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THRONE AND ALTAR: ANTONIO VERRIO'S DECORATION OF THE ROYAL CHAPEL AND ST GEORGE'S HALL AT WINDSOR CASTLE (1680-1683)

In 1676 King Charles II commissioned Antonio Verrio to decorate twenty-five rooms at his recently refurbished summer residence Windsor Castle, comprising the apartments of the king and the queen, three staircases,

the royal chapel and St George's Hall, a space for large-scale entertainments.¹ The Italian painter was therefore entrusted to create the single most impressive pictorial cycle of Charles's reign. This raises a number of questions: Why was Verrio chosen for this prestigious task? How do his paintings relate to continental prototypes? Finally, how did the artist adapt the high-baroque pictorial idiom which was originally developed within a Catholic context for new purposes in an Anglican society?

While some of these questions will be addressed in more detail elsewhere,² the present essay focuses on the religious and political issues that coloured Anglo-con-

Fig. 1 | Charles Wild, *The Royal Chapel, Windsor Castle*, watercolour, ca. 1818. Royal Collection, RCIN 922113. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018



tinental cultural transfer. Early Modern Anglicanism defined itself through its opposition to “Popish superstition”, and it especially abhorred the Catholic cult of images.³ In 1563 the Second Book of Homilies explicitly stated that “images placed publicly in temples, cannot possibly be without danger of worshipping and idolatry”.⁴

The typical Anglican church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was therefore a church without figurative paintings.⁵ During the reign of Charles II, Bishop Thomas Barlow vigorously repeated the official position of the Anglican Church on religious imagery: “The Church of England absolutely condemns all images of the Trinity, or any person in it, (Father, Son, or Holy Ghost) as absolutely unlawful, and expressly condemned in Scripture. Such images are not to be tolerated neither in nor out of Churches. No images of our Blessed Saviour, of any Saints and Martyrs [...] are, in the judgement of our Church, to be tolerated in our temples, or any place of God’s public worship. For if they be, it will be to the great and unavoidable danger of idolatry.”⁶

These words were written in 1685. Bishop Barlow would certainly have been shocked to see the royal chapel at Windsor Castle, decorated just a few years before (fig. 1).⁷ Although this chapel was destroyed in 1828/29,⁸ its appearance is recorded by several descriptions, a painting and a watercolour.⁹ Verrio’s work was an absolute innovation. Never before had an Anglican church or chapel been decorated like this.¹⁰ Antonio Verrio, an Italian Catholic, introduced a new style reminiscent of the decorative programmes of Catholic chapels on the continent.¹¹ Recent scholarship has mentioned this work only in passing without, however, reflecting on Anglican scruples regarding religious imagery.¹²

As Clare Haynes and Richard Johns have demonstrated, more positive attitudes towards images in the Anglican church were beginning to emerge in the course of the 1680s.¹³ However, the crucial role of the royal chapel at Windsor Castle has not yet been analysed in this context. Since the Church of England explicitly condemned all images of the Saviour, how could king Charles II, the Supreme Governor of this Church, commission such an exuberant pictorial scheme, and why did he do so?

1. Religious Issues during the Reign of Charles II

The father of Verrio’s patron, King Charles I, who had been beheaded in 1649, was regarded as an “Anglican martyr” by royalists.¹⁴ Thus after the restoration it was crucial for Charles II to present himself as a devout Anglican.¹⁵ Nevertheless he seems to have had Catholic sympathies, probably inspired by his Catholic mother Queen Henrietta Maria and his long exile at the French court.¹⁶ In the Secret Treaty of Dover, concluded in 1670, Charles II promised Louis XIV that he would declare, at an unspecified time, his reconciliation with the Church of Rome and reinstate Catholicism as the national faith of his country.¹⁷ In 1672 he improved the situation of Catholics in Britain through a “Declaration of Indulgence”.¹⁸ In the same year it became publicly known that the king’s brother James was a committed Catholic and wished to withdraw from the Church of England.¹⁹ Things were made worse by James’s decision to marry the Catholic princess Mary of Modena.²⁰ As Charles II did not have legitimate heirs, it became very likely that a Catholic might succeed to the British throne.

