abondanza, e molti scarsamente. Di Cappelle ora le più pubbliche sono l'Amb(asciator)e di Spagna, Inviato dell'Imperatore, Inviato di Portogallo. Vi sono ancora 22 luoghi per i francesi refugiatì, cioè Ugonotti circa 40.000 e sono [fol. 162] tollerati più apertamente. [...]

[fol. 168] I Cattolici pure osservano ancor loro tanto nello spirituale, che nel temporale lo stile antico, o nuovo, secondo che praticano detti paesi, dove si ritrovano. Qui per l'altro, che fu il dì 4 gbre secondo lo stile antico, e 14 detto secondo il nuovo, solennizzorno detto giorno, che era la nascita del Re con tenere serrate le botteghe, e la sera fecero la luminata per tutto alli specchi delle finestre terrazzi etc. come si disse, che fecero la sera del 21 scorso, che tornò di Olanda. Ieri pure solennizzorno quel giorno con tener serrate le botteghe e fare i fuochi come iarsera [sic], e abbruciare il Papa in più luoghi, essendo stati alle Chiese, con alcuni Magistrati, e Milord Maire a ringraziare Iddio da 90 anni in qua per la liberazione seguita del Parlamento [...].

[fol. 169] Il Re è gentilissimo con tutti, sta però sempre applicato e cogitabondo, e pare speculi sempre quello deve discorrere, e per questo suo applicare col quale è attento a tutto non pare goda perfettissima sanità, come potrebbe godere nell'età di anni 44 che corre. Dopo il Re, la persona in oggi più considerata è la Principessa Anna di Danimarca di anni 33, figlia del Re Giacomo, sorella della morta Regina Maria Moglie del Re, ed [fol. 170] essa moglie del Principe Giorgio di Danimarca, fratello del Re di Danimarca di anni 42, ed (h)anno un figliuolo d'anni 7, che si dice il Duca di Glossester [sic; Gloucester]. Detta Principessa, che è la più prossima alla Corona, come di Sangue Reale, ha di entrata annua 50.000 lire sopra i Beni spettanti alla Corona Reale, assegnati dal Re Giacomo suo Padre. Il Principe Giorgio ritira di Danimarca 18.000 lire sterline l'anno. – La Regina Caterina Vedova del Re Carlo Secondo di anni 57, e che ora dimora in Portogallo, come figliuola di quella Corona, ha di entrata 48.000 lire sopra i Beni Reali d'Inghilterra, come la Principessa di Danimarca, e se gli fa ritirare in Portogallo. [...]

[fol. 178] Lontano un miglio dalla Città ci è il Palazzo, o Spedale, o Convento, che si voglia dire dei soldati resi inabili alla guerra, che lo direi un opera, che fusse lo sforzo di tre Rè, se non si sapessi di certo, che quello di Francia è maggiore. Ha 6 grandi fra prati giardini, e corti deliziosissimi. In mezzo a questi è il gran Palazzo con maestosa veduta, facciate, e lontananze, dormentorij grandissimi, con letti fatti ad Arcoa [sic; alcova], Rifettorio e Chiesa grandi, e bellissimi. In mezzo al gran Cortile la Statua di Carlo II. di bronzo. Riesce sul Tamigi sopra amenissimo giardino, che tutto fa stupire. Vi sono 1800 soldati benissimo vestiti, mangiano tre volte il giorno, ed (h)anno un tanto la settimana per il tabacco. Palazzo attorno per il Milord Governatore, e altri palazzetti per diversi servitij. Lo principiò Carlo II, poi il Rè Giacomo, e lo terminò questo Re e Regina, ma è vago, e per la magnificenza, e per il posto che non si puo immaginare di più. Dicono quello di Francia assai più grande, ma questo più vago.

[fol. 185] La Camera Alta è composta tra Milordi spirituali, e temporali circa a 180, [fol. 186] ma tra gl'assenti, o per vecchiaia, o infermità, o per non aver l'età di 21 anno [sic; anni], tutti insieme si raduneranno solo circa 80 non potendoci entrare i Milordi Cattolici per non aver preso il giuramento a favore del Re, e che è contrario alla legge Cattolica; Dei Cattolici ce ne sono circa 15.

