BRITAIN
AND THE CONTINENT
1660–1727

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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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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 conflicts.[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 involve 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 "intramedial." 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 individuum 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 Bildereignis," 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] Panegyrical 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 cultural 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 Streeter 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. Fur 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 panegyrical 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.
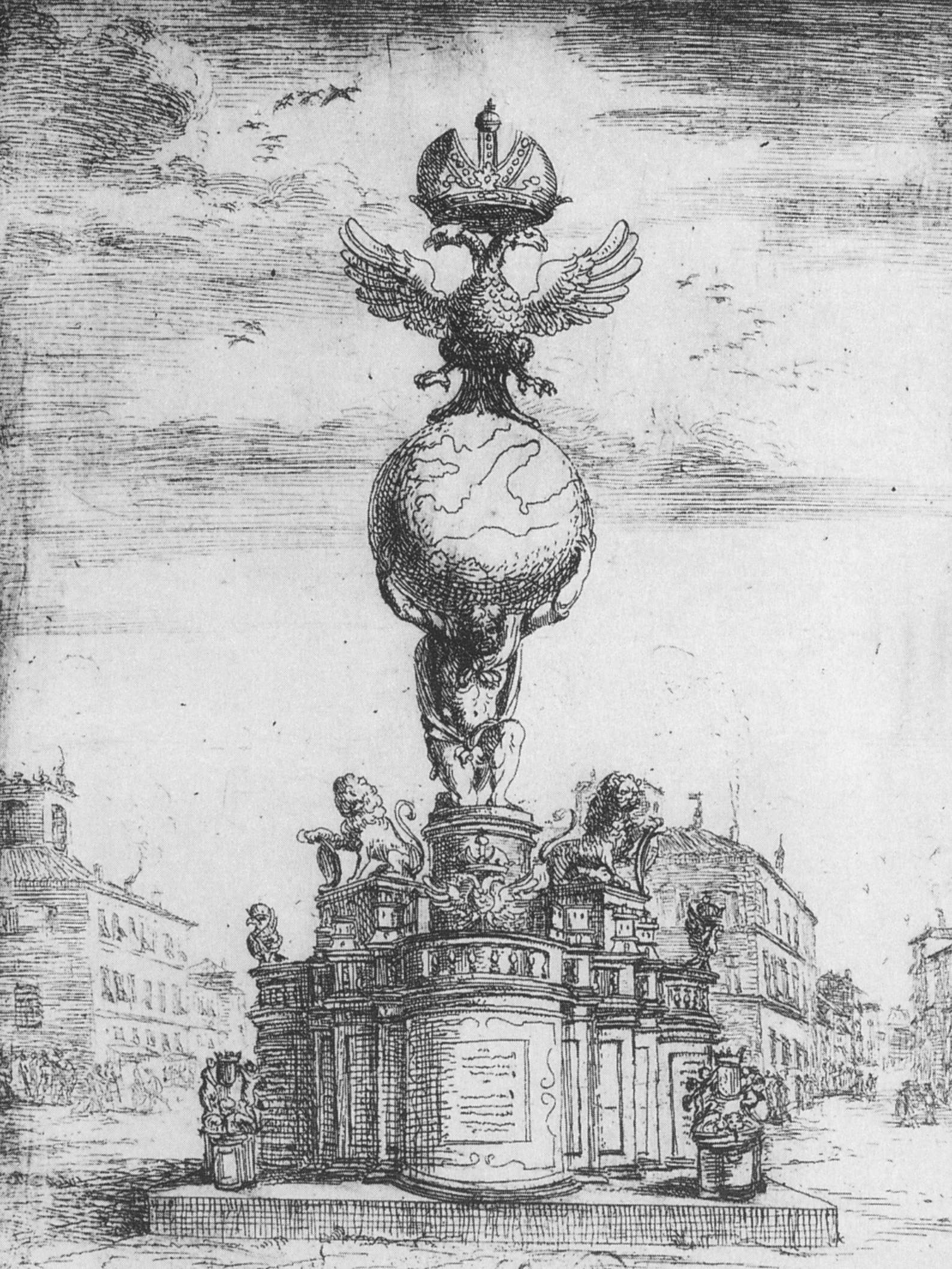
CHAPTER 2