The British public was appalled by these developments.²¹ Shortly before James’s wedding in 1673, a procession that mocked Catholicism and ended with the burning of an effigy of the Pope was staged in London. From then on, such processions occurred annually.²² Due to wide-spread discontent with the pro-Catholic “Act of Indulgence”, Charles II was forced to withdraw it in March 1673.²³ Moreover, Parliament passed the “Test Act”. This piece of legislation required all holders of government offices to denounce Catholicism and to take Anglican communion at least once a year.²⁴

Anti-Catholic sentiment grew even stronger in the wake of the so-called “Popish Plot”, an alleged Jesuit conspiracy.²⁵ In this period of anti-Catholic mania, Catholics were even blamed for having caused the great fire that had destroyed a large part of London. In 1680 the monument commemorating the fire received an inscription that read: “the City of London was burnt & consumed with fire by the treachery & malice of the papists”.²⁶

Politicians stirred up anti-Catholic sentiment because they feared that the king’s Catholic brother would inherit the throne.²⁷ From 1679 Parliament discussed the “Exclusion Bill” which sought to ban James from the succession. But Charles II supported his brother and from 1681

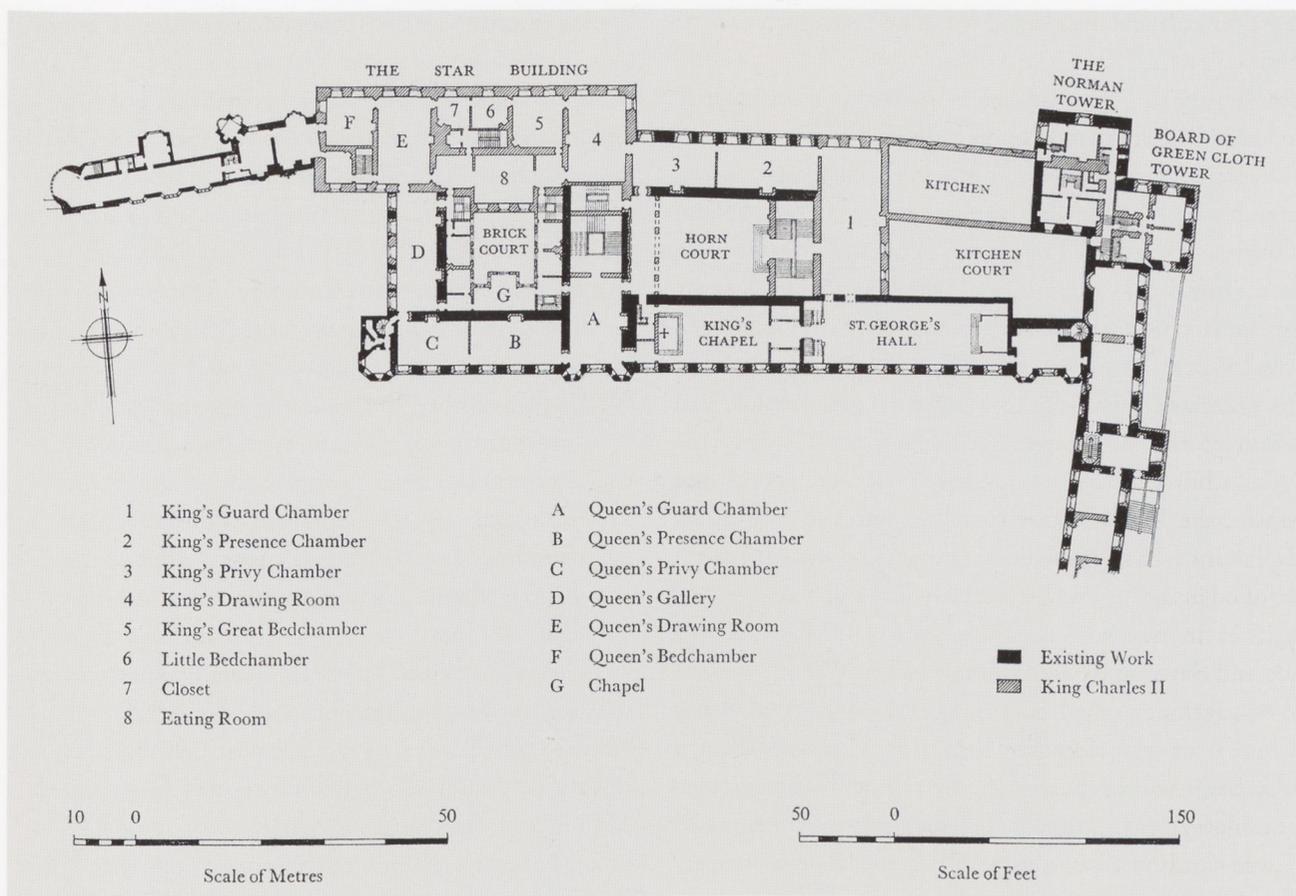


Fig. 2 | Windsor Castle, first floor, plan. From Colvin et al. 1976, 319

he ruled without the aid of parliament.²⁸ On his deathbed the king actually converted to Catholicism²⁹ and was succeeded by his Catholic brother, king James II.

The decoration of the King's Chapel, executed in 1680-1682, dates from the crucial years of the Exclusion Crisis.³⁰ It was a time of conflict characterized by strong anti-Catholic feeling, while the king backed his Catholic brother and eventually converted to Catholicism. But is it conceivable that Verrio's exuberant paintings were meant as a pro-Catholic statement?