[...] I negozj cominciati in una Camera, si portano nell'altra vicendevolmente acciò siano confermati dall'uni, e dall'altri, che quando son concordi fra loro, deve poi passarli il Re, che quando vien passato da questo si chiama una legge, e non l'approvando il Re è tutto invalido. I Negozi di dar danari toccano alla Camera Bassa e per questo son molto potenti, che di 513 si raduneranno ogni mattina circa 400 – essendo il numero di questi sufficiente sino a 40. E nella Camera Alta più di un solo. [...]

[fol. 196] Parendo poi al nostro S.r Inviato tempo opportuno di partir di qui, fece le sue diligenze per chiedere l'audienza di Congedo, che gli fù appuntata per Venerdì mattina 13/23 Xbre nella quale venne come nella prima audienza M. Cotterel maestro di Cirimonie colla muta a 6 del Rè, e partiti di Casa a ore 12 1/2 con detta muta, altra nostra a 6 con i Signori Camerate, altra pure a due

brunata con gl'Ufiziali, e Nazionali, e si andò così a Quinton, dove arrivati non si trovorno le guardie appiedi [fol. 197] che vi erano la prima volta per accidente, perche si mutavano, e ricevuto da Monsù de Bast sotto maestro di Cirimonie, ci avanzammo nel primo Ricetto degl'Alabardieri, dove il S.r Inviato fù complimentato dal Comandante di essi.

Appena arrivati nella prima sala venne il Gran Ciamberrano, che arrivò immediatamente dopo noi, che complimentato dal S.r Inviato già stato ricevuto da uno scudiere di Corte, fù avvisato il Re, che assiso sotto [sic] il Trono fece introdurre il S.r Inviato, che fatte le tre profonde reverenze fece il suo complimento di Congedo, come si noterà colla risposta, che diede il Re, che assai si dilatò. Dopo ebbe parlato S. M. si levò il Cappello, e s'alzò, nel qual atto gli presentò il Sig.r Inviato le Camerate, che dopo inchinatasi S. M. si rimise a sedere, e il S.r Inviato si partì indietro con le sue reverenze profonde, dopo le quali il Re s'alzò, e andò in altra stanza.

Accompagnato il S.r Inviato dal Gran Ciamberrano nell'Anticamera si reputò terminata la funzione, e allora si rientrò facilmente nella Camera del letto del Re, ove al Cammino in Cerchio discorse circa 3 quarti d'ora sempre [fol. 198] col nostro Inviato di varie cose, nel qual discorso prese alquanto brio a lui non solito, perche stà sempre cogitabondo, e applicato, benche a detto cerchio sta con galanteria, e familiarità. Finito un certo discorso il Re salutò tutti, e andò a pranzo in altra stanza e noi partimmo verso casa, ove venne a desinare, come aveva fatto molte volte, M. Cotterel, il quale dopo desinato diede al S.r Inviato il Regalo da parte di S. M., che fù un diamante in un Anello molto grande, e bello, e senza alcun difetto stimato allora da un professore circa g.mi 54 onde lo giudicava intorno a 400 lire sterline, che era un quarto più di quello aveva avuto quello di Genova, che fu bello ancora quello, ma pareva vi fosse qualche pelo [...]

[fol. 200] Si andarono vedendo varie Ville [...]. Sono però mobilate assai più vagamente di quelle d'Italia in specie di addobbi dell'Indie, Porcellane etc. con tutta lindura, perche gran parte della nobiltà abita per lo più nelle Ville per godere quella libertà che non posson godere in Londra. [...]

Appendix IV

Prime Minister Boris Johnson's Speech at Greenwich, Delivered on 3 February 2020

From <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-speech-in-greenwich-3-february-2020>

(published 3 February 2020, last accessed 5 February 2020): transcript of the speech, exactly as it was delivered.

NB: The paragraph numbers (§ 1–7) have been added by Christina Strunck in order to facilitate reference to the individual sections of the speech.

[§ 1] It is great to welcome everyone here to Greenwich and I invite you first to raise your eyes to the heavens.

