

Styles of Sovereignty:
The Relevance of Louis XIV to English
Royal Iconography, 1689-1714.

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Short Abstract

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This thesis explores the influence of French royal image-making on English monarchies at the turn of the eighteenth century. It investigates the relevance of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) to English royal iconography during the reigns of William III (r. 1689-1702) and Queen Anne (r. 1702-1714) across a wide range of source material – from panegyric and portraiture, to medals, sculpture, and architecture. In doing so, it foregrounds the intricate interplay between political communication and different forms of artistic imagination in the early modern period.

The thesis conceptualises the relation between post-revolutionary English monarchical image-making and its French counterpart as one of contest with and emancipation from French influence. The specific political circumstances add a particular poignancy to the investigation of this narrative, as the almost continual crises which the English monarchy suffered at the time stand in sharp contrast with the (dynastic) stability of the French monarchy and its highly influential court culture. Despite these elements of rupture and contrast, however, the story of seventeenth-century English monarchical image-making is one of continuity in respect of its gradual disengagement from the French model. In contrast to his immediate predecessors, I contend, William's image-making presents him as Louis's competitor, rather than his imitator. In the course of William's reign, Louis's monarchical model thus turns from model to foil. This development evolves further in Queen Anne's reign, culminating in Louis's *mort avant la lettre*, as Anne's image-making dispenses with the Ludovican model both as model and as foil. English post-revolutionary image-making, I argue, not only mirrored, but actively contributed to the decline of the Ludovican model, whilst maintaining the figure of the monarch as central to public political discourse. Through the lens of monarchical image-making, therefore, this thesis offers a critical outlook onto late seventeenth-century Anglo-French political and artistic relations.

Long Abstract

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This thesis seeks to contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of Anglo-French relations in the wake of the 'Glorious' Revolution of 1688/9. It examines the relevance of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) to English royal iconography in the reigns of William III (r. 1689-1702) and Queen Anne (r. 1702-1714). The thesis argues that the period witnessed the progressive demise of Louis XIV as monarchical model in England – a demise that evolved in stages, from the exemplarity which the Ludovican model had assumed in earlier Stuart reigns to that of foil in William III's reign, before becoming all but virtually insignificant in the course of Queen Anne's reign.

While making a case for the decline of Louis's relevance, however, the thesis also draws attention to the fact that, for quite some time after the 'Glorious' Revolution, Louis XIV, and with him, French cultural models more generally remained pertinent to English monarchical image-making – albeit in a different way than previously. With a view to both William III and Queen Anne, this suggestion may initially seem odd: for one, it appears to be inconsistent with the increasingly anti-Jacobite and anti-French turn in the politics of the post-revolutionary decades – politics which William actively promoted to curb the threat Louis XIV's expansionist desires constituted for the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch territories and which Anne continued in the War of the Spanish Succession. Given William's position as Stadtholder in the ostensibly Republican Dutch provinces on the one hand, and Anne's direct descent from a dynasty that

invoked the doctrine of the divine right of kings on the other, one might expect the latter to at least partly appreciate the Ludovican model as exemplary and the former to treat it as foil at most. It is one of the aims of this thesis to revisit and revise preconceptions such as these in offering a new perspective on late-seventeenth-century Anglo-French relations.

One of the effects of such preconceptions is that remarkably little attention has been devoted to the significance which *ancien régime* France and its cultural models held in England in this post-revolutionary period. This holds true despite the existence of seminal studies on seventeenth-century French court culture and a renewed scholarly interest in the historiography of the reign of William and Mary, the Stuart Succession, and the politics of monarchy more generally. Even studies in (material) cultural history such as, for instance, that of Lisa Jardine,¹ focus more readily on the cultural relevance of the Dutch Republic to William's reign than on that of France; the relative scarcity of similar work on Anne's reign, in turn, (wrongly) suggests that it is an unprofitable angle to adopt in an investigation of the last Protestant Stuart monarch; and finally, scholars such as Friedrich Polleroß or, more recently, Hendrik Ziegler, who focus on the international relevance of the French royal image, home in on its relation with the Habsburg monarchies rather than those of William and Anne.² In this sense, too, this project responds to the need for a critical evaluation of French influence across the Channel at this time of mounting confessional and military opposition.

¹ Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London: HarperPress, 2008).

² Friedrich B. Polleroß, 'Sonnenkönig und österreichische Sonne: Kunst und Wissenschaft als Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 40 (1987), 239-56; 391-4 (p. 243); Hendrik Ziegler, *Der Sonnenkönig und seine Feinde: die Bildpropaganda Ludwigs XIV. in der Kritik*, Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2010), LXXIX.

The thesis aligns itself with the work of scholars such as Paula Diehl, who have persuasively argued that symbolical forms of expression – such as the ones that contribute to the royal image – are not merely aesthetic reflections of the political order, but an active construction thereof, and thus an integral element of political communication.³ Accordingly, the thesis contends that monarchical image-making in the reigns of William III and Queen Anne not only contributed to the symbolical demise of Louis XIV, but that it also directly impacted on his actual political and cultural relevance. It is important to clarify that terms such as ‘relevance’, ‘significance’, or ‘pertinence’ are value-free, and used as such in this inquiry; they do not imply that Louis XIV and his vision of his own sovereignty necessarily passed as model worth emulating; rather, these terms indicate that the figure of Louis XIV and his image-making had a place in the image-making of his two counterparts across the Channel. It is the central task of this thesis to elucidate the precise nature of this ‘place’. My reading of the relation between the monarchical models of Louis XIV, William III, and Queen Anne takes the logic of the endogenous scale of progression *imitari, æmulari, superare* as its guiding principle. I contend that by entering into a dialogue with the Ludovican image-campaign, William and those who contributed to his image-building adapted elements of French monarchical models to suit William’s own needs. In doing so, the Ludovican model and its role within English monarchical image-building transformed. The narratives generated on William’s behalf did not conceive of Louis XIV as unsurpassable exemplar; rather than a mere imitator, William became a competitor with the endeavour to outdo Louis XIV. I argue that this rhetoric then

³ Paula Diehl, ‘Symbolrecycling als politische Strategie. Das Beispiel von Herkules während der Französischen Revolution’, in *Ideenpolitik: geschichtliche Konstellationen und gegenwärtige Konflikte*, ed. by Harald Bluhm, Karsten Fischer, and Marcus Llanque (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), pp. 141–61.

transferred into Queen Anne's image-making and developed from a narrative of contention to one of supersession in the course of her reign. Monarchical image-making under Anne thus stabilized the incipient emancipation of the English monarchical self-conception elaborated under William. I show that it was in the course of Anne's reign that English monarchical image-building began to do without Louis XIV, and that his model lost its place. To do so, I focus my investigations on the ways in which monarchical aesthetics under William and Anne relate to their French counterpart on both a practical and a figurative level, that is in physical manifestations of their sovereignty through statues or building campaigns as well as through the appropriation and adaptation of classical allegories that are known for their history in ruler representation.

In its pursuit of this cross-national investigation, the thesis adopts an interdisciplinary approach. It draws together source material as well as research from across disciplines such as cultural and political history, literary and material studies as well as art history. In doing so, it seeks to overcome the concern that an analysis cannot but be deficient for lack of specific academic training in the respective disciplines. Instead, it makes a practical case for the argument that the restrictions which the artificial division into discrete disciplines inevitably imposes on our perception of the subject at hand hamper our ability to productively work towards an in-depth understanding of the early modern period in its full intricacy. The wide range of sources I rely on bears out this conviction. In exploring how the creative imagination generates and perpetuates a decidedly political narrative of emancipation through verse panegyric, architectural features, or medallion design, I hope to offer a sense of the multiplicity of political communication. I believe that at this point, it is both possible and desirable to approach the early modern era in this

way, not least because the topics of monarchical culture and image-making in seventeenth-century Europe have, as I indicated above, for a long time enjoyed sustained scholarly interest. Rather than continuing to delve ever deeper in the analysis of one type of source, or a single literary genre, I have endeavoured to follow the interdisciplinary work of scholars like Kevin Sharpe and Jean-Pierre Néraudau in order to explore the ‘lateral connections’ between these traditionally separate areas of study.⁴

This pursuit of ‘lateral connections’ also informs my effort to accommodate different national academic discourses. Certainly, as with the study of different types of sources, drawing together scholarship from a range of national traditions always remains – not least for linguistic reasons – a selection, and as such incomprehensive. Yet, the question of fragmentariness also applies to very deliberately limited studies of, say, a single literary genre in a specific period. The claim to scholarly comprehensiveness is illusory. The endeavour of charting the motivic similarities and dissimilarities across the various media affords, rather, a clearer and more ‘life-like’ impression of early modern political reality. A natural and essential consequence of this variety of sources is the readiness to include material irrespective of its supposed artistic ‘value’, that is to say regardless of whether it qualifies as product of ‘high’ or ‘low’ culture. Accordingly, the thesis explores works by renowned publicists and visual artists like Daniel Defoe, Antonio Verrio, or Christian Wermuth, by lesser contemporaries such as Matthew Morgan, as well as pieces without any authorial attribution. This lack of ‘value-driven’ discrimination acknowledges the process of monarchical image-making in

⁴ Esp. Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2013); Jean-Pierre Néraudau, *L’Olympe du roi-soleil: mythologie et idéologie royale au grand siècle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1986).

its ubiquity, and helps us to appreciate the composite and fluid nature of the generation, production, and reception of the monarchical image in this period.

Insofar as this thesis explores how the same message was communicated in different ways, through different media, and to different audiences, it analyses commissioned instances of monarchical self-representation, unsolicited image-building, and the interplay between them. As a consequence, it addresses the question of the agency, intentionality, and control that underlie monarchical image-building in the respective three reigns. I show that it is structurally above all in this respect that monarchical image-making in Ludovican France and post-revolutionary England differ as do, albeit to a lesser degree, William's and Anne's image-making with respect to one another. In its autocracy, the success of the Ludovican model of image-making relied on a twofold system of control: on the one hand, the artistic production in its entirety was so highly institutionalised and centralised that royal praise, and with it, a sanctioned vision of the monarchy could positively be 'produced'; on the other hand, the Ludovican institutional apparatus also clamped down on dissident and, as it were, 'anti-monarchical' propaganda, in particular as critical voices grew louder in the course of Louis's reign. By comparison, monarchical image-building in England was far less institutionalized and depended to a much larger extent on official (commissioned) and unofficial (unsolicited) contributions to the monarchical project alike. I will show that rather than a drawback, this increasing (and to some extent spontaneous) public participation in the discourse of royal praise and panegyric constituted an asset for the monarchy; as the contributions to the monarchical image and their origins diversified, the participation in its creation and perpetuation broadened, a development which, in turn, increased the public's investment in the monarchical

models of William and Anne respectively.

It will have emerged in the above outline of my project that one of the key challenges of this thesis consisted in determining a structure that would enable me to situate the narrative of Louis XIV's declining relevance to post-revolutionary monarchical image-making in England appropriately within the overall historical context, both political as well as artistic. The analysis follows a two-part structure which resembles a funnel in that it progresses from the macroscopic to the microscopic level: the introduction establishes and details the methodological and theoretical framework of the investigation. It acknowledges and critically engages with seminal as well as recent revisionist scholarship on the cultural and political landscape of the British Isles and France, most notably with the work of Sharpe and Néraudau as well as Lisa Jardine, Tony Claydon, Abigail Williams, and Peter Burke.⁵ The first part comprises two chapters, the second part three. Chapters 1 and 2 provide a critical evaluation of the challenges which William and Anne faced upon their respective accessions as well as a focused synthesis of the monarchical image-making of Louis XIV, which offers an insight into the practicalities of the Ludovican campaign, its ideological underpinnings, and its use of classical allegory. The second part begins by relating William's and Anne's monarchical image-making to the Ludovican model while paying particular attention to physical manifestations of the royal image, both permanent and ephemeral, as the areas that were most directly subordinate to the Crown; these include artistic commissions, royal building projects, public appearances as, for instance, touching for 'the king's evil', and the monarch's monumentalisation in statuary. Chapter 3

⁵ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*; Néraudau, *L'Olympe du roi-soleil*; Jardine, *Going Dutch*; Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004); Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture 1681-1714* (Oxford: OUP, 2005); Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1992).

also considers in how far the challenge of female sovereignty has an impact on the relevance of Louis XIV to Anne's image-building. Chapters 4 and 5, in turn, trace the use of certain classical and biblical allegories in the monarchs' panegyric, portraiture, and medal design. These allegories include the figures of Hercules and Apollo, Alexander the Great, Perseus, Jupiter and Neptune, as well as Minerva. Factors such as the 'symbolical' lineage of the allegory and the frequency of their occurrence across the different media and the image-campaigns more generally (or their conspicuous absence) determined their selection. The narrative which develops around these classical allegories then determined that the analysis would need to close by addressing the biblical figures of Joshua, St George, St Louis, Judith, and Deborah.

In developing the material for this section, I show the ways in which the allegorical narrative across the image-making of Louis XIV, William III, and Queen Anne unfolds, with one allegory picking up from and driving the narrative forward where the other had left off. This is where the 'independent existence' of these motifs is at its most tangible and also at its most noteworthy. It is impossible to impute a degree of intentionality or teleology to the way in which the coincidence of the allegories themselves compositely forms and perpetuates the narrative of Louis XIV's impending supersession. The fact that the narrative of the Ludovican demise lacks a single origin – whether it be a writer's pen, a painter's brush, or even a genre-specific trend – demonstrates that the emerging emancipation of the English monarchical image, and with it, that of the national collective was a ubiquitous phenomenon which permeated English society at the turn of the eighteenth century. It equally illustrates the extent to which the figure of the monarch (and competing visions of monarchy) had remained central to public

political discourse – despite the restrictions on royal prerogative imposed by the Bill of Rights (1688). In its own way, the thesis thereby demonstrates how the investigation of micro-histories and historical moments yields conclusions that shed light on and thus nuance our grasp of the early modern period and its politics more generally.

2, 495 words

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Notes on Spellings and Abbreviations

Original spellings have been preserved, except that the use of *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*, the long *s* (*f* or *ff*), and the ampersand (&) have been modernised.

The following abbreviations have been used for publishers and publications frequently cited:

CUP	Cambridge University Press
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OUP	Oxford University Press

Acknowledgments

In part, this thesis tells a story of delivery and emancipation. In many ways, its own genesis, too, has been such a story; and while the process of delivering ideas and delivering oneself of those ideas is frequently a solitary one, this thesis could not have been written without the encouragement and support, academic and personal, of many. I would like to take this opportunity to thank a number of those who have helped me to persevere in this endeavour and steadfastly tolerated the adverse effects which it has had on my social skills.

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Introduction

Across the Humanities, interest in the relationship between politics, art, and literature has grown in the wake of the cultural turn of the 1970s when scholars began to centre their debates on the notion of culture;¹ with it, the study of monarchy in its political, institutional, and cultural dimensions has thrived. Publications, broadcasts, and exhibitions attest to an unabated, if not increasing, scholarly as well as popular interest in questions about the construction of royal authority, the performativity of kingship, and the societal impact of court culture.² Owing to their historical prominence and the latter's longevity, the French and British monarchies in particular have commanded our attention. Accordingly, the field of early modern studies boasts a range of classic and seminal contributions on the subject of monarchical image-making in the *ancien régime*.³ It also enjoys a

¹ By way of further context for this epistemological shift, see for instance Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, 'Introduction', in *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*, ed. by Lynn Hunt, Victoria E. Bonnell, and Richard Biernacki, Studies on the History of Society and Culture; 34 (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 1–34; William H. Sewell, 'The Concept(s) of Culture', in *ibid.*, pp. 35–61.

² For a selection of recent broadcasts and exhibitions that are pertinent to the remit of this thesis, see *Monarchy with David Starkey* (Channel 4, 2004–7), esp. season 3, episodes 1–3; *Fit to Rule? How Royal Illness Changed History* (BBC 2, 2013), esp. episodes 1–2; *The First Georgians* (BBC 4, 2014); *How to Get Ahead* (BBC 4, 2016), episode 3 'At Versailles'; 'The Glorious Georges' (Hampton Court Palace, 2014); 'Triumph and Disaster: Medals of the Sun King' (British Museum, London, 4 June until 15 November 2015); 'Images du grand siècle: l'estampe française sous Louis XIV, 1660–1715' (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, 3 November 2015 until 31 January 2016).

³ For a selection of pertinent publications, see Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1992); Nicole Ferrier-Caverivière, *L'Image de Louis XIV dans la littérature française, de 1660 à 1715* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1981); Mark Jones, *Medals of the Sun King* (London: British Museum Publications, 1979); 'The Medal as an Instrument of Propaganda in Late 17th and Early 18th Century Europe. Part 1', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 142 (1982), 117–26; 'The Medal as an Instrument of Propaganda in Late 17th and Early 18th Century Europe. Part 2', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 143 (1983), 202–13; Louis Marin, *Le Portrait du roi, Sens commun* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1981); Jean-Pierre Néraudau, *L'Olympe du roi-soleil: mythologie et idéologie royale au grand siècle* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986); Gérard Sabatier, 'La Gloire du roi. Iconographie de Louis XIV de 1661 à 1672', *Histoire, économie et société*, Louis XIV et la construction de l'état royal (1661–1672), 19.4 (2000), 527–60; 'Ikonomographische Programme und Legitimation der königlichen Autorität in Frankreich im 17. Jahrhundert', in *Staatsbildung als kultureller Prozess: Strukturwandel und Legitimation von Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by Ronald G. Asch and Dagmar Freist (Köln: Böhlau, 2005), pp. 255–90; Pierre Zoberman, 'Généalogie d'une image: l'éloge spéculaire', *XVIIe Siècle*, 146 (1985), 79–92; Académie

renewed scholarly interest in seventeenth-century English court culture and the Stuart Succession.⁴ Moreover, scholars have increasingly transcended disciplinary and geographical boundaries and begun to investigate processes of cultural transfer and exchange. The recent work of Lisa Jardine, Helmer Helmers, Tony Claydon, Charles-Edouard Levillain, and Gesa Stedman is representative of this kind.⁵ In spite of this trend, however, researchers have devoted little attention to the comparative dimensions of monarchical image-making in the period. The relationship between post-revolutionary English and French monarchical image-making, for instance, has not been at the heart of any sustained research project.

The present thesis addresses this gap in our understanding of the past. It offers a critical evaluation of the significance which French cultural models held across the Channel at a time of mounting confessional and political opposition between 1689 and 1714. It explores how William III and Queen Anne as well as their image-makers and panegyrists entered into a dialogue with Louis XIV's

française and Pierre Zoberman, *Les Panégyriques du roi prononcés dans l'Académie française* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1991); Pierre Zoberman, 'Eloquence and Ideology: Between Image and Propaganda', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric*, 18.3 (2000), 295–320.

⁴ For a selection of pertinent publications, see for example Andrew McRae and Paulina Kewes, 'The Stuart Successions Project (AHRC, Universities of Exeter and Oxford)' <<http://stuartsexeter.ac.uk/>> [accessed 22 October 2015]; Robert O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993); Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004); Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake, eds, *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993); Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000); 'Sacralization and Demystification. The Publicization of Monarchy in Early Modern England', in *Mystifying the Monarch Studies on Discourse, Power, and History*, ed. by Jeroen Deploige and Gita Deneckere ([Amsterdam]: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), pp. 99–116; *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2010); *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2013); Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture 1681-1714* (Oxford: OUP, 2005).

⁵ Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland's Glory* (London: HarperPress, 2008); Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639-1660* (Cambridge: CUP, 2015); Tony Claydon and Charles-Édouard Levillain, *Louis XIV outside in: Images of the Sun King beyond France, 1661-1715* (Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015); Gesa Stedman, *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

image-campaign, and, in doing so, interacted with elements of French monarchical models and adapted them to suit their own political needs. I propose to conceive of this interaction in terms of the endogenous discursive concept of *imitari*, *æmulari*, *superare*, which roughly translates as ‘imitate, emulate, supersede’. The Italian Renaissance humanist Lorenzo Valla first verbalized this triad.⁶ It describes a scale of progression that came to be considered essential for cultural and civic advancement at the time. It also corresponds to the path of artistic training established in the period, which followed the stages of imitation, emulation, and invention.⁷

In modern scholarship, this concept has retained its place in the fields of history of art and architecture as well as Renaissance studies. It enjoys particular currency within germanophone academic discourse.⁸ As I will show, monarchical image-making under William and Anne can productively be read alongside its Stuart predecessors via this distinctive discursive mode. Crucially, it did not stand still; rather, it followed on from its precedents, redefined the Anglo-French relationship as it had previously impacted on Stuart monarchical image-building. It thus left behind *imitari*, the level of mere replication to focus rather on emulating and even superseding the Ludovican model. This essential progress, I argue, took place in William’s reign as the quality of Anglo-French relations began to change

⁶ Cf. Lorenzo Valla, ‘Oratio habita in principio sui studii die 18 octobris 1455’, in *Opera omnia*, ed. by Eugenio Garin, ‘Monumenta politica et philosophica rariora’ ex optimis editionibus phototypice expressa; ser. 1, no. 5-6, 2 vols (Torino: Bottega d’Erasmus, 1962), II, 281–86.

⁷ Cf. David Mayernik, *The Challenge of Emulation in Art and Architecture: Between Imitation and Invention*, Ashgate Studies in Architecture Series (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 19.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.* as well as Andrea Ammendola, *Polyphone Herrschermessen (1500-1650): Kontext und Symbolizität: mit zahlreichen Notenbeispielen* (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2013), pp. 38–49; Marion Philipp, *Ehrenpforten für Kaiser Karl V.: Festdekorationen als Medien politischer Kommunikation* (Berlin: Lit, 2011), p. 36; Ulrich Pfisterer and Jan-Dirk Müller, ‘Der allgegenwärtige Wettstreit in den Künsten der Frühen Neuzeit’, in *Aemulatio: Kulturen des Wettstreits in Text und Bild (1450-1620)*, ed. by Jan-Dirk Müller and others (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 1–32 (p. 20); Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*, Elizabethan Club Series; 7 (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 58-9, 78-9.

fundamentally. In conceiving of William as competitor rather than imitator of Louis XIV, Williamite image-building was unlike its predecessors. It paved the way for the emancipation of the English monarchical self-image. It even succeeded to such extent that, by the reign of Queen Anne, monarchical image-building had begun to abandon the discourse of an active competition for that of supersession. In her reign, English monarchical image-making no longer had to establish a sense of assumed superiority vis-à-vis its French counterpart; instead, it had to consolidate a monarchical (and national) self-conception for England that had begun to grow into its own in the course of William's reign. The elaboration of this perspective motivates the focus in this thesis on partisan monarchical rather than, as it were, libellous anti-monarchical image-making. I will nonetheless acknowledge oppositional counter-narratives and strategic misreading where appropriate. This is particularly relevant since, with the accession of Anne, a strand of anti-Williamite dissident propaganda transforms into a legitimate narrative of royal praise in Anne's reign, and thus properly enters the scope of this study.

The remainder of this introductory chapter serves several purposes: it sets out the methodological considerations which underlie the thesis, situates its inquiry in more detail within the field of early modern scholarship, and discusses theoretical approaches to image (re)use. The introduction also presents a terminological toolkit available for the study of image-making, points to its potential ambiguities, and clarifies its usage for this thesis to the greatest extent possible. It moreover considers the most central practical challenges of early modern monarchical image-building. To this end, I address matters of agency and intentionality behind the use of the individual images, their communicative value as opinion-making

devices, their circulation and intended audiences, as well as the relevance of public opinion in late-seventeenth-century England and France. While these aspects affect the process of image-making in the first place, it is crucial to bear in mind that they also ultimately impact on our study thereof.

With these scholarly, conceptual, and practical parameters set in place, the first part of the thesis discusses the political and cultural framework within which the monarchical image-making of William III (r. 1689-1702), Queen Anne (r. 1702-14), and Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) took place. Chapter 1 explores the accession of William III and Queen Anne, respectively, in the light of the preceding and current crises that affected the English monarchy. In this context, I also broach the iconographic resonances of gender, and with it, the challenges of female sovereignty. Chapter 2 complements these remarks by providing an insight into Louis XIV's monarchical image, its making and reach as well as the role which the selected classical allegories assumed in the French campaign. In establishing the stakes of William's and Anne's reigns as well as the guiding principles of Ludovican image-making, this first part functions as contextual backbone for the second. It is essential for the analysis insofar as it grounds the image-making choices and practices in question in their contemporary political reality. This in turn will enable me to offer a more balanced in-depth analysis of the relation between English and French practices of monarchical image-making, which acknowledges its political exigencies as well as its coincidental dimension.

The second part of the thesis relates English and French practices of the monarchical image-making in the reigns of William III, Queen Anne, and Louis XIV to one another in more detail and critically assesses the relevance of Ludovican image-building practices in the English context post-1688. To this end, it

progresses from a macroscopic to a microscopic perspective. Chapter 3 considers the respective image-making practices at their most tangible and corporeal; that is to say, it investigates the monarchs' building projects along with their artistic commissions more generally, as well as the monarchs' accessibility through their public participation in rituals and ceremonies as well as through public statuary. In this context, I also consider the significance of public agency and the notion of monarchical *gloire* (and its pursuit) in the respective image-building processes. Chapters 4 and 5 in turn home in on the level of close reading. They examine the role of allegories in the monarchical image-building of William, Anne, and Louis in writing, painting, and medal design. The focus in these chapters lies on the rediscovery, reinvention, and adaptation of allegorical models that are known for their established motivic history in ruler representation. For reasons of scope, I concentrate on exploring the ways in which monarchical image-making draws on classical allegories in particular, in order to generate and enhance narratives of dynastic legitimacy, royal authority, and monarchical achievement.⁹ I also reflect on the motivations which underlie the use of certain allegories and discuss why some may figure more prominently in one image-campaign than in another. From within the range of allegories that occur in the material I have surveyed, I have selected the following sub-set of allegories for closer examination: Hercules, Jupiter, Pallas Athena, Neptune and Apollo, Alexander the Great as well as Perseus

⁹ To depict rulers as and identify them with representative mythological and historical figures of heroic grandeur is a long-established and continually evolving cultural practice. For work on the motivic history of allegories pertinent to this inquiry, see for instance Antje Heissmeyer, 'Apoll und der Apollonkult seit der Renaissance' (Eberhard-Karls-Universität zu Tübingen, 1967), pp. 2–33, 80–81, 90–109; Olga Palagia, *Imitation of Herakles in Ruler Portraiture: A Survey, from Alexander to Maximinus Daza* (Münster: s. n., 1986); Marc René Jung, *Hercule dans la littérature française du XVIIe siècle: de l'Hercule courtois à l'Hercule baroque*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 79 (Genève: Droz, 1966); Christian Biet, 'Une légende en constitution. 1589-1610', in *Henri IV, La vie, la légende*. (Paris: Larousse, 2000), pp. 144-93; Chantal Grell and Christian Michel, *L'École des princes, ou, Alexandre disgracié: essai sur la mythologie monarchique de la France absolutiste* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1988).

and Andromeda. The guiding criteria for this choice include the allegories' symbolic 'lineage', and the frequency of their occurrence (or their conspicuous absence) in different media, or in English or French image-making more generally. An equally important parameter was the question as to whether or not an allegory that occurred in the English context functions as complement to one established in the French image-campaign.

The thesis synthesizes literary and historical approaches. Its ambition is to explore the ways in which established images and their connotations are revived, adapted to new contexts, put to another communicative purpose, or spun to elicit a novel association, and in discovering how they function, intentionally as well as unintentionally, in relation to one another. Investigating the allegorical dimension of monarchical image-making does not only shed light on contemporary ruler ideals and wishful projections; it also offers concrete insights into the confessional, party-political, and ideological dimensions of these ideals, and by extension, of early modern kingship and its representatives. As the analysis traces the process of established images being put to new service and equipped with new significance, it charts an iconographical evolution, which sees the allegories increasingly inscribed in a discourse that is primed both denominationally and nationally. In fact, various instances of image-making begin to conjure up a contingent relationship between the original pagan allegories under discussion and biblical ones; this shift commences in the latter years of William III's reign and becomes particularly characteristic of monarchical image-making under Queen Anne. The concluding chapter accordingly considers this iconographical shift and indicates how more overtly biblical and national motifs relate back to or derive from the revived mythological ones. The most pertinent biblical as well as nationally primed

allegories in this context include Joshua, Judith and Deborah as well as Saint Louis and Saint George.

Approach, Method, and Models

Monarchical image-making evolves in relation to the historical moment. Periods of crisis are particularly remarkable in so far as they pose extraordinary practical and conceptual challenges to the established political order. The political order, and with it, in turn, monarchical image-making need to acknowledge, negotiate, and manage these challenges. Accordingly, this thesis takes moments of crisis and change as its respective starting and end points: the accession of William of Orange and Mary Stuart, on the one hand, and the death of Queen Anne, the last Stuart monarch, on the other. Following the execution of Charles I (1649) and the restoration of Charles II (1660), the 'Glorious' Revolution (1688/9) and the ensuing accession of William and Mary constitute the third caesura in the reign of the House of Stuart. As such, they mark a defining moment in the crisis of the English monarchy more generally, as well as a significant change in Anglo-French relations. The death of the childless Queen Anne in turn offers a plural sense of closure as an end date for the investigation: in the English context, it demarcates the end of a reign as well as the end of the Protestant Stuart line. It leads to the advent of the Hanoverian dynasty on the British throne, and is as such an unmistakable indication of the rupture with succession by statute in favour of succession by common law. In the French context, with the death of Louis XIV in 1715, it falls close to the end of both another reign and the end of an era of French supremacy more generally.

The thesis examines monarchical image-building across both William's and

Anne's reign, but it devotes more space to the former; despite this quantitative difference, the inclusion of Anne's monarchical image-making is essential to its argument. It is this inclusion which helps to reveal that the development of monarchical image-building in England and its relation with the French image-campaign can productively be read in terms of the triadic scale of progression *imitari, æmulari, superare*. Considering William and Anne alike moreover highlights that the domestic challenges of their respective reigns affected the place of French monarchical image-making in English (and after 1707, British) monarchical image-making in different ways. During Anne's reign, monarchical image-making diversified: on the one hand, it carried forward the narrative of monarchy that had been generated under William; on the other hand, an earlier anti-Williamite (and hence dissident) narrative developed into the officially sanctioned discourse of royal praise. At the same time, each of these two narratives contributes to the emancipation of English monarchical image-making vis-à-vis its French counterpart.

France and, most notably, Louis XIV's image-campaign commend themselves as a pertinent point of comparison in three respects. One concerns the change in the bilateral relations of England and France; the second regards the broader European political and cultural landscape; the third is simply temporal in nature insofar as Louis XIV was a contemporary of both William and Anne – as well as of their predecessors. On a macroscopic level therefore, his longevity (1638-1715) and the permanence of his reign (r. 1643-1715) make of Louis a stable point of reference. However, it is important to acknowledge that this bird's eye view comes at the calculated risk of brushing over the microscopic level of French domestic politics and thereby levelling the challenges within Louis XIV's reign.

As regards Anglo-French relations, it is clear that, with the demise of James II and the accession of William and Mary, a confessional (and hence also political) rift between the English and French monarchy developed. Until then, the bilateral relations had been reasonably amiable: marital links between the two dynasties were close. Phillippe of Orléans, Louis XIV's younger brother, had married Henrietta of England, Charles II's sister, in 1661. Their mother, Henrietta Maria, in turn, was French. Louis XIV had been in league with Charles II in the Franco-Dutch War (1672-8),¹⁰ and both Charles II and James II, whose claim Louis XIV now supported, had (from a French perspective) reassuringly Catholic leanings. With William's accession, however, English foreign policy aligned itself more closely with Protestant interests in general, and Dutch ones in particular. This meant mounting military action against Louis XIV whose territorial designs constituted a significant political threat to William's continental domains.

At the same time, France was still, criticism at home and abroad notwithstanding, at the apex of its cultural and political influence in the late 1680s. The country had risen to cultural and political supremacy after the decline of the Spanish Empire; during the early years of Louis XIV's reign, its court culture, artistic production, and military achievements had come to set the standard across Europe.¹¹ In many ways and places, the French model had been openly imitated, a circumstance on which Voltaire (1694-1778) eloquently comments in his overall account of the period:

Quel prince ne tâchait pas d'imiter Louis XIV? Quelle nation ne suivait pas alors les modes de la France? Vous m'apportez, milord, l'exemple du czar Pierre le Grand qui a fait naître les arts dans son pays, et qui est le créateur d'une nation nouvelle; vous me dites cependant que son siècle ne sera pas

¹⁰ Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-4)

¹¹ See T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe, 1660-1789* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), chap. 1.

appelé dans l'Europe le *Siècle du czar Pierre*; vous en concluez que je ne dois pas appeler le siècle passé le *Siècle de Louis XIV*. Il me semble que la différence est bien palpable. Le czar Pierre s'est instruit chez les autres peuples; il a porté leurs arts chez lui; mais Louis XIV a instruit les nations; tout, jusqu'à ses fautes, leur a été utile.¹²

He equally reminds his readers that this had also undoubtedly been the case in Stuart England, in particular under Charles II (r. 1660-1685): 'Et pensez vous que les Anglais même ne lui aient pas d'obligation? Dites-moi, je vous prie dans quelle cour Charles II puisa tant de politesse et tant de goût?'¹³

At first sight, the notion that France may have remained an influential force across the Channel jars with the progressive realignment of English foreign policy in the wake of the 'Glorious Revolution'.¹⁴ Not only does it appear to be inconsistent with the increasingly anti-Jacobite and anti-French turn in the politics of the period;¹⁵ it also seems counterintuitive given the growing criticism of Louis's meticulously staged glorification as commentators at home and abroad increasingly derided his claim to cultural and political supremacy.¹⁶ However, having taken leads from recent scholarship, I hope to demonstrate that the literary and artistic engagement with French monarchical image-making was in fact at its most conspicuous at this time of changing Anglo-French relations. The concurrence of crises – within the English monarchy, in the struggle of France to

¹² Voltaire, 'Lettre à Milord Hervey, Garde des sceaux d'Angleterre', in *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, ed. by René Pomeau, Œuvres Historiques (Paris: Gallimard, 1957), pp. 608–12 (pp. 609–10).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 610. In this context, cf. also John H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675-1725* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 15.

¹⁴ See Paul Langford, *Modern British Foreign Policy: The Eighteenth Century, 1688-1815* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1976), p. 29.

¹⁵ Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, pp. 1, 7.

¹⁶ On Louis in contemporary satire and on the declining efficacy of his image-campaign, see Burke, *The Fabrication*, chaps 8–10; Ferrier-Caverivière, *L'Image*, pp. 246–382. For a recent multifaceted assessment of the role of art in the Ludovican image-campaign as well as its international reception, cf. Hendrik Ziegler, *Der Sonnenkönig und seine Feinde: die Bildpropaganda Ludwigs XIV. in der Kritik*, Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2010), LXXIX; originally the author's *Habilitationsschrift*; subsequently also published in French as *Louis XIV et ses ennemis: image, propagande et contestation* (Paris; Versailles; Saint Denis: Centre allemand d'histoire de l'art; Centre de recherche du Château de Versailles; Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2013).

remain Europe's foremost power, and with a view to the deteriorating Anglo-French relations – does not supersede the question of French influence across the Channel post-1688; it adds, rather, further interest to its investigation.

This cross-national and comparative perspective goes back to the early plans for this research project. In this respect, the thesis follows in the footsteps of scholars such as Helmers, Jardine, and Sean Kelsey.¹⁷ Though my initial ambition of a comparative perspective *strictu senso* has given way to pragmatic considerations, the thesis maintains an Anglo-French perspective. It is, however, primarily concerned with a single direction of cultural transfer, and it may hence be seen as a reception study. My focus is Anglo-centric insofar as I explore the extent to which French practices of monarchical image-making affected and altered English ones. French responses to the use that publicists, writers, and visual artists in England made of French monarchical image-making, the reception of English monarchical culture in France, and their wider European resonances remain (here) largely unexplored. It is equally Anglo-centric with respect to the composite political nature of the British Isles in that I do not investigate how Scottish and Irish partisan interest groups affected and altered the monarchical image-making of William III and Queen Anne.

Despite these limitations, the cross-national, Anglo-French perspective of this investigation has considerable merits insofar as it elevates the topic of royal representation from its immediate, national, context. It will enable us to appraise monarchical image-making more clearly within the wider sphere of early modern European political culture. It will add to our understanding of monarchical image-

¹⁷ Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*; Jardine, *Going Dutch*; Sean Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth 1649-1653*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

building and political discourse in the latter decades of the rupturing Stuart dynasty. It will also further illuminate how the role of *ancien régime* France as cultural and political paragon changed around the turn of the eighteenth century. I argue that English monarchical image-making under William III and Queen Anne not only reflected this development, but contributed to the death of Louis XIV *avant la lettre*. In this sense, we will see that the emancipation of the English monarchical self-image and the progressive discredit of the French king as viable monarchical model were two faces of the same coin.

I enrich this comparative dimension by adopting an interdisciplinary approach, which builds on research findings from a variety of fields. These include cultural and political history, literary studies as well as history of art and architecture. Early modern monarchical image-making as well as French and English court culture are established areas of research. The reigns of Elizabeth I, Henri IV and Louis XIV, for instance, have generated a wealth of diverse and pioneering studies on image formation and early modern practices of image dissemination. Most commonly, however, these studies adopt a single disciplinary approach. They investigate monarchical image-making in one field, and within that, often in one discrete genre. In the preparation of this thesis, I have drawn on many studies of this kind. With regards to Louis XIV's image-making, most fundamental among these have been Nicole Ferrier-Caverivière's thorough exploration of the images of Louis XIV generated in contemporary panegyric and libellous literature,¹⁸ Pierre Zoberman's work on contemporary rhetorical strategies in ceremonial oratory, and the *éloge spéculaire* in particular,¹⁹ as well as pioneering numismatic

¹⁸ Ferrier-Caverivière, *L'Image*.

¹⁹ Pierre Zoberman, 'Généalogie d'une image'; 'Eloquence and Ideology'.

contributions on the medallic history of Louis XIV and on the role of medals in early modern monarchical image-making more generally.²⁰ The comparatively narrow focus of these studies allows their authors to devote considerably more space to image-making as an ‘enterprise’ and with that, to the *loci* of image production and dissemination, so that the study of image-making blends with that of institutional history. Zoberman and Fabrice Charton in particular highlight this institutional dimension of the monarchical image-campaign in their respective work on the *Académie française* and the *Petite Académie*.²¹

The interdisciplinary approach, in turn, has, as I mentioned at the outset, developed alongside the established disciplinary approach in the course of the past decades. As such, it is also very much in line with recent work on early modern politics and culture.²² In particular Peter Burke’s work on Louis XIV’s image-campaign and Jean-Pierre Néraudau’s study on the role which mythology and antiquity played in the representation of Louis XIV have helped to shape my approach to and develop the structure of this research project. Both pursue their analysis in (near-)chronology and rely on a wide cross-section of source material. However, they vary considerably in how they delimit that source material and through which lens they propose to view it. The programmatic term ‘fabrication’ in Burke’s title implies a decision to consider Louis XIV’s image first and foremost as

²⁰ Josèphe Jacquot, *Médailles et jetons de Louis XIV d’après le manuscrit de Londres, Add. 31.908*. (Paris: L’Imprimerie nationale, C. Klincksieck, 1968); Mark Jones, *Medals of the Sun King*; ‘The Medal as an Instrument of Propaganda (Part 1)’; ‘The Medal as an Instrument of Propaganda (Part 2)’; Louis Marin, ‘The Inscription of the King’s Memory: On the Metallic History of Louis XIV’, trans. by Mark Franko, *Yale French Studies*, 1980, 17–36.

²¹ Académie française and Zoberman, *Les Panégyriques du roi*; Fabrice Charton, ‘« Vetat Mori » une institution au service du Prince, de la Petite Académie à l’Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1663-1742)’ (L’École doctorale de l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2011).

²² In the context of this thesis, see once again the individual work of Jardine and Sharpe, but also Burke, *The Fabrication*; Néraudau as well as interdisciplinary collections of essays such as Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1998).

the result of a deliberate construction. Accordingly, he presents the parameters of 'who was saying what about Louis to whom' as a means to filter the instances of royal representation and to create an analytical grid in his introduction.²³ The application of these parameters, however, flags in the course of the analysis. Burke for instance does not restrict himself to analysing the monarchical image as it was produced by a concrete set of agents, e.g. bodies which were officially tasked to generate royal propaganda, or to the way in which satiric and oppositional movements subverted the loyalist iconography. Instead, he provides a panoramic view of predominantly favourable depictions of Louis XIV through the course of his reign and consigns more hostile representations of Louis XIV to his final chapters. The initially raised expectation that the study would provide an insight into the communicative triangle between agent, message, and discrete audience is lost on the way. Similarly, the (misleadingly evoked) impression that Louis XIV's image-making takes place on a blank slate dissolves in the course of the study when Burke has to gesture back to historical precedents;²⁴ the process of image reuse and innovation, and, by extension, the creative-communicative achievement of the 'image fabricators' thus remain underexplored.

Jean-Pierre Néraudau's study, in contrast, is part of the series 'Nouveaux Confluents' which proposes to explore the influence of Antiquity in (early) modernity. Although the series itself privileges an art-historical perspective, Néraudau's study resembles Burke's in that it includes literary, musicological, and architectural sources. However, given the primary scholarly ambition of the series, Néraudau screens this wealth of potential, interdisciplinary material for a specific set of motifs. This approach enables him to trace the motivic development in the

²³ Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 13.

²⁴ Cf. also Paul Sonnino, 'Review', *The Journal of Modern History*, 66.4 (1994), 795–97.

monarch's representation. As this restriction allows for a greater degree of detail in the analysis, the study achieves a tighter argumentative coherence than a study that aims to be as wide in scope as it is in depth. Each in their own way illustrates how a more fluid understanding of disciplinary boundaries highlights the composite nature of monarchical image-making, how it can relate modes of image-building to one another across the different media, and how it can thereby explore their similarities. It is this that I aim to achieve, too, within the remit of this thesis.

Privileging the similarities over the dissimilarities, as Burke notes in the context of Ludovican image-making, implicitly acknowledges the prevalence of the Renaissance tradition in the period, insofar as '[s]cenes from the life of the king were presented in similar ways in different media' at the time.²⁵ This observation holds true for the English context as well. Instances of one art form commenting on the production of another – such as poetic commentaries on pictorial likenesses²⁶ – emphasize the parallels between the arts and their joint sharing in the process of image-making. Yet, even if critical attention to media specificity did not fully develop until the late eighteenth century and is thus anachronistic to the early modern, work such as Georges Sabatier's on tapestry has shown that it is worth considering both the rise and eventual prominence of a specific art form or medium as well as their characteristic particularities.²⁷ I aim to contribute to and nuance our understanding of motivic choices within Anglo-French monarchical image-making. Ostensibly, the second part of this thesis tells a story of motivic connections across different media and genres. Yet, I will also draw attention to

²⁵ Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 15.

²⁶ Nahum Tate, *Portrait-Royal. A Poem upon Her Majesty's Picture Set up in Guild-Hall; by Order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of London. Drawn by Mr. Closterman* (London: printed by J. Rawlins for J. Nutt, 1703).

²⁷ Sabatier, 'La Gloire du roi'.

occasions when sources stand out through their use of an allegory. Such is, for instance, the case with the Neptune allegory in Williamite medal designs.

Within the remit of the thesis, I aim to consider the allegorical development in monarchical image-making with a view to the sources' wider context – their material specificities, accessibility, dissemination, and potential audiences. I am convinced that a detailed contextualisation of the sources will help to pick apart the intricate interplay of sources and ultimately facilitate a fuller understanding of the early modern cultural and political sphere, even if it is not easy to pursue the approach of 'thick description' as theorized by Clifford Geertz in the early modern context:²⁸ the sources we can draw on to get a sense of the intentions and deliberations behind the use of a specific image are rare, and remain fragmented;²⁹ so do the ones that give information about their reception; after all, only a comparatively small group of people would have recorded their impressions of, say, a painting featuring the monarch in the first place; even if we find evidence in diaries, correspondences, newspapers, or historiographies, it is only possible to reliably assess these testimonies if we can glean sufficient information about the recipient and the context in which the testimony originated. What people made of an image would depend on who they were, and what they wrote about an image would depend on who they were writing for. Our knowledge of the reception of, say, a painting featuring the monarch will therefore always remain imperfect and fragmented. Despite these limitations, however, a conscious awareness for and appreciation of the complexity of cultural artefacts facilitates a more in-depth

²⁸ Clifford Geertz, 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3–30.

²⁹ See for instance Joseph Hone, 'Isaac Newton and the Medals for Queen Anne', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.1 (2016), 119–48. The article offers an insight in the considerations which determined the design of the coronation medal. I am grateful to Joe Hone for sharing his article with me prior to publication.

understanding of the historical moment, and, in turn, of the significance of the artefact itself.