As Simon Thurley has pointed out, the various royal chapels remodelled during Charles's reign looked increasingly Catholic. According to Thurley, the king needed to demonstrate his Anglicanism in London (for instance at Whitehall Palace),³¹ while at Windsor he was free to create "a new chapel in an uncompromisingly Counter-Reformation, not to say, Jesuit, style."³² Thurley suggests that this indicated Charles's growing closeness to Catholi-

cism: "For Charles an appearance of Anglicanism could be maintained at the chapel at Whitehall whilst at Windsor he could do as he wished."³³

However, Windsor was certainly no private retreat. From 1680 the castle served as the official summer residence of the court.³⁴ Its chapel was a public space, located between the king's and queen's apartments, close to the main stairway and accessible to each member of the court as well as foreign visitors (fig. 2). Daily morning and evening prayers for the royal household were held in the chapel.³⁵ The king attended services on Sundays and feast days, accompanied by a formal procession of his courtiers.³⁶ Consequently the chapel functioned as a highly official space of worship, administered by Anglican clergy.³⁷ Thus it is unlikely that the paintings could have been intended as a pro-Catholic statement.³⁸ The crucial question is: How could their highly unusual iconography be reconciled with Anglican theology, given that the Church of England condemned religious imagery?

2. An Anglican Justification of Religious Imagery

The key to this mystery lies in a discourse on idolatry published by Thomas Tenison in 1678.³⁹ As the title page indicates, Tenison was one of the king's chaplains, and he later became Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴⁰ As chaplain, Tenison was required to preach at all court services (in turn with the other chaplains).⁴¹ He dedicated his lengthy text to "Robert Earl of Manchester, One of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bedchamber".⁴² Thus both the author and the dedicatee were close to Charles II and certainly had access to the state rooms at Windsor Castle.

From 1673 Charles II modernized the state rooms in a continental, high-baroque style.⁴³ In order to rival Louis XIV, he employed Antonio Verrio who boasted an up-to-date knowledge of contemporary Italian and French painting.⁴⁴ When Tenison's book appeared in 1678, the chapel was still awaiting its decoration,⁴⁵ but it evidently needed to be equally as ornate and impressive as the royal apartments. It was therefore only natural for Chaplain Tenison to ponder the proper ornament for the significant and spacious new place of worship. Tenison's text can therefore be viewed as a kind of *prolepsis*, justifying the religious imagery that was already envisaged by the king and his painter.

In the dedicatory epistle Tenison declares himself opposed to a "fierce and indiscreet zeal against Popery".⁴⁶ Thus from the beginning he takes a conciliatory attitude in a diplomatic attempt to reconcile Anglican and Catholic forces at court. Accordingly, he says that religious images are not as such to be condemned; only the worship of images is to be avoided.⁴⁷

In a chapter on "the cure of idolatry" Tenison introduces a central term of his argument, the "Schechinah" of God. He explains the term as follows:

It pleased then the wise and merciful God, to shew to the very eyes of man, though not his spiritual and immense substance, or any statue or picture of it, properly so called; yet his Shechinah, or visible glory, the symbol of his especial Presence. This divine appearance, I suppose to have been generally exhibited in a mighty lustre of flame or light, set off with thick, and, as I may call them, solemn Clouds.⁴⁸

He then postulates that this glory or Schechinah is not effected by God the Father, but by Jesus Christ, "the King and Light of the World".⁴⁹

In a subsequent chapter Tenison points out that it is legitimate to paint Christ's glory:

Fig. 3 | Antonio Verrio, Christ Healing the Sick (OM 298, RCIN 404052). Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018