The Vatican has Michelangelo.

Greenwich has Thornhill who spent 20 years flat on his back on top of the scaffolding, so rigid that his arm became permanently wonky, and he's left us this gorgeous and slightly bonkers symbolic scene that captures the spirit of the United Kingdom in the early 18th century.

This painting above you was started in 1707, the very year when the union with Scotland was agreed – and does it not speak of supreme national self-confidence? Look at these well-fed nymphs and cupids and what have you.

They are not just celebrating the Triumph of Liberty and Peace over Tyranny – the official title of the scene.

This is the settlement of a long and divisive political question about who gets to sit on the throne of England. And it is visibly resolved as you can see in favour of William and Mary and the result is stability and certainty and optimism and an explosion of global trade propelled by new maritime technology.

And above and around us you can see the anchors, cables, rudders, sails, oars, ensigns, powder barrels, sextants, the compasses and the grappling irons.

In fact the only important bit of kit that is missing is Harrison's sea clock – also exhibited close-by here in Greenwich and also commissioned in the same era, that allowed every ship in the world to determine how far they were from this Meridian.

So this is it. This is the newly forged United Kingdom on the slipway: this is the moment when it all took off.

And – you know where this is going – today if we get it right, if we have the courage to follow the instincts and the instructions of the British people, this can be another such moment on the launching pad.

Because once again we have settled a long-running question of sovereign authority, we have ended a debate that has run for three and a half years – some would say 47 years.

I won't even mention the name of the controversy except to say that it begins with B.

Receding in the past behind us.

We have the opportunity, we have the newly recaptured powers, we know where we want to go, and that is out into the world.

And today in Geneva as our ambassador Julian Braithwaite moves seats in the WTO and takes back control of our tariff schedules, an event in itself that deserves itself to be immortalised in oil – this country is leaving its chrysalis.

[§ 2] We are re-emerging after decades of hibernation as a campaigner for global free trade.

And frankly it is not a moment too soon because the argument for this fundamental liberty is now not being made.

We in the global community are in danger of forgetting the key insight of those great Scottish thinkers, the invisible hand of Adam Smith, and of course David Ricardo's more subtle but indispensable principle of comparative advantage, which teaches that if countries learn to specialise and exchange then overall wealth will increase and productivity will increase, leading Cobden to conclude that free trade is God's diplomacy – the only certain way of uniting people in the bonds of peace since the more freely goods cross borders the less likely it is that troops will ever cross borders.

And since these notions were born here in this country, it has been free trade that has done more than any other single economic idea to raise billions out of poverty and incredibly fast.

In 1990 there were 37 percent of the world's population in absolute poverty – that is now down to less than ten per cent.

And yet my friends, I am here to warn you today that this beneficial magic is fading.

Free trade is being choked and that is no fault of the people, that's no fault of individual consumers, I am afraid it is the politicians who are failing to lead.

The mercantilists are everywhere, the protectionists are gaining ground.

From Brussels to China to Washington tariffs are being waved around like cudgels even in debates on foreign policy where frankly they have no place – and there is an ever growing proliferation of non-tariff barriers and the resulting tensions are letting the air out of the tyres of the world economy.

World trading volumes are lagging behind global growth. Trade used to grow at roughly double global GDP – from 1987 to 2007.

Now it barely keeps pace and global growth is itself anaemic and the decline in global poverty is beginning to slow. And in that context, we are starting to hear some bizarre autarkic rhetoric, when barriers are going up, and when there is a risk that new diseases such as coronavirus will trigger a panic and a desire for market segregation that go beyond what is medically rational to the point of doing real and unnecessary economic damage, then at that moment humanity needs some government somewhere that is willing at least to make the case powerfully for freedom of exchange, some country ready to take off its Clark Kent spectacles and leap into the phone booth and emerge with its cloak flowing as the supercharged champion, of the right of the populations of the earth to buy and sell freely among each other.

And here in Greenwich in the first week of February 2020, I can tell you in all humility that the UK is ready for that role.

[§ 3] We are ready for the great multi-dimensional game of chess in which we engage in more than one negotiation at once and we are limbering up to use nerves and muscles and instincts that this country has not had to use for half a century.