Since the mid-twentieth century, paradigmatic shifts – the so-called performative, cultural, and material turns – have affected scholarly attitudes across the human sciences.³⁰ As John L. Austin theorized the performativity of language,³¹ the awareness for the agency potential of language grew. Scholars began to recognize and appreciate communicative and discursive power as not only inherent in the written word, but as residing equally in ephemeral acts such as speaking, in religious and secular rituals as well as in cultural artefacts.³² Earlier studies such as Marc Bloch's pioneering appraisal of the ritual of the royal touch came back into focus,³³ and Sir Roy Strong's much more recent work on the ritual of the coronation highlights the continued value of analyses of this kind, which consider the impact of ritual, artistic production, and cultural narrative on political reality.³⁴ I consider a broad spectrum of sources – ranging from political poetry and panegyric to portraiture, sculpture, and commemorative medals. In doing so, I rely on the premise that all sources I discuss can be 'read'.³⁵ They may necessitate a different kind of 'reading' than a text in the way that, for instance, a portrait

³⁰ For a concise and evaluative commentary on the material-cultural turn(s), cf. Harvey Green, 'Cultural History and the Material(s) Turn', *Cultural History*, 1.1 (2012), 61–82. Green argues that there is 'a material culture element to the "cultural turn"'.

³¹ John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, ed. by J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa, 2nd edn, with corrections and new index (Oxford; New York: OUP, 1980).

³² Sharpe, 'Sacralization and Demystification', pp. 99–100.

³³ Marc Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges: étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Strasbourg: Librairie Istra; London, 1924); *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. by J. E. Anderson (New York: Dorset Press, 1989). Bloch's study offers an in-depth discussion of the royal touch and its cultural, political, and religious specificities.

³⁴ Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy* (London: HarperCollins, 2005).

³⁵ In this context, see also Hans Blumenberg's foundational study in metaphorology; Hans Blumenberg, *Die Lesbarkeit der Welt*, Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft; 592, 2nd edn (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989 [1981]).

requires visual literacy³⁶ and an architectural layout the ability to interpret and appreciate the strategic considerations regarding the use of space; yet, in their various media-specific ways, they all fulfil a communicative purpose. The German political and communication scientist Paula Diehl has recently referred this kind of artistic production, ritual, or cultural narrative more generally as *symbolische Ausdrucksformen* (symbolic forms of expression); she also clearly explicated their indispensability to the political order:

Jede politische Ordnung braucht, um wirksam zu sein, neben dem Gewaltmonopol, Institutionen und Gesetzen auch symbolische Ausdrucksformen, die ihre Prinzipien darstellen, bestätigen und ihnen Sinn verleihen. Symbolische Ausdrucksformen [...] sind nicht nur Begleiterscheinungen der Politik, sondern ihr konstitutiv. Denn sie tragen zur Konstruktion politischer Wirklichkeit bei.³⁷

In contributing to and enhancing the sense of monarchical legitimacy and royal authority, monarchical image-making is consequently not a mere decorative addition or accessory to the political order, but constitutive thereof. Yet, its potential and power have long been neglected in scholarly analysis. When the late Kevin Sharpe appealed for a synthesis of literary and historical approaches in 2006, he deplored that '[t]he shifts in the linguistic and symbolic paradigms of [royal] representation, the adaptations and developments of the traditional languages and tropes, is an as yet unwritten study of early modern government'.³⁸ Most notably Sharpe himself later began to address this gap in his own work. He complemented his scholarship of the politics of court and culture in early modern England, especially under the early Stuarts, by treating the representation of monarchy throughout the Tudor

³⁶ For an appraisal of images as pieces of historical evidence, see Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, Picturing History (London: Reaktion, 2001), esp. chap. 2, 11.

³⁷ Paula Diehl, 'Symbolrecycling als politische Strategie. Das Beispiel von Herkules während der Französischen Revolution', in *Ideenpolitik: geschichtliche Konstellationen und gegenwärtige Konflikte*, ed. by Harald Bluhm, Karsten Fischer, and Marcus Llanque (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), pp. 141–61 (p. 141).

³⁸ Sharpe, 'Sacralization and Demystification', p. 101.

and Stuart period as a whole in a range of incisive interdisciplinary investigations.³⁹ Nonetheless, there still remain avenues to be explored; accordingly, the following section will situate the present thesis within the scholarship on the reigns of William and Anne more concretely.

Scholarship on William III, Queen Anne, and Their Image-Making: A Concise Survey

Sharpe's remarkable trilogy *Selling the Tudor Monarchy* (2006), *Image Wars* (2010), and *Rebranding Rule* (2013) addresses the verbal and visual construction, representation, and legitimisation of sovereign power and authority in early modern England. His decision not to discriminate between regimes and to cover early modern monarchical rule as well as its hiatus, the Commonwealth, alike is especially effective as it succeeds in uncovering the contemporary images of rule and the legitimisation thereof more cohesively. Overall, however, Sharpe's work centred on Jacobean and Caroline England rather than on the 'long seventeenth century'. *Rebranding Rule* is thus indicative of his intention to conduct a foray out of his established scholarly habitat and into the later Stuart period.⁴⁰ That this intended shift was forcibly curtailed may give rise to the sensation that the reigns of William III and Queen Anne, and Sharpe's reading thereof, constitute merely the

³⁹ Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge: CUP, 1987); Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1987); Kevin Sharpe, *Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England: Essays and Studies* (London: Pinter, 1989); *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1992); Sharpe and Lake, eds, *Culture and Politics*; Sharpe and Zwicker, eds, *Refiguring Revolutions*; Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*; Sharpe, 'Sacralization and Demystification'; *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2009); *Image Wars*; *Reading Authority*; *Rebranding Rule*.

⁴⁰ Cf. also Scott Sowerby, 'Kevin Sharpe. *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660–1714*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013. Pp. 872. \$65.00 (Cloth)', *Journal of British Studies*, 53.2 (2014), 522–23.

inevitable tail end of an era fraught with salient crises of monarchy. Nonetheless, his sizeable and insightful analysis of the ‘rebranding of rule’ under William and Anne undoubtedly helps to revise the preconception that neither reign had much to offer by way of monarchical image-making. His study arrestingly illustrates the fact that the figure of the monarch remained central to the construction of political authority throughout the early modern period, both in pre- and post-Restoration England as well as pre- and post-Revolution, and that both continuities and discontinuities in the projection of the royal image deserve critical attention in equal measure.

Aside from Sharpe’s notable contribution to early modern political image-making, however, William III’s image-making has – especially in comparison to both his Stuart predecessors and his continental counterpart – so far remained underexplored. Certainly, revisionist scholars such as Abigail Williams, Andrew Barclay, Christopher Brown, John Harris and Susan Jenkins have challenged the view of William as ‘anti-cultural [and] neglectful of the arts’ within their respective disciplines.⁴¹ Williams, for instance, has examined the emergence and nature of Williamite panegyric before moving on to re-evaluate the literary culture and production as well as the politicization of its patronage in the post-revolutionary

⁴¹ Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture*, pp. 213–14; Christopher Brown, ‘Patrons and Collectors of Dutch Painting in Britain in the Reign of William and Mary’, in *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts: Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Millar*, ed. by David Howarth and Oliver Millar (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), pp. 12–31; Susan Jenkins, ‘A Sense of History: The Artistic Taste of William III’, *Apollo*, 1994, 4–9; Andrew Barclay, ‘William’s Court as King’, in *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context*, ed. by Esther Mijers and David Onnekink (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 241–62; John Harris, ‘The Architecture of the Williamite Court’, in *The Age of William III & Mary II: Power, Politics, and Patronage, 1688-1702: A Reference Encyclopedia and Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. by Robert P. Maccubbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips (Williamsburg: College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1989). Cf. also George N. Clark, Oliver Millar and Victoria and Albert Museum, *William & Mary and Their Time: An Exhibition Held at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 21 June to 20 August* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1950), p. 8.

period more generally.⁴² Equally, Claydon and Jardine have prominently investigated Williamite rhetoric in its confessional and constitutional dimensions.⁴³

The notion of cultural transfer, however, rarely plays a part in these studies; even recent accounts of its role in seventeenth century England fall short of covering William's reign, let alone Anne's.⁴⁴ The political tenuousness of both William's and Anne's accession (had William usurped the throne? Did Anne accede by hereditary right or common law?) and the increasing political estrangement between England and France appear to have well and truly overshadowed the ways in which France remained a valid point of reference in the construction of the monarchical image in England. Even studies in (material) cultural and architectural history, the usual exceptions in this regard, focus more often on the cultural relevance of the Dutch Republic than on France as far as William's reign is concerned; the relative scarcity of similar work on Anne's reign, in turn, (wrongly) suggests that there is in fact not much to be looked at.⁴⁵ In the field of literary cultural studies, Abigail Williams's brief commentary on 'The Revolution, William III, and Louis XIV' constitutes a rare exception in its explicit acknowledgement of the relevance of French court culture to William's reign. Williams here writes of an 'intrinsic' relation between the

⁴² Abigail Williams, 'The Making of Williamite Panegyric: Poetry, Politics and Patronage, 1688-1702' (unpublished M.Phil., University of Oxford, 1997); 'Whig Literary Culture: Poetry, Politics and Patronage, 1678-1714' (unpublished D.Phil., University of Oxford, 2000); 'Patronage and Whig Literary Culture in the Early Eighteenth Century', in *Cultures of Whiggism: New Essays on English Literature and Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by David Womersley (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), pp. 149–72; *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture*. On the politicization of panegyric under William and Anne, see also Arthur S. Williams, 'Panegyric Decorum in the Reigns of William III and Anne', *Journal of British Studies*, 21.1 (1981), 56–67.

⁴³ Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004); Jardine, *Going Dutch*, chap. 2.

⁴⁴ See for instance Stedman, *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England*.

⁴⁵ See for instance David Jacques, *The Gardens of William and Mary* (London: C. Helm, 1988); Uta Janssens-Knorsch, 'From Het Loo to Hampton Court: William and Mary's Dutch Gardens and Their Influence on English Gardening', in *Fabrics and Fabrications: The Myth and Making of William and Mary*, ed. by P. G. Hoftijzer and C. C. Barfoot (Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1990), pp. 277–96; Jardine, *Going Dutch*.

‘extent and nature of Williamite patronage’ and ‘the contemporary activities of the French court’.⁴⁶ She evokes T. C. W. Blanning’s account of the cultural and political ascendancy of the French court and adduces that ‘Williamite patronage [...] was also used to rival the efforts of Louis XIV, intended to replicate and compete with the display of French authority’.⁴⁷ The coordinate phrase ‘replicate and compete’ may suggest that Williams, too, considers the notion of replication hardly compatible with that of competition and perceives of them as two distinct steps. For it is – as Charles II’s and, albeit to a lesser extent, James II’s endeavours have illustrated repeatedly – not in the nature of a copy to ever rival or supersede its original.⁴⁸ In reading monarchical image-making alongside the scale *imitari, æmulari, superare* and from an Anglo-French perspective, I propose to accentuate the logic behind Williams’ assessment and take it further.

Taking it further also means, as I indicated earlier, that the reign of Queen Anne is a necessary part of the argument. As far as her person and reign are concerned, scholars have had to tackle above all a task of reappraisal and rehabilitation; the process is still ongoing and this thesis to an extent a contribution to the debate. For a long time, critical consensus had succeeded in divorcing the political and cultural achievements that took place in Britain at the cusp of the eighteenth century from the kingdoms’ then sovereign, Queen Anne.

⁴⁶ Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture*, p. 213.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 214. Cf. also Blanning, *The Culture of Power*, esp. chap. 1 on the French monarchy emerging as cultural-political prototype of the period; cf. also Menna Prestwich, ‘The Making of Absolute Monarchy, 1559-1683’, in *France: Government and Society: An Historical Survey*, ed. by John Michael Wallace-Hadrill and John McManners, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1970 [1957]), pp. 105–33.

⁴⁸ Voltaire, for instance, commented on James II’s arrival and reception at court in Paris in 1689: ‘Jamais le roi ne parut si grand; mais Jacques parut petit.’, Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, ed. by Diego Venturino, Œuvres complètes de Voltaire, 13A-13C vols (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015), vol. 13B, chap. 15, p. 37. For relevant scholarly contributions, see for example Gesa Stedman, ‘So much Æmulacion, Poverty, and the Vices of Swearing, Drinking, and Whoring: Charles II and Anglo-French Culture at the Restoration’, in *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 63–109 (pp. 64–7); Simon Thurley, *The Building of England: How the History of England Has Shaped our Buildings* (London: William Collins, 2013), p. 290.

She received ‘the most equivocal press’⁴⁹ of all the female sovereigns in the British Isles that preceded her rule. Writers of political as well as cultural history long denied her any share in the achievements of her reign. Not every sovereign’s legacy becomes eponymous of their age, but opinionated rather than objective scholarly accounts such as Beatrice Curtis Brown’s do far more than refute the possibility that Anne Stuart could have been a ‘historical pivot’.⁵⁰ The verdict of reprehensible mediocrity as a monarch pales in comparison to Curtis Brown’s repeatedly denying Anne any sense whatsoever:

Regarded from above, as it were, Anne’s life (besides being *unimportant*) only consists of a series of incidents, in which her *behaviour appears so inconsistent as to be negligible*. It is difficult to be interested in *behaviour, which, like a lunatic’s, shows no direction*.⁵¹

The magnitude of landmark events such as the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland in 1707, the cementing of the Stuart Succession, and Britain’s recognition as a military power illustrates the disproportion of the disregard which scholarship has bestowed on Anne, both as monarch and as person. Around the mid-twentieth century, Edward Gregg and Robert O. Bucholz pioneered her vindication.⁵² Since then, the growing interest in the Stuart Succession has prompted scholars to rethink the previous dismissal of Anne’s reign and her

⁴⁹ Robert O. Bucholz, ‘Queen Anne: A Victim of Her Virtues?’, in *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics*, ed. by Clarissa Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 94–129 (p. 94).

⁵⁰ Beatrice Curtis Brown, *Anne Stuart, Queen of England* (London: G. Bles, 1929), p. vii; also quoted in Bucholz, ‘Queen Anne: A Victim of Her Virtues?’, p. 94 from the more lamentingly entitled American edition *Alas, Queen Anne: A Reading of Her Life* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1929).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, my emphasis; cf. also. p. viii, ix; not remarked upon in Bucholz.

⁵² Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne*, new edn (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001 [1980]); Bucholz, ‘Queen Anne: A Victim of Her Virtues?’; Robert O. Bucholz, ‘The “Stomach of a Queen,” or Size Matters. Gender, Body Image, and the Historical Reputation of Queen Anne’, in *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. by Carole Levin and Robert O. Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), pp. 242–72.

abilities as monarch even further.⁵³ Popular culture also testifies to the change in opinion which posterity has undergone where Queen Anne is concerned: Helen Edmundson's 2015 play *Queen Anne* does not raise the spectre of the last Stuart monarch as a feeble and weak-willed puppet in the hands of confidants such as Sarah Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough, and Abigail Masham. Instead, it refers to Anne as a monarch 'caught between friendship and country' on the verge of her accession in 1702.⁵⁴ The play showcases the predicament between private loyalties and public responsibilities which Anne had to negotiate and for which she seems to have been measured to a standard different from her predecessors, both male and female, by unsympathetic observers in post-revolutionary England.⁵⁵

These analytical and creative writerly endeavours have proved persuasive and begun to soften the rather deprecatory received opinion that had become entrenched in historiography. They reassess Anne's share in the political and cultural achievements of the period, and consider the gender-specific exigencies of her position at the time, especially in comparison with her most notable female predecessor Elizabeth I. Yet, relatively little attention has been paid to Anne's own international bearing as the sovereign. In 1970, Ragnhild Marie Hatton posited that Louis XIV held his British counterpart in very little, if any, esteem:

Louis seems to have more or less assumed (though not ranking Anne either with minors or lunatics) that with her accession England had more or less

⁵³ Cf. for instance James A. Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: OUP, 2014); *Queen Anne and the Arts*, ed. by Cedric D. Reverand II, *Transits* (Bucknell University) (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2015); Hannah Smith, "'Last of All the Heavenly Birth": Queen Anne and Sacral Queenship', *Parliamentary History*, 28.1 (2009), 137–49; Rachel Judith Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), chap. 7; Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History*, Queenship and Power (New York ; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), chap. 3; Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion* (London: HarperPress, 2012); McRae and Kewes, *The Stuarts Succession Project*.

⁵⁴ Helen Edmundson, *Queen Anne* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2015); Natalie Abrahami, *Queen Anne* (Royal Shakespeare Company, Stratford-upon-Avon, 2015).

⁵⁵ Cf. Edmundson, *Queen Anne*, II. 4-5, III. 8.

reverted to the republican form of government in which it had existed in Cromwell's time, and his diplomatic contacts were with her ministers.⁵⁶

Hatton here echoes Curtis Brown's aforementioned verdict. The reference to the 'republican form of government' invites her readers to infer that Anne was as superfluous a figure in the realm of international politics as she was nationally, and not even of representative value. To my knowledge, this assessment has by and large withstood the recent scholarly reinterpretations of Anne's reign. Yet, primary sources offer evidence to the contrary, suggesting that Anne's international standing, too, may deserve a second look. One such piece of evidence is Christian Wermuth's 1710 medal, which was for the first time publicly exhibited in a recent temporary display at the British Museum.⁵⁷ Alongside the Dutch medallists Jan Smeltzing, Jan Boskam, and Jan Luder, Wermuth ranked among the most prolific continental medallists of the period. They distinguished themselves not only through their technical skills and their understanding of the influential contemporary French medallic practice, but equally through their ability and willingness to cater for different political markets. Wermuth in particular appears to have offered up his craft without any discrimination or specific personal loyalties;⁵⁸ he was renowned (and occasionally sued) for using his craft deliberately in a fiercely satirical fashion as an opinion outlet and, by extension, a means of (unsolicited) opinion making.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ragnhild M. Hatton, 'Louis XIV and His Fellow Monarchs', in *Louis XIV and the Craft of Kingship*, ed. by John C. Rule (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1970), pp. 155-95 (p. 157).

⁵⁷ 'Triumph and Disaster: Medals of the Sun King'.

⁵⁸ On Wermuth's conscious strife for independence from stable (and hence artistically restrictive) patronage arrangements as well as his production of satirical medals, which increased as his career progressed, see Cordula Wohlfahrt, *Christian Wermuth: ein deutscher Medailleur der Barockzeit – a German Medallist of the Baroque Age* (London: British Art Medal Society, 1992), pp. 12, 48, 75-82.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*



FIGURE 1. Christian Wermuth, Louis XIV Dancing to Queen Anne's Tune (1710). London, British Museum, BNK, EngM.162. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The obverse of this medal adapts the biblical story of Samson and Delilah: the French monarch sits asleep on a powder barrel in a military camp while Anne cuts off his hair, and the Prince of Savoy as well as the Duke of Marlborough approach to bind him. The whole scene takes place against the backdrop of the siege of Douai (1710). The reverse depicts Louis XIV quite literally dancing to Queen Anne's tune. It thus implies that the British monarch would likely be dictating the terms when it came to (preliminary) peace negotiations; the scene bears the mock-gallant legend: IL FAUT S'ACCOMODER AUX DAMES as well as the exergue LUDOVIC⁹ MAGN⁹, ANNA ILLO MAIOR (Louis the Great, Anne greater than he).

The piece clearly functions as political prediction. The design seamlessly merges one monarch's mockery with another's marketing. It suggests that Louis XIV underestimated his Stuart relative and will have to pay dearly for this combination of political imprudence and overgrown aplomb. His sitting on the powder barrel in the rendition of the biblical scene depicts his imminent defeat as at least partially self-inflicted. Anne, in contrast, appears victorious – as she is in the pun on Louis's epithet. This pun is all the more poignant because it acknowledges and undermines Louis XIV's greatness in the same breath through

the use of the positive and comparative. The inclusion of the distal demonstrative pronoun *illo* may make the sentence appear heavier, but, more importantly, it generates a sense of immediacy; it emphasizes that this is, in fact, not a climatic enumeration with a third party *maximus* yet to come, but that the comparison is a direct one between Louis and Anne.

In fact, Wermuth's medal is but one example of this slant of political commentary. A variation of the pun on greatness, for instance, had already been used four years earlier on an anonymous English medal which celebrates the Allied victories at the Battle of Ramillies in Brabant on 23 May 1706 (fig. 51); but it is one whose designer we can identify and of which we can – in view of our knowledge of Wermuth's working practice – be relatively certain that it was not commissioned. As such, the design does not play to the political agenda of a patron; it was not produced in the British Isles, but in Gotha, that is to say, within Allied territories. In the course of the thesis, it will become apparent that medal designs such as this one are representative of the way in which image-makers from within and without the British Isles, with and without patronage allegiance, construed a narrative of causality between Anne's rule and Louis XIV's progressive decline. Along with a range of further sources, they thus have a place in the context of the ongoing re-evaluation of Anne's reign as well as within the wider narrative of Anglo-French cultural and political supersession, which culminated in Anne's, rather than William's reign.

Approaches to the Study of Images: Theorizing Image Re-Use

The noun 'image' is inconveniently ambiguous in that it refers to both the projected and received message: on the one hand, it may stand for both physical

and figurative impressions which the ruler himself, artists, or panegyrists project; on the other hand, it also designates the mental impression which the monarch's subjects as well as the wider (foreign) public create of the monarch in their imagination.⁶⁰ Projected and received image are not necessarily identical. One factor that contributes to this incongruity is the fact that each person has access to a different corpus of individual images, which constitute the overall image they come to hold of the monarch. The term 'image-maker' in contrast is unequivocal insofar as it only refers to the sender of an image, be it figurative or physical. It defines a person who 'makes physical images', 'conjures up images or brings images to the mind', or one 'who creates public images' of a person, usually on their behalf.⁶¹ As far as the designation of the process of generating and conveying the images is concerned, I employ the term 'image-making' interchangeably with the term 'image-building'. The two terms highlight the processual nature of image creation in equal measure, both as regards their semantics and their grammatical category as gerund phrases. The term 'representation', in contrast, can denote either a state or an action.⁶² As such, it may convey the illusion that the royal image is an overall product that is to be assembled and can be retrieved either at a particular stage in its production or in its entirety. This is why I prefer to use 'image-making' or 'image-building'. Of these two terms, however, in particular the latter may give rise to connotations such as 'constructive' and 'planful'. It can therefore wrongly be taken to suggest that the process of image creation is teleological and its outcome premeditated. In fact, the projected royal image is neither singular nor stable. It is composite and develops organically insofar as it

⁶⁰ 'Oxford English Dictionary' (OUP), s. v. image (1, 5). I have chosen to reference the OED on this occasion as the literature does not consistently rely on a specific set of terms that would be indicative of a terminological scholarly consensus.

⁶¹ 'Oxford English Dictionary', s.v. image-maker (1, 2a-b).

⁶² 'Oxford English Dictionary', s.v. representation 6.

aggregates images, which a multitude of different agents – such as the monarchs themselves, imaginative writers, visual artists, or party-hacks – generated and publicized over time. The royal image always remains in flux unless the process of and agents behind image creation is subject to a most stringent control mechanism. It is practical issues such as that of controlling the monarchical image-making that I will address in more detail in the following final section of the introduction.

Along with the growing awareness of the discursive potential of images attempts to theorize the use and re-use of those images have been developed in recent years. For, despite their situational use, the tropes on which, for instance, monarchical image-making relies are not original; rather, they are part of a conventional code of symbols which the image-makers tap into. Their prior uses have equipped them with a symbolic charge, which the image-makers re-appropriate and modify. In this sense, the use of a specific *topos* not only perpetuates convention, but also deliberately conjures up its past connotations, which may be used to legitimate the present.

Ernst Robert Curtius laid the foundations for the study of rhetorical commonplaces, literary motifs, and conventional metaphors, which he referred to, in short, as *topoi*.⁶³ Within the emerging and largely germanophone critical tradition, which investigates the history of *topoi*, the re-use of images and its functionality has since then been particularly prominently theorized by Hans Blumenberg.⁶⁴ He endeavoured to conceptualise the recurrence of a *topos* not primarily in terms of its similarity across time and an alleged motivic constancy,

⁶³ Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 2nd rev. edn (Bern: A. Francke, 1954 [1948]).

⁶⁴ See Hans Blumenberg, *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit*, 2nd edn (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1988 [1966]), translated as *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, trans. by Robert M. Wallace, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983).

but above all in terms of their functional differences resulting as they do from different situational exigencies. To do so, he developed the notion of the reoccupation (*Umbesetzung*) of *topoi*. The recurrence of an old *topos* constitutes, in Blumenberg's view, a transformation and reconfiguration rather than a mere repetition. Blumenberg, Ben de Bruyn recapitulates,

takes issue with both a *transhistorical* perspective that only finds similarities between historical periods and a *historicist* approach that only discovers differences. What we should do, Blumenberg says, [...] is pay attention to the interplay between stability and change by analysing 'zones of transition' rather than stable periods.⁶⁵

More recently, Paula Diehl coined the concept *Symbolrecycling* ('recycling of symbols'), which she uses to describe the re-use of established symbolic forms of expression to convey new ideas.⁶⁶ Diehl explicitly presents *Symbolrecycling* as indebted to and following on from the concept of *bricolage* which the French structuralist anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss developed.⁶⁷ When Diehl first articulated her new concept, she maintained that 'die Betonung [appears to be] eher auf dem schon Existierenden als auf dem Neuen'.⁶⁸ She quietly abandoned this plea for an imbalance between established and new elements in her more recent publication on the topic. Although she maintains that in the analysis of myths, her concept of recycling facilitates a productive shift in focus, away from the act of *bricoler*, the putting together of established symbolic units into a new form, to the constituents of the myths, the symbolic units, themselves, she now

⁶⁵ Ben De Bruyn, *Wolfgang Iser: A Companion* (Berlin; Boston: de Gruyter, 2012), p. 78; Blumenberg, *Legitimacy*, p. 147. De Bruyn here draws parallels between Blumenberg's work and that of the German literary scholar Wolfgang Iser. Both participated in and contributed to the symposia of the research group 'Poetik und Hermeneutik' (1963-1994). In his 1988 study *Shakespeares Historien*, Iser develops the concepts of *schemata* and *correction*, see Wolfgang Iser, *Shakespeares Historien: Genesis und Geltung*, Konstanzer Bibliothek, Bd. 9 (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1988).

⁶⁶ Paula Diehl, *Macht, Mythos, Utopie: die Körperbilder der SS-Männer* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005); Diehl, 'Symbolrecycling'.

⁶⁷ See Lévi-Strauss, Claude, *La Pensée sauvage* [1962], esp. chap. 1 in *Œuvres*, ed. by Vincent Debaene and others, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; 543 (Paris: Gallimard, 2008).

⁶⁸ Diehl, *Macht, Mythos, Utopie*, p. 76 (n. 32), 29.

presents the 'old' uses of symbolic forms of expressions and their newly ascribed connotations as equally worthy of attention and historical contextualisation. This new-found appreciation of both processes, 'Tradierung und Transformation', recalls the earlier Blumenbergian argument. Akin to Blumenberg, Diehl identifies periods of transition and change as particularly conspicuous since 'neue Ordnungsvorstellungen' collide with established ones. It is particularly in these moments that the re-use of symbols fulfils a reconciliatory purpose between the old and new political order.⁶⁹ Through this reprocessing, the symbolic potential progressively increases insofar as recycled symbols do not lose their old connotations, but continue to carry remainders thereof. The symbols' growing polysemy thus has the potential to unite a sense of transhistorical continuity as well as a degree of rupture with the previous order.

Diehl moreover considers myths and their evolution to be dialectically interlinked with societal change. Here, her work draws on notions of the dialectic relation between time, language, and events which originated in the work of the German historian Reinhart Koselleck.⁷⁰ It has been established that, on the one hand, language has performative properties and can therefore trigger events; on the other hand, events may take place before language to describe these events has developed. Consequently, events and language – and, by extension, political order and symbolic order – do not operate on fully synchronised timelines. Recourse to traditionally established symbols is both unavoidable and expedient. It symbolically relates the events and changes of the present to the past and, through the process of symbolic transformation, it helps to conceive and describe a future.

⁶⁹ Diehl, 'Symbolrecycling', pp. 141–42.

⁷⁰ Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft: zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979).

The users of the symbol, i.e. the image-makers in this inquiry, may use the process of transformation and re-contextualisation to overlay or modify the symbol's contingencies to suit the communicative purpose at hand. It can be intended for certain facets of the old symbolic significance to shine through; or, it may be that the recipients inadvertently recall previous connotations which undermine the new communicative intentions. Since collective memory operates cumulatively to an extent, this interpretative ambiguity always remains its inherent risk. At the same time, however, the accrued symbolic charge also allows a broader public to relate to it. This, in turn, increases the symbol's communicative potential and scope.

It is particularly due to the hybrid nature of Diehl's approach and the connotations of her proposed terminology that her considerations and the notion of *Symbolrecycling* appear well suited to the context of this thesis. Diehl's work could be described as political cultural science and attempts to merge theoretical and empirical scholarship. It originates in political and communication science, but draws on and develops methods from both anthropology and (intellectual) history; it broaches what would traditionally count as the realm of literary studies in the investigation of the Hercules myth as political (and rhetorical) strategy during the French Revolution. Loyalty to one school, methodology, or discipline alone will likely only lead to a distorted perspective onto the past and the sources it brings us; a synthesis of disciplinary approaches as advocated earlier, in contrast, renders the attempt at a balanced analysis possible. As regards Diehl's concept of *Symbolrecycling* and its applicability to the context of this thesis more concretely, it appears more productive than Blumenberg's *Umbesetzung* insofar as Blumenberg's *Umbesetzung* is evocative of more abrupt, almost teleological shifts in symbolic

significance across the different historical periods. Diehl's term, in contrast, allows for a greater malleability in 'repurposing' the symbol as well as a more gradual development in its symbolic significance within a limited historical moment. Unlike *Umbesetzung*, which suggests that the symbol's frame remains more or less intact, the notion of recycling allows the symbol to transform almost, but not quite beyond recognition. It could thereby more readily accommodate symbolic trajectories such as the ones I propose to trace.

The Practicalities of Image-Making: Agency, Intentionality, and Control

Monarchical image-making constituted an integral and indispensable part of early modern political communication. 'To govern', as Kevin Sharpe postulated, 'was to publicize'.⁷¹ The occasions varied: they range from key state events such as the monarch's accession and coronation, a profitable dynastic match or the birth of an heir,⁷² to royal prestige projects such as the *L'Hôtel des Invalides* (opened 1676),⁷³ the sovereign's military successes, or other political milestones such as the Union of England and Scotland (1707).⁷⁴ Each image fulfils a dual remit: a short-term one insofar as it fulfils the concrete situational communicative purpose at hand (e.g. celebrate the monarch's accession) as well as a long-term one since it generates and manages hopes and expectations for the future (e.g. for the course of the new

⁷¹ Sharpe, 'Sacralization and Demystification', p. 99.

⁷² Cf. for instance almanacs and engravings exhibited in the context of 'Images du grand siècle' and reproduced in the corresponding catalogue by Peter Fuhring and others, *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660-1715* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), pp. 117 and 179 (almanacs for the years following Louis XIV's marriage, for instance for 1666 and 1667, prominently depict the king and queen); and pp. 286-7, no. 104 (for an engraving depicting celebrations on the occasions of the birth of the duc de Bourgogne, Louis XIV's first grandson and second in line); on the role of almanacs in Louis XIV's reign more generally, cf. p. 13.

⁷³ Cf. for instance the medal produced upon its completion, featured in Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, *Médailles sur les principaux événements du règne de Louis le grand, avec des explications historiques* (Paris: L'Imprimerie royale, 1702), p. 150.

⁷⁴ Hawkins provides entries for twelve medals produced in celebration of the Union of England and Scotland, cf. Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 2, nos. 107-118.

reign). These preliminary considerations raise three interlinked issues: that of the agency behind, the intentionality and success of, and the control over monarchical image-making. At this point, I will only briefly address their implications, but I will come back to them on an individual basis throughout the thesis.

Image-making at its most intentional consists in instances of monarchical self-representation and commissioned work. Their principle objective is to eloquently bolster royal authority and public approval. This may differ a little in the case of commemorative merchandise,⁷⁵ (unsolicited) royalist panegyric, or work produced by individuals who hold positions at court such as poet laureate or royal historiographer, for instance. Here, considerations about the creator's personal advancement, financial gain, the hope to secure prominent patronage or even royal favour, or the expectations that come with a certain position mix in with and peddle to the monarch's interest. Fundamentally, though, all these different types of agents have access to the same pool of tropes. This raises the question of how image-makers as well as the images' recipients would have had access to the iconographical and allegorical knowledge in the first place. In their work, the image-makers relied on the fact that they shared the knowledge of this pool of tropes with the recipients of their iconographical messages - at least to a certain extent. The effectiveness of their work depended on the recognition value of the images they used. A range of probable, yet generic channels of information include formal (humanist) education, artistic training, contemporary reading practices, and publicly accessible forms of discourse such as sermons and, more restrictively so, the theatre, which perpetuated iconographical conventions. Different socio-

⁷⁵ Cf. Joseph Hone, 'The End of the Line: Literature and Party Politics at the Accession of Queen Anne' (University of Oxford, forthcoming), pp. 86–88 on the production of merchandise on the occasion of Queen Anne's coronation. I am grateful to Joe Hone for sharing a draft of his thesis with me.

economic groups would have had access to one or more of these channels at a time.⁷⁶ Prominent period publications which are likely to have contributed to the dissemination of textual and iconographical knowledge about the mythological and biblical figures which this thesis considers include Pierre Le Moyne's *Gallerie des femmes fortes* (1647), Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1645), Thomas Heywood's *The Exemplary Lives* (1640), editions of the Bible in the vernacular as well as classical works such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and translations thereof.⁷⁷

The effectiveness of these stock images depends on their situational appropriateness (as later illustrated, for instance, by the use of the Neptune allegory, cf. 5.3), their versatility and relative ubiquity (as illustrated, for instance, by the Apollonian and Herculean imagery, cf. 2.3.2 and 4.1), as well as on their symbolic persuasiveness and adaptability (as illustrated, for instance, by the progressive abandonment of the association between Louis XIV and Alexander the

⁷⁶ To explore this question in more depth would be an interesting research project in its own right. Early modern monarchical image-campaigns involved a multitude of agents. Their individual access to conventional and academic knowledge would have varied considerably. It would require an in-depth study of archival material such as personal correspondence, diaries, print runs, sales catalogues, and inventories to gauge how participants in the process of monarchical image-making are likely to have become familiar with a specific trope.

⁷⁷ Pierre Le Moyne, *La Gallerie des femmes fortes* (Paris: Chez Antoine de Sommerville, 1647), pp. 3-26 (Debore, 'question morale: si les femmes sont capable de gouverner', p. 10-2), pp. 27-38 (Iahel), pp. 39-52 (Judith), pp. 53-66 (Salomone); Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* [1645], TEA arte; 2 (Milano: TEA, 1992); Thomas Heywood, *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World: Three Jewes. Three Gentiles. Three Christians*. (London: Thomas Cotes for Richard Royston, 1640). For overviews of early modern education, editions of the Bible (incl. the Book of Judges and the Apocrypha), the availability of classical authors such as Ovid in translation as well as access to and consumption of print media more generally, see for instance Peter Burke, 'Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe', in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: CUP, 2007); Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London; Dover, NH: Croom Helm, 1985); Norbert Conrads, *Ritterakademien der frühen Neuzeit: Bildung als Standesprivileg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982); Corinne Doucet, 'Les Académies équestres et l'éducation de la noblesse (XVIe -XVIIIe siècle)', *Revue historique*, 305.4 (628) (2003), 817-36; Ariel Hessayon, 'The Apocrypha in Early Modern England', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c.1530-1700*, ed. by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Judith Willie, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: OUP, 2015), pp. 131-48; Helen M. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England*, Social History in Perspective (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press; New York, 1998); Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford: OUP, 2013); *Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond, *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, 6 vols (OUP, 2011), I, pt. I, chap. 7-14; Part IV.

Great, cf. 2.3.1). Yet, their success equally depends on their active reception by 'readers'. With each source that disseminates a royal image, its makers need to rely on a (sympathetic) reader who draws on their knowledge of convention, the image's wider context, and their own experience in order to decode the object and establish meaning. Once an artist, writer, or publicist exhibits, publishes, or otherwise disseminates their work, its interpretation is beyond their control and in the hands of its audience whose power lies in its ability to partially or even fully disregard both convention and the intended message and wilfully misconstrue the image to suit their own communicative purpose.

The design of John Roettier's coronation medal for William III and Mary II constitutes just one such example for deliberate misappropriation.



FIGURE 2. John Roettier, Medal Commemorating the Coronation of William III and Mary II (1689). London, British Museum, M.7730. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The reverse of the medal depicts Jupiter hurling thunderbolts from the clouds at Phaeton, who had lost control of the Apollonian chariot and risked burning the earth. The legend reads *NE TOTVS ABSVMATUR* (that it may not all be consumed). The anticipated reading would have equated Phaeton with James II whose inability to steer the country endangered his realms and William with the Jovian saviour figure. Mythologically versed Jacobite sympathizers, however, found two ways of

deliberately turning around the story: one version reads the figure of Phaeton as reference to William and Mary, who had seized the reins of James's chariot and toppled the rightful monarch; the other evokes the legend of Tullia, who steered her chariot over 'the remains of her dethroned father', and thereby accuses Mary of both paricide and regicide.⁷⁸

The question of how intentionally each of these tropes was chosen ties in with the question of how much control was exerted over the multitudinous contributors to the royal image and their (re)production. The vision that a group of counsellors may have sat together to develop a coherent image-campaign and discuss a conclusive plan for implementation may feel plausible in its resemblance to modern-day public relations meetings, but it is also largely fanciful. Early modern monarchical image-making was subject to a level of both convention and governmental regulation. These included censorship prerogatives, conventions of patronage and commission, as well as the institutionalisation of the cultural production more generally; all these parameters affect the development of the royal image. They also impact on the extent to which the monarchical image is ultimately an *anonymous* product. The control exerted over the sovereign's image-making varied considerably internationally, that is to say, between England and France, and slightly less so nationally, between the two English monarchs under discussion; the uniformity and symbolic coherence of the royal image diverged accordingly, and so did the significance which one can attribute to the early modern public sphere. I will establish these practicalities for the English and

⁷⁸ Cf. Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 1, p. 663, no. 25. Occasionally, satirists expand on the implied parallel between Tullia and Mary to include William, whom they cast as Tarquin. In this context, see for instance Arthur Maynwaring, *Tarquin and Tullia* (London: s. n., 1689), and the corresponding commentary in Bucholz, "The "Stomach of a Queen"", pp. 250–2. John Guy's 1699 panegyric counters precisely this twofold allegorical incrimination, cf. John Guy, *On the Happy Accession of Their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, to the Throne of England. A Pindarique Ode* (London: s. n., 1699).

French context more concretely in the following first part of the thesis and heed their implications as much as possible within its remit.

PART I: Historical Frameworks

Chapter 1.

A Critical Contextualisation of the English Monarchy post-1688

Alongside chapter 2, the following chapter makes up the factual backbone of this thesis. It scrutinizes the political circumstances of the accessions of William of Orange and Anne Stuart in 1689 and 1702, respectively. It elaborates on how the challenges William and Anne faced affected the mode of 'kingship' they adopted and developed in the course of their reigns. This chapter situates these historical moments against the backdrop of the earlier monarchical crises that had occurred in the British Isles as well as in France since the mid-sixteenth century. Doing so keeps in view the wider historical perspective. This is essential, insofar as the in-depth reading of specific historical moments would otherwise run the danger of taking place in the artificiality of isolation.

1.1 Early Modern Monarchical Crises pre-1688: An Overview

Questions of sovereignty, royal authority, and dynastic legitimacy had haunted the kingdoms of France and the British Isles since the mid-sixteenth century: the French Wars of Religion (1562-98) had thrust the continental kingdom into a period of unrest of confessional, factional, and dynastic dimensions. The assassination of Henri III (r. 1574-89) intensified debates about the justifiability of regicide and resulted in the demise of the House of Valois. The subsequent accession of Henri de Navarre as Henri IV (r. 1589-1610) controverted 'les lois fondamentales du royaume' as both Salic law and the requirement of Catholicity

should have prevented de Navarre's accession.⁷⁹ It also marked the ascent of the Bourbon dynasty. In 1635, France joined a league of Protestant states from within the Holy Roman Empire and like-minded Protestant states such as Sweden from without. The latter opposed the Habsburg attempt to impose religious uniformity, i.e. Catholicism, in its domains. Yet, religious principle alone would not have motivated predominantly Catholic France into an alliance with the Protestant states. Rather, Bourbon France saw its joining the Anti-Habsburg belligerents as an opportunity to improve its geo-political situation. At the time, the Bourbon monarchy resembled an enclave within the vast Habsburg territories, which comprised the Spanish realms and the Holy Roman Empire, and had to conduct its politics with the continual risk of a multilateral Habsburg invasion in mind. France remained embroiled in military conflict with Habsburg Spain beyond the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which concluded the Thirty Years War (1618-48), until territorial gains stipulated in the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) curtailed the Habsburg supremacy in favour of the Bourbon dynasty. Contemporaneously, the French monarchy faced a set of severe civil unrests, known as the *Fronde parlementaire* (1648-9) and the *Fronde des princes* (1650-3). These domestic uprisings were chiefly driven by fear of and displeasure with the royal infringement on the established rights and liberties of *parlements* and the nobility.

In the British Isles, meanwhile, the political realities of female rule had been challenging contemporary conceptions of monarchy throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. The reigns of Mary I of Scotland (r. 1542-67), Mary I (r. 1553-8), and Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603) were moreover fraught with confessional conflict, which persisted right through the seventeenth century. In the reign of

⁷⁹ Biet, *Henri IV*, pp. 35-65.

Charles I (r. 1625-49), popular and parliamentary discontent about the scope of royal prerogatives violently came to a head in the English Civil Wars (1642-51), which paved the way for the Protectorate under Cromwell (1653-60). The king's prosecution and execution in 1649 now raised the spectre of regicide, which had brought about a dynastic change in France six decades earlier, in the three kingdoms. The Restoration in 1660, however, re-established both the monarchy and the House of Stuart with Charles II (r. 1660-85). Displeasure with the confessional and foreign-policy agenda of Charles II's successor, James II (r. 1685-8), nurtured the conspiracy between English parliamentarians and William of Orange, which brought about the overthrow of James's rule in 1688 and the accession of William of Orange and Mary Stuart as William III and Mary II in 1689.

1.2 The Accession of William of Orange: Circumstances and Challenges

On 11 April 1689, the Bishop of London crowned William of Orange, Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, and Mary Stuart king and queen of England and Ireland. A month later, the couple accepted the Crown of Scotland. Their accession challenged contemporary notions of dynastic and political legitimacy.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ References in the following section will often point to primary legal and parliamentary sources. In addition to these and the individually cited secondary items, I have drawn above all on the following range of historical scholarship in the preparation of this commentary: Tony Claydon, *William III* (Harlow: Longman, 2002); Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*; John P. Kenyon, *Revolution Principles: The Politics of Party, 1689-1720* (Cambridge: CUP, 1977); Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1715* (London: Longman, 1993); Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy, and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977); Alan Craig Houston and Steven Pincus, eds., *A Nation Transformed: England after the Restoration* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001); Robert P. Maccubbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips, eds., *The Age of William III & Mary II*; Howard Nenner, *The Right to Be King: The Succession to the Crown of England, 1603-1714*, Studies in Modern History (St. Martin's Press) (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995); Steven Pincus, 'The Making of a Great Power? Universal Monarchy, Political Economy, and the Transformation of English Political Culture', *The European Legacy*, 5.4 (2000), 531-45; *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2009); Steven Pincus and James A. Robinson, 'What Really Happened During the Glorious Revolution? Working Paper No. 17206', National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series, 2011, 1-43; John H. Plumb, 'The Elections to the Convention Parliament of 1689', *Cambridge Historical*

William's invasion fleet had landed in Torbay in November 1688. In December, James II absconded from his realms and sought refuge at the court of his cousin Louis XIV in France. An irregular assembly of parliament, the Convention Parliament, met on 22 January 1689 to deliberate whether James's departure could publicly be presented as an abdication. The Whig ascendancy in the Commons outvoted the predominantly Tory House of Lords, which advocated measures for James's retention or a form of restoration. Parliament deemed James's flight tantamount to an abdication and reasoned that the countries' thrones were vacant.⁸¹ According to male-preference cognatic primogeniture, James Edward Francis Stuart, James's son by his Catholic second wife, Mary of Modena, had the strongest claim to the throne. His accession would have strengthened Catholicism rather than helped to re-establish a Protestant monarchy. Parliament declared his claim forfeit on religious grounds.