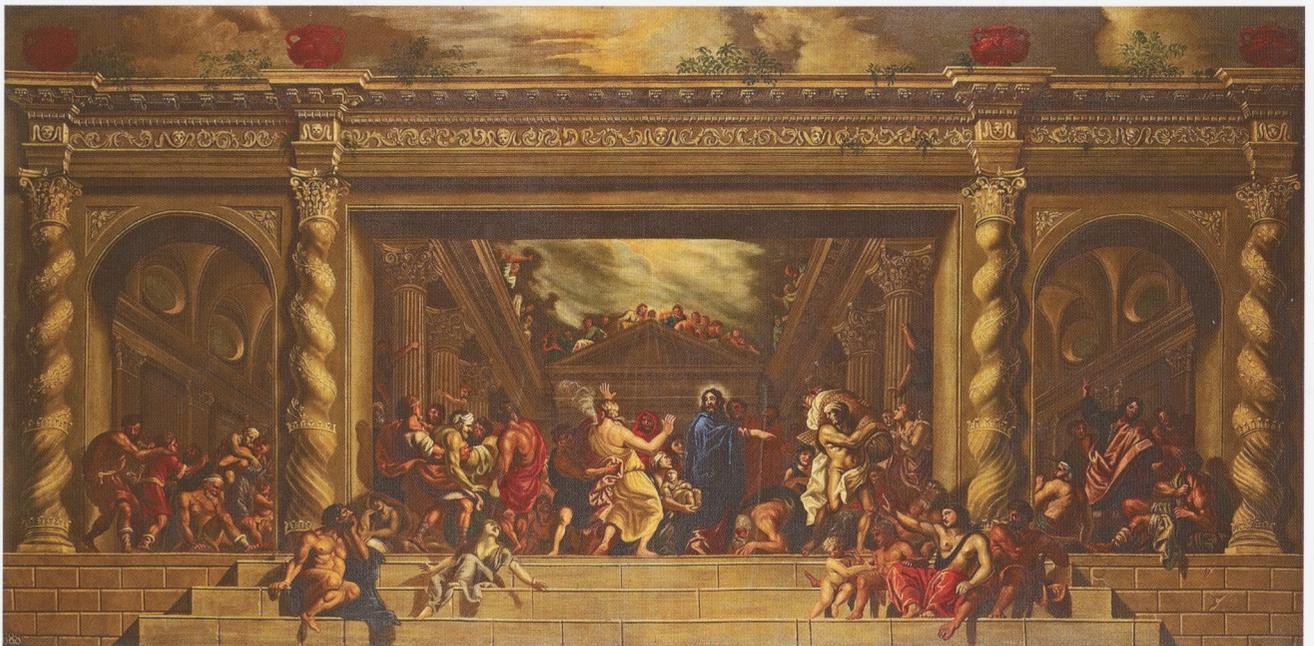




Fig. 4 | Charles Wild, St. George's Hall, Windsor Castle, watercolour, ca. 1818. Royal Collection, RCIN 922112. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018 / Foto: Todd-White Art Photography

If anything of the Divinity be to be portraied, we learn from hence what it may be, not the Godhead but the Shechinah: That is visible, and the expressing of it with the best lights and shadows of Art may therefore be not unlawful, though I know not whether I ought to plead for the expediency of it in common use.⁵⁰

The ceiling painting in the King's Chapel gave visual form to the Shechinah described by Tenison: the risen Christ in glory (fig. 1). Tenison hesitated to recommend such images for "common use" as he distinguished between two classes of viewers: While images were dangerous for uneducated people, who might transform them into "ob-

jects of worship", the more discerning (courtly) public would be able to handle religious imagery correctly, without succumbing to idolatry.⁵¹ Thus the royal palace was certainly a suitable venue for a majestic Shechinah.

Depictions of Christ's earthly deeds graced the walls of the chapel: a miracle scene on the long wall (fig. 3),⁵² and the Last Supper over the altar (fig. 1). Such images, condemned by Bishop Barlow as quoted above, were also expressly justified by Tenison's discourse:

However, seeing Christ was made in the form of a man, I know not why that form which appeared to the eye might not be painted by St. Luke himself without any immoral stain to his

Pencil. He that found no fault with the Image of Caesar stamped on his Coin, hath said nothing which forbiddeth his own representation; with respect, I mean, to his state of manhood here on earth.⁵³

I suggest that in his role as royal chaplain, Thomas Tenison wrote the discourse on idolatry precisely because the king wished to decorate his chapel at Windsor in a highly ornate manner with figurative images. A chapel in the traditional Anglican style would have been far too sober and too unimpressive in comparison to the exuberant state rooms. Tenison authored the theological justification that was needed before the King's wishes could be fulfilled. He thereby opened a debate on religious images which was to have important consequences for the decoration of other Anglican places of worship.⁵⁴

But although Tenison's text can explain why seemingly Catholic images were acceptable in an Anglican chapel, the selection of the specific episodes deserves a closer look. Why did Charles II opt for these particular scenes? This leads to the most crucial question: What was the message he wished to convey?

3. The Relationship between the Chapel and St George's Hall

It has already been pointed out by Anna Keay and Wolf Burchard that the chapel must be seen in relation to the adjacent St George's Hall, a massive space decorated by Antonio Verrio during the same period (figs. 2, 4).⁵⁵ However, much remains to be added to their brief remarks on the topic.