Secretary of State Liz Truss tells me she has the teams in place:

She has the lawyers, top dollar I've no doubt, the economists, trade policy experts and if we don't have enough,

or if they don't perform, believe me we will hire some more.

We will reach out to the rest of the Commonwealth, which now has some of the fastest growing economies in the world.

It was fantastic at the recent Africa summit to see how many wanted to turn that great family of nations into a free trade zone, even if we have to begin with clumps and groups, and we will take these ideas forward at Kigali in June.

We will engage with Japan and the other Trans-Pacific agreement countries, with old friends and partners – Australia, New Zealand, Canada – on whom we deliberately turned our backs in the early 1970s.

We will get going with our friends in America and I share the optimism of Donald Trump and I say to all the naïve and juvenile anti-Americans in this country if there are any – there seem to be some – I say grow up – and get a grip.

The US already buys one fifth of everything we export.

And yes of course there are going to be difficulties:

Our shower trays seem to fall foul of US rules Liz, and if you want to sell insurance across America, Mr Ambassador, you still have to deal with 50 separate regulators, and it is high time I think we all agree that they cut their punitive tariffs on Scotch whisky.

And it goes without saying to all those conspiracy theorists who may still be in existence, all those believers in the Bermuda Triangle or who think that Elvis will be found on Mars, It goes without saying that of course the NHS is not on the table and no we will not accept any diminution in food hygiene or animal welfare standards. But I must say to the America bashers in this country if there are any that in doing free trade deals we will be governed by science and not by mumbo-jumbo because the potential is enormous.

[§ 4] And of course that brings me to the other area where the potential is great we want a thriving trade and economic relationship with the EU, our historic friend, partners, neighbours and I shall table a parliamentary statement today spelling out our objectives.

And at the outset I wish to reassure our friends about one thing: to lay one myth to rest.

We will not engage in some cut-throat race to the bottom. We are not leaving the EU to undermine European standards, we will not engage in any kind of dumping whether commercial, or social, or environmental, and don't just listen to what I say or what we say, look at what we do. And I say respectfully to our friends that in all those three crucial areas the anxiety should really be on our side of the Channel not yours.

Look at state aid:

France spends twice as much on state aid as the UK, and Germany three times as much, who is using subsidies to undercut? Not the UK.

In fact, the EU has enforced state aid rules against the UK only four times in the last 21 years, compared with 29 enforcement actions against France, 45 against Italy – and 67 against Germany.

The same applies even more emphatically to social policy – and here again I dispel the absurd caricature of Britain as a nation bent on the slash and burn of workers' rights and environmental protection, as if we are saved from Dickensian squalor only by enlightened EU regulation, as if it was only thanks to Brussels that we are not preparing to send children back up chimneys.

In one field after another, Britain is far ahead.

The EU waited until last year before introducing two weeks of paid paternity leave; we in the UK guaranteed that right nearly two decades ago.

The EU gives employees the right to request flexible working only if they are parents or carers.

The UK provides that right to every employee with more than six months' service – and they can make the request for any reason.

The EU provides a minimum of 14 weeks paid maternity leave; Britain offers up to a year, with 39 weeks paid and an option to convert this to shared parental leave. How about that.

The UK has a higher minimum wage than all but three EU member states: in fact six EU countries have no minimum wage at all.

As for the environment, look at animal welfare.

It is not just that we want to go further than the EU in banning live shipment of animals: there are ways in which we already are further ahead.

The UK banned veal crates fully 16 years before the EU. We are protecting elephants by introducing one of the strictest ivory bans in the world; and the EU, meanwhile, is still in the consultation stage.

And on the great environmental issue of our time, perhaps the greatest issue facing humanity, Britain was the first major economy in the world – let alone the EU – to place upon our own shoulders a legal obligation to be carbon neutral by 2050.

That will put huge strains on our system, it will require full effort and change but we know we can do it.

We have cut our carbon emissions by nearly twice the EU average since 1990, 42 percent and we have cut while the GDP has grown by about 70%; but here is the question: are we going to insist that the EU does everything that we do, as the price of free trade?