Four options remained: (1) nominating William as regent and postponing the settlement of the crown, (2) acclaiming Mary Stuart as Queen, with William as consort (which would have been most in line with the order of succession), (3) nominating William as sole monarch (whereby the regal powers would unequivocally derive from the people rather than divine authority), or (4) proclaiming a novel joint monarchy of Mary and William. Tory sympathizers favoured the first and second options, but were obliged to relent: Mary refused to rule on her own, and William showed himself discontented with the roles of both regent and consort. The idea of William as sole sovereign only found the support of

Journal, 5.3 (1937), 235–54; Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability*; Lois G. Schwoerer, ed., *The Revolution of 1688-1689: Changing Perspectives* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992).

⁸¹ Cf. Plumb, 'The Elections to the Convention Parliament of 1689'; Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy, and Politics*, pp. 17–50; Kenyon, *Revolutionary Principles*, pp. 5–34; Howard Nenner, 'Pretense and Pragmatism: The Response to the Uncertainty in the Succession Crisis of 1689', in *The Revolution of 1688-1689*, ed. by Schwoerer, pp. 83–94.

a small radical Whiggish faction. In the end, the Convention Parliament offered the crown to William and Mary as joint sovereigns.⁸² Mary's behaviour in these negotiations illustrates, as Lois Schwoerer has argued, that she 'subscribed to patriarchal ideas about the role of a woman'.⁸³ It equally suggests that she held little zest for political action on her own.⁸⁴

This joint monarchy was an effective ploy: the argument that James had forfeited his kingship by neglecting his responsibilities and absconding from the country was dubious. From the parliamentarians' point of view, it was therefore vital to construe a narrative which maintained the link to the Stuart lineage and did not depict William as usurper. On the surface, the joint monarchy redressed the anxiety that the nation's ties with its indigenous royal line had irrevocably ruptured and that the throne passed to a foreign dynasty with its own heritage and different national interests. The arrangement foregrounded the link to the Stuart line through Mary, James's eldest and Protestant daughter from his first marriage.

In practice, however, the joint monarchy was, by and large, lip service: William had stipulated that the executive power lay with him alone.⁸⁵ He had also insisted in his negotiations with the Houses that he remain king even if his wife should predecease him, and Anne had consented to temporarily waive her claim to

⁸² 'Crown and Parliament Recognition Act', 1689 <<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/WillandMar/2/1/introduction>> [accessed 29 March 2015]. On the pamphlet war of the Allegiance Controversy, cf. most notably Mark Goldie, 'The Revolution of 1689 and the Structure of Political Argument: An Essay and an Annotated Bibliography of Pamphlets on the Allegiance Controversy', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, LXXXIII (1980), 473–564.

⁸³ Lois G. Schwoerer, 'The Queen as Regent and Patron', in *The Age of William III & Mary II*, ed. by Maccubbin and Hamilton-Phillips, pp. 217–24 (p. 219; 221).

⁸⁴ On the contrast between Mary's abandoning her filial right to the throne and Anne's return to a more traditional notion of sovereignty, see Carol Barash, *English Women's Poetry, 1649-1714: Politics, Community, and Linguistic Authority* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 210, fn. 11; Lois G. Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II, 1689-95', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42.4 (1989), 717–48 (pp. 728–29).

⁸⁵ 'Bill of Rights' [1688] <<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/WillandMarSess2/1/2/introduction>> [accessed 10 August 2014].

the throne in case of Mary's premature death. For his part, William had conceded that Anne's offspring would take precedence in the established order of succession over his own issue born by a wife other than Mary. Retrospectively, this condition proved superfluous as both William's and Anne's marriage remained childless. At the time, though, the agreement served to further defuse the threat inherent in elevating the Dutch stadtholder (and thereby, a foreign dynasty) to the throne. For, in making this concession regarding the succession, William appears in the role of a place-holder king, who merely fills in for the Protestant heir of the next Stuart generation (Mary's or Anne's issue). With a view to a differentiated assessment, it is important to acknowledge the 1690 Regency Act, which restricted Mary's sovereign power to William's absences and allowed him to revoke her acts upon his return.⁸⁶ Given the unexpected frequency with which William was on campaign, however, this retrenchment of Mary's political power nonetheless led to her fulfilling the role as regent for almost three years (until her death in 1694).⁸⁷

The post-revolutionary monarchy of the British Isles starkly contrasts with earlier English and contemporary continental power structures. Behind the token appeals to Mary's Stuart lineage, William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen on 13 February 1689 because of negotiations with Parliament, not by divine right. Parliament used the Bill of Rights and the Coronation Oath Act to strengthen its position vis-à-vis the monarch. While the Stuart monarchs had still frequently drawn on the 'divine right of kings' doctrine, the sovereign was now accountable before God as well as before the earthly authority of Parliament. Unlike his predecessors and continental counterparts, William had to govern through

⁸⁶ 'William and Mary, 1689: An Act for the Exercise of the Government by Her Majestie Dureing His Majestyes Absence [Chapter VI. Rot. Parl. Pt. 1. Nu. 8.], in John Raithby, ed., *The Statutes of the Realm*, Making of the Modern World, 11 vols (s. l.: s. n., 1810), vi, 170.

⁸⁷ Schwoerer, 'The Queen as Regent and Patron', p. 222. See also Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 438.

Parliament and canvass sufficient parliamentary and public support for his foreign policy.⁸⁸ The rewritten coronation oath stipulated that the monarch

[g]overne the People of this Kingdome of England and the Dominions thereto belonging according to the Statutes in Parlyament Agreed on and the Laws and Customs of the same [and m]aintaine the Laws of God the true Profession of the Gospell and the Protestant Reformed Religion Established by Law.⁸⁹

Effectively, the acts ensured Protestant pre-eminence and negated the principles of absolute monarchy.

The wording of the oath of allegiance sworn to William and Mary testifies to the careful contractual dissimulations that facilitated William's accession. To minimize dangerous controversy, the parliamentary acts established William merely as monarch *de facto*, not *de jure*. Accordingly, the oath omits any reference to their being 'lawful and rightful' sovereigns of the realms.⁹⁰ The nonjuring schism, which nonetheless ensued among the clergy, and the fact that also Louis XIV refused to acknowledge William as *de-facto* king (which only the Treaty of Ryswick compelled him to do much later (1697))⁹¹ are representative of the challenges William faced upon his accession. William had not acceded by right, but by might. It was hence all the more vital for him to establish the legitimacy of his rule, garner popular support, and affirm the precarious state of the newly established succession. To do so, the post-revolutionary monarchy and its image-makers relied not only on the public portrayal of William's own person, which is at the heart of this thesis, but also on Mary. The following section will therefore briefly consider the iconographical implications of the post-1688 joint sovereignty,

⁸⁸ Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, pp. 1, 7.

⁸⁹ 'Coronation Oath Act', 1688 <<http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/WillandMar/1/6/contents>> [accessed 12 February 2014].

⁹⁰ 'Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy', cf. 'Bill of Rights'; Nenner, *The Right to Be King*, p. 209; Tony Claydon, 'William III and II (1650–1702), King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and Prince of Orange', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

⁹¹ Cf. Edward T. Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), p. 185.

and highlight the fact that Mary's image-making was in many ways in fact an ancillary campaign to that of William.

1.2.1 The Iconographical Implications of Joint Sovereignty

Overall, three specific kinds of iconographical exigencies coincide in Mary's monarchical image-making: those of the newly devised joint sovereignty and the post-revolutionary monarchy more generally (with it, those of William) as well as those of female rulership *tout court*. Mary's position, and by extension also her image-making, constituted a complement to William's image as well as a midway point between the previous male sovereignty of Charles II and James II and the succeeding sole female rule of Queen Anne. I will focus on how panegyrists negotiated William's and Mary's novel status as joint sovereigns and the question of their legitimacy.⁹² Broadly speaking, one can distinguish between four different visions, which range from those that conceive sovereignty predominantly via Mary to those that entirely elide her.

As we have seen, Mary's lineage featured prominently in construing a narrative of legitimacy for the settlement of the crowns post-1688. At the same time, opponents of the new regime manipulated evocations thereof to suit their own rhetoric. As the case of the Roettier medal (fig. 2) illustrates, they for example played on notions of failed filial duty. In his panegyric on the accession, John Guy in turn attempts to undermine the validity of this oppositional take. By acknowledging and confronting the moral and political dilemma of 1688/9 in an

⁹² For a more comprehensive analysis of Mary's monarchical image, see Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II, 1689-95'. Schwoerer charts the evolution of Mary's image chronologically and argues that over time, Mary's public image shifted from that of a consort to that of regent.

address which the first-person narrator directs towards his muse, Guy nullifies its rhetorical potential for the opposition:

But cease my Muse [...]

Transported far with Zeal,

For *Williams* Cause, and for the *English* Weal,

I fear too boldly thou dost truths reveal.

Dost thou consider what harsh Sounds they bear

To a Nephew, Son, and to a Daughters ear?

Blest Pair! not Nature more with Justice strove,

When *Junius* Sentenc'd his conspiring Son,

Than Grief and Duty in your Breasts did move,

When James's Errors did himself Dethrone;

With sorrowing Eyes you view'd the profer'd Crown,

And thought it fal'n too soon,

Till condescending pitty took it on:

You saw our Mis'ries, and our Woes bewail'd,

And that important thought prevail'd.⁹³

Overjoyed at England's rescue, the muse, so this address implies, disregards William's and Mary's personal sensitivities. Her chastisement draws attention to the dilemma of being caught between filial and political duty. It is this dilemma, the narrator protests, that William, James II's nephew and son(-in-law), and his daughter Mary must suffer. Guy presents James's demise as wholly self-inflicted and the birth of Edward, the alleged 'warming-pan baby' in June 1688 ('When *Junius* Sentenc'd his conspiring Son') as triggering his downfall. Guy's verses briefly exalt Mary and William as 'blest pair' for taking up the mantle for the good of the nation. In the second half of the stanza, he further implies that they are well-matched and meet divine approval in their union ('The only Match, the Sun [...] Saw worthy'). Their entity as couple, however, pales against the comparatively much heavier emphasis which Guy places on Mary: William is only referred to by name once, in the stanza's opening lines. Mary, in contrast, is invoked twice in typographically emphatic capital letters. In fact, she dominates the stanza's second

⁹³ Guy, *On the Happy Accession*, p. 11-2, stanza XV.

half in a deliberate echo of the *Hail Mary*. It is *her* arrival which England awaits and celebrates in this poetic acknowledgement of the Dutch naval campaign:

Hail MARY, Glory of thy Sex! By Thee
 Fal'n Woman kind restor'd again shall be;
 Who, when the Illustrious Pattern now they view,
 Shall leave their Vanity, and follow you:
 The only Match, the Sun in all his race,
 Saw worthy of thy Royal Lords embrace:
 Well are you pair'd in Vertue as in Love,
 As tho one Soul both Breasts did move,
 Happy the day! When *MARY* blest our Shore,
 The *English* shouts the News to *Holland* bore,
 Nor was there need of any Envoy of it more:
 The Guns and Bells were deafnd by the Voice,
 Scarce had been heard the Thunders loudest Noise.
 The Fires above look'd pale, asham'd to see,
 Our Fires below more bright, and numberless as they.⁹⁴

This passage conjures up three associations. The most patent evokes the biblical narrative of Mary, the mother of Christ, the 'Nova Eva', whose purity redeemed Eve (and womankind); akin to her, Mary Stuart, the narrator anticipates, would redeem 'Fal'n Woman kind' from their 'Vanity'. In their criticism, the verses also recall the loose morals which reigned at court prior to 1688 – in particular under Charles II, who was notorious for his extra-marital affairs and illegitimate offspring.⁹⁵ Beyond that, they call to mind Mary's female predecessors; since the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, all of England's queens, bar Anne Hyde, had been foreigners: Anne of Denmark, Catherine of Braganza, Henrietta Maria, and Mary of Modena. Given contemporary marriage politics, this observation is not remarkable in and of itself. What is striking, however, particularly in view of the growing religious discord, is that all the queens, Anne Hyde included, were Catholic or at

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 12, stanza XV, emphasis in original.

⁹⁵ The fact that no satire ever mentioned or exploited William's affair with Elizabeth Villiers further heightens the contrast between the pre- and post-revolutionary courts. Cf. *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1688-1697*, ed. by William J. Cameron, *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, 7 vols (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 1963), v, p. xxxvii. Cameron also argues that satiric allusions to William's alleged homosexuality should be read as expressions of English xenophobia more generally rather than concrete *ad-hominem* attacks.

least strongly suspected of Catholic sympathies. Mary's Englishness and her Protestantism thus become coveted qualities which distinguish her person as well as her queenship.⁹⁶

They are also implicit in the references to Elizabeth I which occur again and again, for instance in the epitaph which serves as coda to the anonymous *An Elegy upon the Death of the Queen* (1695) (fig. 3).⁹⁷



FIGURE 3 Anon., *Great-Britain's Lamentation for her Deceased Princess, or, An Elegy upon the Death of that Most Illustrious Mary, Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, who Exchang'd this Life for a Better* (1695), Reel Number: Wing/ G1667A, with detail. © Electronic Reproduction, *Early English Books Online*. Image published with the permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission; original source: Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Most remarkably, such evocations of Elizabeth I do not only occur in Marian panegyrics during her lifetime or, in mourning, upon her death; in fact, they still

⁹⁶ Note that the poetic gesture towards the *Ave Maria* is not contradictory to this confessional reading as the prayer is not an exclusive part of Roman Catholic devotional practices.

⁹⁷ *Great-Britain's Lamentation for Her Deceased Princess, Or, An Elegy upon the Death of That Most Illustrious Mary, Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Who Exchang'd This Life for a Better, Decemb. 28, 1694* (London: John Whitlock, 1695). The acrostick relies on three letters per line. In full, it reads: MARY QUEENE OF BRITAIN IS DECEASED.

feature in verse much later as, for instance, in Robert Fleming's 1702 *Fame's Mausoleum*, even though it was ostensibly an elegy on William's death:

Let all, dissolv'd in Tears, behold this weeping Stone,
 For here three Nations lie entomb'd in one.
Mary! Ah! Slain by Death's untimely Dart,
Elizabeth reviv'd, old *Mary's* Counterpart,
 Great William's virtuous Wife, his Joy and Grief;
 The Nation's Bliss, the Protestants Relief;
 The Just, Wise, Pious, Comely, Mild and Chast;
 The Sex and Age's Glory here does rest:
 I can no more! – Let others weep the rest.⁹⁸

Despite the obvious shortcomings of comparing Mary, and later, Anne, to Elizabeth I, another queen who, as Simon Schama points out, was 'stigmatized by a disgraced queen mother',⁹⁹ evocations of the Tudor Queen developed into a trope.¹⁰⁰ Juxtaposing Elizabeth I and Mary allowed panegyrists to create a direct line between the two and portray one as continuation of the other, thereby effectively eliding the queens that passed between them. Although she could not pretend to an equal measure of 'Englishness' as her younger sister would do later, Mary counts – despite her long sojourn in the Dutch Republic – as native, both in comparison with her female predecessors and her husband. It is therefore she, the panegyrics suggest, who can represent England's subjects and their desires literally as their sovereign as well as figuratively.

The comparisons with Elizabeth equally underscore the counterfactual prominence to which John Guy elevates Mary and her role as sovereign. Samuel Wesley's versification peddles this skewed perspective, which configures the role

⁹⁸ Robert Fleming, *Fame's Mausoleum: A Pindarick Poem, with a Monumental Inscription, Sacred to the Glorious Memory of William the Great. Humbly Offered as an Essay* (London: Andrew Bell, 1702), p. 14, stanza 18.

⁹⁹ Simon Schama, 'The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17.1 (1986), 155–83 (p. 163).

¹⁰⁰ In this context cf. especially John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).

of the English sovereign through Mary rather than William, or the two of them as sovereign couple, to an even greater extent:

Sweet *Angel-Forms, Peace, Virtue, Health and Love*, [...]

These often drive the *Air*, those *Furies* chace

And fetter in their own *infernal Place*:

These lent at once NASSAW and ENGLAND Aid,

And Bright MARIA to our *Shores* convey'd:

Her, all their *Pow'r* and all their *Charms* they gave,

To *govern* what her *Heroe* came to *save*.¹⁰¹

In this homage to the 'Protestant winds' of 1688, which enabled William's naval forces to cross the Channel while keeping James's in port, William fulfils the role of a mere heroic accessory. He enables Mary's regal greatness while she shoulders sovereignty. Although the panegyrics may differ in how obviously discrepant they render the role allocations, writers such as Guy and Wesley both adopt a perspective which places the monarchical responsibilities above all on Mary; simultaneously, they conceive of William predominantly as military hero, as 'So brave a Gen'ral', Mary's '*Mars*', or a Theseus to her Ariadne.¹⁰² William, this hierarchy implies, is the commanding soldier; rarely ever, as in the reference to the 'blest pair' do we gain the impression that he is, in fact, a soldier-king.

The overall timeline and the publication date of these pieces make this shift in emphasis all the more remarkable: Mary died in 1694, making William the sole sovereign until his death in 1702. Guy's poem on the accession appeared in 1699 – despite the topicality its title suggests – alongside formulaic protestations of modesty and poetical inadequacy with which he explained the belatedness of the publication in his preface. Wesley's poem appeared in 1700, and Fleming's, in turn, in 1702. The panegyrists obfuscate Mary's refusal to accept the sole settlement of

¹⁰¹ Samuel Wesley, *An Epistle to a Friend Concerning Poetry*, Early English Books Online (London: Charles Harper, 1700), l. 847-54, emphasis in original.

¹⁰² John Tutchin, *An Heroick Poem upon the Late Expedition of His Majesty, to Rescue England from Popery* (London: s. n., 1689), p. 5.

the crown as well as the precise terms of the joint sovereignty.¹⁰³ In conjunction with the retrospective nature of their poems with respect to Mary's death, their continued focus on her illustrates the extent to which Mary's monarchical image-making was in fact an integral part of Williamite image-making. Their deliberate failure to acknowledge the joint sovereignty further creates the illusion that William took up the mantle from his wife upon her death.

Examples from Matthew Morgan, John Glanvill, and Daniel Defoe help to put the panegyric liberties of Guy, Wesley, and Tutchin into perspective: Matthew Morgan actually exceeds the previously discussed examples in his poetic licence. He conflates the roles of military and political leader and construes both through Mary. Still more fanciful than the comparisons with Elizabeth I, he also conjures up a scenario of 1688 which allows him to conceive of his dedicatee 'M. S.' as 'another Boadicia':

You are Heroical as well as Ingenuous: For give me leave to remember, That upon the first Landing of our Glorious KING, you were touch'd with a more than ordinary Joy; nay, You once resolv'd to do that Honor to our Sex, by dissembling your Own, as to disguise your self *En Cavalier*, and go in to the Prince: Then, MADAM, you would have appear'd like the Goddess of Wisdome, with your Spear and Shield; or like another *Boadicia*, Fighting against Romans too, in vindication of your injur'd Country.¹⁰⁴

Here, Morgan constructs Mary as active quasi-warrior in the fight against Catholicism 'like another *Boadicia* [...] against Romans.' That he further complements the image of Boadicea with that of Minerva-Athena ('the Goddess of Wisdome, with your Spear and Shield') is particularly remarkable insofar as it

¹⁰³ Cf. also Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time* (London: Thomas Ward, 1724), vol. 3, pp. 311, 393; *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England, 1689-1693, Together with Her Letters and Those of Kings James II and William III to the Electress, Sophia of Hanover*. Ed. by R. Doebner., ed. by Richard Doebner (Leipzig: s. n., 1886), p. 23. in Schwoerer, 'The Queen as Regent and Patron', p. 220.

¹⁰⁴ Matthew Morgan, *A Poem to the Queen upon the King's Victory in Ireland and His Voyage to Holland* (Oxford: s. n., 1691); T. W. Potter, 'Boudicca [Boadicea] (D. AD 60/61), Queen of the Iceni', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

anticipates the mythological allegory which later featured prominently in Queen Anne's image-making (cf. 5.1).

In contrast, John Glanvill's work represents a relatively realistic middle of the spectrum. In his commemorative poem on Mary II's death, he strikes a more sober tone than Morgan, Wesley, and Guy. He acknowledges Mary's share in the affairs of state during William III's campaign absences and portrays them as having contributed to the defeat of Louis XIV and the sinking of his battleship, the Royal Sun.¹⁰⁵ Glanvill thereby depicts the monarchical responsibilities of the post-1688 regime reasonably in line with the actual settlement of the crown. The medal below commemorates Mary's role as regent in similar fashion. It acknowledges her status and her limited executive powers as queen regent. At the same time, it unequivocally portrays her as the key domestic political power during William's absence. The trident echoes the Neptune allegory which began to feature increasingly prominently in William's allegorical image-making at the time (cf. 5.2, 5.3).



FIGURE 4. Jan Smeltzing, *Mary II Acting as Regent* (1690). London, British Museum, G3,EM.222. © Trustees of the British Museum.

¹⁰⁵ John Glanvill, *A Poem: Dedicated to the Memory of Her Late Sacred Majesty* (London: s. n., 1695), p. 5. On the 'speed and authority' with which Mary acted during William's absences, see also Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, *Greenwich Hospital: A Royal Foundation 1692-1983* (London: Trustees of Greenwich Hospital, 1984), p. 6.

Daniel Defoe, in turn, provides a true counterpoint to scenarios which (over-) emphasize Mary's political role. In his essay *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England* (1702), he constructs a vision of the 1688/9 settlement and the ensuing reign, which completely neglects Mary's share in the monarchy:

Sir, [...] as you are King of Your People, so You are the Peoples King. This Title, as it is the Most Glorious, so is it the Most Indisputable in the World. [...] The pretence of Patriarchal Authority, had it really an uninterrupted Succession, can never be supported against the demonstrated Practice of all Nations. [...] The Authority of Governours *Jure Divino* has sunk Ignominiously to the Ground, as a preposterous and inconsistent Forgers. And yet, if *Vox Populi* be, as 'tis generally allow'd, *Vox Dei*, Your Majesty's Right to these Kingdoms, *Jure Divino*, is more plain than any of Your Predecessors. How happy are these Nations, after all the Oppressions and Tyranny of Arbitrary Rulers, to obtain a King who Reigns by the Universal Voice of the People, and has the greatest share in their Affections that ever any Prince enjoy'd, *Queen Elizabeth* only excepted.¹⁰⁶

In this passage, Defoe addresses the notions of divine right and hereditary succession. He rejects the latter,¹⁰⁷ and argues, in evoking the proverbial *vox populi vox Dei*, that through the people's support, William was also king by divine right more truthfully than his predecessors. Defoe asserts that the successes of William's reign vindicated the powers with which the presumed national collective had invested him. His ignoring Mary is all the more striking since he adduces Elizabeth I as point of reference when he discusses the alleged affection of the population for their monarch.¹⁰⁸ It appears an almost deliberate omission – and that not only for reasons of gender or lineage, but also because Mary was, by many accounts, the

¹⁰⁶ Daniel Defoe, *The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England, Examined and Asserted* (London: s. n., 1702), sec. To the King, dedication.

¹⁰⁷ Defoe's dismissal of 'patriarchal authority' as pertaining to the previous regimes and going counter popular choice jars with the view Carol Barash advances of the settlement of the crowns. Mary, Barash argues, 'gave up her inherited claim to the throne and asserted William's Protestant, male right over her own blood right, a symbolic shift in the relationship between gender and political authority that stands at the centre of the larger transformation from a hierarchical to an oppositional model of the English body politic'; Barash, *English Women's Poetry*, p. 210.

¹⁰⁸ See also Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture*, p. 97 on other instances which establish direct links between William III and Elizabeth I in view of their politics of Anglo-Dutch alliances.

principal ambassador of the royal couple.¹⁰⁹ It was Mary who conveyed a sense of accessibility to the post-Revolutionary monarchy and who helped the new monarchy carry its rhetoric of courtly reformation.¹¹⁰

Regardless of how large a share in sovereignty they accorded Mary, the panegyrists whose work I have quoted above (Defoe excepted) also drew on the vocabulary of courtly reformation and contributed to making Mary the ‘symbol of the Orange Court’s virtue’.¹¹¹ In Wesley’s poem, for instance, the personified virtues which bestow the ‘Pow’r’ and ‘Charms’ to rule onto Mary evoke a catalogue of Protestant wholesomeness. Fleming draws on this semantic field in similar fashion in his morally and religiously couched description of Mary as deferential and dutiful wife. The anonymous *Great-Britain’s Lamentation* pushes its hyperbolic description almost to the point of its own collapse. Mary is

Brim-fill’d with Honour, Courteous, Modest, Sage,
Wit and Wise, one of a resolute Mind,
Yet to Compassion mightily inclin’d
Ev’n sometimes to a Fault, in saving those
False Wretches that were her Life-seeking Foes.¹¹²

Here, her excessive virtuousness – while possibly a political fault and also detrimental to Mary herself – achieves a level of quasi-sainthood. It is in particular through panegyric idealisation of Mary’s virtues such as these, the legitimizing potential of her lineage, and liberal poetic interpretations of her share in the joint sovereignty that Marian image-making contributes to the monarchical image of the post-revolutionary settlement as a whole. Upon her death, Tony Claydon notes, the ‘portrayal of court reformation lost much momentum’.¹¹³ Importantly, however,

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, p. 93; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 479.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Schwoerer, ‘The Queen as Regent and Patron’, p. 219; Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, p. 10.

¹¹¹ Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, p. 94.

¹¹² *Great-Britain’s Lamentation*.

¹¹³ Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, p. 100.

Marian image-making is never truly independent; even when panegyrics such as Morgan's, Guy's, or Wesley's place an unrealistic emphasis on Mary's role in the monarchy, they do not generate visions that do away with William in the same way Williamite panegyric may dismiss Mary. Despite its inequalities, the joint sovereignty visibly impacted on and promoted Mary's iconographical role in post-1688 monarchical image-making.¹¹⁴ Marian image-making functioned as part of Williamite image-making – in life as well as death: in life, it mitigated William's shortcomings and the vulnerability of his position; in death, William gained likability through his genuine grief, which incited him to dismiss his mistress, Elizabeth Villiers. William, it is clear, was not only legitimized through his wife, but also, and at least as importantly, humanized through her.

Throughout most of his reign, the succession remained in jeopardy. William's marriage to Mary had remained childless. Had he chosen to remarry, his issue would have been next in line to the throne after his sister-in-law, Anne Stuart, and her progeny. His refusal did not only increase his popularity with the populace; it also placed the onus of ensuring the Protestant Succession on Anne alone. Until 1700, Anne had been pregnant seventeen times in as many years. She had carried the child to term but five times; of those five children, the only one to survive infancy was William, the Duke of Gloucester (b. 1689). Throughout the 1690s, the dynastic hope of the Protestant Stuart Succession rested on him. It shattered upon the boy's sudden death in July 1700. The likelihood that Princess Anne, then aged 35, would bear another heir to the throne was waning, and the Protestant succession was once again at high risk. Upon William's death, Anne would be the

¹¹⁴ This observation raises the question of how Mary's iconographical status within the royal couple compares to their successors, Anne and George of Denmark, and their French counterpart, Louis XIV and Marie-Therese of Austria (as well as subsequently Madame de Maintenon). Wherever possible, I will give a sense of this relation in the course of the thesis in passing. To address this question more fully, however, would require a separate study.

last surviving member in the line of succession as the Bill of Rights had established it in 1689. The line would extinguish with her death whereas that of the exiled Catholic branch could boast James Edward Francis Stuart, Anne's half-brother, as heir and pretender to the crowns.

To avert the increasingly imminent danger of a restoration of the exiled Stuart court under James II and VII, William and his counsellors devised the Act of Settlement.¹¹⁵ It received royal assent in 1701, but was officially in use from the beginning of the parliamentary session on, that is 1700. The Act barred Roman Catholics from the line of succession. It established that, in the increasingly probable case of William and Anne dying without issue, the crowns of England and Ireland would pass to the nearest Protestant relative and their (Protestant) heirs. By virtue of this arrangement, Sophia, the Electress of Hanover, a granddaughter of James I and VI and niece of Charles I, who was then already at the advanced age of 71, became the heiress presumptive to the throne of England and Ireland.

This legislative safeguard against a potential Catholic restoration gained more weight in light of the international political situation: a few days before James II's death in Saint-Germain-en-Laye in September 1701, Louis XIV had declared that France would officially recognize his son, Anne's half-brother as successor. This announcement constituted a deliberate contravention of the peace of Ryswick. It testifies to the continued contestation of the succession and France's unabated interest in a Jacobite (Catholic) restoration. It equally indicates that Anne would need to continue William's hard-line foreign policy vis-à-vis France in order to safeguard the achievements of 1688/9.

¹¹⁵ *An Act for the Further Limitation of the Crown and Better Securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*, 12 and 13 Gul. III. 3 c. 2, 1700 & 1701, in Raithby, *The Statutes of the Realm*, VII, pp. 636-8.

1.3 The Accession of Anne Stuart: Circumstances and Challenges

William III died childless in spring 1702. In accordance with the Bill of Rights, his sister-in-law, James II's younger daughter Anne Stuart, succeeded to the throne. Her coronation took place on St. George's Day, 23 April 1702.¹¹⁶ At first sight, her succession may appear less controversial than her predecessor's. Statute rather than hereditary right determined her right to the crown; and what is more, neither Whigs nor Tories disputed her accession. There was a catch nonetheless. Little more than a decade after William's contested accession, Anne's accession provided an opening for the debate on monarchical legitimacy to resurge. This time, it was not a matter of whether or not one viewed Anne's accession as legitimate (as in the case of William of Orange), but rather on what grounds: statute or common law. How one answered this question defined, as Joseph Hone has stressed recently, both one's factional sympathies, and one's opinion on the future settlement of the crown.¹¹⁷ Those who subscribed to Anne's accession by statute simultaneously demonstrated their acceptance of the exclusion of Catholic claimants from the line of succession, and by extension, their support of the future claim of the House of Hanover. Those in turn who construed Anne's right to the throne as dynastic expressed their loyalty to the House of Stuart and their belief in the concept of hereditary kingship instead of a Protestant succession. Accordingly, they would have considered Anne's half-brother as next in line.

¹¹⁶ In addition to the to primary legal and parliamentary sources and the individually cited secondary items, I have drawn above all on the following range of historical scholarship in the preparation of this commentary: Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*; "Nothing but Ceremony": Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual', *Journal of British Studies*, 30.3 (1991), 288–323; 'Queen Anne: A Victim of Her Virtues?'; David B. Green, *Queen Anne* (London: Collins, 1970); Gregg, *Queen Anne*; Clarissa Campbell Orr, 'Introduction: Court Studies, Gender and Women's History, 1660-1837', in *Queenship in Britain*, ed. by Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 1–52; Rachel Judith Weil, "Queens Are but Women": Images of Queen Anne', in *Political Passions*, pp. 162–86. On the scholarly debate around the structure and impact of political parties in the period more generally, cf. among others Geoffrey S. Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, rev. edn (London: Hambledon, 1987 [1967]); Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts*.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Hone, 'The End of the Line', pp. 3–4.

The two legitimation narratives behind Anne's accession emblemize and express support for two opposing forms of government: constitutional and hereditary monarchy. As such, they offer a glimpse of the clash of political principles and their respective supporters that had gained momentum since 1688 and would continue to play out during Anne's reign. They also indicate that, unlike in William's case, both Tory and Whig contributions were likely to feed into Anne's monarchical image. The former would inscribe her in an 'English' dynastic narrative while the latter would prefer to cast her as heir to William's legacy. Anne, in her role as monarch, was likely to be caught between these two politically (and confessionally) opposed parties. In her case, it is therefore particularly interesting to consider whether and how instances of her self-representation attempt to consolidate these two possible panegyric narratives. With a view to the relevance of the French monarchy to these two narratives, the political and partisan trends of William's reign may tempt one to conjecture that France played a relatively large part in image-making of Whiggish sympathies. In the course of the analysis, however, we will find that the alternative holds true: the desire to put Louis XIV into his place outweighed the finer details of political principle and united the domestic factions as well as foreign observers in the construction of a narrative in which Anne surpasses Louis.

William had to square a narrative of rupture with one of continuity; in this respect, his central political and representational challenges resembles those of Charles II who had to display, as Felicity Heal highlights, 'at once [...] continuity with the past and reflect[ing] the changes in royal culture that had followed from

defeat and exile'.¹¹⁸ Anne, by contrast, needed to accommodate two diverging narratives of continuity. Her lineage in some ways mitigated this challenge. It gave her advance credence where William had had none. Anne was a Stuart by blood rather than marriage. As such, she was dynastically more acceptable; even more importantly, she was English. Both her predecessor and the man who turned out to be her successor, George I (r. 1714-1727), had been and would again prove ready targets for oppositional rhetoric of the kind that construed the possession of foreign dominions and a foreign birth as conflicts of interest vis-à-vis their sovereignty over the island kingdoms. Anne was immune to reproaches of this kind by dint of her Englishness. This Englishness moreover freed her from having to follow in the footsteps of William and her elder sister, who generated a fiction of dynastic legitimacy by strategically sharing sovereign authority and (nominally) ruled as king and queen regnant. Anne acceded to the throne on her own. She was the first sole queen regnant since the days of Mary I of Scotland and Elizabeth I.

However, sole female sovereignty came with challenges of its own. Anne's Stuart lineage could do little to detract from the fact that the state of the Protestant succession remained ever precarious. The queen, her counsellors, and image-makers had to negotiate notions of queenship that derived from the reign of Elizabeth I. As such, they were entrenched in the national consciousness as well as outdated. More challengingly even, they had to generate a model of queenship for a monarch who tragically failed in one of her key duties, namely ensuring the continuity of her line, rather than one whose alleged virginity had already furnished a by-name during her life time.

¹¹⁸ Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: OUP, 2014), p. 207.

One of the central demands on Anne's reign was to further ensure the Protestant Succession,¹¹⁹ for which the 1701 Act had provided a rather rapid statutory solution. Accordingly, parliament followed up this earlier act with the Regency Act (1705-6).¹²⁰ It was to ensure that in case of Anne's death, arrangements for a regency council were in place so that the Protestant succession would not be jeopardized until the new monarch arrived in England. Shortly after its coming into force, the Act was updated by the Succession to the Crown Act (1707), which took into account the union between England and Scotland.¹²¹ By the early 1700s, hopes that Anne might bear another heir had become unrealistic. The succession's continuity depended entirely on whether the 1707 Act would be implemented as intended when the time came. The framework of statutes and the fact that House of Hanover was promisingly multigenerational (the future George II had been born in 1683) could not eradicate the threat which the exiled Catholic Stuart branch continued to pose to Britain's reconfigured monarchy. Not least James's deposition and William's accession had only proven too recently that an established political order could, circumstances permitting, be successfully overturned. The legislative safeguard for the Protestant succession could merely alleviate fears of a Catholic restoration. Moreover, it came at the considerable cost of elevating an essentially foreign dynasty to the British throne. Even though, under the circumstances, these measures constituted the best possible effort to ensure the Protestant succession, this succession had in some ways become more imperiled in the early stages of Anne's reign than it had been under her

¹¹⁹ Cf. its discussion for instance in Daniel Defoe, *The Succession to the Crown of England, Considered* (London: s. n., 1701).

¹²⁰ *An Act for the Better Security of Her Majesties Person and Government and of the Succession to the Crown of England in the Protestant Line*, 4 & 5 Ann. c. 20, 1705 & 1706 in Raithby, *The Statutes of the Realm*, VIII, pp. 498-503.

¹²¹ *An Act for the Security of Her Majesties Person and Government and of the Succession to the Crown of Great Britain in the Protestant Line*, 6 Ann. c 41, 1707 in *ibid.*, pp. 738-43.

predecessor when expectations for a legitimate direct heir had still been more realistic.

Matters of succession also continued to affect the three kingdoms' foreign policy insofar as they determined the relations within the former Alliance and vis-à-vis France. Certainly, the Alliance's hard-won defeat of Louis XIV validated the (anti-French) foreign-policy agenda which William had pursued in his early years as Stadtholder and throughout his reign. Yet, most notably due to two positions Louis XIV had adopted in 1700/1, the yield of the victory in the Nine Year's War (1688-97) was short-lived. Both of these decisions concerned matters of succession – to the thrones of the British Isles and Spain, respectively: Louis XIV first seized the opportunity to upset the carefully negotiated balance of powers in Europe upon the death of Charles II of Spain, the last in line in the Spanish House of Habsburg. On his deathbed, the Spanish monarch named Philip, the duke of Anjou and Louis XIV's second-eldest grandson, as his successor. With her marriage to Louis XIV, the Infanta Maria Theresa of Spain (1638-83, m. 1660) had forfeited any claim to the Spanish throne as it reverted to her husband.¹²² It was Louis therefore who publicly asserted this claim on behalf of his offspring. The potential consequences of this arrangement were doubly alarming for all previous member states of the League of Augsburg: Philip's accession to the Spanish throne would boost the dynastic influence of the House of Bourbon in general; even more worryingly, it also prefigured a potential unification of the French and Spanish thrones since Philip remained in the line of succession to the French throne. Once

¹²² For further historiographical background on and critical assessments of the Spanish Succession and the developments surrounding the testament of Charles II of Spain, see for instance Jean Bérenger, 'La Question de la Succession d'Espagne au XVIIe siècle', in *La Présence des Bourbons en Europe: XVIIe-XXIe siècle*, ed. by Lucien Bély (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2003), pp. 75–91; Klaus Malettke, 'La Signification de la Succession d'Espagne pour les relations internationales jusqu'à l'époque de Ryswick (1697)', in *ibid.*, pp. 93–109; Marie-Francoise Maquart, 'Le Dernier Testament de Charles II d'Espagne', in *ibid.*, pp. 111–24.

again, the former members of the Grand Alliance saw their hand forced by the danger this kind of renewed Bourbon supremacy would pose to their overseas trade interests. These prospects and the fact that Louis XIV adjusted his politics in new-found confidence incited them to support another's claim to the Spanish throne (advanced by the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I on behalf of his second-eldest son, the archduke Charles). That Louis XIV subsequently also took the occasion of James II's death to contravene the Ryswick peace agreement and reverted to its open support of the Jacobite cause further added to this renewed display of French power politics. As the relative vulnerability of the Protestant succession and Louis's renewed active encouragement boosted the confidence of the Jacobite sympathizers, it must have filled Anne and her supporters, both Whig and Tory, with dismay. Instead of inheriting the more equalized power structures that resulted from Peace of Ryswick, Anne faced foreign-political challenges of similar calibre to those her predecessor had to tackle. War against France and its supporters (notably Spain, Bavaria, and Cologne) was declared in May 1702, shortly after her coronation. Unlike the Nine Year's War, however, the War of the Spanish Succession, which continued throughout Anne's entire reign, did not yield any satisfactory results for the allied faction. Anne died in summer 1714 and as the various peace negotiations were gradually brought to a conclusion, the allied forces had not obtained much besides Philip of Anjou's agreement to renounce his claim to the French throne; if nothing else, this at least abated the risk of a unification of the French and Spanish kingdoms.

Chapter 2.

Louis XIV, His Image, and Its Making

This chapter offers an insight into the monarchical image-making of Louis XIV. It considers the legacy of Louis XIV's image, the ideological and structural origins of the campaign behind its circulation and output as well as its use of classical allegory. Alongside chapter 1, it provides necessary background on the basis of which the thesis relates the French monarchical image-making of the period to its English counterpart and assesses its relevance. It also complements and expands on my earlier introductory remarks which first established contemporary French monarchical image-making as a relevant point of reference, the better to validate the line of inquiry pursued in this thesis. The chapter approaches the Ludovican image in reverse chronology; it closes in from its legacy to its beginnings. This angle of approach not only further highlights its iconographical impact, but also helps to throw the differences between the French and English image-campaigns into sharper relief.

2.1 The Ludovican Legacy, Its Origins, and Its Driving Force

William Makepeace Thackeray's 1840 *Paris Sketchbook* contains one of the best known caricatures of Louis XIV (fig. 5). It satirizes Hyacinthe Rigaud's iconic 1701 portrait of the then sixty-three-year-old king, and ridicules the king himself as well as his image-making campaign.



FIGURE 5. REX. LUDOVICUS. LUDOVICUS REX., in William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Paris Sketchbook* (1840), London, British Museum, 1861,1012.335© Trustees of the British Museum.¹²³

The caricature shows three figures in half-profile, turned towards the spectators' left, against a backdrop of drapery. This sparse décor is deliberately ambiguous in that it evokes the opulent draperies of a palatial window, the hangings in front of which a sitter may pose for a portraitist, or even a theatre curtain. Thackeray thereby not only foregrounds the performative dimension of monarchy, but equally deprecates it as staged and theatrical. The depiction of the figure on which the caricature hinges – its 'actor' as it were – enhances this impression further. The centre of the drawing features an elderly Louis XIV: he is bald, eagle-nosed, and knobbly-kneed, his shoulders are sloping, and he is leaning on a walking stick in his right hand; his left is hidden away in the pocket of plain contemporary undergarments. On a wooden mannequin to his left await the sartorial accoutrements of Rigaud's portrait: the wig, the elegant cane, the ermine cloak with fleur-de-lys embroidery. On the very right, we finally see the elderly Louis as

¹²³ Also in William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Paris Sketchbook; And, Art Criticisms*, ed. by George Saintsbury, The Oxford Thackeray with Illustrations, 17 vols (London, New York and Toronto: Henry Frowde, OUP, 1910), II, p. 323.

Rigaud would have him: heavily made-up, in royal robes, with his free, left leg turned outward in mock dancing lightness. In conjunction with its caption, the caricature provides a vision of how Louis turns into Louis XIV.

In this satirical drawing, Thackeray evidently peddles and plays to anti-French clichés such as blind obedience to rules of fashion, the superficiality that goes along with placing an unwarranted stake in appearances, a good measure of effeminacy and theatricality, as well as a population prone to gullibility. By 1840, these stereotypes had long become *de rigueur*. By then, Louis XIV had also been dead for more 125 years. France had experienced the Revolution (1789-1799), which paved the way for its two brief spells as non-monarchical state – one as Republic (1792-1804), the other as Empire (1804-1815) – and it was only a decade earlier, in 1830, that the Restoration of the House of Bourbon had collapsed and given way to the July Monarchy (1830-48) under the House of Orléans. By homing in on Louis XIV, the sketch on the one hand gestures to this period of short-lived dynastic restoration; on the other hand, it testifies – even in its vitriolic satire – to the secular iconicity, which Louis XIV had attained posthumously.

Since the mid-eighteenth century, its reach had been eloquently heightened by one posthumous publication in particular: Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV*. Voltaire deemed Louis XIV the first worthy king since Henri IV¹²⁴ and accordingly, or so it seems, also the only monarch other than Henri IV worthy of a publication. His *Siècle de Louis XIV* first appeared in 1751, 28 years after the publication of his epic poem *La Henriade* (1723) and 36 years after Louis XIV's death (1715).¹²⁵ In 1715, Voltaire had been twenty years old; he could not but know of the growing number

¹²⁴ Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, vol. 13A, chap. 7, p. 124. Cf. also Voltaire, 'Lettre à Milord Hervey', p. 611.

¹²⁵ Voltaire, *La Henriade*, ed. by Owen R. Taylor, Œuvres complètes de Voltaire, 2nd edn (Geneva; later Oxford: Institut et Musée Voltaire; later Voltaire Foundation, 1970), vol. 2.

of military defeats which France suffered during the last third of the reign, the mounting critique of the monarch, and the 'awkward discrepancies between the official image of the king and the everyday reality as perceived by even relatively sympathetic contemporaries'.¹²⁶ Nonetheless, his *Siècle de Louis XIV* takes an approving view of the era, its achievements and, by extension, also of its ruler;¹²⁷ as such, it contributes considerably to the glorification of age and monarch alike.

Yet, for all their popularising effect, Louis XIV's legendary reputation, the epithet 'le grand siècle' for the French seventeenth century, or our tendency to associate the term *ancien régime* above all with Louis XIV's reign are not solely the products of posthumous glorification or vilification; nor do these assessments simply arise from the sheer length of his reign. Rather, Louis's posthumous glorification appears the consequential extension of the exaltation of his life time – and almost naturally so. For, from very early on, he had deliberately and strategically impressed his mark upon his environment in a way few monarchs have done before or since.

Born in 1638 and programmatically named Louis Dieudonné, he was the long-awaited heir to the Bourbon dynasty. He acceded to the throne of France and Navarre upon his father's death in 1643, a few months before his fifth birthday. Until he was deemed of age, the queen dowager, Anne of Austria, conducted the affairs of state as sole regent on his behalf together with Cardinal Mazarin, the chief minister of her regency council. Accordingly, the young Louis XIV experienced the Thirty Years War, the Frondes, and the early years of the continuing Franco-Spanish hostilities largely from the governmental side-lines.

¹²⁶ Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 126.

¹²⁷ Viewed in the context of this publication, the criticism of France voiced in Voltaire's *Lettres écrites de Londres sur les Anglais* (1734, first published as *Letters on the English Nation* in 1723) seems to be directed less at Louis XIV's reign than at the *Régence* (1715-23) during which Voltaire was also imprisoned in the Bastille for his libellous criticisms of the *régent*.