Like the chapel, St George's Hall had a strongly Italian flavour. Its name referred to the patron saint of the Order of the Garter. The central ceiling painting represented "an apotheosis of Charles II as the current Sovereign of the Order".⁵⁶ Verrio depicted Charles II sitting on a rainbow amidst numerous personifications. An as yet unrecognized model for this iconography can be found at the Pitti Palace in Florence where Verrio seems to have worked in 1665.⁵⁷ In the so-called Sala di Bona of the Palazzo Pitti, the Florentine Grand Duke Cosimo I appears on a rainbow framed by princely virtues (fig. 5 and detail on p. 8).⁵⁸ This iconography was derived from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* where Ripa placed the personification of "Giuditio" on a rainbow. The geometrical instruments, held by "Giuditio" and Cosimo

respectively, signify that they know how to measure and therefore how to judge things correctly.⁵⁹ Ultimately this iconography refers to the Last Judgment where Christ frequently appears on a rainbow.⁶⁰ Both Cosimo I and Charles II were likened to Christ in order to suggest the infallibility of their judgment. Although Verrio's painting was destroyed in 1828, the central portrait of Charles II was preserved as a fragment.⁶¹ It is therefore certain that the king himself took the position of Christ as Judge.

In the coved ceiling above the altar Christ's tomb was represented (fig. 1).⁶² The ceiling paintings of the resurrected Christ and of Charles as Judge thus seemed to form a continuous narrative that illustrated the following lines of the Anglican creed:

He suffered death and was buried.
On the third day he rose again
in accordance with the Scriptures;
he ascended into heaven
and is seated at the right hand of the Father.
He will come again in glory to judge the living
and the dead,
and his kingdom will have no end.

The notion of an almost Christ-like king was reinforced by the large wall painting in the chapel which depicted Christ as healer (fig. 3).⁶³ Throughout his reign Charles II demonstrated his divinely sanctioned status by healing the sick. When the king was at Windsor Castle, this ceremony took place in the royal chapel.⁶⁴ As Anna Keay has pointed out, Verrio's wall painting created a visual parallel between the king as healer and Christ as healer.⁶⁵

The corresponding painting on the long wall of St George's Hall is only known through descriptions and a loosely sketched drawing.⁶⁶ It represented a triumphal procession of the so-called Black Prince, the son of King Edward III who had founded the Order of the Garter. The prince was shown bringing the vanquished kings of France and Scotland before the throne of his father.⁶⁷ Read as a pair, the two large wall paintings pointed to two different aspects of the monarchy: on the one hand its military duties, on the other hand the spiritual duties of the king as healer. This juxtaposition alluded to the two offices of the king as secular ruler and supreme governor of the Anglican church.

The privileged spiritual position of the king was reflected in the liturgy in that he received communion alone, apart from the rest of the congregation.⁶⁸ Verrio's altarpiece de-



Fig. 5 | Bernardino Poccetti, Allegory of the rule of Cosimo I de' Medici. Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Sala di Bona, ceiling painting. Florence, Gabinetto fotografico degli Uffizi

picting the Last Supper highlighted precisely this ceremony of communion. The altar that stood beneath the painting was enclosed by rails in order to mark the sanctity of that space.⁶⁹ In this context it is interesting to read the polemical treatise *Altare Christianum* by John Pocklington, one of the chaplains of King Charles I. He stressed the dignity of the altar by calling it “the Saviour’s Chaire of State upon Earth.”⁷⁰ The parallel between altar and throne is even

more explicit in a paragraph in which Pocklington informs his readers about divine services at Windsor Castle: the Author sees the Kings most sacred Majesty, and the honourable Lords of the most noble Order of the Garter, performe most low and humble reverence to Almighty God before the most holy Altar, the Throne in earth of that great Lord, from whom their honour proceedeth.⁷¹

Although Pocklington's text pre-dates Verrio's work, it helps us recognize that this painting represents more than the Last Supper. It shows Christ enthroned among his apostles, visualizing the role of the altar as Christ's throne on earth. As is evident from the ground plan (fig. 2), the altar in the chapel was placed directly opposite the king's throne in St George's Hall, thus establishing a further and highly significant link between the two spaces. When the doors were thrown open, both structures were visible at the same time.

Unfortunately there exists no image that documents the original form of the throne.⁷² Charles Wild's watercolour (fig. 4) shows St George's Hall after the installation of the organ loft in 1805.⁷³ It cut right across the columns on either side of the throne. We can easily see that the painted columns were originally just as tall as the pilasters on the side walls. The king's throne was therefore framed by giant columns just like the altar.⁷⁴ Moreover these columns flanked an apse-like niche as indicated by the concave cornice.

Just as the Lord seemed to sit in the centre of a painted apse (fig. 1), the king, too, was originally enthroned in a monumental painted niche. Verrio thus quoted the architectural vocabulary of the ancient basilica.⁷⁵ In antiquity the apse of the basilica had been the seat of the secular judge and ruler. In Constantine's time this structure was adapted for churches in order to stress the parallel between Christ and ruler⁷⁶ – a parallel forcefully restated at Windsor Castle.