Are we? Of course not.

Our legislation to ban single-use plastics goes further and faster than anything proposed by the EU.

Does that mean we will refuse to accept a zero-tariff zero-quota deal with the EU unless the EU agrees to match us every step of the way?

Will we stop Italian cars or German wine from entering this country tariff free, or quota free, unless the EU matches our UK laws on plastic coffee stirrers or maternity leave or unless they match our laws in any other field of policy that might conceivably affect the production of an Alfa Romeo or a bottle of gewurtztraminer?

Will we accuse them of dumping?

Of course not.

Or wanting to dump?

Of course not.

So I hope our friends will understand that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

There is no need for a free trade agreement to involve accepting EU rules on competition policy, subsidies, social protection, the environment, or anything similar any more than the EU should be obliged to accept UK rules. The UK will maintain the highest standards in these areas – better, in many respects, than those of the EU – without the compulsion of a treaty.

And it is vital to say this now clearly because we have so often been told that we must choose between full access

to the EU market, along with accepting its rules and courts on the Norway model, or a free trade agreement, which opens up markets and avoids the full panoply of EU regulation, like the Canada deal.

Well folks I hope you've got the message by now.

We have made our choice: we want a comprehensive free trade agreement, similar to Canada's.

But in the very unlikely event that we do not succeed, then our trade will have to be based on our existing Withdrawal Agreement with the EU.

The choice is emphatically not "deal or no-deal".

We have a deal – we've done it and yes it did turn out as I prophesized to be oven ready.

The question is whether we agree a trading relationship with the EU comparable to Canada's – or more like Australia's.

And I have no doubt that in either case the UK will prosper.

[S 5] And of course our new relationship with our closest neighbours will range far beyond trade.

We will seek a pragmatic agreement on security, on protecting our citizens without trespassing on the autonomy of our respective legal systems.

I hope that we can reach an agreement on aviation, allowing cheap flights to continue.

We are ready to consider an agreement on fisheries, but it must reflect the fact that the UK will be an independent coastal state at the end of this year 2020, controlling our own waters.

And under such an agreement, there would be annual negotiations with the EU, using the latest scientific data, ensuring that British fishing grounds are first and foremost for British boats.

And in all these other areas, I see the same need for warmth, we'll deliver that or cooperation for friendship and exchange and *va et vien*, for academics, students and businesses but I see no need to bind ourselves to an agreement with the EU.

We will restore full sovereign control over our borders and immigration, competition and subsidy rules, procurement and data protection.

And while we will always co-operate with our European friends in foreign and defence policy whenever our inter-

ests converge – as they often, if not always, will – this will not in my view necessarily require any new treaty or institutions because we will not need them for the simple reason that the UK is not a European power by treaty or by law but by irrevocable facts of history and geography and language and culture and instinct and sentiment.

And I have set in train the biggest review of our foreign defence and security policies since the Cold War, which is designed to seize the opportunities that lie ahead and make sure that we play our part in addressing the world's problems.

I know we will do it in cooperation with our European friends.

And I say to our European friends – many of whom I'm delighted to see in this room – we are here as ever, as we have been for decades, for centuries, to support and to help as we always have done for the last hundred years or more and the reason I stress this need for full legal autonomy, the reason we do not seek membership or part membership of the customs union or alignment of any kind, is at least partly that I want this country to be an independent actor and catalyst for free trade across the world.

I was there when they negotiated the Uruguay round.

I saw it completed in Geneva when they gavelled it out – And it was one of those events that people hardly reported, but it was a fantastically important event in the life of the world.

And it was a critical moment in my view that helped to lead to almost two decades of global growth and confidence.

And then in 2008 we saw the abject failure of the Doha round and though there were many culprits there can be no doubt that both the EU and the US bear a heavy share of the blame for their refusal to compromise on farm subsidies.

And of course while we were in, the voice of the UK was of course muffled.

And as we come out.

I don't wish to exaggerate our influence or our potential influence, but then nor would I minimise the eagerness of our friends around the world to hear once again our

independent voice again in free trade negotiations and our objective is to get things started again not just because it is right for the world, but because of course it is right for Britain because this people's government believes that the whole country will benefit.