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 Inscriptions."[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 centrepiece 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

SITES AND SUBJECTS OF THE TRIUMPHAL ARCHES

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 Majestie'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

SITES AND SUBJECTS OF THE TRIUMPHAL ARCHES

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

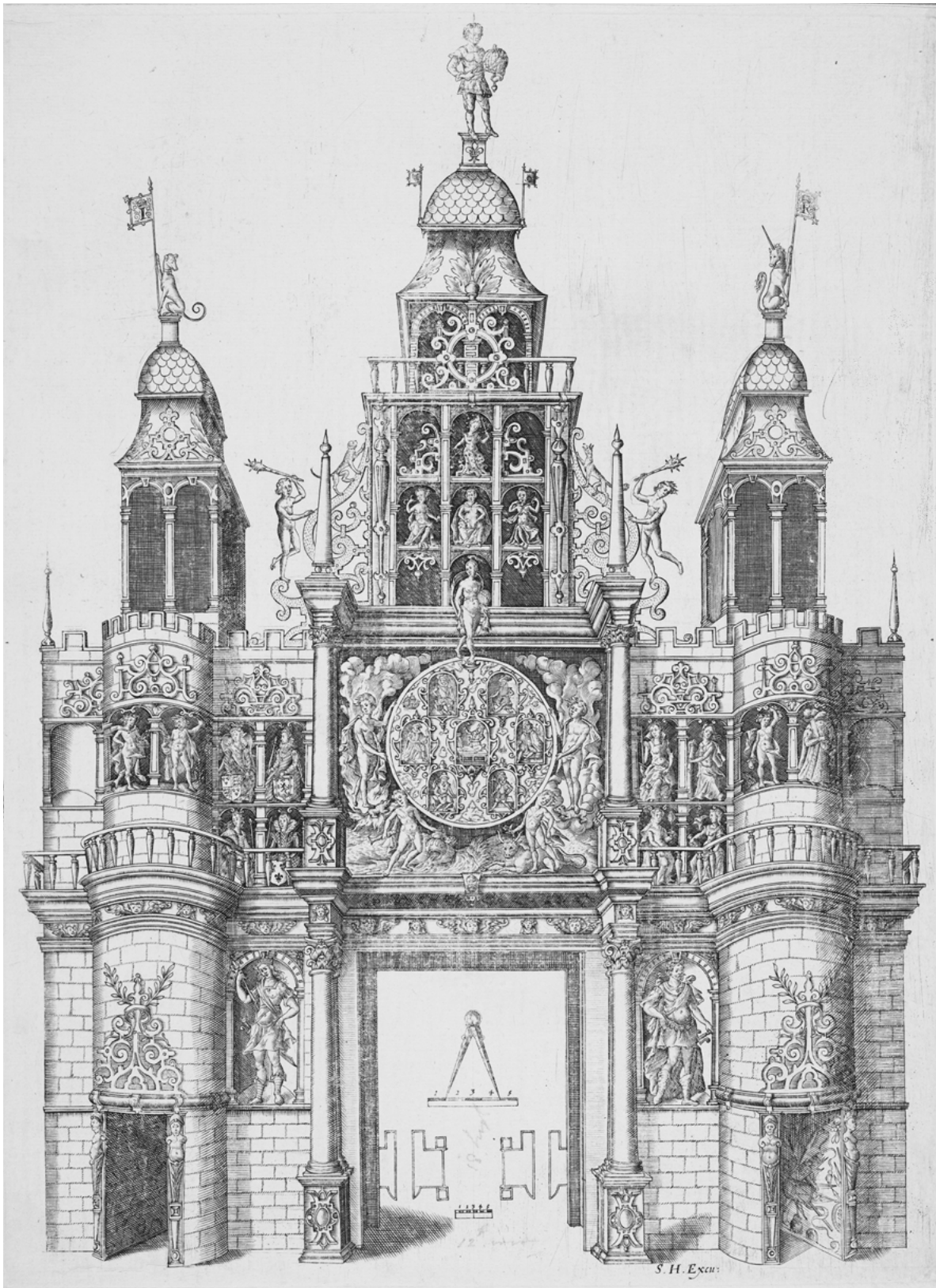**Fig. 6** Stephen Harrison. "The Device called, Cozmoz Neoz, New World," ephemeral architecture erected in London for the entry of James I in 1604. Engraving, published in Harrison 1604
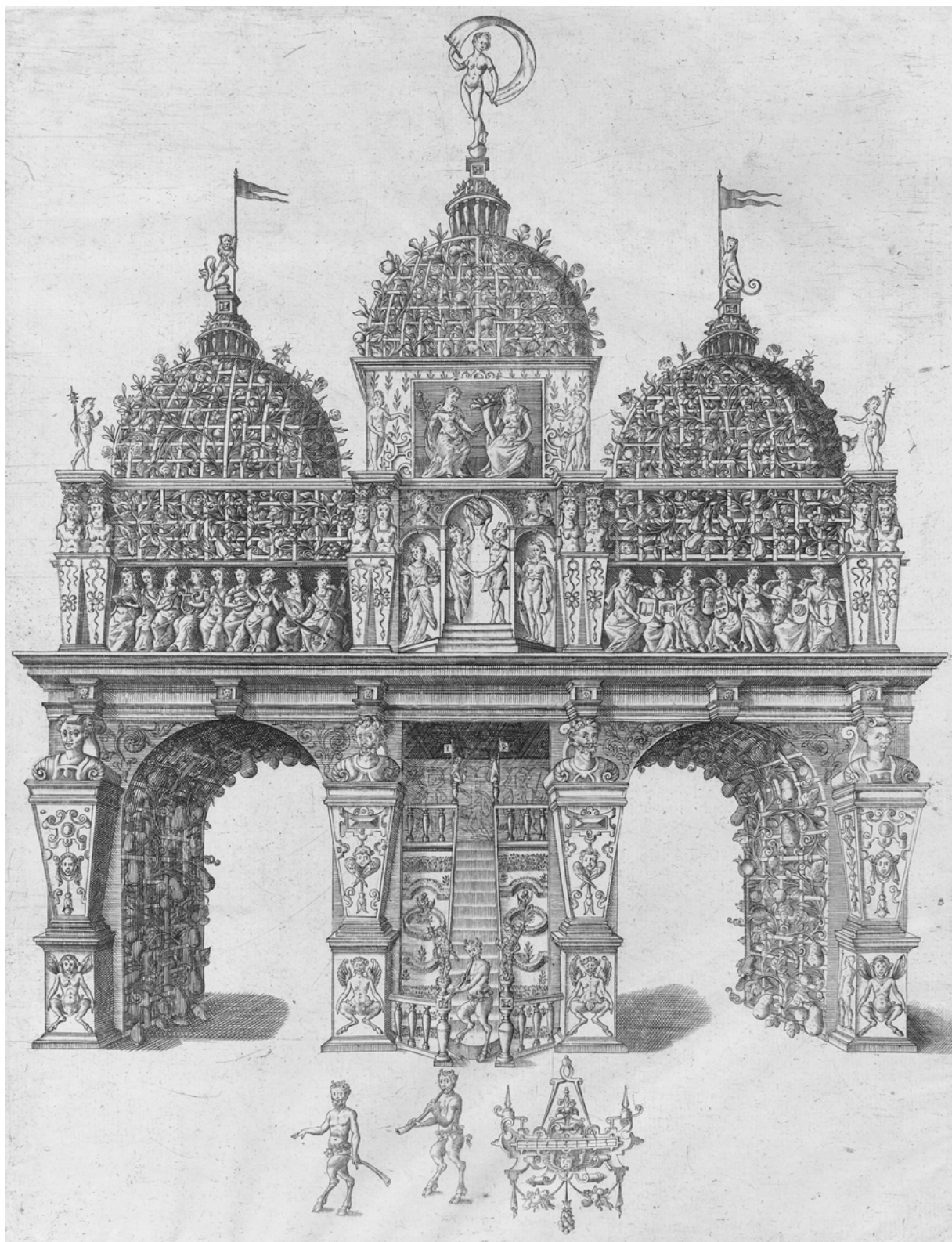
Fig. 7 Stephen Harrison. "The Device called, Hortus Euporiae, Garden of Plentie," ephemeral architecture erected in London for the entry of James I in 1604. Engraving, published in Harrison 1604