Nonetheless, these upheavals are likely to have left an indelible impression on the young king, and may well have increased his desire to preclude future threats to the powers of the crown and to expedite his sovereignty as absolute.

When he took over the affairs of state in 1651, the Bourbon monarchy was well-placed to vie with the Habsburg dynasty for European pre-eminence. Following the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, Louis improved his standing further; in 1660, he married, as mentioned earlier, Maria Theresa, the Infanta of Spain and his double-first cousin. A year later, Mazarin died. Louis took this opportunity to announce that, contrary to tradition, he would rule without a chief minister:

Monsieur, dit-il en s'adressant d'abord au chancelier, je vous ai fait assembler avec mes ministres et secrétaires d'État pour vous dire que, jusqu'à présent, j'ai bien voulu laisser gouverner mes affaires par feu M. le cardinal; il est temps que je les gouverne moi-même[... I]l conclut avec une fermeté surprenante: 'La face du théâtre change. Dans le gouvernement de mon État, dans la régie de mes finances et dans les négociations au-dehors, j'aurai d'autres principes que ceux de feu M. le cardinal. Vous savez mes volontés, c'est à vous maintenant, messieurs, de les exécuter'.¹²⁸

Just as he consolidated his personal rule, Louis XIV also took control of his image-making, which had, until then, followed a rather conventional pattern. His approach to monarchical image-making distinguishes itself through the remarkably high degrees of deliberation and control which he exerted in establishing and maintaining his image. Naturally, the first years of his personal rule were instrumental in this process. Voltaire estimates in his *Siècle* that, along with the military successes of the regency period, the first fifteen years of Louis's personal rule were the most glorious of his reign; a period of untarnished splendour. In his eyes, the watershed of fortune occurred in 1675. That year, Louis lost two renowned military strategists in the Franco-Dutch War: Marshal Turenne

¹²⁸ Abel Hugo, *France historique et monumentale: Histoire générale de France depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, illustrée et expliquée par les monuments de toutes les époques, édifiés, sculptés, peints, dessinés, coloriés, etc* (s. l.: Delloye, 1843), p. 316. See John B. Wolf, *Louis XIV* (London: Panther, 1970), p. 133 for the quotation in English.

was killed in battle, and Louis, le Grand Condé, retired after the Rhine campaign against the Imperial Army. With this assessment, Voltaire effectively precludes the critical consensus of posterity; scholars concur with the benefit of hindsight that the decline of Louis XIV's reign progressed from the late 1680s onwards, with the previous decade constituting a sort of tipping point.¹²⁹

At this point, it is important to acknowledge the scholarly debate around Voltaire and his role as historian and/or historiographer.¹³⁰ In the *Siècle*, Voltaire adopts the pose of the *historien-philosophe*, who writes 'comme homme et non comme sujet'.¹³¹ In doing so, he deploys the implicit contrast between the figure of the disinterested and hence allegedly truthful observer and that of the partial courtier or paid historiographer. His status as writer, however, does not detract from the value of the *Siècle* and its shrewd observations, nor does it diminish the work's pivotal role in transmitting and shaping our vision of seventeenth-century France. What is more, his assessment of the Ludovican trajectory does not only anticipate current scholarly views; it also echoes earlier eye witness accounts. Jean-Baptiste Primi Visconti (1648-1713), a Piemontese nobleman who arrived at Versailles in 1673, provides one such testimony in his *Mémoires sur la cour de Louis XIV, 1673-1681*. Shortly after his arrival at court, he records:

¹²⁹ Burke, *The Fabrication*, pp. 106–23; J. S. Bromley, 'The Decline of Absolute Monarchy, 1683-1774', in *France: Government and Society*, ed. by Wallace-Hadrill and McManners, pp. 134–60; Ferrier-Caverivière, *L'Image*.

¹³⁰ For further details, cf. above all the current Leverhulme Trust research project 'Voltaire: historian of modernity', undertaken by the Voltaire Foundation (http://www.voltaire.ox.ac.uk/www_vf/ocv/ocv_historian.ssi). See also the programme of the eponymous international research day (Versailles, 15 December 2015, organised by the Voltaire Foundation and the Centre de recherche du château de Versailles) as well as Nicholas Cronk, 'Voltaire, Historian: Constructing Contemporary History in the Enlightenment', *The Leverhulme Trust Newsletter*, January 2015, p. 4. For a recent exploration of the stakes in conceiving of Voltaire as historian and historiographer as well as Voltaire's own contribution on the terms 'historiographe' and 'histoire' in the *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné* (1767), cf. Siofra Pierse, 'Voltaire: Polemical Possibilities of History', in *A Companion to Enlightenment Historiography*, ed. by Sophie Bourgault and Robert Alan Sparling, Brill's Companions to European History (Leiden: Brill, 2013), III, 153–88. Pierse's contribution also references the major anglo- and francophone publications on the topic to date.

¹³¹ Voltaire, 'Lettre à Milord Hervey', p. 611.

Me trouvant dans sa chambre avec d'autres courtisans, j'ai remarqué plusieurs fois que, si la porte vient par hasard à être ouverte, ou s'il sort, il compose aussitôt son attitude et prend une autre expression de figure, comme s'il devait paraître sur un théâtre; en somme, il sait bien faire le roi en tout.¹³²

Though they lack Thackeray's satiric bite, Primi Visconti's observations similarly draw attention to the theatricality of monarchy.¹³³ They confirm that by then, Louis XIV mastered its orchestration with ease, within as well as without the confines of his bed chamber.

Louis streamlined both the structures that facilitated his image-campaign, and, as I will highlight in chapter 2.3, its content. He expedited the creation, implementation, and dissemination of his image-making venture above all by augmenting royal influence over all societal domains; he thereby harnessed the potential of capable minds – from administrators to imaginative writers, musicians, architects, and military strategists – to his services and the monarchical cause. Increasing institutionalisation was the mechanism of choice to channel this groundwork. Accordingly, a drastic upsurge in the number of academies marks out the 1660s. This included the foundation of the *Petite Académie* (viz. *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*) in 1663, the *Académie royale des sciences* in 1666, the *Académie royale d'architecture* in 1671, and the *Privilège accordé au Sieur Perrin pour l'établissement d'une Académie d'Opéra en musique, et Vers François* in 1669. Two notable institutions whose foundation predates the personal rule of Louis XIV are the *Académie française* (1635) and the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (1648); but their activity was easily synchronized with the remit of

¹³² Giovanni Battista Primi-Ammonio, *Mémoires sur la cour de Louis XIV*, ed. by Jean Marie P. J. Lemoine (Paris: s. n., 1908), p. 33.

¹³³ In his context cf. also Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, 7th edn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997 [1957]).

Ludovican image-making.¹³⁴ In particular, the *Académie française's* censoring capacity would contribute to sanitizing the official publishing market from anti-monarchical output. Works could be submitted for their judgment and scrutiny, and, approval pending, subsequently be published with the byline *Par..., de l'Académie française*.¹³⁵ In watching and dispensing judgement over literary practice in this way, the *Académie* acted as royal mouthpiece; its stamp of approval indicated the work's conformity and functioned as a sign of recognition.¹³⁶

Although not all of these academies received a *privilège royal* in their founding year, awarding patronage through affiliation with a society made for a far more streamlined and centralized practice than had been customary earlier. Usually, there would have either been cases of 'shifting' patronage, in which a painter, for example, would not be consistently endorsed by one and the same patron, but migrate from one to another, or of more enduring patronage relations, such as that of Nicolas Fouquet. The then Superintendent of Finances extended his favours, among others, to Pierre Corneille, the landscape designer André le Nôtre, the painter Charles Le Brun, and the architect Louis Le Vau. The relative stability of his patronage allowed Fouquet to draw on the talents of the latter three for the large-scale and time consuming project that was the design of his residence Vaux-le-Vicomte. From Louis XIV's point of view, this decentralised model of patronage had the clear disadvantage of spreading access to the country's most coveted artists and artisans among the nobility and encouraging the artists' loyalty

¹³⁴ Académie française and Zoberman, *Les Panégyriques du roi*.

¹³⁵ Académie française, 'Statuts et Règlements', Statutes XXIX-XLI; XL.

¹³⁶ On other censoring instances, including the police and the Faculty of Theology, as well as censorship in early modern France more generally, see Jane McLeod, *Licensing Loyalty: Printers, Patrons, and the State in Early Modern France*, Penn State Series in the History of the Book (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), chap. 2; Raymond Birn, *La Censure royale des livres dans la France des Lumières*, Travaux du Collège de France (Paris: O. Jacob, 2007), chap. 1; *Royal Censorship of Books in Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012); Robert Darnton, *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), pt. 1.

to those benefactors. It did not only make it more difficult for the king to engage and commission them, it also empowered the nobility who could to tap into and utilize the communicative potential of the artists' work for their own ends.

Influence on cultural production was thus indicative of socio-economic as well as political power. Dismissals such as that of Nicolas Fouquet, which Louis effected shortly after the beginning of his personal reign, illustrate that he was aware of this correlation and weary of its effects as long as it was not under his control.

Circumspection and consequentiality characterize the way Louis managed his appointments. His cutting out the nobility from the higher levels of patronage enabled him to pool talents for his own endeavours; a case in point is the creation of Versailles which owes its grand style to the artistic minds who initially worked on Fouquet's residence. The consolidation of artistic talent quickly yielded imposing gain; as early as 1664, the king held the first in a series of *fêtes*, which displayed the glory of his court. The spectacle, entitled *Les Plaisirs de l'île enchantée*, lasted for six days and marked the first building campaign at the château.¹³⁷ Two further, similarly lavish *fêtes*, the *Grand Divertissement royal* and the *Divertissements de Versailles*, took place in 1668 and 1674.¹³⁸

Despite the pivotal and emblematic role which Versailles came to play, it is important to bear in mind that Louis XIV's renowned building campaigns were not exclusively palatial. The foundation of the *Académie des sciences*, for instance, was not only accompanied by a legal decree which banned astrology from the university syllabus in a push to eradicate quackery and promote the advance of

¹³⁷ *Les Plaisirs de l'île enchantée, course de bague: collation ornée de machines; comédie, meslée de danse et de musique, ballet du palais d'Alcine; feu d'artifice: et autres festes galantes et magnifiques, faites par le Roy à Versailles, le VII. may M.DC.LXIV et continuées plusieurs autres jours* (Paris: L'Imprimerie royale, 1673).

¹³⁸ On the subject of the *fêtes* at Versailles, and the concept of galanterie, see Alain Viala, *La France galante: essai historique sur une catégorie culturelle, de ses origines jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2008), chap. 3; Néraudau, *L'Olympe du roi-soleil*, chap. 6.

natural sciences, but also followed by the erection of the *Observatoire de Paris* (1667). Designed to drive scientific progress at large, and astronomical research in particular, the observatory was, like the *Académie*, to serve as instrument of state insofar as its research would benefit the government's ambitions of maritime economy, in improving navigation and trade routes. The other prestige project worth mentioning in the context of this inquiry is the *Hôtel national des Invalides*. It was to provide board, lodging, and medical care for up to 5,000 aged and ailing soldiers free of charge.¹³⁹ Louis XIV initiated its establishment in 1671. Libéral Bruant and Louis XIV's *surintendant des bâtiments*, Jules Hardouin-Mansart, designed the vast building complex off the then suburban *plaine de Grenelle*. Its grand domed royal chapel dominates the façade and proves an easily reparable landmark. Both the hospital's architectural grandeur and the fact that the chapel is dedicated to Saint Louis, the Capetian king canonized in 1297 and proclaimed 'patron et protecteur de la France' in 1618,¹⁴⁰ with whom parallels had been exploited since Louis XIV's childhood,¹⁴¹ highlight that its purpose transcended its immediate practical function. *Les Invalides* was 'intended to hold its place in Paris as a great public building[, and] to celebrate French military triumph'¹⁴² in providing care for retired soldiers, as well as to increase the association of the saintly king with the present one. Quickly, it became, as Louis Dimier summarizes, 'l'objet de l'admiration de la France et de l'Europe, tant à cause de l'institution

¹³⁹ Dan Cruickshank, *The Royal Hospital Chelsea: The Place and the People* (London: Third Millennium, 2004), p. 20; Charles G. T. Dean, *The Royal Hospital, Chelsea* (London: Hutchinson, 1950), p. 23.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Bruno Neveu, 'Du Culte de Saint Louis à la glorification de Louis XIV: la maison royale de Saint-Cyr', *Journal des savants*, 3.1 (1988), 277–90 (pp. 281–82).

¹⁴¹ Cf. Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 113.

¹⁴² Cruickshank, *The Royal Hospital Chelsea*, p. 20.

même que par la magnificence de l'édifice, en qui se rendait sensible la beauté de l'institution'.¹⁴³

In Voltaire's eyes, Louis XIV's indiscriminate policies of patronage commended the king: Louis XIV, he wrote, 'songeait à tout[,] protégeait les académies et distinguait ceux qui se signalaient[, et] ne prodiguait point ses faveurs à un genre de mérite, à l'exclusion des autres, comme tant de princes qui favorisent, non ce qui est bon, mais ce qui leur plaît'.¹⁴⁴ It is important to note that these policies – however much they contributed to the cultural and political development of early modern France – were not disinterested, but strategic. Their sole purpose, as Chantal Grell and Christian Michel note succinctly with respect to the *Petite Académie*, became to 'chanter les louanges du roi'.¹⁴⁵ Louis XIV did not bestow his favour on an artist for the advancement of a discipline, an institution, or an individual, but because the artist in question could make a contribution to the king's campaign for inimitability. The king's political programme was autocratic and he patronized those who had the skill of contributing to and of immortalizing his image. Increasing the monarch's *gloire* was the guiding principle for and motivation behind all decisions.¹⁴⁶ That these measures would also benefit his realms was not the primary objective, but merely a natural consequence as Louis XIV reportedly stated himself: 'Le bien de l'un fait la gloire de l'autre'.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Louis Dimier, *L'Hôtel des invalides*, (Paris: H. Laurens, 1928), p. 17. Cf. also Cruickshank, *The Royal Hospital Chelsea*, p. 20.

¹⁴⁴ Voltaire, 'Lettre à Milord Hervey', pp. 609–10.

¹⁴⁵ Grell and Michel, *L'École des princes*, p. 66. Cf. also Joseph Klaitz, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV: Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Zoberman, 'Généalogie d'une image'; Charton, '« Vetat Mori » une institution au service du Prince'.

¹⁴⁶ John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667-1714* (London: Longman, 2013), pp. 30–32.

¹⁴⁷ Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, vol. 13C, Chap. XXVIII, p. 91; translated as 'The good of the one gives rise to the gloire of the other' in William F. Church, 'Louis and the Reason of State', in *Louis XIV and the Craft of Kingship*, ed. by John C. Rule (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1970), p. 371; also in Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, p. 30.

A comparison between this statement and the conception of royal patronage which his father, Louis XIII, advanced in the letters patent issued for the *Académie française* is telling.¹⁴⁸ Louis XIII highlights the objectives of his kingship thus:

Aussitôt que Dieu Nous eut appelés à la conduite de cet État, Nous eûmes pour but non seulement de remédier aux désordres que les guerres civiles [...] y avoient introduits, mais aussi de l'enrichir de tous les ornements convenables à la plus illustre et la plus ancienne de toutes les monarchies qui soient.¹⁴⁹

In his request for royal endorsement, Richelieu confirmed this conception; a regime's true magnitude, the cardinal advances, should exceed mere military exploits, and territorial gains. It should equally seek to advance the realm's cultural standing, since 'une des plus glorieuses marques de la félicité d'un État étoit que les sciences et les arts y fleurissent'.¹⁵⁰ A quarter of a century later, the logic behind royal patronage had been inverted. Cultural progress was no longer an end in itself; instead, it became a means to an end as the monarch's *gloire* took precedence. *Gloire*, Marmontel and Voltaire write in the corresponding *Encyclopédie* entry, evokes 'une renommée éclatante, le concert unanime et soutenu d'une admiration universelle [et] doit être réservée aux coopérateurs du bien public'.¹⁵¹

In spite of its undeniable success, this approach to image-making also drew criticism. One of those discerning critics was Louis de Rouvroy (1675-1755), the duke of Saint-Simon. The insights he had gained during his time in the military and at court form the basis of his memoirs. It was, however, not until after his death that they won him a reputation as chronicler of the *ancien régime*. Although he had begun as early as 1693 to record his first impression, Saint-Simon had not fully

¹⁴⁸ Cf. *Lettres patentes* in Académie française, pp. 7–13.

¹⁴⁹ Académie française, p. 7.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁵¹ Denis Diderot, Jean Le Rond d'Alembert and Pierre Mouchon, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et métiers* (Paris: Braisson etc, 1762), VII, s. v. gloire.

redacted his notes until the 1740s and refrained from publishing them extensively at the time.¹⁵² According to the *avertissement* prefaced to the 1853 and the 1857 edition, '[l]e roi le comptait, l'estimait, mais ne l'aimait pas. On pourrait presque dire qu'il le craignait. Il devinait l'historien [en lui] et le juge sous le courtisan'.¹⁵³ A historian's disposition may induce fear, not least because, as the passage implies, there may be a historian underneath a courtier's surface. It indicates a discerning mind and perspicuous judgement, unclouded by the courtly intrigues and loyalties which govern the behaviour of courtiers (and appointed historiographers). Effectively, the *avertissement* deploys the same reasoning to enhance the value of Saint-Simon's testimony as Voltaire in his *Siècle* – even though the writers argue to the contrary in their respective evaluation of Louis XIV. In the following extract, for instance, Saint-Simon contemplates whether Louis actually deserves to take credit for the achievements of 'his age':

On a vu Louis XIV grand, riche, conquérant, arbitre de l'Europe, redouté, admiré tant qu'ont duré les ministres et les capitaines qui ont véritablement mérité ce nom. A leur fin, la machine a roulé quelque temps encore, d'impulsion, et sur leur compte. Mais tôt après, le tuf s'est montré, les fautes, les erreurs se sont multipliées, la décadence est arrivée à grands pas, sans toutefois ouvrir les yeux à ce maître despotique si jaloux de tout faire et de tout diriger par lui-même, et qui semblait se dédommager des mépris du dehors par le tremblement que sa terreur redoublait au dedans.¹⁵⁴

In Saint-Simon's eyes, Louis XIV resembles an inert body which external forces – his counsellors and generals – put into and keep in motion until the king's shortcomings outweigh the momentum they can generate. A stealthy deceleration

¹⁵² Cf. Daniel Dessert, 'Préface', in *Louis XIV et sa cour*, by Louis de Rouvroy Saint-Simon, Historiques; 89 (Bruxelles: Complexe, 1994), pp. vii-xxi (p. ix). Cf. *ibid.* esp. pp. vii-ix, on the distortive effect of this process.

¹⁵³ Louis de Rouvroy Saint-Simon, *Louis XIV et sa cour: portraits, jugements et anecdotes, extraits des mémoires authentiques, 1694-1715* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie, 1853 and 1857), p. iii. I have used the earliest available edition of this compilation and verified in the subsequent edition that the *avertissement* had not been amended. A third edition was published in 1863, also by Hachette et Cie.

¹⁵⁴ Saint-Simon, *Louis XIV et sa cour: portraits, jugements et anecdotes* (1853), pp. 24–25.

ensues until, finally, the royal project stands still. The achievements of the age, Saint-Simon argues, were those of the capable men with whom Louis knew to surround himself. It was these ‘grands-hommes’ who made him ‘great’; the king himself did very little to achieve or preserve that status. Instead, he implemented a structure which levelled out the ‘interior’ distinctions among his environment and as good as obliged its constituents to employ their skills in his service. In Saint-Simon’s view, it is this peculiar dual dependency that characterizes the reign of Louis XIV and its success:

[Louis] en réduisit ainsi peu à peu tout le monde à dépendre entièrement de ses bienfaits pour subsister. Il y trouvait encore la satisfaction de son orgueil par une cour superbe en tout, et par une plus grande confusion qui anéantissait de plus en plus les distinctions naturelles.¹⁵⁵

Voltaire steadfastly opposes this stance. He challenges: ‘qu’eût fait un *Colbert* sous un autre prince? sous votre roi *Guillaume*, qui n’aimait rien, sous le roi d’Espagne *Charles II*, sous tant d’autres souverains?’¹⁵⁶ It takes, Voltaire contends here, a monarch like Louis XIV for the brightest and most ingenious minds of the time to unfold their full potential. Their pursuits would lack purpose and lustre unless they legitimised their achievements through the contribution they made to the monarchical image project:

Mais la *gloire*, comme la lumière, se communique sans s’affaiblir: celle du souverain se repand sur la nation; et chacun des grands hommes dont les travaux y contribuent, brille en particulier du rayon qui emane de lui. On a dit *le grand Condé*, *le grand Colbert*, *le grand Corneille*, comme on a dit *Louis-le-Grand*. Celui des sujets qui contribue et participe le plus à la *gloire* d’un regne heureux, c’est un ministre éclairé, laborieux, accessible, également dévoué à l’état et au prince, qui s’oublie lui - même, et qui ne voit que le bien; mais la *gloire* même de cet homme étonnant remonte au roi qui se l’attache.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Saint-Simon, *Louis XIV et sa cour: portraits, jugements et anecdotes* (1853), p. 16.

¹⁵⁶ Voltaire, ‘Lettre à Milord Hervey’, p. 611.

¹⁵⁷ Diderot, Alembert and Mouchon, *Encyclopédie*, VII, s. v. gloire.

Contributing to the royal *gloire* is both honour and the only true form of self-validation. Couched in the solar imagery, the *encyclopédistes* describe the cycle of *gloire* accordingly as one in which the 'great men' feed the monarch's *gloire*, and are in turn illuminated by the royal aura. To find these minds, Louis XIV casts his nets wide; and he makes a point of courting them: 'Soixante savants de l'Europe reçurent à la fois des récompenses de lui, étonnés d'en être connus'.¹⁵⁸ When Voltaire asks his interlocutor 'Nommez-moi donc, milord, un souverain qui ait attiré chez lui plus d'étrangers habiles et qui ait plus encouragé le mérite dans ses sujets?',¹⁵⁹ it is clear that, in his eyes, there is no answer to be had. A sense of honoured surprise at having been remarked by the king and delight at the chance to put their capabilities to the monarch's service should be gratification enough.

In this context, it appears worthwhile to briefly acknowledge the extent to which contemporary and posthumous commentators alike applied double standards in their value judgments of Louis's reign in comparison to Anne's. In either instance, their critics view the sovereigns' ability to surround themselves with a capable entourage as a way of camouflaging their own weaknesses behind the genius of their Colberts or Marlboroughs. In her work on the role of gender in political argument, Rachel Weil accordingly points out that 'much of what was said about Anne's pliability in the hands of favourites was said about male monarchs as well'.¹⁶⁰ In Anne's case, however, these critical voices lastingly affected her reputation as sovereign. She was overshadowed by and thought inconsequential to the achievements of her appointees. John Watkins even implies that the queen partially nurtured the verdict of political inaptitude herself through her

¹⁵⁸ Voltaire, 'Lettre à Milord Hervey', p. 609.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Weil, *Political Passions*, p. 164.

identification with Elizabeth: 'the more Anne linked herself to Elizabeth's public accomplishments,' he contends, 'the more her political enemies linked her to recollections of Elizabeth's private vulnerability as a woman manipulated by powerful courtiers'.¹⁶¹ This stands very much in contrast to Louis XIV who came to epitomize the successes of his autocratic regime; successes which relied on a cycle of dependency in which officials relied on the king for their charges and appointments, who in turn relied on them for the management of the state.

It is above all thanks to revisionist scholarship and the investigation of gender dynamics that the bias of these verdicts has been recognized and begun to be redressed. Robert O. Bucholz, for instance, effectively turns criticism of Anne into a compliment to her when he values the queen's political decisions as sign of a strategist's mind rather than the result of external manipulation: 'No Stuart', he highlights, 'was so adept at delegating royal authority to men of ability'.¹⁶² He thereby gives room to early modern voices such as Luke Milbourne's who weighs up one of Anne's central deficits as sovereign, her having to delegate military command, with her skill of doing so: 'she approv'd of her Predecessor's judgement, and put the Command of her Armies in every place into such Hands as she thought she might safely confide in'.¹⁶³ In Anne's case, remarks of this kind have, if considered at all, been discounted as sycophancy or posthumous adulation – just in the same way that the thrust of Saint-Simon's criticism of Louis XIV has often been discounted as the spiteful rigmarole of an embittered courtier who had lost royal favour – even though at the time, several notable observers from England shared Saint-Simon's viewpoint. For the poet Matthew Prior, for instance, there is even

¹⁶¹ Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth*, p. 13.

¹⁶² Bucholz, "The "Stomach of a Queen"", p. 262.

¹⁶³ Luke Milbourne, *Great Britain's Loss, in the Death of Our Late Excellent Queen Anne Lamented in a Sermon Preached at St. Ethelburga's, London. By Luke Milbourne, a Presbyter of the Church of England* (London: George Sawbridge, 1714), p. 14.

more to the unprecedented exaltation of Louis XIV than mere royal institutional pressure – and that is the people’s naïve disposition. Prior had been appointed secretary to William Bentinck, first Earl of Portland and new ambassador to Paris in December 1697, and left for France on 21 January 1698. In February, he commented on that account in a letter to the Whig politician and then first lord of the Treasury Charles Montagu: ‘The common people of this nation have a strange veneration for their King: it is certain that he might have the last penny of them, as well as *by their inclination as his power pour la gloire*: but the people of quality hate him to hell.’¹⁶⁴ Although it is not entirely clear whom he considers ‘common’ as opposed to ‘of quality’, his observation implies that, despite their disapproval and reluctance, the ‘people of quality’ are not exempt from contributing to Louis’s *gloire*. His countryman Daniel Defoe further corroborates this impression. When he highlights the drawbacks of Louis’s successfully autocratic policies in the introduction to his *Essay upon Projects* (1697), he anticipates the critical judgement of Saint-Simon’s memoirs publicly available, in print. Discussing the creative potential of the honest projector (as opposed to the cunning trickster), Defoe offers the following explanation for the French subjects’ failure to excel as proper projectors:

France [...] without question has felt its share of the Losses and Damages of the War; But the Poverty there falling chiefly on the Poorer sort of People, they have not been so fruitful in Inventions and Practices of this nature, their Genius being quite of another strain. As for the Gentry and more capable sort, the first thing a French man flies to in his distress, is the Army; and he seldom comes back from thence to Get an Estate by painful Industry, but either has his Brains knock’d out, or makes his Fortune there.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Matthew Prior to Charles Montagu, 18 February 1698, in Great Britain Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath: Preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire* (London: HMSO, 1904), vol. iii, p. 193, my emphasis.

¹⁶⁵ Daniel Defoe, *An Essay upon Projects* (London: s.n., 1697), pp. 5–7.

Those theoretically disposed to devise and implement any sort of venture, i.e. those in the higher ranks of French society, Defoe asserts, routinely submit to heteronomy, the authority of an institution, and thereby give up their agency instead of relying on their own wit and becoming the architects of their own fate. In this respect, Prior's and Defoe's criticism is also emblematic of the post-1688 sense of self as a nation that will throw off unjust subjugation of the kind James II meted out; the French monarchy, its subjects, and their perceived hurrying obedience constitute the necessary counterpoint. And yet, Defoe's selfsame *Essay* also illustrates that Louis's policies wrought admiration from even the most sceptical observers insofar as he draws on the French institution in no uncertain terms as model for several of his proposals; not least for the most prominent among his projects, which calls for a linguistic academy – in the style of the *Académie française*.¹⁶⁶ Taken together, examples such as Prior's shrewd remark, Defoe's volume of pragmatic proposals, and Saint-Simon's account make clear the fact that the attitude vis-à-vis French achievements was not all gushing adulation – neither in England nor France –, but that contemporaries could often not resist a sense of (reluctant) admiration.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Defoe, *An Essay*, pp. 228, 231, 252. The lack of an academy was emblematic of the English concern at lagging behind the French in the post-Restoration decades. Relevant examples include the sections 'Experiments advantageous to the Interest of our Nation' and 'A proposal for erecting an English Academy' in Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667), Dryden's remarks on the model character of the French Academy in the dedicatory epistles to *The Rival Ladies* (1664) and *Troilus and Cressida* (1679), and a range of John Evelyn's letters, cf. Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London: J. Martyn and J. Allestry, 1667); John Dryden, *The Rival Ladies, a Tragi-Comedy* (London: s. n., 1664); John Dryden, *Troilus and Cressida, Or, Truth Found Too Late, a Tragedy, Partly Founded on the Play by W. Shakespeare as It Is Acted at the Dukes Theatre* (London: s. n., 1679). On these and other instances, see for further detail Flasdieck, esp. pp. 30-104, and Ilse Wisler, 'Ist Englisch noch zu retten? Versuche, die englische Sprache im 17./18. Jahrhundert zu korrigieren und festzuschreiben', in *Sprachdiskussion und Beschreibung von Sprachen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Peter Schmitter and Gerda Hassler (Münster: Nodus, 1999), pp. 323-403.

¹⁶⁷ For a broader account of Louis's reception in France and abroad as well as selected responses, see Burke, *The Fabrication*, pp. 150-77.

2.2 Circulating the King's Image

The courts of Europe had their eyes on the Bourbon monarchy and its heir, perceived initially as charmingly youthful, and subsequently as heroically victorious and powerful. Yet, how would the court, writers, publicists, and ultimately, the public in England have learnt about the images associated with Louis? The communication routes of the period are manifold. Generally speaking, it is helpful to distinguish between two different modes which facilitated the circulation of factual information as well as subjective impressions: one could be referred to as 'premeditated', the other as 'casual' or 'coincidental'. The former describes the circumstance that Louis XIV intentionally broadcast his image to facilitate its dissemination, for instance by inviting foreigners to court so that their experiences would make them spread word of his kingship abroad. The latter mode relies instead on people being at the right place at the right time; these contacts with monarchical image-making are therefore not controllable in the same way as purposefully staged displays of regal splendour were. And in hindsight, it is sometimes difficult to gauge whether a situation was intended to prompt talk or not.

Either category comprises a wide range of people: private individuals, those who held a 'public' office, or professionals such as mercenary soldiers or artists. All would have been able to gain a sense of the implementation of Ludovican image-making and (could have) spread word about its concrete manifestations. In addition to the nature of the situation in which these people encountered manifestations of Louis's image-making ('premeditated' vs 'casual'), it is also possible to distinguish their testimonies with regard to the type of the testimony itself, i.e. whether it was 'public' or 'private'. An ambassadorial official at the

French court, for instance, may report his observations in official correspondence, i.e. in his public capacity, as well as in a private letter. Similarly, a casual observer may choose to publish their musings, record them privately, or merely talk about them. In the following, I would like to concretize some of the channels through which the Ludovican image may have circulated abroad, and especially in England. I will progress from those with the most privileged and exclusive view of the French monarchy to accounts which were directed at a wider public and could have been anonymous even at the time.

First to consider are the connections between the two dynasties themselves. The relationship between the Bourbon and the Stuart, in particular the Caroline, courts had been close, both in terms of kinship and politics: Henrietta Maria, the future Charles II's mother and the queen dowager, was French, and, moreover, Louis XIV's aunt. During the Civil Wars, she had taken up residence in France. The future Charles II and his court spent a large part of his years in exile in France at Louis XIV's expense, too, both in Saint-Germain-en-Laye and the Louvre in Paris. In contrast to his elder brother, the future James II spent relatively little time in the orbit of the French court during the Civil Wars. Instead, he experienced another side of the aspiring Bourbon kingdom when financial constraints obliged him to enlist in the French army. From the siege of Etampes (1652) until that of Arras (1654), he served under the command of the renowned Marshal Turenne to whose military expertise Louis owed significant victories. Once familiar with French military practices, he appreciated them to such an extent that, after having had to enter service for Spain, he reportedly regretted having to fight against Turenne during the Franco-Spanish war.¹⁶⁸ After the Glorious Revolution in 1688, James

¹⁶⁸ W. A. Speck, 'James II and VII (1633–1701), King of England, Scotland, and Ireland', *ODNB*

returned to France, settling his court in style and quasi permanently at the château of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Throughout this period – from the English Civil Wars, the years of James II’s exile to the subsequent Jacobite campaigns –, a unilateral dependency characterized Stuart-Bourbon relations. The Stuart brothers’ repeated proximity to and personal contact with French court is all the more remarkable since, as Felicity Heal has discussed recently, meetings between sovereigns were rare – especially with English monarchs for whom ‘[p]hysical isolation from the Continent provided the perfect justification for a reluctance to deal directly with other rulers on the continent’.¹⁶⁹ Charles’s and James’s personal experience of French cultural activities and their familiarity with their military expertise would have been unusual and extensive. At the exiled courts, their courtiers and supporters, too, would have witnessed the French image-making practices from close quarters; they would have brought news and impressions from the continent when they returned to the British Isles to campaign for the crown. By the time of James II’s exile, however, their voices were becoming voices of subversion in Williamite England and their reach would have been restricted.

The orbit of the French court itself of course attracted hosts of official and unofficial observers of varying loyalties; these included ambassadorial trains, French as well as foreign courtiers, gentry and publicists as well as professional people like skilled workers, artisans, or (mercenary) soldiers. Official ambassadorial delegations would have been commentators of unblemished reputation. At the time, their turnover was relatively high as the involvement in diplomatic missions was temporary, a charge or an office rather than a profession. News travelled steadily and was not necessarily contained within an in-group of

(Oxford: OUP, 2004).

¹⁶⁹ Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, p. 151.

government officials. In both their diplomatic and private correspondences, sometime diplomats like Matthew Prior offered, as we have seen, valuable insights into the realities of the French court.

In addition to their usefulness as reporting eye-witnesses, they could also facilitate cultural transfer as patrons themselves and thus drove the import of continental modes and models to England.¹⁷⁰ They equally played a key role in customary gift exchanges, both as bearers and recipients.¹⁷¹ Monarchs would have relied on the symbolic language of the decorative arts as well as their material and artistic value to flaunt their status.¹⁷² The gifts contributed to the ‘growing cult of the royal image’¹⁷³ and literally served to spread the monarch’s likeness.

The fashion of miniatures and the emergence of medallic representations complemented the dissemination of the royal image through large-scale state portraits and amplified their communicative power, which already Renaissance observers had regularly remarked upon.¹⁷⁴ The miniatures’ portability increased their suitability as gifts or additional rewards, which could be offered to ‘favoured emissaries and their servants’ and implied ‘a measure of personal intimacy with

¹⁷⁰ Cf. for instance Helen Jacobsen’s case study of Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, in *Luxury and Power: The Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660-1714*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: OUP, 2012), chap. 5.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, p. 175.

¹⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, chap. 6, as well as the ongoing work of the AHRC research projects ‘Textual Ambassadors Research Network’ (principal investigator: Tracey Sowerby, Oxford) as well as ‘Translating cultures: Diplomacy between the early modern and modern worlds’ (principal investigator: Toby Osborne, Durham), for instance their workshop on the symbolic language of diplomacy (31 Jan until 1 Feb 2014, Durham). I am grateful to Tracey Sowerby for pointing me to current research projects and publications in the field of early modern diplomatic practices.

¹⁷³ Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, p. 175.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Tracey A. Sowerby, ‘“A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith”: Portraiture and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture’, *The English Historical Review*, 129.537 (2014), 296–331 (p. 300, fn. 22-3). Cf. also John Peacock, ‘The Politics of Portraiture’, in *Culture and Politics*, ed. by Sharpe and Lake, pp. 199–228, and Marianna Jenkins, *The State Portrait: Its Origin and Evolution*, Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts; No. 3 (New York: College Art Association of America in association with the Art Bulletin, 1947), pp. 31–34.

the royal family'.¹⁷⁵ A particularly extravagant type of royal miniatures were the so-called *boîtes à portrait*, exquisite collaborations of miniature portraitists, goldsmiths, and jewellers. The French court could thus actively advertise its assumed cultural superiority through its gifting strategies. According to Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, the book-keeping of Louis's administration accounts for a lot size of more than 300 pieces.¹⁷⁶ Following an estimate by the Wallace Collection, the king presented an even higher number of 410 *boîtes* in the course of his reign.¹⁷⁷ That traces of the journey of such portraits often prove elusive for modern scholars belies their importance in the period.¹⁷⁸

Another product that publicised the Ludovican image in its grandeur were publications such as André Félibien's awed description of Versailles. Félibien's account was first published in 1686 with the *privilège royal*; it was then reissued for the first time a mere year later, and again in 1696. A copy of this third edition

¹⁷⁵ Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, p. 175. On portraits and miniatures as gifts in Anne's reign as well as their role in early modern conceptions of friendship, see Tabitha Barber, "All the World Is Ambitious of Seeing the Picture of so Great a Queen": Kneller's State Portraits of Queen Anne and the Pictorial Currency of Friendship', in *Court, Country, City: British Art and Architecture, 1660–1735*, ed. by Mark Hallett, Nigel Llewellyn, and Martin Myrone, Studies in British Art; 24 (New Haven, CT: The Yale Center for British Art: The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2016), pp. 215–38 (pp. 217, 225–26, 229–31). I am grateful to Tabitha Barber for sharing her article with me prior to publication.

¹⁷⁶ Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, 'La Boîte à Portrait de Louis XIV', 2015 <<http://www.leroiestmort.com/fr/la-boite-a-portrait-de-louis-xiv>>.

¹⁷⁷ Wallace Collection, *Miniatures in the Wallace Collection* (London: Wallace Collection, 2010), p. 33. See also Charles Truman, Seoyoung Kim and Rebecca Wallis, *The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Gold Boxes* (London: The Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 2013), pp. 20–21. Here, the catalogue numbers '400 or so' items with the first two being registered in 1667 as having been presented to Swedish intermediaries at a joint value of 15,480 *livres*. With the miniature portraits frequently having been taken out and the jewels in the settings having been sold, only three 'full' examples are still extant. The most reputed extant original is held in the Louvre, cf. Jean Petitot (attr. to) and Laurent Le Tessier de Montarsy (attr. to), *Boîte à portrait de Louis XIV*, c 1670, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des objets d'art, Inv OA 12 280. For further detail, see Michèle Bimbenet-Privat and François Farges, *La Boîte à portrait de Louis XIV* (Paris: Somogy, 2015). The Wallace Collection holds two miniatures of Louis; taken from their original boxes, they were remounted into early nineteenth-century ones, cf. Jean Petitot and Nicolas Hugué, *Snuff Box*, c 1814, London, The Wallace Collection, G 67, Boudoir Cabinet; Jean Petitot, attr. to, (miniature of Louise de la Vallière) and Nicolas Toutin (miniature of Louis XIV and a Cardinal), *Snuff Box*, c 1814, London, The Wallace Collection, G 75, Boudoir Cabinet. For the former, see also Truman, Kim and Wallis, p. 226–7, 64.1; for the latter, see Truman, Kim and Wallis, p. 327–9, 98.3.

¹⁷⁸ In this context, see also Tracey A. Sowerby, "A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith", p. 299.

belonged to Christopher Otto count of Schallenberg, a German nobleman who was renowned for his library collection.¹⁷⁹ His possession of the book indicates that elaborate mouthpieces of Ludovican propaganda such as Félibien's would have found their way into the hands of the collecting public of the period both at home and abroad. In addition to these 'advertising copies', the intricate network of the European book trade would have given both the French and non-French market access to (suppressed, and clandestinely published) satirical takes on Louis;¹⁸⁰ and even despite their critical nature, these testimonies, too, would have contributed to publicising the Ludovican rule.

Louis also purposefully engineered the dissemination of his image by issuing invitations to court for visitors to experience its splendour and enhance its reputation through their reports. Their written accounts constitute, as we have already seen in the case of Visconti's *Mémoires*, invaluable contemporary testimonies of Louis's reign.¹⁸¹ Further notable examples include the memoirs of the Duke of Saint-Aignan (1607-87), the Earl of Gramont (1621-1707), and Charles Perrault (1628-1703). They were, however, usually published retrospectively or even posthumously – as in the case of the Earl of Gramont's memoirs, which were in fact written by his brother-in-law, the Irish-born Antoine Hamilton. While they can therefore not have contributed to promoting the Ludovican image-campaign at the time, their authors' correspondence or conversational utterances would certainly have done so instead.

¹⁷⁹ André Félibien, *Description du château de Versailles* (Paris: s.n. 1696), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Germany, shelfmark: 68 936362 Res/Gall. Sp. 68; Irmgard Bezzel, 'Die Bibliothek des Grafen Christoph Otto von Schallenberg (1655-1733). Eine bedeutende Privatsammlung in Augsburg', ed. by Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels, Historische Kommission, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 11 (1971), 1747–59.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Ziegler, *Der Sonnenkönig und seine Feinde*, LXXIX, chap. 2 'Le "Prince Idolâtre"', esp. pp. 95-101, Ferrier-Caverivière, *L'Image*, Part II, chaps. 2-5.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Primi-Ammonio, *Mémoires sur la cour de Louis XIV.*

In addition to such privileged access to what were effectively front row seats in Louis's monarchical spectacle, there also remains the impact that professional people like artists or, a little further away from the court, mercenary soldiers had on the dissemination of Louis's image to consider. On account of the latter, Guy Rowlands observes that their role in the French military has remained largely underexplored although 'the number of individual foreigners and foreign formations serving the French monarchy achieved its fullest extent in what was then the largest army in Christendom since the Roman Empire'.¹⁸² It is evidently not the task of this enquiry to relieve this *desideratum*; yet, it seems apposite to draw attention to this group which hovers at the periphery of academic attention and to highlight the fact that, not least through their relative mobility, they, too, would have contributed to the distribution of the Ludovican image.

That artisans and artists would have done so is undoubtedly more obvious; they received their training through a series of apprenticeships. Talent permitting, they would then pursue their studies with prominent masters to hone their craft, and in that context, move about relatively freely between the artistic hubs of Europe. More established artists, in turn, would seek out those centres to see their colleagues' work for themselves, or to increase their proficiency by working with them. The miniaturist-enameller Jean Petitot, for instance, began his studies in Switzerland, was apprenticed in France, probably under Jean and Henri Toutin, and then went to England to work for Charles I. The outbreak of the Civil War precipitated his return to France where he entered the patronage of Louis's court. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) put an end to his career in France

¹⁸² Guy Rowlands, 'Foreign Service in the Age of Absolute Monarchy: Louis XIV and His Forces Étrangères', *War in History*, 17.2 (2010), 141–65 (p. 142). For further background see also David Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012).

and caused his return to and retirement in Geneva.¹⁸³ Other Huguenot artists such as the Pelletiers, a family of carvers and gilders, took both their technical skills and their knowledge of contemporary France elsewhere, in this case to England where their ‘expulsion from France [...] helped reinforce William of Orange’s role as a Protestant champion, orchestrating an alliance against Louis’.¹⁸⁴

Another type of first-hand account would have come from young men writing and returning from the Grand Tour. This particular type of travel was an established pursuit in the 1660s, and its itinerary traditionally cut through the Île-de-France.¹⁸⁵ Though in some ways similar to the other itinerant observers of Louis’s rule, these travellers lacked the direct obligations which royal favour, patronage, and economic necessity created for the majority of the other groups – from courtiers to soldiers – and their accounts would have reflected this degree of independence. The young men are likely to have come across some of the material objects (or pirated copies thereof) that were produced to testify to and immortalize royal achievements. For, as the publication of prints and medals in commemoration of a particular event would trigger the production of cheaper mass-produced copies of the designs, forms of ‘low art’ such as annual almanacs

¹⁸³ Cf. ‘Jean Petitot’, *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Campbell Orr, ‘Introduction: Court Studies, Gender and Women’s History’, p. 12. Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement c.1550-1700*, trans. by Peregrine and Adriana Stevenson (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), chap. 6; originally published as *Terre d’exil: l’Angleterre et ses réfugiés français et wallons, de la réforme à la révocation de l’édit de Nantes, 1550-1700* (Paris: Aubier, 1985); Warren Candler Scoville, *The Persecution of Huguenots and French Economic Development, 1680-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 324–33. For a sample case of the role of Huguenot artists in transmitting the knowledge from the Ludovican court to England, see Tessa Murdoch, ‘Jean, René and Thomas Pelletier, a Huguenot Family of Carvers and Gilders in England 1682-1726. Part I’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 139.1136 (1997), 732–42 (pp. 733–34).