Seen in this perspective, the pictorial programme of the chapel did not convey a pro-Catholic but rather a political message. Charles II intended to rival the continental monarchs on two levels: by choosing a continental style and by promoting a continental ideal of absolute rulership. The pictorial programme suggested that Charles was second only to Christ and certainly not accountable to Parliament.⁷⁷ Thus the dissolution of Parliament and Verrio's designs for Windsor Castle were not only contemporary, but also closely linked to each other.

Notes

- 1 MacKean 1999, 107, note 8; De Giorgi 2009, 105. I would like to thank Dr. Lydia Hamlett for referring me to MacKean's unpublished PhD thesis which is based on a thorough examination of the available archival documentation. On the events surrounding the commission see Strunck 2019, 76-81.
- 2 An expanded German version of this text is due to be published in Strunck 2019a (forthcoming). At the conference "Connecting across Europe? Ceiling Painting and Interior Design at the Courts of Europe around 1700" (Hannover-Herrenhausen, 13.-15.9.2018) I examined Verrio's surviving paintings in the queen's apartment and focused on his reception of continental models. The proceedings are yet to be published. A closer analysis of the royal apartments will be undertaken in the course of my three-year research project "Art and Crisis: Transnational and Interconfessional Translation Processes in the Visual Arts and Architecture in Great Britain, 1625-1727" funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (2018-2021).
- 3 On iconoclasm introduced under Edward VI see Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 35; Wand 1961, 18f.; Ridley 1962, 262-265; Yates 2000, 23; Humphreys 2001, 23-26. The question as to how even religious book illustrations were suspected of inciting idolatry is treated by Davis 2014, 167-182. On the religiously motivated destruction of candlesticks, organs, pictures and stained glass in churches as well as the simplification of the liturgy during the English Civil War, cf. Packer 1969, 1-14; Thurley 2002, 248-250. Specifically on the prohibition of candlesticks, see Staley 1902, vol. 1, 94.
- 4 Quotation from Haynes 2006, 124.
- 5 In some locations isolated tapestries, reliefs or figurative paintings were to be found (for example, representations of Moses and Aaron), but this remained the exception. Cf. Staley 1902, vol. 1, 95, 98; Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 139, 156-161; Haynes 2006, 1, 96-100, 103-105, 112, 130-133, fig. 36, 38, 39; Morel 2013, 71-77. Many of the examples cited by Haynes are dated after Verrio's decoration of the Royal Chapel at Windsor Castle. On the arguments against religious images, cf. Haynes 2006, 106-108, 128f. as well as Haynes 2012, 63f. Religious pictures were only rejected in religious spaces while they were considered perfectly acceptable in private collections. On this see Williams 2003, 159-200; Haynes 2006, 74-101.
- 6 Quotation from Haynes 2006, 122. The introduction of Barlow's statement paraphrased a parliamentary order from the House of Commons dated 9.5.1644: "all representations of any persons of the Trinity, or of any Angel or Saint, in or about any Cathedral, Collegiate or parish Church, or Chapel, or in any open place within this Kingdome, shall be taken away, defaced and utterly demolished." Quotation from Morel 2013, 72.
- 7 Colvin et al. 1976, 326, dated the chapel paintings to 1680-1682.
- 8 Burchard 2011, 99, note 2. According to Gibson 1998, 31, the destruction occurred before 1828.
- 9 On an oil painting signed by Verrio which depicts the mural on the long wall of the chapel, see Brett 2010, 89. Wild's watercolour was made for reproduction in William Henry Pyne's three-volume description of *Royal Residences* and published in Pyne 1819, vol. 1, 179. The payment documents are collected in Colvin et al. 1976, 325f. as well as in Hope 1918, vol. 1, 322. On guides and the reports of John Evelyn and Celia Fiennes cf. Ashmole 1719, vol. 3, 119; Bickham 1742, 153-159; Les Delices de