THE DESIGNER OF THE TRIUMPHAL ARCHES

"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 – & ye Triumphal Arches. Londn. at ye 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
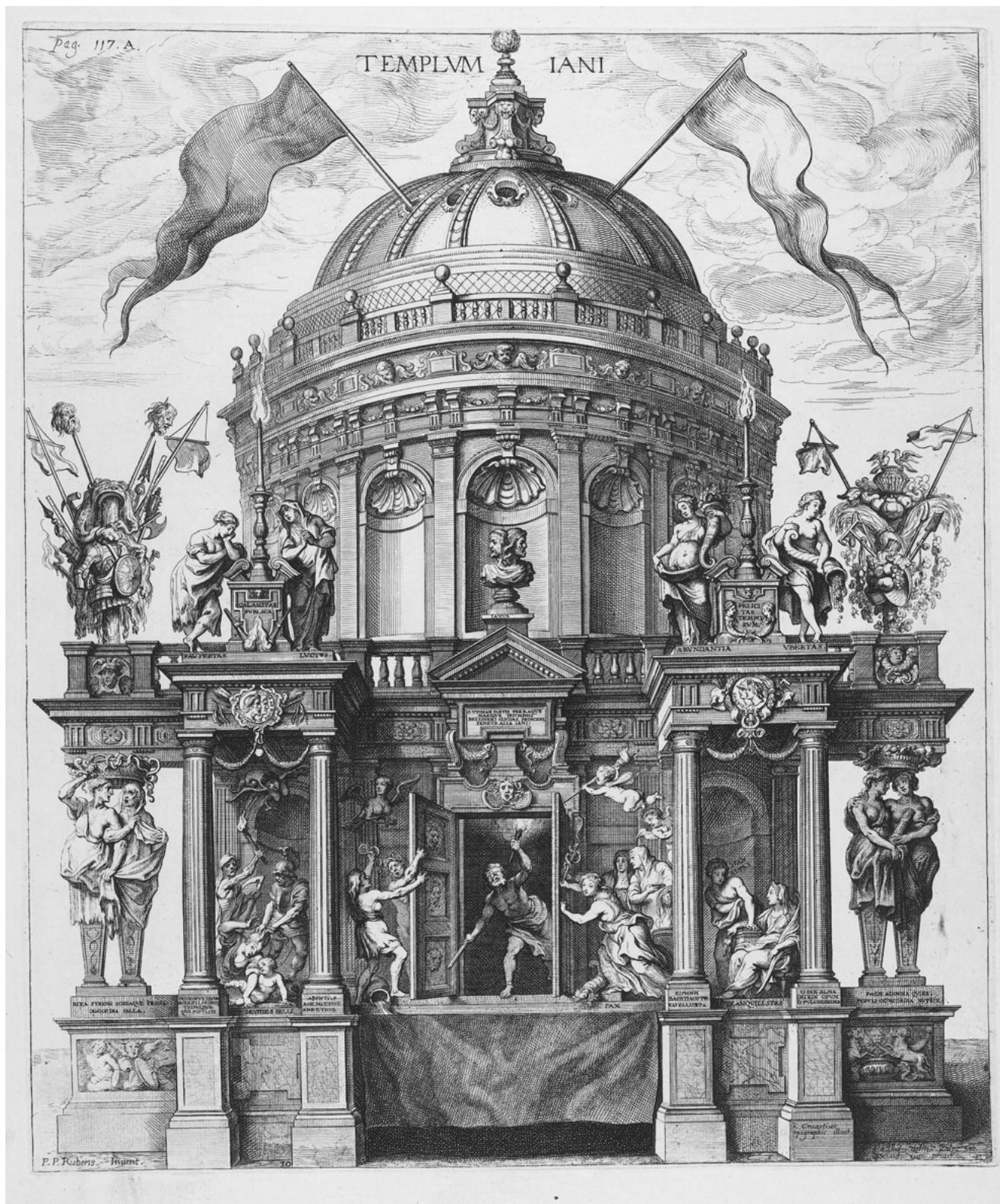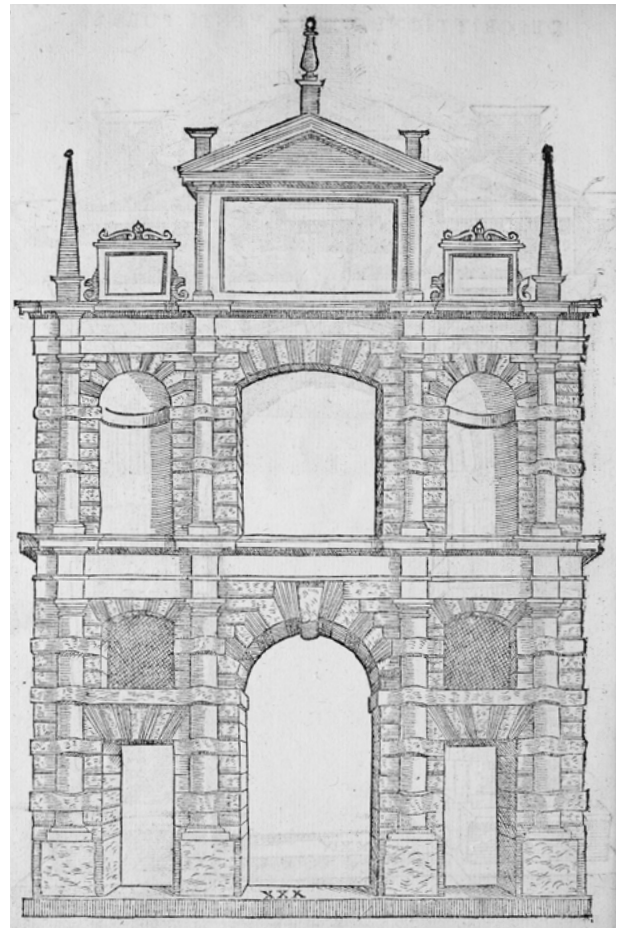
Fig. 9 Theodor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens. "Templum Iani" (Temple of Janus). Engraving, published in Gevartius 1641