¹⁸⁵ Michael G. Brennan, *The Origins of the Grand Tour: The Travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649-1654), William Hammond (1655-1658), Banaster Maynard (1660-1663)*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 3rd ser., no. 14 (London: Hakluyt Society, 2004); Edward Chaney, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014), esp. chap. 3. For the development in the eighteenth century, see Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*.

also contributed to the dissemination of the Ludovican image; there were even board games based on the milestones of Louis's reign.¹⁸⁶

Evidently, only a restricted, relatively small socio-economic or professional section of the population would have been in the position to observe Ludovican image-making for themselves or access its more elaborate material evidence, both propagandistic and critical. It would have attained its widest distribution and reached its broadest audience through the rise of newspaper and coffee-house culture. Early journalistic publications contained different types of news items, which offered varying degrees of detail to their readers. Reports range from notifications of the whereabouts of the royal family¹⁸⁷ to notices of military campaigns,¹⁸⁸ pamphlets on James II's death in France, and even an extract of the registers of the parliamentary assembly of Thursday, 12 September 1715, which informs its readers about the appointments at Louis XV's new court.¹⁸⁹ As is the case with this news item in the *Daily Courant*, papers frequently provided excerpts from or synopsis of other, continental reports in translation. The most consistent and substantial journalistic publication to provide a record and discussion of current domestic and foreign political development was an anonymously issued periodical by Daniel Defoe. It appeared from February 1704 until 1713 under varying titles (*A Weekly Review of the Affairs of France and of all Europe, as Influence'd by that Nation, Review of the Affairs of France, with Observations upon Transactions at Home, and A Review of the State of the English (British) Nation*). Its

¹⁸⁶ One such *jeu de parcours* (1700) featured alongside multiple almanacs and other engravings in the recent exhibition in the Bibliothèque nationale; for further detail on the board game, see Fuhring and others, *A Kingdom of Images*, pp. 78-9, no. 12.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. respectively *Newes Published for Satisfaction and Information of the People* (London: Richard Hodgkinson, 1663-5), 20 July 1665 (issue 56), news item for Paris, July 22 and *The London Gazette* (London: T. Neuman, 1666-).

¹⁸⁸ James Welwood, *Mercurius Reformatus, Or, The New Observator. Containing Reflexions upon the Most Remarkable Events, Falling out from Time to Time in Europe, and More Particularly in England* (London: Dorman Newman, 1689-93[?]), 22 May 1689 (issue 2).

¹⁸⁹ *The Daily Courant* (London: E. Mallet, 27 September 1715 (issue 4345)).

publication frequency increased quickly, from a weekly in 1704 to a thrice-weekly edition by the time of the parliamentary election in May 1705;¹⁹⁰ in comparison with the weekly sales of the main newspapers of the day, however, it enjoyed but a modest share among newspaper readers.¹⁹¹ As in his earlier *Essay upon Projects* (cf. pp. 82-3), Defoe struck a tone of balanced critique; playing devil's advocate, he once again spurred on his fellow Englishmen to make their enemies' virtues their own and defeat them.¹⁹²

2.3 Classical Allegories in Louis XIV's Image-Making: A Case of Autocratic Appropriation

2.3.1 Jupiter, Alexander the Great, and Hercules

Associations with Jupiter, Alexander the Great, and Hercules contributed a considerable share to Louis XIV's image-making.¹⁹³ Apposite examples date back to Louis's early teens, the later years of his mother's regency, when the Bourbon realms faced the *Fronde parlementaire* (1648-9) and the *Fronde des princes* (1650-3) (cf. 1.1). Although Louis experienced these upheavals largely from the governmental side-lines, the demise of the *Frondes* was immortalized as one of the young monarch's first political successes.

Examples include a lesser-known painting (c. 1653-5), attributed to Charles Poerson, and a marble statue of Louis XIV erected in the courtyard of the *Hôtel de*

¹⁹⁰ Daniel Defoe, *Defoe's Review*, ed. by John McVeagh and Arthur Wellesley Secord, 9 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), I, xvii; II, vii.

¹⁹¹ See Defoe, *Defoe's Review*, I, xix-xxi for a statistical projection of the sales rates. These are moderate when compared with the weekly sales of the main newspapers of the day such as the *Gazette*, *Post-Man*, *Post-Boy*, *Flying-Post*, *London Post* and *English Post* (12,000, 11600, 9000, and 1200 sales per week the later three as opposed to c 400 – 500 weekly sales of the *Review*).

¹⁹² See Daniel Defoe, *A Review of the Affairs of France: And of All Europe, as Influence'd by That Nation [Continued as] A Review of the State of the English (British) Nation* (London); Defoe, *Defoe's Review*, I, xv-xvi, note on 29 April 1704.

¹⁹³ Cf. Néraudau, *L'Olympe du roi-soleil*; Ferrier-Caverivière, *L'Image*.

Ville in Paris in 1654, the coronation year.¹⁹⁴ The statue homes in on the young king's military and physical prowess. Clad in ancient Roman armour, he holds down a prostrate soldier representing the insurgent *frondeurs* with his right foot. The painting shows the teenage king as Jupiter, crowned with an oak garland and with the deity's paraphernalia of bolt and eagle.



FIGURE 6. Charles Poerson, Louis XIV as Jupiter (1655), Versailles, Musée National du Château, 93-000752-02. © RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot.

Later recurrences of the Jovian analogy include one of Charles Le Brun's nine ceiling paintings of the Dutch War in the *Grande Galerie* at Versailles (1678-86), the medal 'Genua Emendata', which commemorates the bombardment of Genoa (1684), and a needlepoint hanging from a private commission by the marquise de Montespan, Louis XIV's *maîtresse-en-titre*.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Fig. 6; Gilles Guérin, *Louis XIV Crushing the Fronde* (1654), Chantilly, Musée de Condé.

¹⁹⁵ Charles Le Brun, *The Crossing of the Rhine in 1672* (1678-86), Château de Versailles; François Chéron, *Genua Emendata* (1684), London, British Museum, M.2416; Charles Le Brun, *Seasons and Elements [Air], Set of Four* (1683), New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Burke suggests that the medal 'Algeria Fulminata' (Burke, *The Fabrication*, fig. 39) implies an analogy between Louis and Jupiter, reading the medal's legend as allusion to the deity's thunderbolt. Yet, the deity on the medal more strongly resembles Minerva in shield and armour. This association, in turn, could have been exploited to suggest that the military action in Algiers was 'defensive'.

On the one hand, the equation of the young, inexperienced king with the paternal chief deity in Poerson's painting appears premature, even inept. On the other, the incongruity of the juxtaposition raises the promise of a king who is uncommonly mature for his age. In this respect, the message conveyed by equating Louis with Jupiter resembles the one generated in depictions of Louis as Alexander the Great (r. 336-323 BC). These feature, for example, in Le Brun's painting *The Family of Darius at the Feet of Alexander* (c 1660) or Jean Racine's tragedy *Alexandre le Grand*, first performed at the *Théâtre Royal* in 1665.¹⁹⁶ The motifs derive from the Hellenic League's victory over Darius III, ruler over Achaemenid Persia (r. 336-330 BC). Le Brun's work, for instance, visualizes how the Queen of Persia kneels in supplication at Alexander's feet after her family's capture. It is part of a series about the History of Alexander which Louis commissioned from Le Brun.



FIGURE 7. Charles Le Brun, *The Family of Darius at the Feet of Alexander* (c. 1660), Versailles, Musée National du Château, 04-510998. © RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot.¹⁹⁷

Both painting and play evoke the notion of the victorious conqueror, who knows despite his youth how to combine might with noble and wise statesmanship. They serve him as panegyric and cautionary advice. In these early years of Louis's reign,

¹⁹⁶ Jean Racine, *Alexandre le Grand: Tragédie* (Paris: Theodore Girard, 1666).

¹⁹⁷ On Le Brun's celebratory painting cycle as a whole and the use of Alexander the Great in his decoration of the *Grand Apartment*, see Grell and Michel, *L'École des princes*, pp. 67–68, 120.

his image-makers still made a concerted effort to re-locate the identification with Alexander to Louis himself and away from the Prince de Condé, whose military expertise had earned him frequent comparisons with the Macedonian prince.¹⁹⁸ The success of this campaign manifests itself in the pervasiveness of references to Alexander in later years when the king and his advisors had already discarded the model and focussed their image-strategy on solar iconography.¹⁹⁹

The exemplarity of the Macedonian prince had been under discussion since the days of Plutarch. In mid-sixteenth-century France, the issue had risen to renewed prominence. Publications such as Vaugelas's translation of the life of Alexander by Quintus Curtius (1653) and Saint-Evremond's *Jugement sur Cesar et sur Alexandre* (1663) added fuel to the debate.²⁰⁰ The *encyclopédistes*, too, deliberate the point of Alexander's inadequacy. In their explication of *gloire* and the conditions of its attainability, Alexander falls unmistakably short of the standard set by Hercules whom they adduce as point of comparison:

En quoi ressembloit à Hercule ce jeune insensé qui prétendoit suivre ses traces, dit Seneque en parlant d'Alexandre, lui qui cherchoit la *gloire* sans en connoître ni la nature ni les limites, et qui n'avoit pour vertu qu'une heureuse témérité? Hercule ne vainquit jamais pour lui-même; il traversa le monde pour le venger, et non pour l'envahir. Qu'avoit-il besoin de conquêtes, ce héros, l'ennemi des méchants, le vengeur des bons, le pacificateur de la terre et des mers? Mais Alexandre, enclin dès l'enfance à la rapine, fut le desolateur des nations, le fléau de ses amis et de ses ennemis. Il faisoit consister le souverain bien à se rendre redoutable à tous les hommes; il oublioit que cet avantage lui étoit commun, non seulement avec les plus féroces, mais encore avec les plus lâches et les plus vils des animaux qui se font craindre par leur venin.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Jean Puget de la Serre, *Parallèles d'Alexandre le Grand et de monseigneur le duc d'Anguien* (Paris: Claude Morlot, 1645); Mark Bannister, *Condé in Context: Ideological Change in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), esp. pp. 175–80. The figure of Perseus was similarly contentious in its attribution to both Condé and Louis, cf. Jean-Claude Boyer and Musée du Louvre, Département des peintures, *Le Peintre, le roi, le héros: l'Andromède de Pierre Mignard*, Les Dossiers du département des peintures, 37 (Paris: Réunion de Musées Nationaux, 1990).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Grell and Michel, *L'École des princes*, p. 78.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Mark Bannister, 'Heroic Hierarchies: Classical Models for Panegyrics in Seventeenth-Century France', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 8.1 (2001), 38–59 (pp. 48–49).

²⁰¹ Diderot, Alembert and Mouchon, *Encyclopédie*, VII, v. gloire. Alexander the Great claimed descent from Hercules and encouraged his own association with the demi-god, whom he worshipped most;

By and by, he was thus stripped of 'la portée allégorique que Le Brun avait voulu lui donner',²⁰² and attempts to develop the image of Louis XIV as Alexandrian reincarnation were abandoned.²⁰³

Contrary to this progressive demise, the allegorical association with Hercules had become increasingly covetable for sovereigns in the early modern period. The vision of Hercules as a more ambivalent figure, whose physical strength occasionally caused more damage than it did good and who accomplished his most notable heroic deeds during tasks of penance, had vanished. A strand of the classical tradition had survived. It had fused the Herculean virtues with those of Hermes, bearer of peace and embodiment of wisdom,²⁰⁴ so that Hercules now embodied above all the warrior who employed his skills in the service of peace. As such, he was also conveniently compatible with the Christian narrative of the redeemer who fights the forces of evil. Besides, Renaissance authors had seized on Lucian's Gallicised Hercules. They had spun and aggrandized the motif into the legend of a 'Gallic Hercules', who was thought to have founded the indigenous princely lines.²⁰⁵ They thereby inscribed the French royal dynasty in a semi-divine lineage. By the late sixteenth century, Hercules had thus become the emblematic incarnation of virtue and fortitude as well as part of the French dynastic narrative.

by way of illustration, cf. John Keegan on the Alexander Sarcophagus, which depicts Alexander wearing a lion-crest helmet, in John Keegan, *The Mask of Command: A Study of Generalship* (London: Pimlico, 2004), p. 18, 90, 132 (fig. 7). See also Friedrich B. Polleroß, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt: ein höfischer Bildtypus vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1988), p. 27, fn. 1, 2.

²⁰² Grell and Michel, *L'École des princes*, p. 119.

²⁰³ Cf. Bannister, 'Heroic Hierarchies', p. 50; Grell and Michel, *L'École des princes*, p. 70.

²⁰⁴ On the origins of this conflation, see Robert Edward Hallowell, 'Ronsard and the Gallic Hercules Myth', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 9 (1962), 242–55 (pp. 242–43); Jung, *Hercule dans la littérature française*, pp. 4, 41, 73, 95.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Hallowell, 'Ronsard and the Gallic Hercules Myth'; Corrado Vivanti, 'Henry IV, the Gallic Hercules', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), 176–97 (pp. 183–4). In this context, see also the recent exhibition 'Mythes fondateurs. D'Hercule à Darth Vader' (Petite Académie, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 17 October 2015 – 4 July 2016).

He featured especially prominently in the image-building of Henri IV.²⁰⁶ Unlike his equation with Alexander, therefore, Louis XIV's identification with Hercules was never actively discouraged. It occurred as early as 1659 in the design of a triumphal arch, which celebrated the conclusion of the Peace of the Pyrenees,²⁰⁷ and prevailed across a range of media. Between 1669 and 1670, Gilles Rousselet received a royal commission to create engravings based on a set of four Hercules paintings which Guido Reni had executed between 1617 and 1620 for the sixth duke of Mantua.²⁰⁸ Shortly after, Robert Nanteuil completed his portrait of Louis XIV 'aux pattes de lion', in which a lion skin draped behind the portrait creates the illusion of a second frame to the oval portrait.²⁰⁹



FIGURE 8. Robert Nanteuil, Louis XIV, portrait dit 'aux pattes de lion' (1672). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, BnF, Estampes, Réserve AA-5 (Nanteuil, Robert). © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Another decade later, when Louis had his court move to Versailles, the reverse of a portrait medal shows Hercules leaning on a club, the defeated hydra at his feet, alongside the legend *MUNDO SIC OTIA FECIT* (Thus he gave the world days of

²⁰⁶ Cf. Jung, *Hercule dans la littérature française*, pp. 81, 174–77; Biet, 'Une légende en constitution. 1589-1610', pp. 144, 153–59.

²⁰⁷ For a description, see Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 44.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Fuhring and others, *A Kingdom of Images*. The engraving of Hercules defeating the hydra featured in the corresponding exhibition 'Images du grand siècle'.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

leisure).²¹⁰ The mythological reference enhances the medal's propagandistic message, namely that the king would keep all adversarial influences at bay and ensure blissful conditions in his realms and beyond.²¹¹

Each of these allegorical identifications – from Jupiter to Hercules – magnifies qualities desirable in a ruler. In all their respective conventionality, however, neither encapsulates the vision of the ideal monarch in its entirety; and neither promises to be sufficiently versatile to serve as an iconic symbol. As such, they are ill-suited to fulfilling Louis's ambition of outshining all models that went before him. Louis's association with Hercules, for instance, would never assume proportions comparable to those in Henri IV's reign. Despite its allegorical potential, it would have tied Louis's image closely to his predecessor's; it would have thereby disallowed the creation of a singularly Ludovican iconography. Louis's method of choice – and success – was the elevation of a single image to which he could lay an exclusive claim. To this end, Louis and his image-makers drew on the symbolism of the sun, which placed the king 'dans une continuité à la fois historique et imaginaire'²¹² and lent itself to a multiplicity of uses.

2.3.2 Apollo and the Sun: The Convenience of Allegorical Polyvalence

By the seventeenth century, the imagery of the sun had developed into a charged and polyvalent symbol: it evoked both the Christian messianic narrative of salvation²¹³ and the myth of Apollo. As a result, it served the monarch's

²¹⁰ Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 44; Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi, *Louis XIV - Hercules*, 1682, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, CM.20-1972.

²¹¹ On the role of medals in Louis's image cultivation, see Gérard Sabatier, 'La Gloire du roi'. Sabatier highlights the steep rise in frequency with 37 medals being struck under the Colbert administration (until 1683) compared to 300 being struck or reworked between 1697 and 1701.

²¹² Néraudau, *L'Olympe du roi-soleil*, p. 95.

²¹³ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, 'Oriens Augusti - lever du roi', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (1963), 117–77 (pp. 135–6).

representation equally well regardless of whether the panegyrics foregrounded a predominantly religious or mythological language and imagery. Besides, the myth of Apollo is, in itself, polyvalent, and therefore adaptable to a wide range of purposes within a monarch's allegorical programme. Apollo's roles in the mythological canon include that of Phoebus Apollo, who determined the course of the sun, the patron of the arts, and slayer of Python. These three visions of Apollo were also of particular use to Louis's image-campaign.

Royal image-makers used the potent solar-Apollonian imagery at the earliest opportunity when a medal was struck in 1638 to celebrate the dauphin's birth.²¹⁴ Underneath the motto *ORTUS SOLIS GALLICI* (the rise of the sun of France), the medal's reverse offers a lateral view of the infant steering Apollo's horse-drawn chariot. Winged Victory hovers above the reins, extending a wreath of laurels towards the heir apparent. The exergue gives the exact time of birth (38 minutes before noon, 5 September 1638), and the medal's edge features the signs of the zodiac in the corresponding constellation. The medal design combines the messianic implications of the solar imagery with a facet of the Apollonian myth which highlights the vital importance of warmth and light in the image of Phoebus Apollo driving his chariot across the sky to cause the sun to follow its course. The figure of Phoebus Apollo conveys a sense of 'la puissance du prince'.²¹⁵ The future reign, the medal's allegorical duality promises, would unfold in glory with a dauphin who fulfilled the roles of Apollo, Christ, and the sun as source of life itself.

Once Louis began to take an active role in his self-representation, he exploited this allegorical complexity in his favour; over the years, he built a strong

²¹⁴ Cf. Friedrich B. Polleroß, 'Sonnenkönig und österreichische Sonne: Kunst und Wissenschaft als Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 40 (1987), 239-56-4 (p. 243).

²¹⁵ Françoise Bardon, *Le Portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII: mythologie et politique* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1974), p. 46.

basis for his identification with Apollo and the sun. In his ritualized public *levers* and *couchers*, he inscribed the vision of Apollo's might and the sun's celestial progress in his court ceremonial. Here, he embodied both the chariot-driver and the sun, a conflation of roles which symbolically draws attention to Louis's alleged centrality and indispensability. Other instances which encouraged this particular identification include Isaac de Benserade's *Ballet de la Nuit* (1653), in which Louis danced the role of Apollo as the rising sun.²¹⁶

Conversely, another of Benserade's ballets, *Les Noces de Pélée et de Thétis* (1654), tells the story of Apollo slaying Python.²¹⁷ In focusing on a different facet of the Apollo myth, this ballet draws the audience's attention to another respect which invites the identification of Louis with Apollo. Here, Apollo incarnates the victorious duellist. The allegory visualizes 'la lutte du prince contre le mal' and invokes the figure of the monarch as 'glorieusement victorieux de toute pestilence oppositionnelle'.²¹⁸ The ballet thus offers an allegorical celebration of the young king's perseverance and military triumph. It premiered just one year after the demise of the *Frondes*, the first of Louis's reign. Both the apposite timing and the fact that Louis himself danced Apollo the slayer of Python enhanced the ballet's political message. These and other spectacles and panegyric testimonies brought to life the vision of a graceful, cultured, and agile young monarch.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ Isaac de Benserade, *Ballet de la Nuit* (1653) in *Ballets pour Louis XIV*, ed. by Marie-Claude Canova-Green, 2 vols (Toulouse: Société de Littératures Classiques, 1997); cf. also Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 41.

²¹⁷ De Benserade, *Les Noces de Pélée et de Thétis* (1654) in *ibid.*

²¹⁸ Bardon, *Le Portrait mythologique*, pp. 40–42.

²¹⁹ Surviving drawings for the costume design are among the most iconic depictions of the young king, see fig. 9; *Louis as Apollo* (1654), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes.



FIGURE 9. Henry Gissy, Louis XIV in the Guise of Apollo (1654 [?]), Royal Collection Trust. © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2016.

Their allegorical plots imply that the king's military prowess serves the 'noble' goal of creating an environment in which refinement, artistic, scientific and intellectual pursuits flourish peacefully. The king's active participation in the *ballets de cour* fulfilled the dual purpose of affirming 'l'unité de la Cour autour de son roi [...] et d'impressionner, par les échos de telles fêtes, et le peuple du pays et les souverains étrangers'.²²⁰ It also gave further credit to the king in his role as patron of the arts.

When Louis elevated the sun to his personal iconographical signature and advanced the coordinately immodest device *nec pluribus impar*, his claim to the imagery reached a level of absolute appropriation: he was the *roi-soleil*. The Château de Versailles, the result of more than four decades of redeveloping a former hunting lodge (1664-1710), brims over with corresponding visual homages.²²¹ It is impossible to escape the Ludovican device, which adorns everything from the courtyard's gilded grille to contemporary weaponry.²²² Just

²²⁰ Alain Viala, *Histoire du théâtre* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2005), p. 47; Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 45.

²²¹ To name just a few examples across the palace and gardens: Louis as Apollo astride his chariot in Joseph Werner, *Triumph of Louis XIV*, 1664; the *Salon d'Apollon* with Charles de la Fosse's ceiling painting; Jean-Baptiste Tuby's *Bassin du char d'Apollon* (1670) situated along the central axis of the gardens; the sculpture groups by François Girardon and others, *Apollon servi par les nymphes* and *Les Chevaux du soleil* (1666-75).

²²² Cf. *Detail of the grille d'honneur Depicting fleur-de-lys and the Emblem of Louis XIV* (17th C, French School), Château de Versailles; Charles Le Brun, *Detail of Panelling Depicting the Emblem of*

half-way into the renovations, in 1687, court historian André Félibien heralded Versailles as ‘un des sept merveilles de la France’. He further remarked: ‘comme le Soleil est la devise du Roy, et que les Poëtes confondent le Soleil et Apollon, Il n’y a rien dans cette superbe Maison qui n’ait rapport à cette divinité’.²²³

Louis’s iconographical programme conveyed a sense of emblematic ownership to such a degree that it caused some distress in the Habsburg realms, notably in the Holy Roman Empire. There, his ambitious quest for supremacy and his claim to inimitability were thought a preposterous and dangerous effrontery since they called into question the emperor’s traditionally assumed pre-eminence. Although the official mythological iconography of Leopold I, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1658-1705), had been dominated by the figure of Jupiter, courtiers in his service had already begun to employ solar references in 1660; twelve years later, Bourbon-Habsburg emblem-politics had escalated into an ‘Emblemschlacht’.²²⁴

In Louis’s reign, as we have seen in this chapter, mythological allegories constituted a large share of the king’s overall image-making. Their programmatic ubiquity and posthumous longevity are the result of and a tribute to a coherently and centrally engineered image-campaign; one that was driven from the very centre of monarchical power by the king himself. He appeared as ‘prince puissant’, benefactor of the arts and sciences, and defender of Christianity. This streamlined, yet versatile iconography displaced a muddled host of established analogies.

Louis XIV (1668), Château de Versailles, Salon de Venus; *Spear of the Guard of King Louis XIV* (17th C, Polish School), Cracow, Czartoryski Museum.

²²³ André Félibien, *La Description du château de Versailles* (Paris: Antoine Vilette, 1687), pp. 2, 13.

²²⁴ Polleroß, ‘Sonnenkönig und österreichische Sonne’, pp. 249–51. See also Ziegler, *Der Sonnenkönig und seine Feinde*, LXXIX, p. 49; and pp. 54-72 for two further instances of iconographical dispute (i.e. the use of solar imagery for the birth of Archduke Leopold Joseph of Austria in 1682 and the Austrian reconquest of Buda in 1686, which also saw the appropriation of the figure of Joshua in medallion design).

PART II: Models of Monarchical Culture

Sometime around 1690, an anonymous epigram pithily judges Louis XIV, James II, William III and their perceived potential as monarchs:

Trois portent le nom d'un Royaume,
 Louïs, Jaques, et Guillaume;
 Mais avec cette diversité,
 Louïs en est encore le maitre;
 Jaques ne l'a iamais eté,
 Mais Guillaume pourroit bien l'etre.²²⁵

The epigram is undated, but the reference to three *crowned* heads in the first and the conditional tense in the last line suggest that it was composed on or shortly after the coronation of William and Mary when the reign still had its course to run. The rhymer develops an unequivocal hierarchy. He offers a clear sense of past, present, and future: Louis XIV is cast as creator of the most powerful and culturally resplendent court of the period (l. 4), as yet enduring and unrivalled; James II and VII as a leader in name, but not one to be reckoned with (l. 5); and William III as the rising contender for Ludovican supremacy (l. 6). The epigram insinuates that Louis benefited from the instability and weakness of the recent Stuart rule as he remained unchallenged in his pre-eminence as long as potential contenders remained engaged in and preoccupied with domestic power struggles. The casual dismissal of James as a ruler who, though king, never actually mastered his domains mirrors contemporary critiques of James and Charles II as Francophile lapdogs that could never outgrow their master;²²⁶ it also anticipates later scholarly

²²⁵ 'Epigram', Bodleian, Firth b. 21 (I), item 29, Bodleian Manuscript Collection.

²²⁶ See among others Voltaire, 'Lettre à Milord Hervey', p. 610 on Charles's aesthetic indebtedness to Louis; John Dalrymple, ed., *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland: From the Dissolution of the Last Parliament of Charles II. until the Sea-Battle off La Hogue*, 2nd edn (London: W. Strahan; and T. Cadell; A. Kincaid and J. Bell, and J. Balfour, 1771), II, 72 on Louis's influence over Stuart marriage politics; and on the imitation of Ludovican prestige projects in schemes like the Royal Hospital Chelsea and the Greenwich Observatory, see for instance 'The National Archive of the UK SP 78/149', temp Chas II, pp. 522–28, The National Archives, Kew, referenced in Charles-Édouard

views of the Stuart brothers as unfortunately dependent on the French king and insufficiently autonomous.²²⁷ In particular Charles II and his court were criticized for the kind of undisguised imitation of French practices William and Anne avoided. It is in light of this failure that John H. Plumb convincingly maintained that Charles's 'Court [...] resembled in tone and manner his Court in exile[,] lacked confidence, a sense of grandeur, [and] all belief in its own inevitable destiny.'²²⁸ He could not attain monarchical *gloire*, but was among those the *encyclopédistes* referred to as 'les imitateurs [qui] n'ont que des applaudissemens'.²²⁹ William III, in contrast, had the potential to draw level, if not exceed, Louis XIV. It is this narrative of contestation and supersession as it emerges from the epigram that the second part of the thesis investigates. My reading of monarchical image-making develops its implications beyond William's reign. It not only examines how William's monarchical model begins to undermine the relevance of Louis XIV in post-revolutionary England; it also identifies Queen Anne's monarchical model as the one that ultimately dispenses with Louis XIV, be it as model or as foil.

Levillain, *Vaincre Louis XIV: Angleterre, Hollande, France: histoire d'une relation triangulaire: 1665-1688*, Epoques (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2010), p. 17; Cruickshank, *The Royal Hospital Chelsea*, p. 20; Dean, *The Royal Hospital*, pp. 19-21-43; Richard Pailthorpe, *The Royal Hospital Chelsea: Home of the Chelsea Pensioners* (Derby: Royal Hospital Chelsea, 2003), p. 13.

²²⁷ Cf. for instance Prestwich, 'The Making of Absolute Monarchy', p. 105; Strong, *Coronation*, p. 309; Maria Hayward, "'We Have Better Materials for Clothes, They, Better Taylors": The Influence of La Mode on the Clothes of Charles II and James II', in *Louis XIV outside in*, ed. by Claydon and Levillain, pp. 57-76.

²²⁸ Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability*, p. 15.

²²⁹ Diderot, Alembert and Mouchon, *Encyclopédie*, VII, v. gloire.

Chapter 3.

Variants on Ludovican Image-Making

under William III and Queen Anne

This chapter shows that patterns of monarchical court culture in general and Louis's image-campaign in particular make up an important (under)current in William's monarchical image-making (3.1). In fact, the Ludovican model constitutes its hinge, insofar as William covertly appropriates certain strategies while turning other practices against themselves in order to increase his validity as counterpoint. We will find that this observation does not hold true for Anne's image-making in the same way (3.2). In exploring this difference and the potential reasons behind it, I contrast the palatial redevelopments of William's reign, his artistic commissions, his refusal to perform the royal touch, and the absence of his monumentalisation through statues with the significance which these instantiations of sovereignty held in Anne's reign (esp. 3.3-3.4). The chapter closes by considering two concomitant circumstances of early modern monarchical image-making: on the one hand, the impact Anne's gender had on her image-making and the question of whether it affected the relevance Louis XIV could have in her case (3.5); and on the other hand, the extent to which public opinion affected William's and Anne's image-making more readily than that of Louis (3.6).

3.1 The Conservative Undercurrent of William's Monarchical Programme

William III had to execute a delicate balancing act: on the one hand, his accession represented a break with what had gone before – notably his predecessors' increasingly overt endorsement of Catholicism and the autocracy of their rule. On

the other hand, he could ignore neither the importance of dynasticism and the legitimation it implied nor the effectiveness of contemporary French policies of patronage and culture. With a view to his Dutch realms, his image-building as monarch also had to be calibrated with his on-going image-making as Stadtholder to avoid fragmentation.

In this context, Wouter Troost has convincingly argued that William pursued a 'balance-of-power policy *avant la lettre*'.²³⁰ William was in fact shrewd enough to realize that in order to become the centrepiece of the League of Augsburg and succeed as such, he depended on a stable working relationship with Parliament. Quite consciously therefore, he retained both Whig and Tory sympathisers in his ministry in an attempt to create as much equipoise as possible between the prevailing political orientations and maintain a steady ministerial influence on the Houses. In 1690, these comprised 'an almost equal balance of 243 Tories and 241 Whigs, with 28 more MPs unclassified'.²³¹ In a similar vein, the king and his councillors adopted a language of courtly reformation, and his supporters often followed suit.²³² Their rhetoric mediated the 'constitutional balancing act' of William's accession through the evocation of divine providence and helped William 'occupy the middleground' between the predominant political ideologies.²³³ This preference for a policy of balance and mediation also informs, as we will see,

²³⁰ Wouter Troost, "'To Restore and Preserve the Liberty of Europe": William III's Ideas on Foreign Policy', in *Ideology and Foreign Policy in Early Modern Europe (1650-1750)*, ed. by David Onnekink and Gijs Rommelse, Politics and Culture in Europe, 1650-1750 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 283–304 (p. 283).

²³¹ Cf. Parliament of 1690, Section 1690-1715, 'History of Parliament' <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/research>> [accessed 10 February 2013].

²³² Cf. for instance the line 'God and the Prince of Orange, the one as Author, the other as Instrument, help'd us out' in Daniel Defoe, *The Danger of the Protestant Religion Consider'd, from the Present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe* (London: s. n., 1701), p. 8.

²³³ Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, pp. 157–58.

William's self-representation, his artistic appointments, and his policies of patronage.

On occasions such as the coronation, for instance, William willingly exploits established ceremonial in order to convey, as Schwoerer pointedly summarizes, 'the *illusion* of political legitimacy and stability'.²³⁴ On other occasions, by contrast, he appears not to condone image-making as it was practised by his Catholically-minded predecessors and his French contemporary, deliberately turning away from rituals that had long featured in their enactment of kingship: William thus steadfastly refused to continue the rituals of touching for the king's evil and of washing paupers' feet on Maundy Thursday.²³⁵ Only the monarchs of France and England, each of which laid a proprietary claim to the faculty at the other's expense, were thought to be in possession of the divine gift to heal by their touch.²³⁶ Belief in its efficacy, however, was so widespread in Europe that also foreigners, for example subjects of the Spanish crown, are known to have attended the touching ceremonies at the French court in hope of cure.²³⁷ In 1912, shortly after Raymond Crawford's seminal publication on the subject, the British Medical Journal described the healing ritual as 'another attribute of royalty which for centuries was regarded literally as becoming the throned monarch better than his sceptre'.²³⁸ Giving the custom pride of place over one of the key items of regalia indicates just how integral the belief in the monarch's thaumaturgic powers had

²³⁴ Lois G. Schwoerer, 'The Coronation of William and Mary, April 11, 1689', in *The Revolution of 1688-1689*, ed. by Schwoerer, pp. 107–30 (p. 125); emphasis in original.

²³⁵ Cf. David Starkey, *Crown and Country: The Kings and Queens of England: A History* (London: HarperPress, 2010), p. 400.

²³⁶ Cf. David J. Sturdy, 'The Royal Touch in England', in *European Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. by Heinz Duchhardt, Richard A. Jackson, and David J. Sturdy (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1992), pp. 171–84 (p. 171); Hermann Weber, 'Das "Toucher Royal" in Frankreich zur Zeit Heinrichs IV und Ludwigs XIII', in *ibid.*, pp. 155–70 (p. 159).

²³⁷ Cf. Weber, 'Das "Toucher Royal"', p. 159.

²³⁸ Raymond Henry Payne Crawford, *The King's Evil*, Fitzpatrick Lectures, 1911 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911); 'The King's Evil and the Royal Touch', *The British Medical Journal*, 1.2664 (1912), 146–47.

been to medieval and early modern conceptions of kingship. The miraculous healing faculty was seen as ‘representative of the Divine Right of Kings’,²³⁹ and thus counted as incontrovertible sign of monarchical legitimacy.

In France, the *toucher royal* was considered one of the unalienable sacral qualities of the *office* of kingship. As such, the faculty was believed to be bestowed onto the monarch as he turned into the ‘*imago Dei*’ during the *sacre royal* (the anointment).²⁴⁰ The Stuarts, by contrast, claimed the faculty to be hereditary, arguing that as ‘an indisputable sign of legitimacy’,²⁴¹ the royal touch was a question of blood rather than the result of a sacral rite. Accordingly, both Charles II, James II, and the future Stuart pretenders held touching ceremonies in exile ‘as a visible sign of their claim to the throne of England’.²⁴² Certainly, William could not have followed in their footsteps and claimed the thaumaturgic faculty a hereditary gift; but there may well have been another way of exploiting the belief in the ritual – for instance, as in the coronation, via his Stuart-born wife and joint sovereign or by highlighting the anointment as central to the healing power as was customary in France. After all, the belief that an anointment can confer the ability to touch only onto a legitimate king had already been advanced by Lancastrian supporters as reason for the Yorkist Edward IV’s failure to heal by touch.²⁴³

Yet, Calvinist principle and sobriety prevented him from harnessing these popular rituals and their performative power to his image-making efforts. To him,

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Weber, ‘Das “Toucher Royal”’, pp. 158–59.

²⁴¹ Sturdy, ‘The Royal Touch in England’, p. 174.

²⁴² Ibid. Cf. also Noël Woolf, ‘The Sovereign Remedy: Touch-Pieces and the King’s Evil, Part II’, *The British Numismatic Journal: Including the Proceedings of the British Numismatic Society*, 50 (1980), 91–116 (pp. 91, 93–94).

²⁴³ Cf. Carole Levin, ‘“Would I Could Give You Help and Succour”: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Touch’, *Albion: a Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 21.2 (1989), 191–205 (p. 191). On William’s decision not to touch and ploys that would have justified his touching, cf. also Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2015), pp. 186–91.

they smacked of popery and a belief in the divine right of kings.²⁴⁴ It is moreover conceivable that William would have drawn attention to his tenuous position in performing the royal touch and given his opponents more room for populist propaganda. With this refusal, William unmistakably contributed to the demystification of kingship. Loyalists like the empiricist Richard Blackmore, physician-in-ordinary to William and later to Anne, lauded his determination; in a rare instance, even Voltaire retrospectively held up the rationality of William's decision as model to Louis.²⁴⁵ This pose as Ludovican opposite would seem a deliberate move; it kept William out of reach of a specific kind of anti-monarchical sentiment which increasingly targeted the sacral dimensions of kingship. As the perceived line between the exercise of these powers and its abuse grew thinner, these became evocative of hereditary rule, absolutist authority, and at worst, tyranny. The following lines proffer but one example for this pattern; the anonymous poet frames Louis's exercise of his kingship as 'dark magic', i.e. abuse:

And shake the Gallick Tyrant on his Seat
Where like some Dire Magician in his Cell
He sits contriving some new Impious Spell.²⁴⁶

In presenting Louis as unfavourable contrast to William, testimonies such as this poem establish William and his kingship as untainted alternative to the models of kingship pursued by Louis and his Stuart imitators.

Other contemporaries such as Prior build up this contrast further in their observations. In his letter to Montagu, Prior ironizes his first impressions of the

²⁴⁴ Cf. Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, p. 219; Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England*, pp. 184–85.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Voltaire, *Essai sur les Moeurs* (1756), in Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, p. 224. Bloch also recapitulates other occasions on which Voltaire and Saint-Simon expressed their derision for the ritual; cf. for example Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, par les amateurs* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2007), s.v. écrouelles.

²⁴⁶ 'A Congratulatory Poem on his Majesty's Happy Return' (s. l.: s. n., 1690). For a pertinent discussion of the relation between 'royal sacerdotalism', thaumaturgy, and early modern notions of witchcraft, cf. Stuart Clark, 'Kingcraft and Witchcraft', in *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), chap. 43.

French monarchy's splendour: 'His [Louis's] house at Versailles is something the foolishest in the world; he is strutting in every panel, and galloping over one's head in every ceiling'.²⁴⁷ He then goes on to oppose his impression of Louis's ubiquitous image-cultivation with William's alleged reticence to indulge in self-glorification: 'The monuments of my Master's actions are to be seen everywhere but in his own house'.²⁴⁸ Independently from one another, both James D. Stewart and Susan Jenkins note in this context that 'only a few years later Prior's remark [was] rendered out-of-date by Verrio's and Kneller's work at Hampton Court, where complex allegorical adulation of the very sort Prior had scoffed at at Versailles was employed for William'.²⁴⁹ Their observation questions the long-term validity of Prior's statement, but it does not dispute its veracity. A look at the artistic commissions of the 1690s, however, suggests that one could and should do exactly that: major refurbishments of the royal residences, Hampton Court included, were well under way by 1697; in fact, many had begun shortly after the coronation, and thus long before 1701 when Antonio Verrio received the commission for the interior decoration at Hampton Court Palace which Jenkins and Stewart evoke.²⁵⁰ The French Huguenot architect Daniel Marot, for instance, whose employment Christopher Brown deems 'William's greatest single achievement as patron' began work on the remodelling of the great east front parterre at Hampton Court as early as 1689.²⁵¹ Similarly, Godfrey Kneller had received the royal commission for a

²⁴⁷ Matthew Prior to Charles Montagu, 18 February 1698, in Great Britain, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Calendar of the Manuscripts*, vol. iii, p. 193. Ziegler uses the beginning of the quotation as title to his third chapter, which focuses on the role of Versailles and the *Grande Galérie* in particular in reports of foreign emissaries and travellers, cf. Ziegler, *Der Sonnenkönig und seine Feinde*, LXXIX, pp. 145–80.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ James D. Stewart, 'William III and Sir Godfrey Kneller', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1970, 330–36 (p. 332); Susan Jenkins, p. 8.

²⁵⁰ Kathryn Barron, 'Verrio, Antonio (c. 1639–1707), Decorative Painter', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

²⁵¹ Christopher Brown, 'Patrons and Collectors', p. 15.

large-scale equestrian portrait (eventually completed in 1701 and of considerable recognition value) as early as 1697;²⁵² he had even, as Stewart himself notes,²⁵³ set to work on a large first oil sketch before Prior's departure to and missive from France.



FIGURE 10. Sir Godfrey Kneller, *William III on Horseback* (1701). Royal Collection Trust. © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2016.

That Prior was not privy to talk of these earlier palatial redevelopments is highly unlikely; and even if he had no knowledge of Kneller's most recent commission, he who sat for Kneller himself around that time (1700, Cambridge, Trinity College) must have come across some of the other paintings Kneller had executed for the Crown by then – not least because these include the joint monarchs' full-length state portraits (1690, Royal Collection), which were disseminated 'more widely than any royal images until Allan Ramsay's portraits of George III and Queen Charlotte' (c. 1763).²⁵⁴

Prior's parrying remarks of 1698 conjure up the vision of a rational, sober, and even unprepossessing sovereign. His comments present themselves as disinterested observations on the sovereign's supposed modesty. Their wider

²⁵² Sir Godfrey Kneller, *William III on Horseback*, 1701, Royal Collection Trust.

²⁵³ Cf. James D. Stewart, 'Kneller, Sir Godfrey [Formerly Gottfried Kniller], Baronet (1646–1723), History and Portrait Painter', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004); Stewart, 'William III', p. 332.

²⁵⁴ Stewart, 'Kneller, Sir Godfrey'; cf. also Stewart, 'William III', p. 331; Hugh Dunthorne, 'William in Contemporary Portraits and Prints', in *Redefining William III*, ed. by Mijers and Onnekink, pp. 263–76 (pp. 269–70).

context, however, suggests that they were actually part of Williamite image-building. A consideration of Prior's access to court and his acquaintance with artists in its service suggest that his observations served to perpetuate a pose William sought to adopt and that they were, to that extent, calculated. Already long before 1701, we begin to see, William was prepared and well equipped to exploit the ostentatious, yet also initially effective strategy of self-glorification practised at the French court for his own ends.

His artistic appointments, too, reveal him to be discerning and deliberate in his patronage. His most significant engagement is probably that of Verrio whose commission at Hampton Court indicates that William succeeded in involving even the reticent and sceptic in his cause. Verrio had become a member of the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* in Paris in 1671. He had been patronized by both Charles II and James II, and is thought to have worked at Versailles under Charles Le Brun, who had been the *Académie's* director since 1663 and Louis's *premier peintre* since 1664. In summer 1686, the noted diarist John Evelyn enthusiastically predicted that, natural elements permitting, Verrio's work 'will preserve his name to ages'.²⁵⁵ In 1688, Verrio left London for the country as his sympathies lay with the Jacobites. Holding conviction dearer than the prestige of a royal commission, he did not care to work for the new monarch. His refusal belies the assumption that artists would put their craft into anyone's service, driven by economic considerations rather than a sense of political loyalty towards a patron. Only eventually did Verrio let William persuade him to return to work for Court and redecorate designated areas at Hampton Court (the entire interior of a small

²⁵⁵ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by Esmond Samuel de Beer, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), IV, 16 June 1683.

banqueting house, the king's staircase, and the queen's drawing room).²⁵⁶ Verrio's commission illustrates William's ability to navigate political dissent in order to get his way; it also suggests that he valued the propagandistic value which Verrio's work would bring more highly than second-class work of a lesser, yet loyalist artist.

Kneller is another, yet less politically particular case in point. The Lübeck-born painter had initially trained under Rembrandt and Ferdinand Bol in Amsterdam. During his sojourn in Italy in 1672, he studied with Gianlorenzo Bernini and Carlo Maratta. He enjoyed the patronage of both Charles II and James II. In 1684, he experienced Ludovician resplendence first-hand when Charles sent him to France to paint Louis XIV.²⁵⁷ His state portraits recognise the Flemish tradition in that they 'recall Van Dyck's portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, thus emulating Kneller's great [...] predecessor and alluding to William and Mary's common ancestors'.²⁵⁸ Unsurprisingly, Kneller's 1701 portrait, too, constitutes a nod to Van Dyck's accomplishments and his notable equestrian portraits. At the same time, however, the composition of its initial sketches relies in at least equal measure on Bernini's early designs for an equestrian sculpture of Louis XIV.²⁵⁹ Kneller cannot have seen the finished statue, which was shipped from Rome to Paris a year after his sojourn there.²⁶⁰ Yet, given his time under Bernini's tutelage,

²⁵⁶ Cf. Brett Dolman, 'Antonio Verrio (c. 1636-1707) and the Royal Image at Hampton Court', *The British Art Journal*, 10.3 (2009), 18–28 (pp. 18–19). On his initial refusal to work for William, cf. Edgar Wind, 'Julian the Apostate at Hampton Court', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 3 (1939), 127–37 (pp. 127–8). On the difference between Verrio's work for Charles II and William III, cf. Smith, "'Last of All the Heavenly Birth'", p. 142.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Louis XIV*, 1684, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 913310.

²⁵⁸ Stewart, 'Kneller, Sir Godfrey'.

²⁵⁹ Bernini had first submitted his proposal for the sculpture during his stay in France in the 1660s.

²⁶⁰ Kneller is unlikely to have known that the sculpture failed to meet royal approval and that François Girardon re-hewed the likeness as homage to the Roman hero Marcus Curtius; Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Sketch for Equestrian Monument of Louis XIV* (1675), Bassano, Museo Civico; Gianlorenzo Bernini and François Girardon, *Louis XIV sous les traits de Marcus Curtius*, Pièce d'eau de Suisses, Château de Versailles [copy; original now held at the Orangerie] in Walter A. Liedtke,

he may well have been familiar with the project when work was still in progress. Throughout his career, Kneller had sufficient opportunity to study and familiarize himself with the artistic styles that were put into Louis's service; ultimately, he could draw on this knowledge in commissions for William such as the equestrian portrait.