- Windsore 1755, 32f.; Bray 1818, vol. 1, 569; St. John Hope 1918, vol. 1, 345, note 54; Colvin et al. 1976, 326; Morris 1995, 218.
- 10 Thurley 2002, 265f.
- 11 The stylistic innovations that Verrio brought to England have been repeatedly discussed in the secondary literature, without however emphasizing the problem of his religious paintings. On this see Croft-Murray 1962, vol. 1, 236-242; Haskell 1963, 196; Johns 2013, 84; Solkin 2015, 8-10; Johns 2016, 153-176; Bird 2018, 187-189.
- 12 Keay 2008, 191-194; De Giorgi 2009, 108; Brett 2010, 89; Burchard 2011, 114-116.
- 13 Haynes 2006, 114ff., 122, 134; Johns 2009, 511ff.
- 14 On the contemporary regard for Charles I as a "martyr" cf. Ashmole 1719, vol. 3, 159, 202; Keay 2008, 163; Stevenson 2013, 192. On the construction of Charles's image as a martyr see especially Stegmann 2006, 49-107.
- 15 Keay 2008, 65f., 146f.; Thurley 2002, 256.
- 16 On Henrietta Maria as a leading figure of Catholic culture in Great Britain cf. Veevers 1989, 75-109, 150-207; Stedman 2013, 23-62; Thurley 2002, 245-248, 257f.; Morton 2017, 172-201.
- 17 Wyndham 1976, 38; Keay 2008, 162; Stevenson 2013, 190; Sharpe 2013, 218-222.
- 18 Keay 2008, 163.
- 19 Keay 2008, 160f.; Sharpe 2013, 235-238.
- 20 Wyndham 1976, 41; Keay 2008, 165; Stevenson 2013, 274.
- 21 On public criticism of Charles's pro-French leanings see Stedman 2013, 63-107.
- 22 Wyndham 1976, 41; Stevenson 2013, 183-185.
- 23 Stevenson 2013, 274. The Act was withdrawn well before James's wedding, but the pope-burning was staged nevertheless.
- 24 Keay 2008, 163. This meant that the king's brother lost his charge as admiral of the royal fleet: cf. Dolman, Souden and Fyman 2012, 43.
- 25 Wyndham 1976, 64; Scott 1990, 107-131; Keay 2008, 183-185; Morton 2017, 184-191.
- 26 Stevenson 2013, 223.
- 27 Wyndham 1976, 90-100; Glassey 2011.
- 28 Claydon 2007, 223-240; Keay 2008, 186f.
- 29 Wyndham 1976, 117; Keay 2008, 204-206.
- 30 Colvin et al. 1976, 326; Hope 1918, vol. 1, 322.
- 31 Thurley 2002, 269, emphasizes that "his throne relied on Anglicanism". This can be further supported by a declaration by Charles II that was published in 1683 in the *London Gazette*: "We Manifested to all Our Subjects Our Zeal for the Maintenance of the Protestant Religion, and Our Resolution to Govern according to Law" (*The London Gazette*, no. 1848, 2.-6.8.1683, p. 1.) The new decoration of the Whitehall chapel is treated by Thurley 1999, 116-118, and Thurley 2002, 263-266.
- 32 Thurley 2002, 268f.
- 33 Thurley 2002, 269.
- 34 Thurley 2002, 269.
- 35 Keay 2008, 154. This passage is not related to Windsor but rather generally to the "royal chapel", although it may likely be applied to Windsor.
- 36 Keay 2008, 155f.
- 37 Thurley 2002, 266, points out that there is no evidence for an "exceptional" liturgy in the chapel or in this period.
- 38 Verrio's ceiling paintings in the newly redecorated state rooms represented the foundations of Charles's state – among them his support for the Anglican faith. An eighteenth-century description of the painting (which is no longer extant) on the ceiling of the king's audience chamber records its appearance: "On the Ceiling is represented the Establishment of pure Religion in these Nations, on the Restoration of King Charles II [i. e. after his return from exile in 1660] in the Characters of England, Scotland, and Ireland, attended by Faith, Hope, Charity, and the Cardinall Virtues; Religion triumphs over Superstition and Hypocrisy, which are drove by Cupids from before the face of the Church; all which appear in proper attitudes, and the whole highly finished." (Les Delices de Windsor 1755, 26.)
- 39 Tenison 1678. A short reference to Tenison's Text can be found (in another context) in Haynes 2012, 82, where however, no connection is made to Windsor Castle. Haynes describes Tenison as "strongly anti-Catholic" and implies that he viewed art as dangerous. See also Gibson-Wood 1993, 232, and Johns 2009, 511.
- 40 Carpenter 1948.
- 41 Keay 2008, 150f.
- 42 Tenison 1678, The Epistle Dedicatory, unpaginated.
- 43 Colvin et al. 1976, 313-341; De Giorgi 2009, 105-111; Burchard 2011, 102-107; Bird 2018, 187-189.
- 44 Verrio was probably born in Lecce in 1636 and seems to have received his artistic training in Naples, Rome and Florence before he moved to Toulouse in 1666 and finally to Paris (in about 1670/71). There is no documentation to indicate who invited him to England (where he arrived in the spring of 1672), but the most likely candidates are Ralph Montague and Henry Bennett, the Earl of Arlington. Cf. De Giorgi 2009, 43-104; Jacobsen 2012, 117-159.
- 45 Keay 2008, 190: "The decision to reconstruct these rooms [sc.: the chapel royal and the great hall of the castle] had been taken before 1678; by the summer of 1680 structural work was largely complete and the decoration was being looked to." Cf. Colvin et al. 1976, 326.
- 46 Tenison 1678, The Epistle Dedicatory, unpaginated.
- 47 Tenison 1678, 277.
- 48 Tenison 1678, 315.
- 49 Tenison 1678, 317f.
- 50 Tenison 1678, 382f.
- 51 Tenison 1678, 384.
- 52 The literature on this work points out the similarity to the spiral columns in Raphael's *Healing of the Lame Man* and interprets the scene as a generic "healing Christ". (Brett 2010, 89; Keay 2008, 193.) It has not yet been observed that this event - in contrast to the scene depicted by Raphael, in which the protagonists are Peter and John - takes place not in front of the Temple of Jerusalem, but rather in a portico surrounding the Pool of Bethesda. In the centre of the picture Christ commands a lame man to: "Stand, take your bed and go!" To the right of Christ a healed man appears, in the act of carrying his bed (John 5:8). The events at the Pool of Bethesda were an especially popular subject for church painting, particularly in southern Italy. Antonio Verrio, who began his career in Naples, certainly knew Giovanni Lanfranco's monumental depiction of the so-called *Probatica piscina* and had himself painted a similar healing miracle. (De Dominicis 1844, vol. 3, 378f.; Schleier 2001, 47-50; Pagano 2001, 16.) It is therefore possible that the suggestion of choosing a multi-figure healing miracle for the long side of the chapel came from the painter himself.
- 53 Tenison 1678, 277.
- 54 Haynes 2006, 112-120, discusses a controversy over religious images in All Hallows Barking in London (1681-1682) that ended with the vic-