Because it will help our national programme to unite and level up and bring together our whole United Kingdom.

[S 6] And by expanding our trading relationships to improve the productivity of the entire nation by expanding infrastructure, education and technology you know that our programme is to bring this country together, combine that with greater free trade.

And of course I hope you will see us exporting more fantastic ships built on the Clyde, more wonderful bone china pottery from Northern Ireland, beef from Wales.

The opportunities as I say are extraordinary.

It is an incredible fact that we still sell not one hamburger's worth of beef to the US, not one kebab's worth of lamb, and as I speak the people of the US are still surviving without an ounce of Scottish haggis which they continue to ban Mr Ambassador.

In fact I don't know how they manage Burns Night.

I am glad to say that the Chinese last year signed the first agreement to take British beef after a 20-year ban, but still no lamb, not a joint, not a chop, not a deep frozen moussaka, even though we have the best lamb in the world.

And don't tell me the issue is distance from China.

Let me ask you a question, see if you've been paying attention to this speech the New Zealanders sell huge and

growing quantities of lamb to China, as indeed they do to America.

Let me ask you which is closer to Beijing?

Wales or New Zealand? Does anybody know?

Wales of course is the correct answer.

There is no reason why we cannot do much, much better and I am deeply proud of this – I don't want to do down this country's global exporting spirit.

We do extraordinary things as I never tire of telling you. Tea to China, cake to France, TV aerials to South Korea and so on.

Boomerangs to Australia – Nigel Farage to America. Then he came back of course.

[S 7] But this is the moment for us to think of our past and go up a gear again, to recapture the spirit of those seafaring ancestors immortalised above us whose exploits brought not just riches but something even more important than that – and that was a global perspective. That is our ambition.

There lies the port, the vessel puffs her sail...the wind sits in the mast.

We are embarked now on a great voyage, a project that no one thought in the international community that this country would have the guts to undertake, but if we are brave and if we truly commit to the logic of our mission – open, outward-looking – generous, welcoming, engaged with the world championing global free trade now when global free trade needs a global champion, I believe we can make a huge success of this venture, for Britain, for our European friends, and for the world.

NOTES

- 1 Steinmetz 2011, 120–122, 400–402. Britain accepted the Gregorian calendar only in 1751: *ibid.*, 403–405.
- 2 Trionfo d’Inghilterra 1661, 6: “fù anche risoluto di terminare la gloriosa Incoronatione di Sua Maestà il giorno di 23. Aprile festa di S. Giorgio Patron d’Inghilterra, il qual giorno conforme al stile Romano è li 3. di Maggio.”
- 3 Wickham Legg 1921, 67, note 1.
- 4 Winn 2014, xxi.
- 5 Jones 2015, 56, paraphrases this as a “fair tableau,” but the document clearly speaks of a “Table.” It seems that this was a current way of referring to a painting on wood. Cf. Ogilby’s description of the Restoration Arch (fig. 2): “Behind the said Figure of Charles the Second, in a large Table is deciphered the Royal Oak” (Ogilby 1662, 37). “Table” was the literal English translation of the Italian term “tavola” which signified both a table and a painting on wood. In the 17th century many terms from continental art theory entered the British vocabulary: see Kern 2020.
- 6 Verrio was informed about the decisions made on 13 October 1684 (1684,10,13). The following text in the Schools Committee Minutes was not transcribed as it is identical with the report read at the next General Court meeting (1684,11,12, fol. 600).
- 7 This volume contains no pagination but the letters are bound in roughly chronological order.
- 8 This volume contains no pagination but the letters are bound in roughly chronological order.
- 9 This volume contains no pagination but the letters are bound in roughly chronological order.
- 10 To this is added a clipping from The London Gazette (29 November to 3 December 1688): “By the King, a Proclamation For the speedy Calling of a Parliament.”
- 11 Unfortunately this printed description is no longer contained in the volume.
- 12 Cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir_Thomas_Dereham,_4th_Baronet (last accessed 4 November 2019).

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Photo: Kristopher Riggs