Sir Christopher Wren fits the same bill. When schemes for the redevelopment of Hampton Court were drawn up, the royal couple entrusted the architect with the task of 'plan[ning] a rival to Versailles at Hampton Court'.²⁶¹ Like Kneller, Wren had travelled to Paris and the Île-de-France, and during his sojourn in 1665/6, he, too, had met Bernini.²⁶² Similarly, the responsibility for the garden designs at Hampton Court lay with pupils of André Le Nôtre, Louis's principal landscape architect at Versailles.²⁶³ Yet, the question of how to weigh the aesthetic influences in William's remodelling efforts has been a contentious one among scholars. Uta Janssens-Knorsch and John Harris, for instance, acknowledge the obvious indebtedness to French landscape and interior design.²⁶⁴ Harris actually refers to Hampton Court, the palatial hub of William's reign and his favourite residence, as 'English Versailles'.²⁶⁵ Nonetheless, they both also suggest that the Dutch influences overlay the French ones. Janssens-Knorsch proposes that Hampton Court 'should be seen as a variation by Wren on the Dutch version of the

The Royal Horse and Rider: Painting, Sculpture, and Horsemanship, 1500-1800 (New York: Abaris Books in association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), p. 75 (fig. 75), p. 281–3 (figs. 154, 156).

²⁶¹ Wayne R. Dynes, 'Hampton Court', in *Palaces of Europe* (London: Hamlyn, 1968), pp. 86–95 (p. 90); cf. also Lucy Worsley, *Hampton Court Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (London: Merrell; Historic Royal Palaces, 2005), p. 62; Janssens-Knorsch, 'From Het Loo to Hampton Court', pp. 278–79.

²⁶² Cf. Kerry Downes, 'Wren, Sir Christopher (1632–1723), Architect, Mathematician, and Astronomer', *ODNB*.

²⁶³ Cf. Dynes, 'Hampton Court', p. 95; Thurley, *The Building of England*, p. 283.

²⁶⁴ Cf. Janssens-Knorsch, 'From Het Loo to Hampton Court', pp. 291, 295–96; John Harris, 'The Architecture of the Williamite Court', p. 228.

²⁶⁵ John Harris, 'The Architecture of the Williamite Court', pp. 226–27.

contemporary international baroque style'. William and Mary, she even claims, 'were careful to shut out the typically French feature of the long vistas seen in this design'. In this latter respect certainly, fact falls victim to Janssens-Knorsch's argument, and Simon Thurley's more recent work counters with a perspective on the hybrid nature of Hampton Court gardens that is much more in keeping with the realities:

It is not possible to simply categorize this garden as French, Dutch, or English, for it drew on native preferences and combined them with ideas from Holland and France to create a distinctive English rendering of a formal landscape. *Its formality and geometry, however, fundamentally derive from France, setting Hampton Court in a matrix of avenues and compartments in the same way as Versailles.*²⁶⁶

Harris in turn contends that 'the French absolutist architecture of Versailles and its Sun King was unpalatable either to William III (always looking over his shoulder at what happened to Charles I and James II) or to Parliament'. He calls into question whether William 'ever really contemplated baroque dream palaces built of stone' and suggests that the king condoned this approach at 'the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, where there would be no political repercussions', but contented himself with at Hampton Court and Kensington with 'what he deserved and wanted: a compromise rebuilding'.²⁶⁷ Harris's comments on the relative ostentatiousness of Greenwich Hospital (as well as Chelsea and Bethlem, for that matter)²⁶⁸ are certainly justified; as is the remark on Hampton Court. It is a 'compromise building', not least since its layout preserves the architectural connection to the Tudor era, creating a palatial amalgam which easily contrasts with Versailles's Cinderella transformation from hunting lodge to baroque splendour. However, Harris discounts that the architectural hybridity of Hampton

²⁶⁶ Thurley, *The Building of England*, p. 283, my emphasis.

²⁶⁷ John Harris, 'The Architecture of the Williamite Court', p. 233.

²⁶⁸ On that note, cf. also Thurley, *The Building of England*, p. 276.

Court would sit well with William's attempts to maintain a connection with pre-revolutionary monarchy despite the ostensible innovations of 1688/9 (in this respect, cf. also 4.2.2). More importantly even, he disregards the timing of William's palatial redevelopments and its implications. Baxter, in contrast, stresses the irony inherent in Louis's having to halt further building works at Versailles during the Nine Year's War while William was busy 'buil[ding] and rebuil[ding] het Loo and Kensington and began his great work at Hampton Court'.²⁶⁹ William's employing artists who were noted for their earlier contributions to Versailles' grandeur enhanced the propaganda value of this contrast even further.

The precise degree to which French or Dutch influences contributed to William's palatial redevelopments is not the real issue; it is rather a question of how William worked to achieve a balance of influences which, for a long time, appears to have successfully disguised the extent to which he used the French monarchy as inspiration to stylize himself as its opposite.²⁷⁰

3.1.1 An Earlier Taste for Monarchical Iconography

Recent research on the relevance of monarchical culture and iconography in the Dutch Republic gives further credit to the view that William may well have had far more conservatively monarchical leanings than he has long been given credit for. In his contribution to the internationalization of the historiography of the English Civil Wars, Helmer Helmers, for instance, investigates the royalist cause and its place in the Dutch Republic. In this context, he highlights the seemingly counterintuitive pervasiveness of royalist sentiment in the Dutch Republic of the

²⁶⁹ Stephen B. Baxter, *William III* (London: Longmans, 1966), p. 358.

²⁷⁰ In this context, see Barclay, 'William's Court as King', p. 252. Barclay highlights the fact that the conservativeness of Hampton Court has only recently begun to be appreciated properly.

mid-seventeenth century.²⁷¹ The thrust of Lisa Jardine's observations on the 1680 redesign of Honselaarsdijk is similar. She reads it as indicative of William's 'royal aspiration' and as open intention to 'match in splendour, if not in scale, Louis XIV's world renowned gardens at Versailles'.²⁷² Implicitly, Jardine thus establishes the redesign at Honselaarsdijk as precursor to the redevelopment of Hampton Court a decade later. She enhances the political significance of the Honselaarsdijk project and places the development of a French-oriented emulative cultural policy in the years preceding the 'Glorious Revolution'.

Despite their nominally non-monarchical form of government, the Dutch Provinces with their quasi-hereditary stadtholderate exhibited monarchical tendencies.²⁷³ The primary responsibility for this undercurrent lay with the House of Orange-Nassau and its rank in Dutch society. Although there was no dynastic rule *stricto sensu*, the House of Orange-Nassau had come to hold a position of primacy among the Dutch nobility. Two factors contributed to this prestige: their claim to the sovereign principality of Orange and the resultant rank as Princes of Orange on the one hand, and Prince William II's marriage to Mary Henrietta Stuart, Charles I's eldest daughter (m. 1641) on the other, as it introduced the House into the line of succession to the English crown. The Orangist adherents maintained a strong political opposition during the First Stadtholderless Period (1650-72) and the comparatively more 'republican' de Witt regime. The restoration of the stadtholderate in 1672 (and William's quasi-hereditary succession to the position) afforded him the opportunity to reassert the line's political pre-eminence in the

²⁷¹ Cf. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*. Helmers covers the years during which William III's predecessors – the Princes of Orange Frederick-Henry (in office 1625-47) and William II (in office 1647-50) – occupied the post of Stadtholder and also the first decade of the Stadtholderless Period (1650-1672).

²⁷² Jardine, *Going Dutch*, pp. 241–42.

²⁷³ In this context, see also Levillain, *Vaincre Louis XIV*, p. 30 on the 'tendances monarchiques des princes d'Orange' and William's 'potentiel absolutiste'.

Dutch Republic. At that point, even the *de facto* loss of the principality of Orange in 1673 did not detract from the Orangist influence in the Dutch Republic. On the contrary: William's subsequent marriage to his first cousin (m. 1677), the second match with the Royal Stuarts, further bolstered the prestige of the House of Orange. It enhanced the position of the Dutch Republic as well as William's own among the leaders of Europe, with respect to the French monarchy, and with a view to his place in the line of succession to the Stuart thrones.

It also stands to reason that, at a more private level, the Orange family cultivated a sense of dynastic self-worth. Certainly, William had married 'up' through the female line, and his wife's lineage featured prominently in the debate about their joint accession (cf. 1.2); yet, already before his marriage, he came fourth in the succession,²⁷⁴ a clear testimony to the standing to which the House of Orange-Nassau had risen within the network of seventeenth-century European dynasties. By comparison, Mary Stuart's pedigree quickly came to be considered less pristine. In fact, William's mother, Mary II, had, as Jardine points out, 'been quite clear that her royal line was superior to that of James's children, since James's first wife Anne Hyde had been a mere commoner';²⁷⁵ it is the logical conclusion of Jardine's remark that Mary of Orange would have had this sense of dynastic self-esteem instilled in her son. As such, the remark provides an indication as to William's likely self-conception – which bears far more traces of a monarchical mindset than one might expect.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II, 1689-95', p. 725.

²⁷⁵ Jardine, *Going Dutch*, p. 64. In the course of this chapter, I will return to the question of how Anne Hyde's lack of status by birth afforded the opponents of William's and Mary's accession the opportunity to discredit the new monarchy and how the perceived value of her lineage remained an opportune insult to the future Queen Anne, too.

In this sense, the above observations, political and personal alike, indicate that William's royal aspirations, his cultural policy and his practices of patronage were not a sudden volte-face subsequent to his accession to the Stuart thrones. Rather, as we will see more clearly in the case of the emergence of William's allegorical programme, they developed progressively – out of a blend of Orangist self-perception, French cultural exemplarity, and William's power-political conflict with France. For all that it appears – as Christopher Brown stated – 'ironic that it was a Dutch king, whose entire political and military career was devoted to curbing the power of France, who had done much to bring about this change in taste'²⁷⁶ for the baroque of Versailles, William's patronage of continental tastes in art and architecture was both deliberate and strategic. By commissioning men like Marot, Kneller, Wren, and Le Nôtre's pupils who could easily exploit the artistic mechanisms behind the Ludovican image-campaign, William almost systematically built up a retinue of skilled artists who could create a rival iconography to the French by exploiting their experience in William's favour. For who better to undermine the Ludovican image than those who helped conjure it?

3.2 Queen Anne's Englishness as Essential Value

With Anne's accession, the challenge to monarchical image-making morphed; unlike William, she did not face the precarious negotiation of a narrative of continuity and one of rupture. There remained two narratives, but they were both narratives of continuity. They ran in parallel to one another, and, even if not truly reconcilable, they could not be seen to jar: on the one hand, Anne had to draw on her lineage in her monarchical image-building in order to reaffirm the validity of

²⁷⁶ Christopher Brown, 'Patrons and Collectors', p. 28.

the English monarchy and establish a sense of contiguity with the familiar, divinely sanctioned, hereditary monarchy. On the other hand, she had to present herself as natural and worthy heir to William, and her reign as seamless progression in line with her predecessor's and the achievements of 1688/9 in order to ensure the monarchy's future. It remains to be seen in the following how these changed parameters affected Louis's relevance to English monarchical image-making.

I propose to read Anne's monarchical image-making as an amalgam between the un-autocratic model of kingship by statute, which emerged in the immediate aftermath of the 'Glorious Revolution', and deliberate echoes of earlier, more traditional regimes. Even if one accepts that William's image-campaign relied more on customary royalist devices than was immediately evident, these echoes feature still much more palpably in Anne's monarchical image-building. It stands to reason that in Anne's case, this tendency and, above all, its greater obviousness met with far more acceptance or even approval than it would have done in William's. In part, the explanation for this uneven judgement lies in Anne's being an English-born queen rather than a foreigner and, in the view of some, a usurper. Equally, Anne did not have to establish monarchy by statute and canvass for its acceptability in the same way as her predecessor had to. She succeeded to it. In this respect, Anne was far less dependent on Whig support than William and could more readily afford to demonstrate sympathy with Tory values.

Monarchical image-making under Queen Anne generated the illusion that she embodies the best possible version of the contradictory models of monarchy that prevailed pre-and post-1688. It intertwines, both through factional panegyric and projections which Anne herself instigated, the telling of two stories: that of Anne Stuart, the English and Anglican Queen, and that of Anne Stuart, the heir to William

of Orange's achievements. The designs of Anne's official accession and coronation medals constitute a neat visualisation of these two strands: the reverse of the accession medal depicts a heart enclosed within branches of laurel and oak which wind up into a crown sat atop the heart. The branches rest upon a pedestal which bears the inscription *ATAVIS REGIBVS* (from royal ancestors); the surrounding legend reads *ENTIRELY ENGLISH*.



FIGURE 11. John Croker, Medal Commemorating the Accession of Queen Anne (1702). British Museum, London, 1878,0602.1. © Trustees of the British Museum.

It is a noteworthy testimony to Anne's particular brand of accessibility that this latter profession is made in English rather than Latin. The sentiment also resonates in John Sharp's coronation sermon²⁷⁷ and Anne's first address to the Houses of Parliament on 11 March 1702 in which she declared: 'As I know my own heart to be entirely English, I can very sincerely assure you there is not anything you can expect or desire from me which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England.'²⁷⁸ The design of the accession medal captivates through pathos and simplicity. Anne's subjects' ancestors were her own. At the same time, it also recalls the commemorative medal issued in celebration of her wedding in 1683 (fig. 12).

²⁷⁷ Cf. Bucholz, 'Queen Anne: A Victim of Her Virtues?', p. 98.

²⁷⁸ Anne, Queen of Great Britain, *Her Majesties Most Gracious Speech to Both Houses of Parliament, on Wednesday the Eleventh Day of March, 1701 [1702]* (London: Charles Bill, and the executrix of Thomas Newcomb, 1702).



FIGURE 12. George Bower, Medal Commemorating the Marriage of Anne and George of Denmark (1683). British Museum, London, M.7647. © Trustees of the British Museum.

George Bower's design is particularly noteworthy for its variation of the jugate style on the medal's obverse, which has George and Anne gazing at each other in profile. The reverse features a line from Virgil's *Georgics*, FACTVRA NEPOTIBUS UMBRAM (to make shelter for posterity), alongside an oak tree from which acorns have fallen.²⁷⁹ With a view to Anne's marriage, the design expresses the hope that their marital union would ensure dynastic continuity. Viewed alongside Anne's accession medal, the motivic connection helps to portray the two events in parallel; the union between sovereign and nation echoes that of wife and husband.

The reverse of Anne's coronation medal, in contrast, features a design of more dramatic theatricality: The scene shows the queen in armour as Pallas Athena.²⁸⁰ She hurls a thunder-bolt against a two-headed, four-armed, and snake-legged monster that wields clubs and stones by way of weapon; the legend here reads VICEM GERIT ILLA TONANTIS (she is the vice-regent of the Thunderer).²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ In the seventeenth century, the oak still prevailed as national emblem of Denmark. On the subsequent iconographical shift in favour of the beech tree, see Thorkild Kjærgaard, *The Danish Revolution, 1500-1800: An Ecohistorical Interpretation*, Studies in Environment and History (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), pp. 198–99.

²⁸⁰ For a discussion of Isaac Newton's role in choosing between the proposed designs, see Hone, 'Isaac Newton'.

²⁸¹ Chapter 5 acknowledges contemporary readings of this design, especially with regard to the identification of the monster. It discusses the way in which image-makers facilitated a relatively smooth iconographic transition from William's to Anne's reign through their use of allegory. Suffice it to point out at this juncture that the interplay between design and legend unequivocally conceives of Pallas Athena-Anne as heir and successor to Jupiter, who had become an established allegory for William III. Cf. e.g. Hone, 'Isaac Newton', pp. 127–28.



FIGURE 13. John Croker and Isaac Newton, Medal Commemorating the Coronation of Queen Anne (1702), British Museum, London, G3, EM.39. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Through its allegorical rendition, this latter narrative clearly conceives of Anne as heir to William and his agenda. It is, as I will demonstrate in more detail below, in this strand of Anne's monarchical image-making that Louis XIV and his image-campaign retain their most obvious relevance to their English counterpart.

From a biographical perspective, this restricted relevance may surprise at first. After all, Anne's earliest memories of court life stemmed from her life in the households of Charles I's widow Henrietta Maria, and of Philippe (1640-1701), the Duke of Orleans, Louis XIV's sibling. Anne's experience of French court culture and the remaining sense of its exemplarity may further the inference that it would be natural for her to draw on elements of the Ludovican image-campaign and tap into the artistic proficiency which emerged from France's institutionalised cultural production to serve her own purposes. In fact, however, there is little indication to that effect if one reconsiders the context of Anne's experiences with continental court culture a little more closely.

3.2.1 Early Circumspection of Catholicism and Continental Court Culture

In his noted biography, Edward Gregg advanced that Anne's early sojourn in France 'reinforced in her that cosmopolitanism which was characteristic of all European royal families during the seventeenth century'. He also considers the

internationality of her household, which comprises, for instance, a Huguenot French domestic, a Dutch lady of the bedchamber, and, given her husband's origins, a considerable Danish contingent, as indicative of Anne's greater receptiveness to 'Continental ideas and individuals'.²⁸² Yet, I would maintain that in fact, Anne's experience with this culture and its religious politics, an awareness of the changing status of the French monarchy, as well as her education served her as an inoculation against drawing profusely on continentally inspired image-making.

Born in 1665, Anne began to suffer from an eye ailment in early childhood. To receive ophthalmological treatment, she was sent to France just few months after her third birthday. She remained for two years, passing from the charge of one relative into that of another. She first stayed with the queen dowager Henrietta Maria (1609-69), her paternal grandmother and Louis XIV's aunt, at the Château de Colombes. Upon Henrietta Maria's death in 1669, Anne went on to live in the household of Henriette Anne, the Duchess of Orléans, the youngest of Charles I's children and Louis XIV's sister-in-law. Though baptized according to Anglican rites at her father's behest, Henriette (1644-70) had received a Catholic upbringing after her guardian, Anne Villiers Lady Dalkeith, had conveyed her to her mother's exile in France as a child. Henriette's sudden (suspicious) death in 1670 and the difficulty of making another adequate fiduciary arrangement curtailed Anne's sojourn in France. She returned to England that same year aged five. A year later, her mother, Anne Hyde, died.

At an early stage in life, Anne had thus lost three key female attachment figures in short succession. Scholars have insisted that these experiences, along

²⁸² Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 7-8.

with the perceived loss of her sister whose departure to the Netherlands in 1677 Anne missed due to illness, will have affected the young princess;²⁸³ it could even be considered the root for the oft-criticized intense female friendships she entertained later in life with Sarah Churchill, the later Duchess of Marlborough, and Abigail Masham. However, the significance of these losses arguably exceeds the level of interpersonal bonds, if it does not lie elsewhere altogether. Certainly, they deprived Anne of the possibility of developing familial bonds as she grew up; yet, it is also unclear how close Anne's relationship with her French relatives actually was at the time of their deaths. Anne herself later professed to having retained hardly any memory at all of her mother. It hence appears dangerous to assess these experiences above all with a view to their potential emotional impact. Their import is a matter of religious denomination and social rank. Neither Henrietta Maria, nor Henriette Anne, nor Anne Hyde would have been politically viable role models in England: a plethora of reasons – most notably her fervent Catholicism and refusal to convert, her failure to properly acquire the English language, and her disregard for English customs over French ones²⁸⁴ – had brought Henrietta Maria continual unpopularity in England. Henriette Anne, too, was more continental in outlook than English, and also Roman Catholic; she even gained considerable, yet unofficial political importance in the negotiations for the Secret Treaty of Dover (1670), which partially relied on the assumption that the Stuart

²⁸³ See for instance Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 8.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Caroline M. Hibbard, 'Henrietta Maria [Princess Henrietta Maria of France] (1609–1669), Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Consort of Charles I', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004); Kasey Maria Mattia, 'Crossing the Channel: Cultural Identity in the Court Entertainments of Queen Henrietta Maria, 1625-1640' (Department of Music, Duke University, 2007), pp. 53–58. Upon the birth of her first child, for instance, Henrietta Maria insisted on the introduction of the title of Princess Royal in imitation of the French *Madame Royale*.

kingdoms would, aided by France, revert to Roman Catholicism.²⁸⁵ In Anne Hyde's case, by contrast, it was her birth status as commoner that initially impinged on her standing.²⁸⁶ It devalued her daughter's marital prospects, at least in the eyes of Sophia, Electress of Hanover, who deplored akin to Mary II of Orange that Anne's mother was 'née d'une famille fort mediocre'.²⁸⁷ Anne Hyde's conversion to Catholicism, which did not become public knowledge until after her death, only compromised her repute further.

Matters of religion and their relevance to matters of succession continued to impact on Anne's early years. Upon her return to England, when she and Mary shared the traditional nursery establishment in Richmond, Charles II notably involved himself in their education. He insisted that they receive a firmly Anglican upbringing. In view of ploys such as the Secret Treaty of Dover, this may surprise; yet, irrespective of the vapidness of his own religious commitment, Charles had understood during the Civil Wars how central religious matters were to the English succession and that he had to curb his mother's desire to convert his siblings if he wanted to retain any hope of a restoration.²⁸⁸ In the 1670s, he applied this lesson to his nieces' curriculum; his proviso concerning their religious education sought to preserve their acceptability as potential successors. James, by contrast, did without this strategizing when he jeopardized his own acceptability upon the passage of the Test Act (1673). His refusal to receive communion according to Anglican rites made his conversion to Catholicism publicly apparent. It contravened the act's regulations, and required him to resign as Lord High

²⁸⁵ Cf. John Miller, 'Henriette Anne [Formerly Henrietta], Princess, Duchess of Orléans (1644–1670)', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004); Paul Seaward, 'Charles II (1630–1685), King of England, Scotland, and Ireland', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

²⁸⁶ Cf. also Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts*, p. 6.

²⁸⁷ Sophia cited in Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 23–24; fn. 96.

²⁸⁸ John Miller, *The Stuarts* (London; New York: Hambledon and London; Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 113.

Admiral.²⁸⁹ His second marriage to Louis XIV's goddaughter, the Catholic Italian Mary of Modena, that same year worsened his stakes further.²⁹⁰ Alongside his first wife's conversion and low birth, it tainted Anne and Mary by association; despite their own lifelong Protestant conviction, contemporary Anglican satire would perennially hold their parents' failure as ammunition against them.²⁹¹

Along with Anne's exposure to contemporary conflicts of heterodoxy also came formative experiences of French (and French-inspired) court culture. In fact, French baroque tastes will have constituted Anne's very first impressions of court life. Her second adoptive home in France in particular was at the epicentre of contemporary politics, court life, and the attendant intrigues.²⁹² The ducal couple spent most of their time either at the Palais-Royal, their primary Parisian residence, which quickly rose to fame as venue for glamorous courtly and societal gatherings, or at the Château de Saint-Cloud, just outside of Paris, which Philippe had acquired in the late 1650s and was continually redeveloping.²⁹³

Once returned to England, Anne experienced, even though possibly without much conscious reflection at the time, the effect of Franco-Italianate fashions on Charles's Restoration court. Her secular education centred on the acquisition of French (a subject in which Anne, aided by her early exposure to the language, reached considerable proficiency so that she could dispense with interpreters in

²⁸⁹ Cf. W. A. Speck, 'James II and VII (1633–1701), King of England, Scotland, and Ireland', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

²⁹⁰ Cf. Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts*, p. 18.

²⁹¹ Cf. Barash, *English Women's Poetry*, p. 212.

²⁹² In her biography of Henriette Anne, the prominent *salonnière* Madame de Lafayette remarks in this respect that although 'jamais Princesse n'a été si également capable de se faire aimer des hommes, et adorer des femmes', her husband's vagaries, the king's attention, and her own youthful naiveté subsequently made her the subject of gossip and court intrigue; Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, Madame de La Fayette, *Histoire de madame Henriette d'Angleterre: première femme de Philippe de France duc d'Orleans* (Amsterdam: Michel Charles le Cene, 1720), pp. 37-8, 60.

²⁹³ Cf. Florence Austin-Montenay and Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Saint-Cloud: une vie de château* (Geneva: Vögele, 2005), pp. 20-31.

her later dealings with foreign ambassadors), domestic skills (like sewing and embroidery), and aesthetic accomplishments (like dance and music).²⁹⁴ Though it prepared neither her nor her sister for the role as heiress presumptive, let alone sovereign, their performance in John Crowne's court masque *Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph* (1674/5) indicates that it enabled them to actively participate in this court life from an early age.²⁹⁵ Evidence suggests that Anne critically reflected these experiences, if not yet on these occasions, then at least a few years later, in 1679 when she travelled to Brussels to visit her father.²⁹⁶ At the height of the Exclusion Crisis, James's absence from England was a weak and unsuccessful attempt on Charles's part to diffuse the controversy around his brother's possible succession. In his account of Anne's two-month stay in the Spanish Netherlands, Gregg foregrounds her incognito attendance at a court ball in celebration of the marriage between Carlos II of Spain and Marie-Louise of Orléans (1662-1689), Henriette Anne's eldest daughter, i.e. Louis XIV's niece, with whom Anne had shared a nursery.²⁹⁷ In his investigation of status interaction at the time of Louis XIV, Giora Sternberg puts these particular nuptials into perspective as 'one of the ceremonial highlights of the Sun King's reign'.²⁹⁸ At the time, they featured prominently in contemporary news organs such as the *Mercure galant*,²⁹⁹ and occasioned festivities across the realms, one of which Anne would have attended.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 11–12. See also Schwoerer, 'The Queen as Regent and Patron', p. 218. According to James A. Winn, the Italian-born Francesco Corbetta, one of Anne's guitar masters, had previously taught both Charles II and Louis XIV, see Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts*, p. 10, fn. 31.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 12; for a discussion of the context of *Calisto*, the production, and its implications, see Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts*, esp. pp. 22–27.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 22.

²⁹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*

²⁹⁸ Giora Sternberg, *Status Interaction during the Reign of Louis XIV*, The Past & Present Book Series (New York: OUP, 2014), pp. 27, 31, and more generally Chap. 1 'The Marriage of 1679: High Ceremonies as Multifaceted Status Interactions', pp. 27–48.

²⁹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 28.

It seems helpful to appreciate the high profile of this event in that it heightens our understanding of the impact it is likely to have had on the then fourteen-year old Anne. Gregg surmises on that note that the sojourn in the Spanish Netherlands constituted Anne's 'most important exposure to life in a predominantly Roman Catholic country'.³⁰⁰ Effectively, this trip to the continent, which ended with a flying visit to her elder sister in The Hague, also proved Anne's last. Given her age, it was certainly also the most conscious and deliberately reflected of her experiences to date. The opinions she relays in her correspondence with her childhood friend Frances Apsley (1653-1727), the daughter of the royalist army officer Sir Allen Apsley,³⁰¹ testify to the constancy of her faith,³⁰² and by inference, to the success of her religious instruction. Anne, it seems, grasped the extent to which Catholicism and the ceremonial aplomb of the Bourbon monarchy which the wedding festivities served to project were two sides of the same coin – of a model of monarchy, a version of which Charles II and subsequently James II attempted to practise in England.³⁰³ Anne watched them both fail during the 1680s, the latter more spectacularly so than the former, and as William's reign drew on, she was equally privy to the criticisms advanced against this new regime.

Throughout her childhood and adolescence, Anne had been a pawn in the political intrigues of the day rather than an agent herself. Indeed, these years served her as a silent apprenticeship of sorts. She applied its learnings when she and George of

³⁰⁰ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 22.

³⁰¹ Cf. Paul Seaward, 'Apsley, Sir Allen (1616–1683), Royalist Army Officer and Politician', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

³⁰² Cf. Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 22; fn. 88.

³⁰³ See Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts*, p. xviii on the continuing relevance of Franco-Italianate influence during James's reign.

Denmark (1653-1708, m. 1683) withdrew their support of James II's rule.³⁰⁴ Her support of William's invasion reveals her to have been alive to the conflicts of heterodoxy, the contiguous political dissent, and the repercussions on the stability of the English monarchy. Evidently, this stand made Anne a natural target for Jacobite and Catholic sympathizers. In their counternarratives, they referred to her and Mary, whose marriage to William counted as incriminating factor, as 'Paracides' who had conspired to depose James II,³⁰⁵ and jointly committed an act of figurative paricide as well as regicide (cf. p. 37).

These slights, however, appear to have had comparatively little effect on Anne's image. Unlike Mary, who had left England aged fifteen in 1677 and did not return until 1689, Anne had, as we have seen, remained in England most of the time. As the 'highest-ranking protestant member of the royal family resident in England',³⁰⁶ she was the trump card in the hands of Charles and the proponents of the Exclusion Bill. In this sense, her image-making began long before her actual accession. Unlike Mary, Anne would have been present in the public mind and eye throughout the latter reign of Charles II and the brief rule of their father. Even though her match to the Protestant George of Denmark, which 'could have been of the greatest dynastic significance[,] was huddled through in the most underhand manner',³⁰⁷ we get a sense of the precedence accorded to Anne when Evelyn

³⁰⁴ Cf. 'The Princess Anne to the Prince of Orange; the Cockpit, November 18', in *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland: From the Dissolution of the Last Parliament of Charles II. until the Sea-Battle off La Hogue*, ed. by John Dalrymple, 2nd edn, 2 vols, 1771, II, 333-34 (p. 334); partially quoted in W. A. Speck, 'George, Prince of Denmark and Duke of Cumberland (1653-1708), Consort of Queen Anne', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

³⁰⁵ Cf. 'The Duchess of York's Ghost. 1690', Bod. MS Eng. Poet. e. 50, fos. 39, 41 in Barash, *English Women's Poetry*, p. 211.

³⁰⁶ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 37.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32, fn. 3, also 34. Unlike Mary's marriage to William, which had alienated Louis XIV, the match between Anne and George, the younger brother of the absolutist Christian V of Denmark and Norway and sixth in line to the throne, constituted a perfect compromise between appeasing the Protestants in England (Denmark was a Protestant monarchy) and meeting Louis's approval

acknowledges her matrimony: '28th July, 1683. He [George of Denmark] was married to the Lady Anne at Whitehall. *Her Court and household to be modelled as the Duke's, her father, had been, and they to continue in England*'.³⁰⁸ The prosaic and factual nature of Evelyn's diary entry underscores the uncharacteristic modesty of the event. His use of the feminine possessive pronoun, however, appears deliberate given the subsequent use of the third person plural and the possibility of using a plural phrase like 'the Denmarks'. The usage illustrates how all (political) relevance centred on Anne, setting her up to become 'the undisputed head of their household'.³⁰⁹ It would also be *Anne's* court and household in that it was to be entirely English; the earl of Rochester, who had conducted the marriage negotiations, insisted that 'the prince's household should be staffed exclusively by English servants', effectively forcing George to send his Danish servants back home³¹⁰ – and a far cry from the influx of French personnel under Henrietta Maria. By the mid-1680s, Anne had thus attained a convenient vantage position; her native-ness had become her biggest asset, and would, as the rhetoric of her accession showcases, remain so.

3.3 'Ceremonies of Power'³¹¹ and the Question of Monarchical Accessibility

Anne revived the monarchical ceremonial of the royal touch and reintroduced the practice of Thanksgiving Services.³¹² Despite the hiatus which the custom of the

(Denmark had struck an alliance with France against the Dutch, meaning William was the most displeased at the union).

³⁰⁸ Evelyn, *The Diary*, IV, 28 July 1683, my emphasis.

³⁰⁹ Edward Gregg, 'Anne (1665–1714), Queen of Great Britain and Ireland', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

³¹⁰ Speck, 'George of Denmark'.

³¹¹ The term stems from Heal, who emphasises the 'continued, and indeed enhanced, importance' of ceremony in the context of Charles II's Restoration monarchy; Heal, *The Power of Gifts*, p. 207.

royal touch had undergone under William and Mary, Anne's revival of the rite met with so wide a demand for treatment tickets that the first publicly announced session had to be postponed to allow for a greater quantity of touch-pieces to be struck (the physical tokens which were handed out to those whom the monarch touched).³¹³ This is indicative of the popular approval Anne's decision met with – even though these customs were, while not calling into question the validity of the revolutionary settlement, more emblematic of pre-1688 models of monarchy.³¹⁴

The strategic reckoning behind and Anne's personal motivation for the resumption is disputed. Both Noël Woolf and Robert O. Bucholz surmise that Anne did not set store either as monarch or private individual by the notion of the divine right of kings and hence by the royal touch.³¹⁵ Based on the fact that the first official touching ceremony was not announced until about a year after her succession, Woolf even infers that the queen 'had no desire to Touch at all',³¹⁶ a claim that contrasts starkly with Hannah Smith's more recent assumption that Anne 'believed [a] monarch [to] possess[] divinely endowed healing powers'.³¹⁷ Woolf and Bucholz suggest that Anne's dispensing the 'sovereign remedy' provided above all an opportunity for the monarchy to appear in public, thereby giving credence to the notion of Anne as 'national mother figure'.³¹⁸ Even more, reviving the ritual would allow the queen to appear to popular demand. Evidence

³¹² Cf. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp. 210–12; Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England*, chap. 6, pp. 183–217.

³¹³ Cf. Noël Woolf, 'The Sovereign Remedy: Touch-Pieces and the King's Evil, Part I', *The British Numismatic Journal: Including the Proceedings of the British Numismatic Society*, 49 (1979), 99–121 (pp. 112–13).

³¹⁴ See also Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England*, pp. 191–4 on the reconcilability of the Revolution Settlement and the revival of the royal touch, and the way its reformation under Anne helped to veer the ceremonial away from too close an association with the notion of divine right.

³¹⁵ Woolf, 'The Sovereign Remedy', p. 112; Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp. 210–11.

³¹⁶ Woolf, 'The Sovereign Remedy', p. 112.

³¹⁷ Smith, "Last of All the Heavenly Birth", p. 139.

³¹⁸ Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p. 210.

suggests that the very first instance of the queen's touching arose from 'popular clamour' and took place unscheduled in Bath on 2 October 1702.³¹⁹ That subjects sought out their new monarch hoping for the ritual to be reintroduced illustrates the fact that public appreciation of the royal healing ritual had certainly not dwindled by the early 1700s. It equally indicates the store the population set by an 'entirely English' monarch.

This experience may well have raised officials' awareness for the image-making and performative potential of the rite. Yet, it would distort our perspective to assume that the ritual's revival was solely borne out of strategic considerations. In this context, it is noteworthy that Anne fulfilled this obligation throughout her reign and despite her growing infirmity with relative consistency, and already from the very beginning, with apparent gravitas. In April 1703, the queen apprises Lady Marlborough:

I intend (and it please God) when I com from Windsor to touch as many poor people as I can before hot wheather coms, I do that business now in ye Banqueting house which I like very well, that being a very cool room, and ye doing of it there keeps my own house sweet and free from crouds.³²⁰

This communication coincides with the first time Anne officially performed the healing ritual. It illustrates the fact that the queen viewed dispensing the touch as a God-fearing act of duty which a monarch should execute for the welfare of their subjects.

At the same time, Anne's relief at the external location exposes her desire for privacy. In his seminal contribution on the production and role of touch-pieces, Woolf advances that Anne performed the ritual at St. James's, and occasionally in the courtyard, with tickets having to be purchased at the New Guard Chamber in

³¹⁹ Woolf, 'The Sovereign Remedy', p. 113.

³²⁰ Queen Anne to Lady Marlborough, April 1703, quoted in Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 148, fn 65.

Whitehall.³²¹ It is unclear whether the Banqueting Hall (one of the few buildings to have survived the fire which destroyed most of Whitehall Palace in 1698) became the regular venue for the ritual, or which set of rooms in St. James's was used alternatively. Either location, however, would respect the queen's sense for seclusion while simultaneously giving people the impression that they gained some sort of privileged access to their monarch and her space.

This sensation would have been heightened further as Anne had imposed restrictions on public access to the property of the Crown, and by extension, to her person. She tightened the access privileges to St James's Park which Charles II had previously granted, and had the park closed to all coaches but her own and that of Henry Wise, the Royal Gardener; there was to be no hawking or drying line; no wearing clogs, carrying burdens, or walking across the grass for pedestrians, and no access at all for commoners, beggars, and dogs.³²² Measures such as these remove the monarch(y) from their subjects and generate a sense of distance. Occasions such as the touching ceremony, Thanksgiving services, the occasional royal progress, and Anne's patronage of the races at Datchet, Newmarket, and Ascot,³²³ acted as a counterbalance. They brought the queen to different audiences (or vice versa) and strengthened the bond between the monarchy and its subjects.

Anne's social reticence contrasts sharply with the excessive conviviality of the Restoration court. Yet, it also differs from the atmosphere cultivated by her immediate predecessors in that William's and Mary's continental Calvinism

³²¹ Cf. Woolf, 'The Sovereign Remedy', p. 113.

³²² Cf. *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, Anne, Royal Letters, 20 May 1703, in David Jacques, "'Our Late Pious Queen Whose Love to Gard'ning Was Not a Little": Queen Anne in Her Parks and Gardens', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37.2 (2014), 199–216 (p. 205).

³²³ Cf. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p. 243.

generated a greater austerity at court.³²⁴ 'If William', Bucholz observes succinctly, 'failed to bring his subjects to court, he likewise failed to bring the court to his subjects'.³²⁵ In Anne's case, by contrast, the interplay between the remoteness of queen and court on the one hand and the publicity of her ceremonial appearances on the other hand made her public appearances all the more noteworthy. As much as her growing infirmity and natural shyness may have contributed to their scarcity,³²⁶ Anne paid heed to the performative aspects of monarchy. Critics of William had framed his lack of social graces as aloofness and his socialising with fellow Dutchmen as a Dutch coterie at the centre of the English monarchy. In endorsing the symbolic, spectacular dimension of monarchy to a greater extent than her predecessor had done, Anne, by contrast, failed to appear taciturn, sober, and domestic to quite the same extent, even if she failed to entertain a court that was attractive to the nobility.³²⁷ Bucholz's commentary in this regard also highlights the extent to which Anne's Englishness is likely to have affected the public response to her: 'The very fact that like Elizabeth but unlike Dutch William or German George, she was willing to go out among her subjects seems to have elicited their sympathy, loyalty, and good will'.³²⁸

Indeed, Anne's dedication to the ritual of the royal touch exemplifies this mind-set; if members of Parliament, as Winn suggests, should feel "Fidelity and Affection" for their queen,³²⁹ so should her common subjects. Mint records demonstrate that Anne maintained a demand for royal touch throughout her reign:

³²⁴ In its demurer style, Kneller's portrait series of court ladies, the so-called Hampton Court beauties, constituted a deliberate counterpoint to Lely's more evocative series of the 1660s, the Windsor Beauties. In this context, see also the portrayal of the contrasting morale at court in *The Court at Kensington: A Poem on the Most Celebrated Beauties There* (London: s. n., 1700).

³²⁵ Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p. 33.

³²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 153.

³²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 250; 126.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

³²⁹ Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts*, p. 103.

The records account for a total of 8,087 touch-pieces struck between February 1703 until May 1707, and another 4,260 between March 1711 and April 1714. These figures make for an average of 1,760 pieces a year; an average which points to a total issue of 19,400 pieces for the entire duration of her reign.³³⁰ On 30 March 1712, the ceremony's retrospectively most famous attendee, the infant Samuel Johnson (1709-84), received the royal touch. His friend John Hawkins (1719-89) provides a commentary on the episode in his posthumous biography of Johnson:

[H]is mother[,] *agreeable to the opinion then entertained of the efficacy of the royal touch*[,] presented him to Queen Anne who for the last time as it is said that she ever performed that office with *her accustomed grace and benignity* administered to the child *as much of that healing quality as it was in her power to dispense* and hung about his neck the usual amulet.³³¹

The passage indirectly contrasts the early and final decades of the eighteenth century. It is clear that since George I permanently discontinued the practice of the royal touch, the belief in its powers had waned. By 1787, Hawkins's attitude is one of slight bemusement at the naivety of those earlier generations, who were drawn to the rite in the 1710s. Hawkins's remarks equally singles out the impression which the queen's performing the ritual had helped to generate.

However, scholars disagree as to whether Anne's revival of the royal touch is indicative of her '[p]atterning herself after Elizabeth rather than William and Mary'³³² or whether she 'stress[ed] continuity with certain aspects of Charles II's monarchy'³³³ in doing so. The contrariness of these interpretations makes us reconsider the question of whether Anne would have benefited from and hence sought the association with either monarch. In conjuring up an association with Charles's reign, Anne's image-making would draw on living memory; in fact, as

³³⁰ Cf. Woolf, 'The Sovereign Remedy', p. 113; Appendix D (p. 118). Brogan proposes a figure of 1,372 per year; Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England*, p. 199.

³³¹ John Hawkins, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 2nd edn (London: J. Buckland et al., 1787), p. 4.

³³² Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth*, p. 208. fn 26

³³³ Smith, "Last of All the Heavenly Birth", p. 145.

Gregg points out, several of the queen's friends, Frances Apsley included, were 'closely connected with the Restoration court'.³³⁴ With a view to Elizabeth I, by contrast, Anne and her image-makers would have the opportunity of exploiting the growing sense of nostalgia for the 'golden age' of the English Renaissance.

Elizabeth defined an era, and in that respect, she could constitute a home-grown answer to, and even anticipation of the role model of the day, Louis XIV. Certainly, one might read the oak tree on Anne's accession medal as reference to Charles II and his seeking concealment in an oak tree at Boscobel House after the Battle of Worcester (1651).³³⁵ In fact, however, it has more abstract potential than that: in evoking the fortuitous escape from the Parliamentary soldiers, the oak constitutes proof for the entitlement of monarchy over the republican Commonwealth; it also highlights the legitimacy of Anne's bloodline (to the exclusion of her mother's low birth). On a less abstract level, however, it is fair to say that little commended Charles or his Restoration Court, which passed as dissolute and excessive, treacherously Francophile and pro-Catholic, as exemplar for his niece's monarchical image-making. It is not inconceivable that Charles's return to ceremonial and customs like the healing rite resulted above all from the desire to avoid a repetition of his father's fate and was as such preventative rather than borne out of conviction. Elizabeth I's performance of the royal touch, by contrast, was, Carole Levin has persuasively argued, both part of a 'larger theatricalisation of royalty'³³⁶ and the result of considerable personal commitment – irrespective of the papal bull of excommunication issued in 1570.³³⁷

³³⁴ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 21.

³³⁵ Cf. equally *A Well-Timber'd Poem, on Her Sacred Majesty; Her Marble Statue, and Its Wooden Enclosure in Saint Paul's Church-Yard* (London: H. Hills, and the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1712), p. 4 (stanzas XII and XIII).

³³⁶ Levin, "Would I Could", p. 195.

³³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 198–201.

On the whole, it seems more productive and cohesive to consider Anne's resumption of the royal touch in line with other gestures that point more obviously beyond Charles II back to her Tudor predecessor. In at least four respects, Anne is disconnected from rather than connected to the Restoration era and its political as well as denominational orientations:³³⁸ Anne was staunchly Protestant, and, as in Elizabeth's case, the performance of the royal touch does not constitute evidence to the contrary; she accepted that her succession did not derive its legitimacy from a hereditary claim, but from the provisions made in the Bill of Rights; she proved herself a successor in William's spirit by continuing his anti-French foreign policy agenda in the War of the Spanish Succession, in attempting to secure the Protestant Succession, and in representing Protestant-coded values that chimed in with her predecessors' rhetoric of and strife for moral revolution. Moreover, by the late seventeenth century, comparisons with Elizabeth I had become a sort of panegyric trope; even Mary II had been hailed as second Elizabeth (cf. 1.2.1). Unlike Mary, however, Anne undertook a concerted effort to create and underline parallels with the Renaissance queen. These include her sartorial choices which recall notable Elizabethan portraits³³⁹ as well as another, very public practice, namely that of the Thanksgiving Services;³⁴⁰ she occasionally even took an active part in this planning, and was the first monarch since the Tudor queen to attend service publicly, in St Paul's cathedral.³⁴¹ Elizabeth was famously attuned to the performative and public dimension of monarchy; in 1586, she remarked: 'We

³³⁸ In this context, see also Edward Gregg, 'Was Queen Anne a Jacobite?', *History*, 57.191 (1972), 358–75.

³³⁹ Cf. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p. 205; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 152; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp. 578, 616–7, 671.

³⁴⁰ Cf. Nigel Aston, 'St Paul's and the Public Culture of Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604–2004*, ed. by Derek Keene, Arthur Burns, and Andrew Saint (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 362–71 (p. 365); also Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 165.

³⁴¹ Cf. Donald Burrows, 'Orchestras in the New Cathedral', in *St. Paul's*, ed. by Keene, Burns, and Saint (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 399–412 (p. 400.)

princes, I tell you, are set on stages, in the sight and view of all the world duly observed'.³⁴² In its explicit acknowledgement of the theatricality of monarchy, this remark may again remind one of the Ludovican approach to image-making.