THE DESIGNER OF THE TRIUMPHAL ARCHES

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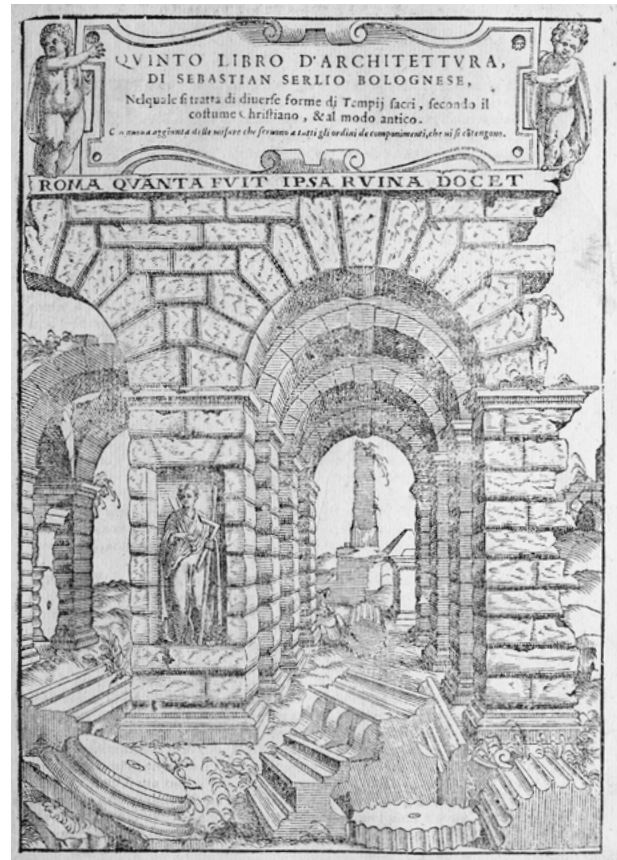
known and no contemporary drawings by him seem to have survived. Moreover, there exists no reason why Pearce should have wished to conceal his authorship of the triumphal arches in Ogilby's publication.