tory of the iconophiles' party. In his text of 1678 (although this is not cited by Haynes) Tenison therefore treated a subject which was first relevant at the court and shortly afterward in the capital and society at large. Haynes also cites a similar conflict over images in churches in the Archdiocese of Canterbury in 1685: *ibid.* 121–123. See also Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 161. The chapel decoration in Chatsworth (1688–1693) represents a very early case of the reception of the figurative programme in Windsor Chapel: Ambrose, Hirst and Porter 2016, 37.

55 Keay 2008, 190–193; Burchard 2011, 114–116. Colvin et al. 1976, 327 gives the date 1680–1683. Gibson offers the later date (without documentation) of 1682–1684: Gibson 1998, 30. In the Baroque period the size of both rooms was equalized, underlining their symmetrical relationship: Burchard 2011, 104.

56 Gibson 1998, 30.

57 On Verrio's Tuscan sojourn see Brett 2009, 4; De Giorgi 2010, 37.

58 Cf. Gregori 2005, 271; Strunck 2017, 518–520. Gibson 1998, 35, referred to Ripa's allegory (and to the iconography of "Christ the Judge") in passing without however recognizing the ceiling painting at the Pitti Palace as Verrio's model and without linking this observation to the iconography of the chapel.

59 Langedijk 1981, vol. 1, 139–174, especially 158–161.

60 Rother 1992, 22–29; Lee and Fraser 2001, 43–51. For evidence of this medieval iconography in the eighteenth century see Bauer-Wild 1992, 65–70.

61 Gibson 1998, 31f.

62 This detail, which is clearly seen in Wild's watercolour (fig. 1), is confirmed by Bickham 1742, 153, and Pyne 1819, 179.

63 Brett 2010, 89.

64 Keay 2008, 192.

65 Keay 2008, 192f.

66 The drawing was published by Gibson 1998, 30, 35 (detail).

67 Bickham 1742, 168f.; Les Delices de Windsor 1755, 30; Pyne 1819, 179.

68 Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 137; Keay 2008, 69.

69 The question of the placement of the altar in Anglican churches was deeply controversial in the seventeenth century. Puritan communities favoured a wooden, movable "communion table", around which all the believers could gather for Communion. Bishop Laud and the supporters of a more formal ("High Church") liturgy wanted to see the altar surrounded by fixed barriers or "rails". Cf. Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 25–34, 108–173; Wand 1961, 18f., 96–99; Packer 1969, 1–14; Yates 2000, 30–32, 41–43, 68f.; Thurley 2002, 238–274; Stevenson 2013, 279–284.

70 Pocklington 1637, 175. Cf. also Addleshaw and Etchells 1948, 139.

71 Pocklington 1637, 159.

72 For descriptions of the throne see Gibson 1998, 36.

73 Gibson 1998, 32.

74 The spiral columns flanking the altar were (just as the palm trees on the walls) probably meant as a visual reference to Solomon's temple in Jerusalem. Cf. Tuzi 2002; Weiß 2015, 204–206, 213–234.

75 Burchard 2011, 109.

76 Krautheimer 1986, 39–43.

77 In this he followed the example of his father Charles I, who had dissolved Parliament and commissioned Rubens to depict the English monarch's claim to absolute power on the ceiling of the Banqueting House in Whitehall Palace. Cf. Martin 2005, vol. 1, 95–103; Thurley 2008, 62f.; Martin 2011, 121–137.

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