In the context of this debate, Hannah Smith, who argues the case for Charles II, implies that Anne's reviving this sacral dimension of monarchy rendered her competitive in comparison to her fellow monarchs:

By taking her cues from her uncle, Anne not only emphasized *her dynastic claims*; she also recreated a monarchical style that had *explicitly sacral elements* but that was still *relatively harmonious with the spirit of the revolutionary settlement*. This sacral dimension vested her with *an authority* that her subjects lacked and *which put her on a recognizable par with – or indeed elevated her above – her fellow monarchs, Louis XIV included*.³⁴³

One can follow Smith's inferences to the extent that this element of sacral authority may have elevated Anne above her fellow monarchs *other than* Louis XIV insofar as the royal touch was only part of French and English monarchical custom. On a rudimentary level, therefore, Smith's underlying supposition – that the English monarchy felt the need to emulate and compete with its French neighbour – chimes in with the premise advanced in the present inquiry. However, Smith does not elaborate on the suggestion that its dispensation would have enabled her to draw even with Louis, or exceed him; similarly, the inference that it was the performance of the royal touch which allowed Anne to draw level with her fellow monarchs (who remain undefined) remains unsubstantiated, and merely raises the question whether, in Smith's view, the performance of the royal touch redeemed some of the monarchical prerogatives the sovereigns had forfeited in 1688/9. Her remark equally jars with the reading which I propose here and which conceives of William's reign as an essential turning point in the relevance of French

³⁴² Elizabeth I (1586) quoted in Levin, "Would I Could", p. 198.

³⁴³ Sir John Fortescue (1462) in *ibid*.

monarchical image-making to its English counterpart. Under William, as I have begun to show, the relation between English cultural and political potential and French cultural and political standing morphed from imitation via emulation to competition. My readings of his allegorical image-building in chapters 4 and 5 will further develop this notion and delineate how William successfully countered Ludovican rhetoric, turning its relevance from model to foil. With regard to Anne and her monarchical image-making, it follows that the narrative which conceives of Anne as William's successor develops Anne's task as maintaining rather than attaining the role of victor over Louis. The use of allegory in Anne's monarchical image-making will corroborate this development.

The second narrative of Anne's image-making, by contrast, can, we begin to see, almost dispense with Louis as competitor altogether. Unlike William, Anne can credibly access earlier English, and equally female monarchical models such as Elizabeth I. Anne, we begin to see in the context of the royal touch and public appearances, appears to have understood the value of monarchical ceremony and display far better than her predecessor; and even though not without inconvenient clashes (the discrepancy between Elizabeth's epithet 'the Virgin Queen' and Anne's failed motherhood and surrogate stylisation as the kingdom's 'mother'), choosing Elizabeth as a nostalgic reference point for her own reign ticked many boxes for Anne: Elizabeth was English, Anglican, and led the kingdom into an era of naval triumph and international trade. Elizabeth commends herself much more readily as a model to the monarchical image-making of a female Stuart monarch than Louis XIV does as a foil, for reasons of faith, belonging, and gender. Accordingly, Anne's self-conception and her rule appear indicative of an emerging sense of

national selfhood that validates itself through its 'Englishness' and no longer through contending with the French at their own game.

3.4 Monarchical Accessibility and Monumentalisation

In comparison to William, Anne not only put a heavier emphasis on public ceremony, but equally on her monumentalisation. She seems to have recognized the communicative potential of renditions of the royal image beyond portraits and coinage. The most notable in this respect are statues.³⁴⁴ Unlike coins, which circulated in a two-way relationship between giver and receiver, sculptural monuments constituted a more permanent and more widely accessible monarchical likeness. A search across databases such as the *Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851* and the *Public Monuments and Sculpture Association*³⁴⁵ and a comparison with the list compiled by Terry Friedman³⁴⁶ yields a total of around twenty-three statues plus three unexecuted designs for Queen Anne and eighteen statues plus one unexecuted plan for William III (cf. Appendix); of those eighteen statues of William, two, originally at the Royal Exchange and the Old Bailey, are effectively part of a pair of statues of William and Mary. According to the listings, the 1730s constituted a particularly productive decade for sculptural commemorations of William. The yield for his actual reign,

³⁴⁴ Cf. also Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp. 599-601.

³⁴⁵ Ingrid Roscoe, Emma Hardy and M. G. Sullivan, 'A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain 1680-1851' <<http://217.204.55.158/henrymoore/>>; 'The Public Monuments and Sculpture Association' <<http://www.pmsa.org.uk/>>; 'Historic England' <<http://www.historicengland.org.uk/>>; 'British History Online' <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>>; John Chambers, *Biographical Illustrations of Worcestershire: Including Lives of Persons, Natives Or Residents, Eminent Either for Piety Or Talent: To Which Is Added, a List of Living Authors of the County* (s. l.: W. Walcott, 1820), pp. 344-5; Roscoe's dictionary evidently only contains pieces with author attributions. Although I cannot lay claim to the comprehensiveness of these figures, they are sufficiently sound to illustrate a trend.

³⁴⁶ Terry Friedman, 'Foggini's Statue of Queen Anne', in *Kunst des Barock in der Toskana: Studien zur Kunst unter den letzten Medici*, ed. by Klaus Lankheit, *Italienische Forschungen*; 3rd ser., vol. 9 (München: Bruckmann, 1976), pp. 39-56 (p. 52, n. 64).

conversely, is scarce: for one, there appear to be no records of William having commissioned a statue of himself at any point. Seemingly the only exception in this regard is to be found in Wren's architectural plans for the rebuilding of Whitehall. These plans, Lee Anderson Orr recounts in his evaluation of the Wren Society Papers, 'reveal the monumental scale of the new Whitehall' which was meant to include 'a portico about a hundred feet high, to face the Thames' surmounted by a statue. In this passage, the editor unequivocally identifies a Continental style with being 'on a grand and daring scale'. He construes this Continental proclivity as the natural opposite of an English style, here represented by Wren, to whom architectural audacity reputedly did not come easily:

The Wren Society editor observes that "so amazing an audacity" was uncharacteristic of Wren, and regards it as "a concession to King William, who thought on a grand and daring scale, Continental rather than English. In the plans, we find surmounting the portico of the new facade an equestrian statue of William (our hero appearing on "the dreadful Height") flanked by symbolic figures, beneath which a segmental pediment is enriched with sculpture, although not too clearly sketched, perhaps battles raging. On the attic over the main cornice, the inscription reads "GUIELMO MAGNO FUNDATOR QUIETIS. ANNO MDCXVIII [1618, sic!]." ³⁴⁷

This depiction is remarkable in that it contradicts the common perception of William as artless soldier-king, and points instead, as I have been arguing so far, to his possessing a developed sense for (monarchical) representational culture. At the same time, however, it remains unclear to what extent William was personally involved in Wren's scheme. Moreover, the impact of all inferences one might draw on the basis of the design is considerably limited by the fact that the design never came to fruition; for all William's sly use of quasi-royalist modes of representation, it did in practice not extend to sculpture. Beside this project, in fact, only two statues are confirmed to have been erected during his reign: one, the pair of

³⁴⁷ Lee Anderson Orr, 'The Zeal of the Patriot; Matthew Prior as Panegyrist' (University of Virginia, 1971), p. 158, all typographical emphases in original.

statues at the Royal Exchange, has gone untraced; the other, more prominent one was Grinling Gibbon's equestrian monument in Dublin, which has since been destroyed.

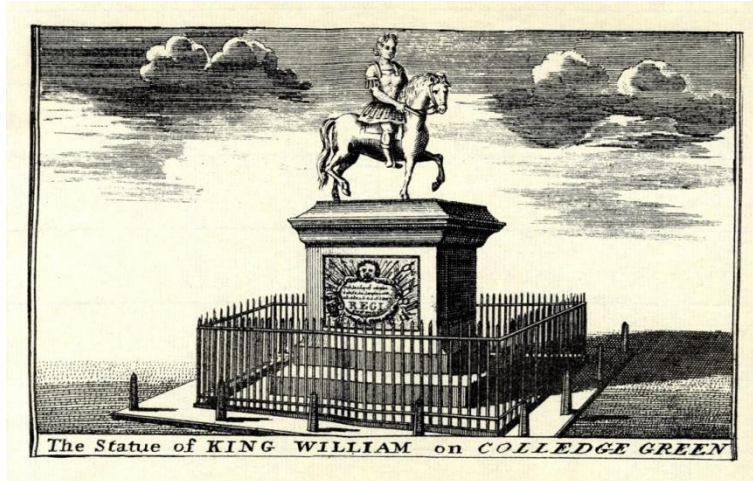


FIGURE 14. King William III's Statue in Dublin's College Green, taken from Charles Brooking, *The City of Dublin*, 1728 (Dublin: Irish Architectural Archive, 1983). © Dublin City Library & Archive.

In 1836, the weekly *The Mirror* described its significance and the motif behind its commission as follows:

The handsome equestrian statue [...] was erected in 1701 at the *expense of the Corporation of Dublin to commemorate the Revolution of 1688*. Although it was mainly designed to celebrate the deliverance of the people of Ireland from the despotism of James II and the *establishment of the Protestant Ascendency in Ireland*, this statue may likewise be regarded as a *tribute of personal respect to King William* for it appears from the testimony of the Irish writers of the age that though severe laws were passed in his reign, his administration of them was mild and beneficent that he *gained the good esteem of the Catholics as he did of Protestant Dissenters* and that in his reign was sown the *good seed of prosperity*. The statue was begun in the year 1700 and was *set up with great solemnity on the 1st of July 1701 being the anniversary of the victory of the Boyne*. It was *erected on the most conspicuous part of College green*.³⁴⁸

This commentary testifies to the esteem that William had come to be held in among the Protestant population of Ireland in the course of his reign; alongside the want of other commemorative sculpture, it however also reveals the relative lack

³⁴⁸ *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* (London: J. Limbird, 1836), xxvii, p. 258, my emphasis.

of veneration which William inspired in his *English* subjects, hardly any of whom saw fit to monumentalise the king during his lifetime.³⁴⁹

In contrast to this deficit of recognition through sculptural monuments, at least fourteen statues of Queen Anne were erected during her reign.³⁵⁰ In this context, Claudine van Hensbergen opens up the comparison with ‘the French statue campaign’ of the mid-1680s.³⁵¹ She claims that ‘the overall production’ of statues accounts for fewer statues of Louis XIV being completed than of Anne. Although this is not ultimately verifiable since the figure count for Anne’s statues is not fully conclusive, it is nonetheless worthwhile to weigh up the production of monarchical statues for Louis, William, and Anne with respect to one another. It is clear that William, in his disregard for publicly accessible likenesses and their representational value, did not take a leaf out of the French image-building campaign. In Anne’s case, however, matters are different for a relative wealth of statuary was produced during her lifetime. However, the French statue campaign was, as van Hensbergen rightly notes, ‘a state-funded and organised project’ – short-lived, yet of considerable magnitude.³⁵² By comparison, the process of

³⁴⁹ Gibbons planned to reappropriate an earlier design into a memorial for both William and Mary, but the project was aborted and a version of the design put to use elsewhere; see Grinlin Gibbons, *Design for a Monument for King William III and Queen Mary II*, London, British Museum, item no. 1881,0611.164, cf. esp. curator’s comments.

³⁵⁰ In her most recent contribution on the subject, Claudine van Hensbergen establishes that the Minehead statue was presented to the Anglican congregation in 1715 (rather than to the town in 1719); this also suggests that the statue was commissioned during Anne’s lifetime, cf. Claudine van Hensbergen, ‘Public Sculpture of Queen Anne: The Minehead Commission (1715)’, in *Court, Country, City*, ed. by Hallett, Llewellyn, and Myrone, pp. 241–62 (p. 249). I am grateful to her for sharing her article with me prior to publication as well as for pointing me to Tabitha Barber’s contribution to the same volume. In an earlier contribution on Anne’s public sculpture, she advances that ‘at least twenty statues of her erected in Britain during the early decades of the eighteenth century’, cf. Claudine van Hensbergen, ‘Carving a Legacy: Public Sculpture of Queen Anne, c.1704-1712’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37.2 (2014), 229–44 (pp. 241–2). It remains unclear which exact timeframe van Hensbergen refers to, and, consequently, which concrete ensemble of statues.

³⁵¹ van Hensbergen, ‘Carving a Legacy’, p. 244, fn. 23. In the context of the Ludocivan statue campaign, see also Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, p. 67; Michel Martin, *Les Monuments équestres de Louis XIV: une grande entreprise de propagande monarchique* (Paris: Picard, 1986), pp. 167-170.

³⁵² van Hensbergen, ‘Carving a Legacy’, p. 244, fn. 23; cf. also Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 93; Martin, *Les Monuments équestres*, p. 167.

monumentalising Anne through public statue is more drawn out; crucially, it results from mixed financing, i.e. ‘a combination of more spontaneous state-funded and privately commissioned projects’.³⁵³

In fact, Francis Bird’s 1713 sculpture is the only *completed* statue commissioned with the queen’s ‘direct support’.³⁵⁴ Its singularity, however, is not to detract from the bold message which this sculptural statement piece and its designated location convey. At a basic level, Bird’s statue draws attention to the architectural achievement that was the opulent rebuilding of St. Paul’s Cathedral and its completion in Anne’s reign. In situating the statue by St. Paul’s on Ludgate Hill, all but on the border between the Cities of Westminster and London, a stone’s throw from Temple Bar and Ludgate itself, the statue was deliberately and highly politically charged; after all, the area was, as Nigel Aston observes, the

locus of a “four-way relationship between Crown, government, City and church”. [...] The Lord Mayor ‘had a permanent stall and a vestry next to the north transept [of St Paul’s]; the sovereign[, in contrast] had no such provision, a tangible indication that St Paul’s, throughout the eighteenth century, was tied to the political nation in the first instance through the city of London rather than the monarchy.’³⁵⁵

³⁵³ van Hensbergen, ‘Carving a Legacy’, p. 244, fn. 23.

³⁵⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 236. Francis Bird worked in the workshops of both Grinling Gibbons and Gabriel Caius Cibber whose earlier sculptural work for Charles II may have served as model for both the 1701 statue of William and the 1713 statue of Anne. Gibbons’ Dublin commission recalls his own equestrian statue of Charles II (1680, Windsor Castle), which was the first to compare favourably with Hubert Le Sueur’s statue of Charles I (cast in 1633, placed in Charing Cross under the Restoration). The composition of Bird’s statue echoes Cibber’s fountain sculpture of Charles II. Bird’s allegorizing the realms in four female figures brings to mind Cibber’s personifications of English rivers. Cibber, in turn, had drawn on Bernini’s *Four Rivers* fountain (1648-51) in the Piazza Navona, Rome. Cf. Charlotte Chastel-Rousseau, ‘Originals or Replicas? Royal Equestrian Monuments in Eighteenth-Century Great Britain and Ireland’, in *Reading the Royal Monument in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Charlotte Chastel-Rousseau (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 153–72 (p. 154); Philip McEvansoneya, ‘Royal Monuments and Civic Ritual in Eighteenth-Century Dublin’, in *Reading the Royal Monument*, ed. by Chastel-Rousseau, pp. 173–94 (p. 176); van Hensbergen, ‘Carving a Legacy’, pp. 234–35; Matthew Craske, ‘Bird, Francis (1667–1731), Sculptor’, *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004); David Esterly, ‘Gibbons, Grinling (1648–1721), Woodcarver and Sculptor’, *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004); Katherine Gibbons, ‘Cibber, Caius Gabriel (1630–1700), Sculptor’, *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004); Charles Avery, ‘Le Sueur, Hubert (c.1580–1658x68), Sculptor’, *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

³⁵⁵ Aston, ‘St Paul’s and the Public Culture’, p. 364; van Hensbergen, ‘Carving a Legacy’, p. 236, also 242. In this context, van Hensbergen also adduces Emily Mann’s work on the development the early modern London cityscape and the significance of politically primed quarters. On Temple Bar, and ‘its importance as the main point of transition between the Cities of London and Westminster’, cf.

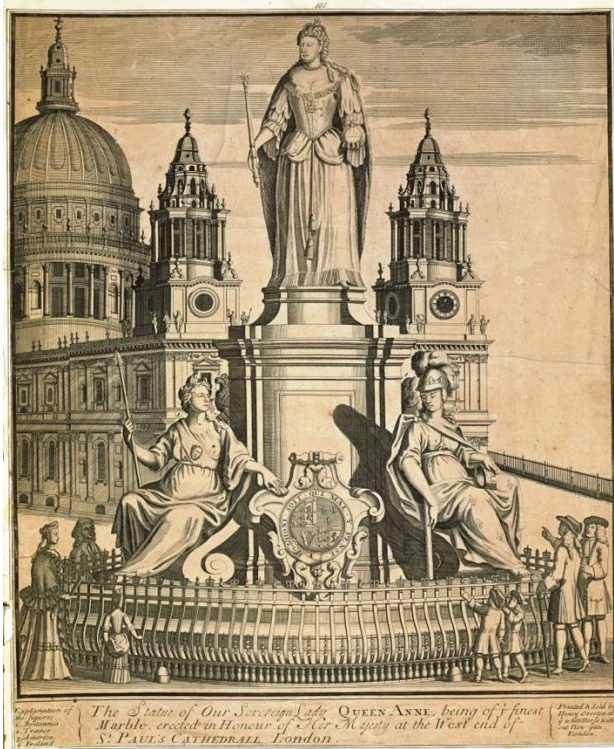


FIGURE 15. The Statue of Our Sovereign Lady Queen Anne (London: Henry Overton, c. 1713-4). London, British Museum, G,11.101. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Through her statuesque presence, however, Anne physically emphasises a claim she had staked before, through her attendance in worship at St Paul's, in a more ephemeral fashion: the claim to the centrality of herself, the monarch, as head of both church and state. One of the most significant of these took place in 1707 in celebration of the union of England and Scotland, with the queen in attendance. Fittingly, therefore, another such service – that for the Peace of Utrecht on 7 July 1713 – was chosen as platform for the unveiling of the Bird statue; in this case, though, ill health prevented Anne from attending.

Regardless of how significant a project, however, a single statue, commissioned by the Crown as grand finale to the restoration of St Paul's, would not merit the label 'campaign' in the way the Ludovican venture does; in combination with its follow-up project, however, it might. In the wake of the work on St Paul's began that of the City Churches Commission (1711-27). With support

of the Crown, the commission was intended to oversee the building of fifty new city churches each of which should prominently feature a statue of Anne. The scheme was subsequently abandoned in favour of another project, which in turn was aborted upon the queen's death in 1714.³⁵⁶ It is therefore in hindsight only that one can appreciate the extent to which Anne's patronage of these schemes would have constituted a campaign of sorts – namely one that promoted a particular 'religious aesthetic'³⁵⁷ as part of Anne's monarchical image.

In the light of the day, it was private, voluntary commissions (that is without any remuneration for their endorsement) that made for the reality of Anne's considerable sculptural presence throughout the country.³⁵⁸ The extent to which this was the case illustrates the discrepancy in public agency in monarchical image-making and opinion-making between England and France as well as the shift that had taken place within England from William's reign to Anne's. With the notable exception of the Dublin Gibbons commission, spontaneous contributions to William's image-building arose from within the midst of courtiers, the nobility, or the clergy more generally in form of versifications. They did not pose significant material cost or require a commission with a skilled professional³⁵⁹ artisan and, as such, they constituted a lower financial commitment. They were also 'more private' than a public monument to the monarch insofar as their circulation depended on the writer's decision to seek publication and to confess to their authorship. The greater number of independently commissioned statues in Anne's reign testifies to

³⁵⁶ For details, cf. van Hensbergen, 'Public Sculpture', pp. 251–52.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

³⁵⁸ For a very recent case study, which focusses on the Minehead statue, the motivation behind the commission, and its implications, see van Hensbergen, 'Public Sculpture'.

³⁵⁹ I here distinguish between the originators of verse and sculpture in that members of the nobility, for instance, may well have been able to compose a verse panegyric – without being poets in the first instance or enjoying patronage; it is, however, unlikely, that they would have been able to hew a statue.

the fact that her accession and reign caused less of a political rift than William's, and that a broader political spectrum could identify with what she represented. Cities such as Worcester, for instance, used their statuesque tribute to Anne to paint themselves as particularly loyalist, 'as if to emphasise the [...] boastful claim to be "the faithful city"' as it is made in the city's coat of arms.³⁶⁰ Accordingly, Thomas White's elaborate 1705 statue of Anne, which initially stood on a pedestal in front of the medieval guildhall, featured in a statue triptych alongside Charles II and Charles I, which surrounded the entrance of the later 1720s rebuilding.

Privately commissioned statues of this kind constituted a testimony of loyalty to the reigning monarch; at the same time, they were also a means for individuals or political factions to 'appropriate' the figure of the monarch and thereby associate their own cause or agenda with the monarch.³⁶¹ In this respect, Anne's queenship was clearly more malleable than her predecessor's rule. Her Englishness also allowed the town dignitaries to conceive of the military successes of her reign more straightforwardly as 'national' achievements than had been the case under William, who could never quite escape the reproach that he exploited English resources, both financial and human, in the service of the Dutch Republic.

The Crown's projected investment in sculpture aside, scholars have often deplored the lack of prestigious building projects in her reign as 'perhaps Anne's greatest aesthetic failure as Queen'.³⁶² Her activity as 'builder' limited itself to continuing two of her predecessors' building schemes: one religious (St. Paul's Cathedral), the

³⁶⁰ 'Worcester's Guildhall Splendour', *BBC*, 13 January 2011, section People & Places. Variants of the Worcester coat of arms are FLOREAT SEMPER FIDELIS CIVITAS (Let the faithful city ever flourish), CIVITAS IN BELLO ET PACE FIDELIS (In war and peace, a faithful city), and SEMPER FIDELIS MUTARE SPERNO (Ever faithful, I scorn to change).

³⁶¹ By way of example, see van Hensbergen's recent reading on the motivation of Sir Jacob Bancks in commissioning the Minehead statue; van Hensbergen, 'Public Sculpture', pp. 53–59.

³⁶² Bucholz, 'Queen Anne: A Victim of Her Virtues?', p. 117. Cf. also Aston, 'St Paul's and the Public Culture', p. 364.

other secular yet charitable (Royal Hospital for Seamen, Greenwich). Between the two, the former counts as the more noteworthy architectural achievement for two reasons: unlike the redevelopments and expansions in Greenwich, which continued alongside the operational wings until the early 1740s, the new St Paul's was actually completed in Anne's reign. Moreover, the queen's repeated attendance of the cathedral and the erection of her statue in 1713 in its immediate vicinity associated her indelibly with one of the most representative religious buildings of the capital, which William had never attended.³⁶³

As early as 1956, however, David Green's biographical work on Anne's gardener, Henry Wise, suggested that it may be premature to conceive of Anne's reign exclusively as marked by cutting the expenditure of the royal household and to discount her fully as an agent from the history of palatial development.³⁶⁴ Much more recently, David Jacques's contribution on the subject confirms this viewpoint.³⁶⁵ There are no doubts that Anne did confer with the Treasury to decrease the budget for maintaining the royal gardens and accepted a quote advanced by Wise. His proposal undercut the previous maintenance allowance by two thirds causing the budget for the upkeep of the royal gardens to plummet from £4,800 under William to £1,600 per annum in summer 1702.³⁶⁶ These observations appear to be evidence for Anne's disregard for the representative dimension of the Crown's properties. Yet, Jacques has also shown that the queen's 'timidity with regard to expenditure' evaporated in the course of her reign, albeit

³⁶³ On services at St. Paul's, William's absence, and the way contemporaries favourably compared Anne's piety with Ludovican hubris, see Aston, 'St Paul's and the Public Culture', p. 364-5.

³⁶⁴ Cf. David B. Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne: Henry Wise (1653-1738) and the Formal Garden* (London: OUP, 1956).

³⁶⁵ Cf. Jacques, "'Our Late Pious Queen'".

³⁶⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 201; cf. also David Jacques, *The Gardens of William and Mary* (London: C. Helm, 1988), pp. 84-5.

predominantly in the realm of horticulture.³⁶⁷ In fact, he judges her to have turned into a ‘most extravagant patron of her gardens’.³⁶⁸ As such, Anne resembles her predecessor after all. The contemporary garden designer Stephen Switzer even puts William’s horticultural projects on par with his military achievements: ‘the Completion of *Gard’ning*’, Switzer advances, ‘seems to be reserv’d, amongst many other great Actions and Qualifications of that Prince, to eternize his Memory, and make him appear to the World as great a *Gard’ner* as he was a *Soldier*’.³⁶⁹ Switzer’s statement implies what Jacques has phrased more boldly since, with a view to Het Loo and Hampton Court; namely that William used ‘gardens as instruments of statecraft’.³⁷⁰ The crucial difference between William and Anne lies in their approach. William showed himself ‘as keen a French gardener as any French gardener’ in his endeavour to counter his continental rival.³⁷¹ Anne, conversely, did not foster the continental tastes and Dutch influences William and Mary had brought with them. Instead, she worked back to seemingly simpler landscaping designs, which countered William’s ‘taste in elaborate scrollwork and *broderie parterres*’.³⁷² Under Anne, the designs of the royal gardens relied more strongly on a cleaner layout of grass and gravel, a style was ‘often identified as particularly English’.³⁷³ The introduction of chaise ridings, both for hunting and pleasure drives

³⁶⁷ Jacques, “‘Our Late Pious Queen’”, pp. 210, 2013.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ Stephen Switzer, *Ichnographia Rustica: Or, the Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener’s Recreation. Containing Directions for the General Distribution of a Country Seat. And a General System of Agriculture, Illustrated with Great Variety of Copper-Plates*, 3 vols (London: D. Browne, B. Barker and C. King, W. Mears, and R. Gosling, 1718), I, p. 42; also quoted in John Dixon Hunt, ‘Anglo-Dutch Garden Art: Style and Idea’, in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89*, ed. by Dale Hoak and Mordechai Feingold (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 188–200 (p. 189).

³⁷⁰ David Jacques, *France Triumphant in England, 1680 to 1715*, Celebrating André Le Nôtre and His Reception in Britain <<http://www.mfo.ac.uk/en/podcasts-by-title/france-triumphant-england-1680-1715>>.

³⁷¹ Jacques, *France Triumphant*.

³⁷² Jacques, “‘Our Late Pious Queen’”, p. 214.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

alike, reinvented and modernized this traditional combination.³⁷⁴ Progressively, the landscaping trends of Anne's reign thus shaped the transition from continentally inspired horticultural formality to the *jardin à l'anglaise* of the eighteenth century.³⁷⁵

In addition to carrying the aesthetic of Englishness which Anne had herself closely associated with into contemporary landscape design, the park-like layout with its chaise ridings also helped to alleviate a particular challenge to Anne's image-making I mentioned earlier: her inability to lead her forces into battle, upon which Milbourne remarked after the queen's death: 'Her Majesty was no Amazon, it was not expected that she should ride herself in the Head of her Troops'.³⁷⁶ Taken together, Anne's gender and her growing infirmity prevented her from fulfilling an essential monarchical function.³⁷⁷ They thereby generated a vacancy that was practical as well as iconographical. The chaise ridings offered an iconographical polyvalency in that they were not only used for pleasure outings, but equally for the hunt. In the course of her reign, Anne had taken to defying her restricted immobility by going in chariot – even to hunt. Her avid pursuit of this pastime³⁷⁸ enabled her to honour the symbolic significance of the hunt as substitute for and complement to action on the battlefield. Only a few years before her death, Jonathan Swift commits his opinion of her pursuit to his *Journal to Stella*. 'The Queen', Swift reports in July 1711, 'was abroad to-day in order to hunt; but, finding it disposed to rain, she kept in her coach; she hunts in a chaise with one

³⁷⁴ Cf. Jane Roberts, *Royal Landscape: The Gardens and Parks of Windsor* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 257; Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p. 243; Jacques, "'Our Late Pious Queen'", p. 214.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Jacques, "'Our Late Pious Queen'", p. 215; Peter Willis, 'Bridgeman [Bridgman], Charles (D. 1738), Landscape Gardener', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

³⁷⁶ Milbourne, *Great Britain's Loss*, p. 14.

³⁷⁷ Note that Elizabeth I had joined her troops on the battlefield.

³⁷⁸ Accounts of earlier hunting parties which she and George of Denmark undertook prior to her accession testify to an interest that is genuine, or at least befitting of her rank; cf. David Jacques, "'Our Late Pious Queen'", p. 199.

horse, which she drives herself, and drives furiously, like Jehu, and is a mighty hunter, like Nimrod'.³⁷⁹ Although on the day in question, Swift did not see the queen go out to hunt in Windsor, the vision he conjures up of the hunting queen, possibly on the basis of an earlier sighting, is revealing: the queen does not let the adversity of her circumstances deter her; her steering the chaise in the hunt implies that it is also she who holds the reins of power in government; the comparisons with Jehu and Nimrod further indicate that she acts with masculine determination and a sense of biblical, oldtestamentarian vindication. Hunting in the chaise thus becomes reminiscent of quasi-military command. It is the next best thing to proving equestrian skill in the saddle. It allows Anne, in small measure at least, to take up iconographical spaces from which she was otherwise barred.

3.5 Iconographical Implications of Anne's Queenship: Anne, Marlborough, and Louis XIV

Unlike Louis XIV or William III, Anne did not lend herself to non-allegorical depictions of military leadership.³⁸⁰ Neither, however, did her spouse; George of Denmark had won soldierly acclaim for his valour at the battle of Landskrona (1677), yet held little to no military responsibility during his wife's reign although it would have enabled him to compensate somewhat for her limitations. In fact, David Taylor has argued, it was almost as though 'there was some sort of programme of promoting Anne as sole monarch once it had been decided at the start of her reign that there was to be no joint monarchy or king-consort role for

³⁷⁹ Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella: Letters to Esther Johnson and Rebecca Dingley, 1710-1713*, ed. by Abigail Williams (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), p. 252, letter 27 (written between 19 July and 11 August 1711); slightly altered version quoted in Jacques, "Our Late Pious Queen", p. 208.

³⁸⁰ On this iconographical predicament and its wider context, see also Smith, "Last of All the Heavenly Birth", pp. 146-48.

her husband'.³⁸¹ In 1702, the queen awarded him the 'grandiloquent if rather empty title of generalissimo' and appointed him to the equally symbolic office of lord high admiral.³⁸² Portraiture of George follows in the same vein: on the one hand, it is usually highly evocative of his reputed military valour; on the other hand, it deliberately fails to establish him as an *active* military man.³⁸³ Paintings of George and Anne as a couple in turn are far and few between, a paucity which further enhances the impression that George's influence on Anne's monarchical image-making was systematically weak. This strategy undoubtedly prevented the redistribution of certain monarchical responsibilities within the couple. It did not, however, remedy Anne's inability to fulfil the role of a militarily active sovereign either. This opportunity fell to John Churchill, the first Duke of Marlborough.³⁸⁴ Besides the military acclaim Marlborough had won throughout the years, it is therefore certainly fair to say that his assuming the role of noted military figurehead of the last Stuart rule is, to a considerable degree, also due to the consistent absence of George of Denmark.

Although it did not risk turning Anne's sole sovereignty into a quasi-joint sovereignty of the Denmarks, this development infringed upon and detracted from the centrality that political opinion-making traditionally accorded the monarch. At the same time, it iconographically empowered the general. Under William III, image-makers still strove to construe the figure of the monarch to the exclusion of any other as the epitome of the realms. Along with the equestrian statue (at least

³⁸¹ David A. H. B. Taylor, "'The Rising Sun Gains Advantage": The Iconography of George of Denmark as Royal Consort', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37.2 (2014), 245–57 (p. 254). In this context, cf. also Charles Beem, "'I Am Her Majesty's Subject': Queen Anne, Prince George of Denmark, and the Transformation of the English Male Consort", in *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History*, Queenship and Power (New York ; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 101–39.

³⁸² Speck, 'George of Denmark'.

³⁸³ Cf. Smith, "'Last of All the Heavenly Birth'", p. 148.

³⁸⁴ Cf. Campbell Orr, 'Introduction: Court Studies, Gender and Women's History', p. 13.

half of William's statues are equestrian, cf. Appendix), battle painting and the equestrian portrait ranked high in monarchical iconography in that they served to convey the noble notion of the *roi-chevalier*.³⁸⁵ Battle painting often depicted the central figure astride a dapple grey charger; figure 16, one of a series of paintings Adam Frans van der Meulen executed for Louis XIV, illustrates how this technique enables the painter to guide the viewers' gaze and to highlight the concept visually.³⁸⁶



FIGURE 16. Adam Frans van der Meulen, *Louis XIV Crossing into the Netherlands at Lobith* (1672). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-3753. © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.³⁸⁷

By the early years of Anne's reign, conversely, practicality demanded that monarch and general alike served as vehicles. The direct image-making value of these genre paintings was lost on the queen, and Marlborough assumed pride of place in her stead. He featured prominently in contemporary pictorial testimonies to the Alliance's military undertakings, for instance as the visual focus in Louis Laguerre's

³⁸⁵ On the role of horsemanship in early modern culture and royal representation, see Liedtke, *The Royal Horse*. On the designation 'cavalier' and its application by way of abuse to the royalist supporters of Charles I, cf. Lucy Worsley, 'Reining Cavaliers', *History Today*, 54.9 (2004), 9–15; *Cavalier: A Tale of Chivalry, Passion and Great Houses* (London: Faber, 2007).

³⁸⁶ In view of the pre-eminent role of equestrian art in early modern court culture, it is also noteworthy that Apollo and Neptune, the two Roman deities whose iconography includes an equestrian motif feature prominently in Louis's and William's respective allegorical catalogue (cf. 2.3.2, 5.2 and 5.3).

³⁸⁷ For further examples, see also Adam Frans van der Meulen, *Louis XIV at the Siege of Besançon, Franche Comté* (1674), St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum; *Louis XIV Arriving in the Camp Outside Maastricht* (1675), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des peintures, Inv. 1491.

set of eight battle scenes, which include the surrender of Maréchal Tallard at the Battle of Blenheim (1704).³⁸⁸

While a necessity, Marlborough's military prominence and the concurrent iconographical development also posed an inherent risk to Anne and the representation of her sovereignty. A juxtaposition of Kneller's 1706 equestrian portrait of Marlborough and his earlier equestrian portrait of William (fig. 10) illustrates this point particularly poignantly.



FIGURE 10 (above).



FIGURE 17 (right). Sir Godfrey Kneller, John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, (c. 1706). London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 902. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

The 1706 portrait almost denies Marlborough's status as subject to the queen and elides Anne's role as sovereign. It echoes the composition of Kneller's earlier equestrian portrait of William and prominently depicts the figure of Hercules with his club and lion hide. In doing so, Kneller's portrait of the duke gestures towards a male model of monarchy – as under William for whom Hercules had become an emblematic allegory (4.1). At the same time, the portrait includes the figure of a kneeling woman in the left-hand corner; she is holding up a castle to Marlborough

³⁸⁸ Louis Laguerre, *Eight Battle Scenes of the Marlborough House Murals, incl. The Duke of Marlborough at the Battle of Blenheim: The Surrender of Maréchal Tallard, 1704-21*, Anglesey, Plas Newydd, National Trust.

in a gesture of offering. To identify this woman as Anne might be taking the argument too far; and yet, not only is the figure's cloak clearly reminiscent of the ermine-embroidered robes of royalty; contemporaries would equally have known that Anne had gifted an estate north of Oxford to Marlborough after his victory at Blenheim (1704). Although the depiction does not challenge Anne's sovereignty, the way this particular portrait as well as other instances of image-making media³⁸⁹ elevate Marlborough alongside Anne or even at her expense indicates the iconographical challenge Anne's gender imposed on her image-making.

In view of the light which these examples shed on the challenges Anne's pictorial image-making faced, it is also worthwhile to mitigate Robert O. Bucholz's criticism of Anne as 'oblivious to the propaganda value of high art'.³⁹⁰ Rather, it seems to me the case that the propaganda value of commissioned high art eschewed Anne – and to a considerable extent at that. She continued to patronise established artists such as Verrio, Kneller, and Laguerre, all of whom had worked for her predecessors, as well as the Swedish-born Michael Dahl, who was following in Peter Lely's footsteps as renowned portraitist.³⁹¹ Yet, beyond official state portraiture and occasional oil renditions of state occasions,³⁹² high art offered her few opportunities to develop her monarchical image visually; without straight military art at their disposal, image-makers resorted to allegorizing or satirical

³⁸⁹ Cf. Smith, "Last of All the Heavenly Birth", pp. 146–48.

³⁹⁰ Bucholz, 'Queen Anne: A Victim of Her Virtues?', p. 117. For an overview of portraits of Anne, see David A. H. B. Taylor, 'A Rediscovered Portrait of Queen Anne, When a Child, by Sir Peter Lely', *The Burlington Magazine*, 145.1204 (2003), 501–4. On Anne's image in official royal portraiture, cf. also Barber, "All the World Is Ambitious of Seeing the Picture of so Great a Queen".

³⁹¹ Cf. James D. Stewart, 'Dahl, Michael (1659–1743), Portrait Painter', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004); Diana Dethloff, 'Lely, Sir Peter (1618–1680), Portrait Painter and Art Collector', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

³⁹² An example for the latter could be Alexander van Gaelen (attr. to), *Queen Anne's Procession to the Houses of Parliament* (c 1702), Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405610. However, difficulty in dating the painting precisely as well as a lack of information on its genesis weaken its potential as evidence. According to the item description by the Royal Collection Trust, a 'version of this composition appeared on the art market in 1954 with William III instead of Queen Anne in the coach, suggesting that some artistic "re-cycling" may be going on.'

narratives in order to create visions of Anne's role as sovereign in matters military and highlight her relevance to the continental campaigns. Such was, for instance, the case of James Thornhill's work in the Painted Hall in Greenwich Hospital (now Old Royal Naval College),³⁹³ Verrio's work for Queen Anne in the queen's drawing room at Hampton Court,³⁹⁴ or the descriptively entitled illustration on the declining fortunes of the French below.

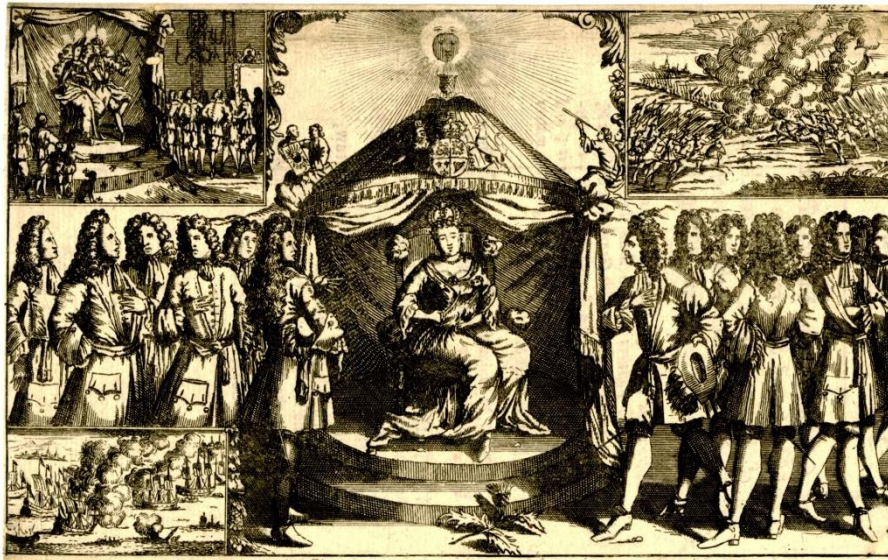


FIGURE 18. Satirical Book-Illustration to 'Poems on Affairs of State from 1620 to this Present Year 1707', vol. IV; supplement entitled "A Collection of some Satirical Prints, Publish'd beyond Sea, Relating to the Affairs of Europe, since the French King Plac'd his Grandson on the Throne of Spain. With their Explanations in English" (British Library, 1077.l.19). London, British Museum, 1868,0808.3403. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The other medium worth considering in this context is the medal insofar as it was at least in part a pictorial means of image-building and equally relied heavily on allegorical narrative. Louis, William, and Anne alike drew on the communicative potential of commemorative medals and coinage more generally. On the continent, notably in Holland, medals and prints were already an established means of addressing a growing market in 1650, and became, as Hugh Dunthorne

³⁹³ Cf. for instance Schama, 'The Domestication of Majesty', p. 167; John Bold, *Greenwich: An Architectural History of the Royal Hospital for Seamen and the Queen's House* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 150-2; ill. 195.

³⁹⁴ Cf. for instance Smith, "Last of All the Heavenly Birth", p. 141-2.

summarizes, ‘ever more inventive and sophisticated, with their multiple narratives, their classical allegories and Latin tags’.³⁹⁵ Drawing on Antony Griffith’s work, Dunthorne questions the appeal which prints in particular may have had for late seventeenth-century English audiences.³⁹⁶ The growing impact of medals and coinage, by contrast, is less debated.³⁹⁷ It reflects contemporary developments in the production and dissemination of propagandistic material, and points to a shift in the way the monarchy communicated. This shift manifested itself in an ever more diversified array of image-making products, which complemented traditional means of pictorial image-making such as the portrait. Kneller’s 1701 portrait, for instance, was commissioned as celebratory acknowledgement of William’s success in the peace negotiations of Ryswick (1697). It took four years to complete, making it entirely unsuitable for prompt usage in William’s image-campaign. Rather than a quick iconographical response to political events, a portrait of this kind was a high-end image-making product. It served a locally restricted, representative purpose. Prints, medals, and coins conversely could be produced comparatively quickly, in bulk, and varying quality. They travelled more widely, both geographically and sociographically speaking, than portraits. In contrast to forms of monarchical image-making that are exclusively versified or pictorial, they could also generate a more complex narrative through the combination of text and image, and appeal to discrete sets of audiences at the same time.

³⁹⁵ Dunthorne, ‘William in Contemporary Portraits and Prints’, p. 275.

³⁹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 275; Antony Griffiths, Robert A. Gerard and British Museum, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: British Museum Press for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1998).

³⁹⁷ For an exploration of the role of coinage in the succession campaigns of James I and Charles II, see Barrie J. Cook, ‘“The Impress of our Lawfull Coyn”: The Numismatic Dimension of the Stuart Successions’, in *Literature of the Stuart Successions*, ed. by Paulina Kewes and Andrew McRae (Oxford: OUP, forthcoming 2016). I am grateful to Paulina Kewes for establishing the contact with Barrie Cook on my behalf and to Barrie Cook for taking the time to share and discuss his investigation with me. See also David Pickup, ‘“While the Bright Coins in Silver Showers Descend”: British Coronations Medals of the 17th –19th Centuries’, *The Medal*, 2004, 26–29.

With a view to Anne, medals, in fact, proved a particularly effective means in creating a vision of the Stuart queen as superior and militarily involved sovereign – despite the restrictions imposed by gender and health. The key to this success lies in their multi-media structure and plural narratives. Medal designs such as the one by Christian Wermuth, discussed above in the introduction (fig. 1), feature Anne not just as Queen of the United Kingdom; they conceive of her as monarchical representative of the revived Grand Alliance, its spearhead even, and with that, as successor to William’s efforts in the Nine Years’ War. As the design asserts Anne’s superiority vis-à-vis Louis XIV, it also indirectly reaffirms her position of unchallenged sovereignty vis-à-vis Marlborough. The contest between Anne and Louis is one between equals; as the Crown’s subject, albeit a politically very important one, Marlborough does not even feature in the equation this design proposes. In this particular case, too, the design’s German provenance heightens its relevance insofar as it strengthens Anne’s image-making from *within* the Grand Alliance, but from *without* her actual realms against pressures and challenges to her image-making that arose both domestically through Marlborough’s iconographical prominence and abroad through Louis’s disregard for her as equal.

3.6 *Gloire*, Public Opinion, and the Devolution of Agency

So far, this chapter has explored William’s drawing on elements of classically royalist strategies of representation, Anne’s emphasis on ceremonial and Englishness, and the way these impacted on her perceived accessibility as well as the way in which her gender affected her image-making. Through its investigation of commemorative statues, it has equally addressed how the official, court-steered campaign in England increasingly incorporated image-making that emanated from

the public agency. In closing this chapter, I offer a brief account of how this increasing devolution of image-making agency from Crown and court might relate to the notion of *public opinion*, Habermas's *public sphere*, and the concept of *gloire*, the central premise of the Ludovican monarchical image-campaign (cf. 2.1).

In post-revolutionary England, the channels of command over nobility and Parliament had turned into channels of engagement with an increasingly broader and heterogeneous public. The impact of independent contributions on monarchical image-making (as opposed to that of measures initiated by the Crown) was considerably larger than in France, and, on the whole, more difficult to control. William and Anne depended on parliamentary as well as public approval for their policies. Their image-making stood and fell with their communication strategies. They had to court public opinion through increasingly diversified propaganda and engage their audiences in such a way that these were receptive to the court stance and channeled their own opinion-making agency into perpetuating the official narrative of the Crown. Defoe's political trajectory illustrates one possible pathway of such harmonization efforts in that he moved from volunteering as propagandist for the Whig majority to 'enjoy[ing] some kind of semi-official status as a court poet';³⁹⁸ independent commemorative statuary of Anne constitutes another because even if an underlying personal political agenda motivated their execution,³⁹⁹ they equally contributed to the Crown's image-making efforts.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁸ *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1697-1704*, ed. by Frank H. Ellis, *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, 7 vols (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1963), VI, p. xxxii.