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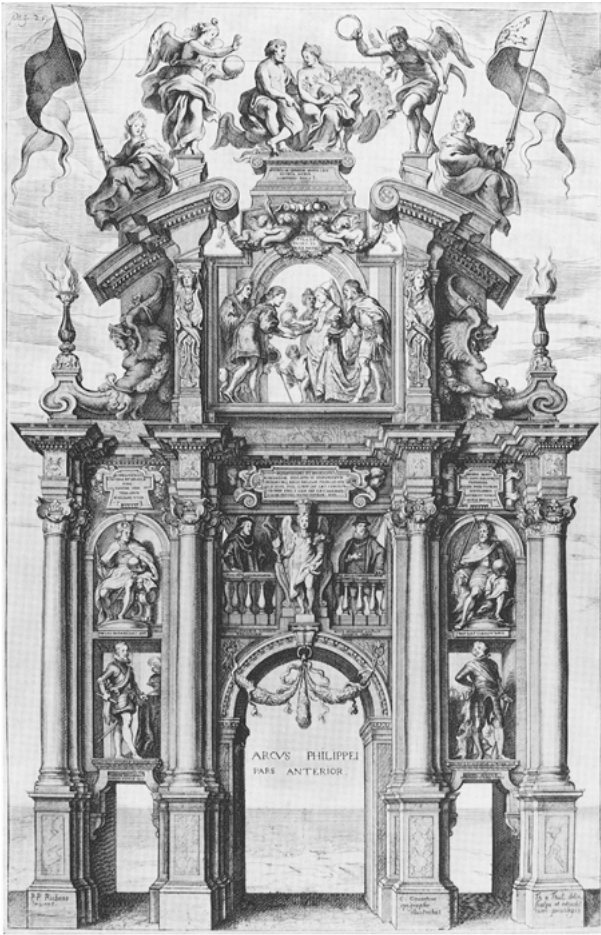
Fig. 13 Theodor van Thulden after Peter Paul Rubens. "Arcus Philippei pars anterior" (Frontal view of the Arch of Philip). Engraving, published in Gevartius 1641
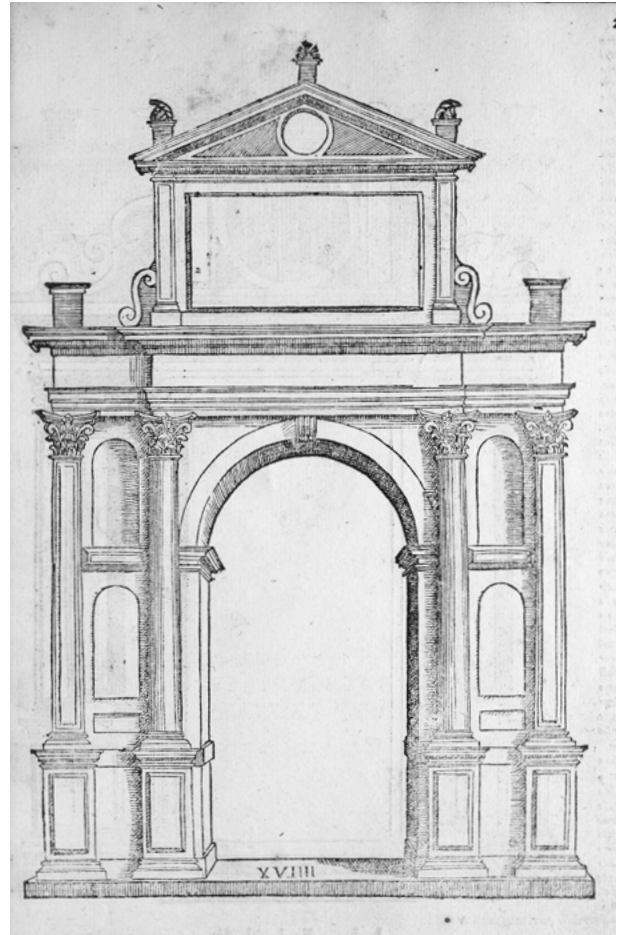

Fig. 14 Sebastiano Serlio. Design for an archway. From Serlio 1584, Book 6 ("Libro estraordinario"), fol. 27r

the early modern era staged a triumphal entry, the *possesso*, 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-