³⁹⁹ Cf. van Hensbergen, 'Public Sculpture'.

⁴⁰⁰ In this context, see also Hone, 'The End of the Line', pp. 7–8. Hone criticizes the simplicity of maintaining that the 'centre of literary production' moved wholesale from court to coffeehouse and of discounting the court's cultural and political influence on 'coffeehouse wits'.

Monarchical image-making always fulfils a representative as well as an opinion-making purpose. Yet, the extent to which the Crown depended on generating a favourable opinion varied, and quite considerably so in the cases under discussion here. Despite their differences, the image-making processes under William and Anne were composite whereas Louis XIV's approach was autocratic. In this sense, one could argue that post-revolutionary image-making in England aimed at engaging and winning over *public opinion* whereas Ludovican image-making focused on the projection of monarchical *gloire*. William III, Frank Ellis argued in this context, 'learned to use [the press] (or allow it to be used for him) to create and change public opinion, [...] "not being able" as he [William] explained to Antonio Heinsius "to play any other game with these people than to engage them imperceptibly"'.⁴⁰¹ Queen Anne, conversely, engaged public opinion to her advantage through her dual kind of accessibility – one ideological (borne out Englishness and Anglicanism), the other physical (in 'bringing the court to the people', at least on occasion). On this note, Steven Pincus pithily comments with a Habermasian inflection that '[t]he English state, unlike its French counterpart, could not afford to shut down the bourgeois public sphere'.⁴⁰² Habermas's habilitation treatise *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962) dominated scholarly discourse for some time, particularly following the publication of its English translation in 1989.⁴⁰³ More recently, however, scholars such as Pincus himself,

⁴⁰¹ Ellis, *Poems on Affairs of State*, vi, p. xxvii; cf. also Arie Th. van Deursen, 'Propaganda. The Battle for Public Opinion', in *Science and Culture under William and Mary*, ed. by John David North and P. W. Klein (Amsterdam; New York: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie voor Wetenschappen; Amsterdam; Oxford, 1992), pp. 23–36.

⁴⁰² Steven Pincus, 'The State and Civil Society in Early Modern England: Capitalism, Causation, and Habermas's Bourgeois Public Sphere', in *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, ed. by Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, *Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 213–31 (p. 224).

⁴⁰³ Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, *Politica*; vol. 4 (Neuwied, Berlin: Luchterhand, 1962); *The Structural*

Peter Lake, and James A. Downie have critically reappraised Habermas's usefulness and increasingly overturned his account of the public sphere as a bourgeois phenomenon of the eighteenth century.⁴⁰⁴ In this context, Downie has made a persuasive bid for a shift in emphasis from Habermas's focus on "the people's public use of their reason" to 'the manipulation of "public opinion" by competent political writers'.⁴⁰⁵ In a sense, therefore, this thesis – most especially perhaps in respect of its treatment of models of agency – seeks to contribute to this ongoing debate.

Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, trans. by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: Polity, 1989).

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. James A. Downie, 'Public and Private: The Myth of the Bourgeois Public Sphere', in *A Concise Companion to the Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Cynthia Wall (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), pp. 58–79; 'Public Opinion and the Political Pamphlet', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660–1780*, ed. by John Richetti (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), pp. 549–71; Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere in Early Modern England', in *The Politics of the Public Sphere*, ed. by Lake and Pincus, pp. 1–30; Pincus, 'The State and Civil Society'; see also Dena Goodman, 'Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime', *History and Theory*, 31.1 (1992), 1–20.

⁴⁰⁵ Downie, 'Public and Private', p. 77.

Chapter 4.

Post-Revolutionary Image-Making: Narratives of Liberation, and the Subversion of Ludovican Autocracy

The final two chapters examine the evolution of classical allegory in post-revolutionary monarchical image-making. With reference to the Ludovican allegorical programme (cf. 2.3), my readings trace how the allegorical development under William and Anne contributed to the progressive demotion of Louis XIV, from model to foil. On the one hand, they show how William and his image-makers actively engaged with the Ludovican image-campaign by inverting and subverting the allegorical narratives to William's advantage. On the other, they illustrate how Anne's image-building veers away from this wholesale interaction with its French counterpart. The figure of Louis XIV ultimately only maintained its relevance as foil in the one of Anne's two image-making narratives; and that is the strand that sets her up, either explicitly or implicitly, as heir to William, and by consequence, as successor to William's achievement in the political and ideological contest with France and French image-making.

The evolution of Williamite iconography serves as structuring and guiding principle of these chapters. As a consequence, my reading of Anne's image-building unfolds in dependence on its connection to or deviation from allegorical motifs that gained momentum in her predecessor's reign. With a view to Williamite image-making, I discuss the allegories in an order that is modal as well as to a large extent chronological, in that their use indicates three interrelated iconographical trends: an increasing diffusion in image-making agency; a progression of narratives of delivery; and correspondingly, a trend to conceive of William more readily as integral part of the native collective rather than a foreign interloper.

Overall, this allegorical trajectory moves from William's depiction as Herculean liberator via the figures of Perseus and Jupiter to those of Neptune and, ultimately, to a transition from mythological to biblical allegory in the evocation of Saint George. Chapter 4 focuses on the Herculean theme (4.1) as well as a set of allegorical challenges for Williamite iconography (4.2); these range from the use of solar allegories across to the figures of Alexander the Great and Perseus. The chapter closes by investigating William's relatively brief association with Perseus, reasons for its brevity, and the transition to Jupiter (4.3).

4.1 Hercules: Emblem of the Prince of Orange and William III

Both in scope and in significance, William's allegorical identification with Hercules contrasts with its comparatively casual recurrence in Louis's iconography. It has been argued that the Herculean association was the one William himself most actively encouraged, that the figure of Hercules comes closest to being 'William's own William III'.⁴⁰⁶ It has also been advanced that the stylisation of William as Hercules should be seen as a conscious alternative to Louis's Apollo.⁴⁰⁷ I contend that while these claims are both apposite, they have remained underexplored in their allegorical underpinnings and are hence worth revisiting. William's symbolic identification with Hercules differs from the other allegorical associations in his programme in three respects: its appropriation precedes William's arrival in England; it features in two different contexts of liberation, namely in his first

⁴⁰⁶ Stephen B. Baxter, 'William III as Hercules: The Political Implications of Court Culture', in *The Revolution of 1688-1689*, ed. by Schwoerer, pp. 95-106.

⁴⁰⁷ Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'The Court Style in Britain', in *Courts and Colonies: the William and Mary Style in Holland, England, and America*, ed. by Reinier Baarsen and others (New York, NY: Cooper-Hewitt Museum, 1988), pp. 36-61 (p. 36); see also Wind, 'Julian the Apostate', p. 129, and Tim Richardson, *The Arcadian Friends: Inventing the English Landscape Garden* (London: Bantam, 2007), pp. 341-4.

labour (slaying the Nemean lion) as well as his second (slaying the Lernean Hydra); and it operates in two ways: on the one hand, it serves as deliberate counterpoint to the Apollonian one appropriated by Louis XIV; on the other hand, it allows image-makers to demote Louis from his own earlier association with Hercules to the role of serpentine monster.

4.1.1 William and Hercules before 1688⁴⁰⁸

Although Herculean imagery gained currency after William's accession, it is already subtly integrated in his image-making as Prince of Orange. Jan de Baen's 1667 depiction of the then seventeen-year-old constitutes a prominent example.



FIGURE 19. Jan de Baen, William III when Prince of Orange (1667), with details. Royal Collection Trust. © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2016.

At the time, the second Anglo-Dutch war was underway (1665-7); the position of Stadtholder was vacant in five out of seven Dutch provinces, and loyal Orangists tried to restore William to the posts of Stadtholder and Captain-General. De Baen

⁴⁰⁸ Due to limited proficiency in Dutch, this section relies above all on pictorial evidence.

picks up on the central Orangist message that portraits of William had disseminated since his childhood in the Dutch Republic as well as abroad. His portrait reaffirms that ‘there was [...] an heir to the Orange-Nassau line, one who may have seemed sickly and delicate in his early youth but who was steadily growing in physical strength and intellectual maturity’.⁴⁰⁹

In earlier portraits such as the ones below by Adriaen Hanneman, oranges and orange trees served as indicators of this promise as William’s dress and assorted paraphernalia.⁴¹⁰ The former symbolized dynastic stability and cultivation; the latter shows an evolution suggestive of noble values such as skill, reliability, and strength. Accordingly, Hannemann already depicts William, barely four years old and still on leading strings, wearing the sash of the Order of the Garter, conferred by Charles II a year earlier in 1653. Ten years later, he shows the young prince in armour, a baton in his right hand; no longer worn as a sash, the Garter ribbon is tied around his armour-clad left arm; a plumed helmet sits on a side table.⁴¹¹



FIGURE 20. Adriaen Hanneman, Portrait of William III, Prince of Orange, as a Child (1654). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-3889. © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



FIGURE 21. Adriaen Hanneman, Portrait of William III when Prince of Orange (1664). Royal Collection Trust. © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2016.

⁴⁰⁹ Dunthorne, ‘William in Contemporary Portraits and Prints’, p. 265. See also Adolph Staring, ‘Portretten van den Koning-Stadhouder’, ed. by A. W. Byvanck, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 3 (1951), 151–96 (p. 160).

⁴¹⁰ Cf. Dunthorne, ‘William in Contemporary Portraits and Prints’, pp. 265–67.

⁴¹¹ Dunthorne focuses on the 1663 engraving by Pierre Phillipe, which is based on a lost, but look-defining portrait by Abraham Raguineau; Dunthorne, ‘William in Contemporary Portraits and Prints’, p. 267, fig. 4, and also Staring, ‘Portretten’, p. 168.

Progressively, the portraits thus begin to convey a sense of anticipation of their subject's future military leadership. Painted three years after the 1664 Hanneman likeness, de Baen's portrait (fig. 19) shows the then seventeen-year-old heir dressed in fantastically elaborate, Roman-inspired armour; and again, baton and plumed helmet featured as staple accessories of military leadership. They continue to do so after William's accession to the throne of England as his portraiture focuses on his military capabilities with very few exceptions only.⁴¹²



FIGURE 22. Sir Peter Lely (after), King William III (1677). London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 1902. © National Portrait Gallery, London.



FIGURE 23. Sir Godfrey Kneller (attr. to), Portrait of William III of Orange. London, Bank of England Museum. © The Governor and Company of the Bank of England.



FIGURE 24. Sir Godfrey Kneller (attr. to), William III of Great Britain and Ireland (17th c). Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, PG 2788. © Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

Yet, the 1667 likeness (fig. 19) is more noteworthy for the compositional difference with respect to its predecessors (figs. 20 and 21) and successors (figs. 22-4) than it is for its thematic continuity. In contrast to the often featureless backgrounds of other portraits, de Baen's portrait draws the viewer's gaze past William's shoulder onto a statue in the distance: Hercules fighting the Nemean lion (fig. 19, detail).⁴¹³ The interplay between back- and foreground suggests that

⁴¹² Cf. Staring, 'Portretten', p. 155.

⁴¹³ Cf. Patrick Eyres, 'Rambo in the Landscape Garden: The British Hercules as Champion of the Protestant Succession', in *Sons of the Sea*, ed. by Patrick Eyres (Leeds: New Arcadian Press, 1994), pp. 11-44 (p. 21).

William, like Hercules, had the potential to liberate and stabilize a harassed community – be it the Dutch Republic, or two decades later, the British Isles. William arrives in England with the image encapsulated in the early Orangist pictorial propaganda and, accordingly with the Herculean association visualized by de Baen. It is above all this Herculean image that remains the visual emblem of his uprightness and resolution. It consistently permeates his portraiture, regardless of the modifications of preliminary portrait sketches may have undergone. The two attributions to Kneller shown above (figs. 23-4) for instance feature lion heads on William's armour and sword hilt. In a similar vein, the final version of Kneller's 1701 portrait shows an ordinary saddle pad with a border of lion heads (fig.10, below with detail). This ornamental element replaced the more obvious evocation of the Hercules myth in a preliminary version of the portrait in which a lion skin doubles as saddle pad.⁴¹⁴



FIGURE 10, with detail.

Another, more visually imposing example is a tapestry, which dates to the 1690s. It was woven by Jan Cobus of Brussels and is presumed to have been designed by Daniel Marot, a Huguenot artist who had left France after the Revocation of the

⁴¹⁴ Cf. Stewart, 'William III', p. 332.

Edict of Nantes and begun work for the then Stadtholder.⁴¹⁵ One in a series of eight, the tapestry shows Hercules, clad in his lion skin, with a club at his side, and Apollo, accessorized with laurel wreath, solar crown, and lyre, raising a crown over the combined coat of arms of the kingdoms of the British Isles and the House of Orange-Nassau. A banner below the coat of arms features the device 'Je maintiendray', the motto of the House of Orange, which William had included in his royal coat of arms after his accession. Apollo, here evoked as patron of the arts, functions as necessary complement to Herculean warrior-imagery and power display in the attempt to create a vision of ideal and balanced rulership.



FIGURE 25. Jan Cobus, Daniel Marot and Johannes Christoph Lotjin, William III - Crest Held by Hercules and Apollo (1689-94). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, NG-519. © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Given William's pictorial history and its regular recourse to military themes, however, the inclusion of Apollo in the tapestry appears formulaic rather than particularly adapted to fit William's representational patterns. For even if, personally, he possessed a sense for and understanding of art, as evidenced by his patronage and artistic choices, public perception picked up above all on the

⁴¹⁵ For further detail, see A. M. Louise E. Erkelens, 'Wapentapijten van Willem III naar Ontwerp van Daniel Marot', *Bulletin van Het Rijksmuseum*, 15.2 (1967), 43–53. Campbell et al. identify Hieronymus Le Clerc as the weaver of a matching tapestry, which is one of a sixteen-piece ensemble of armorial portières commissioned by William III in Brussels in the 1690s; cf. Thomas P. Campbell and others, *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendor* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven, 2007), p. 495; caption fig. 220; Daniel Marot and Hieronymus Le Clerc, *The Arms of William and Mary*, 1689-94, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

attributes of military leadership which he had been represented with since childhood and which he himself continued to perpetuate as a theme in Hampton Court, most notably in the Guard Chamber.⁴¹⁶ Throughout the decorative scheme at Hampton Court, these also remain closely associated with the Herculean imagery. The high relief by Cajus Gabriel Cibber, which sits above the pediment of the palace's east front, is but one imposing manifestation thereof.



FIGURE 26. Sutton Nicholls, Etching of the Elevation of the East Front of Hampton Court Palace, designed by Sir Christopher Wren (c 1700, pub. by John King). Royal Collection Trust. © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2016.



FIGURE 27. Cajus Gabriel Cibber, Hercules High Relief. East Front, Hampton Court Palace. © Conway Library, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

Another perhaps more noteworthy, even if less obvious example can be found in the Fountain Courtyard. All but the Western wall feature stone reliefs in the shape of lion skins carved by William Emmett at second-floor level. On the Eastern and Northern walls, these serve as surrounds for the circular windows. On the South wall, by contrast, they frame twelve roundel *grisaille* paintings by Louis Laguerre: the twelve labours of Hercules.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁶ Cf. Claydon, *William III*, p. 139; Geoffrey Parnell, 'The King's Guard Chamber: A Vision of Power', *Apollo*, 140.390 (1994), 60–64.

⁴¹⁷ Painted in oil, they are now badly weathered and currently subject to a conservation programme on behalf of History Royal Palaces, cf. Tourist Information, Hampton Court Palace, May 2016.



FIGURE 28. North and East Walls, Fountain Courtyard, Hampton Court Palace, HRP06448. © Historic Royal Palaces. Photo: Vivian Russell.



FIGURE 29. Laguerre roundel, close-up (5th from left), South Wall, Fountain Courtyard, Hampton Court Palace. © Personal photograph (2016).



FIGURE 30. South Wall, Fountain Courtyard, Hampton Court Palace. © Personal photograph (2016).



FIGURE 31. Laguerre roundel, close-up (7th from left), South Wall, Fountain Courtyard, Hampton Court Palace. © Personal photograph (2016).

Structurally, the arrangement is reminiscent of Nanteuil's portrait *aux pattes de lion* (fig. 8). At the same time, they evidently contrast with one another insofar as the roundels are outdoors, above eye-level, permanently *in situ*, and as such, much more difficult to reproduce and disseminate. This, however, does not necessarily detract from their iconographical impact. In a way, the location of the roundels appears a compromise, an in-between of outdoors and indoors; they are outside, but inside the courtyard. Along with other architectural features such as the Cibber

relief, the framed roundels constitute carved calling cards of what is at the core of William's monarchical identity. Not least in view of the redevelopments at Hampton Court Palace and the concurrent redecoration therefore, it is plausible to maintain that William pitted the military-Herculean theme consciously and ubiquitously against solar-Apollonian iconography at Versailles.

In fact, this opposition is especially effective because on a structural level, these two allegories function as subcategories of the same *topos*. Respectively, Hercules and Apollo slay Hydra and Python. Both thus epitomize, as Françoise Bardon has suggested, 'la lutte du prince contre le mal'. However, they also represent two very different types of 'prince': the Apollonian imagery calls to mind the notion of the 'monarque glorieusement victorieux'; the Herculean one evokes the 'héros libérateur'.⁴¹⁸ Apollo is an Olympian deity who lent himself to 'héroisation et divinisation',⁴¹⁹ Hercules a mortal with superior physical strength and skill.⁴²⁰ Apollo worship originates in the deity's divinity, his lineage. Hercules worship conversely derives its validity first and foremost from his heroic deeds, not his parentage. Veneration is 'given' in the one case, 'earned' in the other.

This distinctive contrast between the two allegories clearly maps onto Louis XIV, who acceded by right, and William III, who acceded by might. Voltaire's pithy assessment of their military leadership illustrates the point further: 'Louis faisait la guerre en roi, et Guillaume en soldat'.⁴²¹ Over time, William's brand of Herculean militarism facilitated the cultivation of the 'réputation d'un grand politique [...] et

⁴¹⁸ Bardon, *Le Portrait mythologique*, pp. 40–42.

⁴¹⁹ Sabatier, 'La Gloire du roi', p. 540.

⁴²⁰ See also Sabatier's remark on Hercules being a less popular allegorical figure for Louis XIV than for his predecessors in *ibid.*, p. 543.

⁴²¹ Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, vol. 13B, chap.17, p. 98. Cf. also John C. Rule, 'France Caught between Two Balances: The Dilemma of 1688', in *The Revolution of 1688-1689*, ed. by Schwoerer, pp. 35–51.

d'un général à craindre.'⁴²² Voltaire perceives this disposition in opposition to Louis's alleged affability as 'sombre, retiré, sévère, sec, silencieux'.⁴²³ On this level, the monarchs' most personalized allegorical imageries encapsulate and enhance the modes of kingship Louis and William adopted. They were, whilst both 'princes', 'presque en tout, l'opposé'.⁴²⁴ The following two subsections explore how this opposition extends into contemporary panegyric. In doing so, they also show that the agency of both Crown and 'coffeehouse' perpetuated its evolution.

4.1.2 Hercules-William's Progression: From Lion to Serpents

Unlike visual arts, literary works tended to conceive of Herculean imagery predominantly in terms of the defeat of the hydra rather than the lion. At first sight, Hercules's two achievements appear comparable in that both follow the pattern 'hero slew beast'. Yet, given the premise that Hercules's tasks were meant to increase in difficulty, the lion and the hydra must be dissimilar enough to make the defeat of the hydra the more considerable challenge. In fact, the beasts also differ in origin and nature: the lion was sent to terrorize Nemea, whereas the hydra was created and raised to kill Hercules. The lion's existence is thus independent from Hercules's whereas the hydra would not exist without the hero. In this sense, the lion represents a one-off battle between two opponents who share a minimum of qualities; in the case of Hercules and the lion, this is above all 'la force corporelle',⁴²⁵ from which derive by association courage, a degree of ferocious nobility, and an honourable fighting spirit. From early childhood on, depictions of William echo these associations; they conjure up the promise of a princely military

⁴²² Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, vol. 13B, chap. 17, p. 97.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., p. 714.

⁴²⁵ Jung, *Hercule dans la littérature française*, p. 53.

leader, who would distinguish himself through his valiant and upright conduct, and would as such deserve to be equated with Hercules, the lion-slayer.

The hydra, by contrast, represents the threat of an opponent whose existence and defeat both depend on the hero-figure. The hydra is both personal and legion. It represents the most intimate threat to the stability of a nation and its government. It connotes faction, riot, and rebellion. It is a far more politically charged image than the lion, and epitomizes an opponent who is much harder to eradicate. To my knowledge, it features solely in un-commissioned panegyric and after William's accession. There, the hydra does not symbolize an arbitrary, albeit serious opponent like the lion. It epitomizes the threats to English liberty, notably Catholicism, Jacobitism, popery, and, by implication, also Louis XIV. In 1689 when he was still favourably disposed towards the new regime, the radical Whig and political writer John Tutchin, for example, described William as 'The mighty *Hercules* that must Suppress/ The Tyrant *Hydra* of the Universe'.⁴²⁶ Clearly, this mention of the hydra evokes Louis merely by association, and on its own, the instance may lack significance. Yet, given the overall trajectory of Williamite image-making, it can be read as a tentative first role reversal between Ludovican and Williamite iconography; during the 1690s, Louis's equation with a serpentine beast becomes increasingly explicit and frequent. An ode mourning Mary II's death even includes a gloss in the margin which makes the equation between Louis and

⁴²⁶ Tutchin, *An Heroick Poem*, p. 3. Subsequently, Tutchin became increasingly critical of William and in particular of what opponents saw as his favouritism of Dutch courtiers. Poems which pick up on this criticism include John Tutchin, *The Foreigners, a Poem* (London: s. n., 1700); *The Natives: An Answer to The Foreigners*, Early English Books Online (London: John Nutt, 1700) as well as an anonymously published riposte by Defoe, cf. Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman: A Satyr*, Early English Books Online (London: s. n., 1700).

the 'Serpent, who does all destroy/ Hisses, and shakes his Tail, when glad the News [of Mary's death] he hears' unambiguous.⁴²⁷

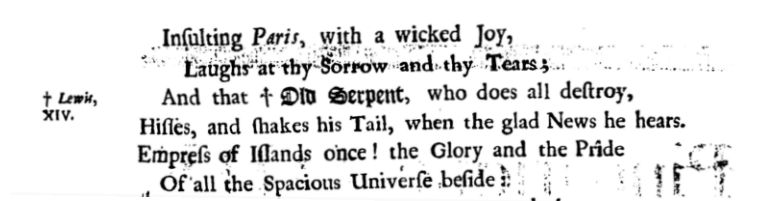


FIGURE 32. Samuel Cobb, *A Pindarique Ode: Humbly Offer'd to the Ever-Blessed Memory of our Late Gracious Sovereign Lady. Written by J. D. Gent.* (1694), Reel Number: Wing/1882:23, pg. 4. © Electronic reproduction, *Early English Books Online*. Image published with the permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission; original source: British Library, London.

In 1682, Louis had been venerated as Hercules himself (cf. 2.3.1). In Tutchin, this role falls to William, just as Hercules's labours become 'WILLIAM's Labours' in an ode by the Whiggish Matthew Prior.⁴²⁸ The poet William Colepeper, a friend of Defoe's, also draws on the Hercules-Serpent imagery as representative of the conflict between William and Louis:

As once by *Hercules* a Serpent's head
Was bruis'd when touch'd by his yet tender hand;
So the *French* Hope of conquering lay dead,
When the *Young Prince* exerted his Command.⁴²⁹

In this instance, though, the serpent, which embodies Louis's expansionist desires, appears to reference the snakes which Hercules crushed as an infant in his cradle. In this instance, the description of Hercules's deadly blow to the snake's head as 'bruised [...] by his yet tender hand' appears to applaud Hercules-William's disposition and governance: though gentle as a child, he also strikes hard when necessary.

⁴²⁷ Samuel Cobb and John Dryden, *A Pindarique Ode to the Memory of Queen Mary, by J.D.* (London: John Whitlock, 1694), p. 4. When first published, the poem was wrongly attributed to John Dryden; Samuel Cobb's authorship has been confirmed since.

⁴²⁸ Matthew Prior, *An Ode in Imitation of the Second Ode of the Third Book of Horace* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1692), p. 9.

⁴²⁹ William Colepeper, *An Heroick Poem upon the King* (London: s. n., 1694), p. 2, emphasis in original.

4.1.3 The Heroic Heritage of Hercules and Henri IV

More than anything, Stephen Baxter reads William's appropriation of the Herculean theme as a nod to the demi-god's place in the iconography of Henri IV (r. 1589-1610), the first Bourbon king. In the process, he also briefly touches upon the recurrence of the motif of the Gallic Hercules in the stylisation of the Medici family, who were related to Henri IV through his second marriage to Marie de' Medici (m. 1600); he notes:

In France, the symbol of the Gallic Hercules faded away after 1605 and was scrapped on the assassination of Henry IV because of its antipapal connotations. But it does recur in the great Medici cycle which the queen mother commissioned from Rubens in 1633.⁴³⁰

By way of genealogical background information, he goes on to highlight that William was Henri IV's great-grandson and Louis XIV the great-grandson of Philip II of Spain (r. 1581-1598). Placing special emphasis on this blood relationship between Henri IV and William III allows Baxter to cast William, alongside Eugène de Savoy, in the role of a 'French prince who had been deprived of his heritage by the Bourbon tyrant'.⁴³¹

This account generates a vision that is skewed in two respects: it ignores Louis XIV's dynastic entitlement as the grandson of Henri IV. It also suggests that the backbone of William's self-conception and the primary political incentive for his anti-French policy consisted in a far-fetched sense of entitlement. If one considers that, both as prince of Orange and as king of England, William relied on approval and support from the Dutch provincial councils and Parliament

⁴³⁰ Baxter, 'William III as Hercules', p. 97. By way of pictorial example, see for instance, as evoked by Baxter, Peter Paul Rubens, *The Apotheosis of Henri IV and the Proclamation of the Regency of Marie de Médicis*, 1621-5, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des peintures, Inv. 1779 in the 24-piece Medici-cycle. See also Henk Th. van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici and His Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture*, trans. by Andrew P. McCormick (Cambridge: CUP, 2006), pp. 103-116, 134-5.

⁴³¹ Baxter, 'William III as Hercules', p. 97.

respectively, putting forward a victimized vision of himself as pretermitted claimant to the throne of France seems an unnecessarily imprudent and belligerent strategy for him to pursue.

With a view to William's association with Hercules on the one hand, and the interplay between Williamite and Ludovican image-making on the other, it is worth considering what William III and Louis XIV make of their respective kinship to Henri IV and what role they award him in their image-building despite these misgivings. Although I dispute the interpretation of William as thwarted French prince, I would uphold a reading which views his symbolic endorsement of Hercules also as a way of drawing attention (albeit by association only) to his descent from the French royal house, from Henri IV, or ultimately even the 'Gallic Hercules' himself. In this respect, it is crucial to acknowledge that by conjuring up the memory of Henri IV through his own association with Hercules, William transcends the level of kinship or contiguous hereditary claims; effectively, he taps into Henri IV's own image-campaign, which had proved successful far into posterity.⁴³²

Henri IV's self-projection drew inspiration from early modern conceptions of Hercules as 'emblematic warrior and embodiment of noble masculinity'.⁴³³ It sought to combine these qualities with those of decisiveness, vision, and benefaction.⁴³⁴ In many ways, Henri IV could serve as instructive model to William III. Both had acceded to the throne after a political *coup*, the literal regicide of

⁴³² On Hercules and Henri IV, see Vivanti, 'Henry IV, the Gallic Hercules', 176–97; Edmund H. Dickerman and Anita M. Walker, 'The Choice of Hercules: Henry IV as Hero', *The Historical Journal*, 39.2 (1996), 315–37; Bannister, 'Heroic Hierarchies', pp. 41–2; Biet, *Henri IV*, p. 153–9; Jung, *Hercule dans la littérature française*, pp. 81, 174–77.

⁴³³ Cf. Dickerman and Walker, 'The Choice of Hercules', p. 319.

⁴³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 316–8; 320 as well as Biet, *Henri IV*, pp. 155–9; Vivanti, 'Henry IV, the Gallic Hercules', 184–5; Baxter, 'William III as Hercules', p. 97.

Henri III (r.1574-89)⁴³⁵ and one that was often metaphorically described as such in the case of James II; thus, both had to find ways of establishing and legitimizing their rule. Further parallels include their Protestant upbringing, their reputation as adroit warrior-kings, and the way they channeled the latter into the former. Henri IV received praise for valiant performances on the battlefield as well as in the hunt, which was pursued to make up for the physical and strategic exertion of the battlefield during peacetimes.⁴³⁶ William equally excelled at either pursuit, despite his weak constitution; akin to Henri IV, yet unlike Louis XIV, he was a soldier-king rather than a king-soldier. Voltaire accordingly described him as ‘jamais vif que dans un jour de combat’,⁴³⁷ and Matthew Prior forcefully pits Louis’s cowardly hopes against William’s soldierly valour:

Kings are allow’d to feign the Gout
Or be prevail’d with not to fight
And mighty Louis hoped no doubt
That William would preserve that right.⁴³⁸

Leading on from this emphasis on military valour, it is important to note that Henri IV and William were promoted as deploying their skill in the service of faith, and against the politically dominant Catholic forces: Henri IV in his war against the Catholic League (1589-1598) (although he had had to publicly convert to Catholicism before his coronation in 1594, and readily harnessed the ritual of the royal touch in his legitimation efforts),⁴³⁹ and William III alongside the League of Augsburg against Louis XIV in the Nine Years’ War. Irrespective of his conversion,

⁴³⁵ On the regicide of Henri III, its implications, and the question of the legitimacy of tyrannicide, see Biet, *Henri IV*, pp. 195, 202, 207.

⁴³⁶ Cf. Dickerman and Walker, ‘The Choice of Hercules’, pp. 327–28.

⁴³⁷ Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, vol. 13B, chap. 17, p.97.

⁴³⁸ Matthew Prior, *An English Ballad: In Answer to Mr. Despreaux’s Pindarique Ode on the Taking of Namure* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1695), p. 4. See also Addison’s depiction of Louis XIV as coward for his absence at the battle of Blenheim in Joseph Addison, *The Campaign, a Poem* (London: s. n., 1705), p. 12.

⁴³⁹ Cf. Annette Finley-Croswhite, ‘Henry IV and the Diseased Body Politic’, in *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650, Volume 1*, ed. by Martin Gosman, Arjo J. Vanderjagt, and Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 131–46 (p. 139-44, esp. 140).

Henri IV had in fact paved the way for the narrative that frames William as 'Protestant Deliverer' of the British Isles, poised to restore the path towards religious toleration and secularism, in promulgating the Edict of Nantes (1598). Unsurprisingly, the most famous pictorial homage to Henri IV draws on this campaign in its depiction of Henri IV as Hercules who defeated the Lernaean Hydra, that is in this case, the Catholic League.⁴⁴⁰ Also akin to Henri IV, William and his image-makers did not present the Dutch prince as violent avenger who requited the suppression through Catholic predominance with anti-Catholic Protestant politics, but rather and sometimes to his own detriment, in the role of saviour, protector, and fair, impartial arbiter.⁴⁴¹

In this respect, Louis XIV represents the very opposite end of the spectrum. His revocation of Henri IV's Edict of Nantes in the Edict of Fontainebleau (1685) cannot be construed as his heroically championing a Catholic cause for its own sake, but at the Huguenots' cost. William's and the League's politics could credibly be presented as serving the Protestant community, and moreover, as serving that community as a whole rather than specific Calvinist or Anglican interests. Louis's military actions by contrast were too unmistakably self-serving and expansionist to be disguisable as restorative and protective of a larger community. Moreover, he had broken with the Vatican and ultramontanism by the 1680s. In its place, he pursued a clearly Gallican policy; at its most basic level, this is to say that civil, in this case monarchical, authority assumed authority over the Catholic Church in France; Innocent XI secretly excommunicated him in 1687. Once again, his monarchical *gloire* is at the centre of the narrative. In this sense, the Ludovican

⁴⁴⁰ See Toussaint Dubreuil, *Portrait d'Henri IV en Hercule terrassant l'hydre de Lerne* (c 1600), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des peintures, Inv. R.F. 1997-13.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. Daniel Defoe, *The Englishman's Choice, and True Interest: In a Vigorous Prosecution of the War against France; and Serving K. William and Q. Mary, and Acknowledging Their Right* (London: s. n., 1694), p. 7, quoted in 4.2.1.

narrative is imperial; William's narrative, conversely, aligns with that of the League, and appears federal by comparison.

In playing up a sense of dynastic, but, above all, of ideational integrity vis-à-vis Henri IV, William also inscribes himself in the wake of a monarch who was acknowledged with the epithets 'le Grand' and 'le bon roi' and the subject of Voltaire's epic poem.⁴⁴² Indeed, Prior proposes in his ode, he not only unites, but even exceeds all his ancestors' virtuousness:

That 'tis no Poet's Thought, no Flight of Youth,
But solid Story, and severest Truth,
That WILLIAM Treasures up a greater Name,
Than any Country, any Age, can Boast:
And all that Ancient Stock of Fame
He did from his Fore-Fathers take,
He has improv'd, and gives with Interest back;
And in His Constellation does unite
Their scatter'd Rays of Fainter Light.⁴⁴³

Colepeper similarly characterizes William as more than the sum of the conventionally evoked ancient heroes:

Let me the *Macedonian's* mighty mind
And *Caesar's* Clemency together take,
They may perhaps, to *Cato's* Justice join'd,
And *Scipio's* Temperance, *One WILLIAM* make'.⁴⁴⁴

His line-up of ancient exemplars is remarkable in its eclecticism; Colepeper mentions republican figures like the stoic Cato and Hannibal's vanquisher Scipio in the same breath as imperial figures like Alexander the Great and Caesar. In doing so, he not just exceeds the structure of 'parallel lives' in the vein of Plutarch.⁴⁴⁵ He also encapsulates that the uniqueness of William's reign and his image-making lies

⁴⁴² Cf. Voltaire, *La Henriade*.

⁴⁴³ Prior, *An Ode*, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁴ Colepeper, *An Heroick Poem*, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁵ Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, known as *Parallel Lives*, is thought to have been published around the second century AD. Its first complete English translation appeared in 1683. It consists of twenty-three pairs of biographies, with a Greek and a Roman per pair whom he compared. It also contains four unpaired lives.

to a large extent in his merging republican and royalist elements. In offering up a multiplicity of icons, he is, as we will see throughout these two chapters, representative of Williamite image-making and its use of allegory more generally; for despite its early emphasis on Hercules, the plurality of Williamite allegorical narratives starkly contrasts with Louis's autocratic drive for iconic singularity. Prior conversely evokes a plurality of a different kind. Prior's versification presents itself as reply to the ode *Sur la prise de Namur* (1693) by Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux; Boileau, who had been royal historiographer to Louis XIV since 1677, the figurehead of the ancients in the much-commented *querelle des anciens et des modernes*.⁴⁴⁶ Prior exploits Boileau's ode as a foil and effectively opens up a satirical dialogue of his own between the ancients and the moderns. The 1695 edition gives Prior's verse printed vis-à-vis Boileau's, highlighting their opposition typographically. In the following passage, Prior counters Boileau's pathetic appeal to the siege of Troy. In the antepenultimate line, he echoes the core of the Williamite legitimization narrative in reminding his readers that William did not invoke divine right to claim the throne, but fulfilled divine providence:⁴⁴⁷

Boileau:

Namur, devant tes murailles
 Jadis la Grece eust vingt ans
 Sans fruit veu les funerailles
 De ses plus fier Combattans. [...]
 Aujourd'huy pourtant s'avance
 Preste à foudroyer tes monts!
 Quel bruit, quel feu l'environne!

Prior:

Why is Namur compar'd to Troy?
 Are we then braver than the Greeks?
 Their Siege did Ten long Years employ
 We've done our bus'ness in Ten Weeks [...]
 'Tis Brittain's King, the Scourge of France
 No Godhead, but the first of Men
 His Arm shall keep your Victor under
 And Europe's Liberty restore.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ In this contemporary literary and artistic debate about the exemplary value of classical models, the proponents of the ancients claimed that one could only ever aim to imitate and emulate the ancient authorities to one's best abilities; the modernists contended that modern achievements could supersede those of Antiquity and 'voulurent substituer les gloires fondatrices de la Monarchie française aux héros de l'antiquité païenne'; cf. Grell and Michel, pp. 81; 71–2; 79–80.

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. also Peter J. De Voogd, 'William III, the Siege of Namur, Prior and Sterne', in *Fabrics and Fabrications*, ed. by Hoftijzer and Barfoot, pp. 211–23 (esp. pp. 216–7).

⁴⁴⁸ Prior, *An English Ballad*, p. 3.

The sense of plurality which I mentioned above develops through the geographical markers Prior employs. Prior identifies William in national terms – as King of Britain –, but as liberator of a much larger entity, which is Europe. William's project is European, and therefore federal. As such it implicitly contrasts with France's endeavours as singular, national, and ultimately imperial.

4.2 Challenges for Williamite Image-Making

4.2.1 Phoebus: Panegyric Defiance of the *Roi-Soleil*

Unlike Ludovican iconography, which drastically streamlined its allegorical programme over time, William's allegorical representation diversified as it evolved; not held to toe the line of an official court iconography, image-makers accessed the potential of allegories other than Hercules in an endeavor to counter Ludovican pre-eminence. One such identification is that of William with Apollo. Evidently, this is a daring approach as Louis XIV had firmly appropriated the solar-Apollonian iconography by the 1690s; and in fact, it does not feature prominently at all in William's self-representation or his commissions. William clearly had no interest in usurping Louis's iconographical trade mark or to enter an iconographical stand-off of the kind Louis had had with the Habsburgs.

However, this particular allegorical identification does occur, albeit rarely, in Williamite panegyric. The few cases that there are may appear all the more elusive as writers almost systematically refrain from using the appellation 'Apollo'. Instead, they bring into play Phoebus, or, more vaguely still, merely employ the

wider lexical field of the sun.⁴⁴⁹ Despite this relative inconspicuousness, the equations of William with Phoebus are significant. As in the case of Hercules and the snake, they constitute another scenario which relies on role allocations that had been established in Louis's image-campaign and inverts them to William's advantage. The most audacious rendition of this reversal takes place in Prior's hymn *For the New Year, to the Sun* (1694). Not only does the piece give the theme titular prominence, but it also sustains it throughout. Moreover, it is not merely a case of Prior 'cheekily challeng[ing] Louis XIV's right to be reckoned the sole *roi-soleil*'.⁴⁵⁰ William's assuming the role of Apollo entails both his superseding Louis and the latter's re-casting. Louis turns into Python, the beast which, again, his own panegyrists had portrayed him as slaying:

Like Thee, Great son of *Jove* [*Apollo*] [...],
 When clad in rising Majesty
 Thou Marchest down o'er *Delos* Hills confest,
 With all thy Arrows Arm'd, with all thy Glory Drest.
 Like Thee, the Heroe, does his Arms imply,
 The raging *Python* to destroy,
 Cho[rus]. And give the injur'd Nations Peace and Joy.⁴⁵¹

Before turning to Thomas Yalden, Thomas Brown, and Defoe, who also all use this pattern of reversal, it is worth noting that Prior also anticipates the geographic plurality of his later poetic riposte to Boileau in this passage. In contrast to the unequivocal reference to 'Europe' in 1695, the phrase 'Nations' as it is used here could, on its own, equally be taken to designate William's actual realms only rather than the league of states more generally. However, as these allegorical readings are

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. Prior, *An Ode*, p. 5, also commented on in C. C. Barfoot, "Hey for Praise and Panegyric": William III and the Political Poetry of Matthew Prior', in *Fabrics and Fabrications*, ed. by Hoftijzer and Barfoot, pp. 135–89 (p. 158).

⁴⁵⁰ Barfoot, "Hey for Praise and Panegyric", p. 158.

⁴⁵¹ Matthew Prior, *For the New Year, to the Sun: Intended to be Sung before their Majesties on New-Years Day, 1693/4* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1694), p. 2, emphasis in original.

taken forward, it will become evident that taken together, these two instances indicate a panegyric trend.

As regards the solar imagery, Yalden hails William as Phoebus who 'return'd the Python's Conqueror' in a similar, yet less sustained fashion to Prior.⁴⁵² Brown's and Defoe's renditions in turn additionally Christianise the implied narrative. In Brown's poem, William simultaneously incarnates both pagan deity and Protestant Deliverer. He contends with Louis, who embodies the forces of evil as 'Cursed Monster who rose up from Hell/ To be a Plague, and Scourge to Christendom'.⁴⁵³ Defoe conversely further extends the scope of the solar-serpentine imagery to encompass domestic adversaries as proverbial 'snakes in the grass', who abuse William's virtuous nature to the detriment of church and monarchy:

At his very first Landing the Serpents lay expiring under his feet, but his Goodness, which like the Sun Communicated Warmth to all, gave them new life, and power to Sting. How happy a thing it is, that they have shown so much of their Natures! Had they been less open, they might still have upholden that Credit, which the pretence of zeal for The Church, and the Monarchy, had buoyed for so long, and we might still be wasting in a lingering War with France.⁴⁵⁴

Prior, Brown, and Robert Fleming additionally employ the solar imagery in their assertions that William assumes his rightful place.⁴⁵⁵ Prior interlaces his elevation of William with his criticism of Boileau as representative of the allegedly dishonest French panegyric, which made Louis out to be more than he was:

Ah, Poet, thou hadst been discreeter,
Since thou woud'st hang his Hat so high,
If thou had'st call'd it but a Meteor,
That blaz'd a while, and then God b'y.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵² Thomas Yalden, *On the Conquest of Namur: A Pindarique Ode, Humbly Inscib'd to His Most Sacred and Victorious Majesty* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1695), p. 10; 9.

⁴⁵³ Thomas Brown, *A Congratulatory Poem on His Majesty's Happy Return from Holland* (London: s. n., 1691), p. 7.

⁴⁵⁴ Defoe, *The Englishman's Choice*, p. 7.

⁴⁵⁵ Prior, *An English Ballad*, p. 6; Brown, *A Congratulatory Poem*, p. 3; Fleming, *Fame's Mausoleum*, pt. 1, XV.

⁴⁵⁶ Prior, *An English Ballad*, p. 6.

Tacitly, Prior here also opens up a dichotomy between William as ‘true’ and Louis, the fleeting meteor, as ‘false’ sun.

4.2.2 Alexander the Great: A Problematic Allegory and its Place

In contrast to the brief but concertedly orchestrated vogue which identifications with Alexander the Great enjoyed in Louis’s image-campaign, attempts to identify William with Alexander are less coordinated and more equivocal. This lack of enthusiasm can be accounted for pragmatically, ideologically, and strategically: pragmatically speaking, neither William’s constitution nor his age commended him as a new Alexander – despite all panegyric idealisation. In 1688, when William arrived in England, he was nearly forty years of age. He was known to have been a sickly child, and suffered from asthma. In 1660, when the analogy with Alexander had still been officially encouraged in France, Louis was but twenty-two years old, graceful, and exuding vitality. Ideologically speaking, the figure of Alexander had lost its status as a positive benchmark (cf. 2.3.1). By the end of the seventeenth century, it could be harnessed as easily to oppositional criticism as it had previously been to panegyric praise. Strategically speaking, William’s identification with Alexander was not advisable either as it would have drawn undue attention to James II’s demise. The risk here consists in the conventional depictions of Alexander’s conquering expedition into Asia and his conflicts with the Persian Empire. Popular accounts of ancient history relate how, at the Battles of Issus (333 BC) and Gaugamela (331 BC), Darius III fled the battle ground despite commanding a significantly larger force than Alexander.⁴⁵⁷ At Issus, Darius supposedly left

⁴⁵⁷ Sources on Alexander’s exploits to which seventeenth-century readers may have known include works by Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, Justin and Quintus Curtius, see *The Poems of John Dryden*:

behind chariot, bow, and royal mantle; at Gaugamela, his retreat was so chaotic that Alexander succeeded in capturing both the Persian headquarters and Darius's family. Logically, moreover, William's image-makers would have had to cast William as Alexander and James as Darius. This pairing would have echoed James's failure as a ruler – with his flight and that of Darius constituting an unspoken, yet uncanny parallel – and brought his memory to renewed, albeit negative prominence. William, however, would have had little interest in drawing any attention to his predecessor, be it positive or negative. It would have served as unwelcome reminder of the contentions of his own accession, and may have provided a breeding-ground for Jacobite sympathizers.

It was in William's interest to efface James whenever possible – a strategy he also implemented in his decisions on interior design: though he strove to eclipse Charles II and especially James II, William took great care not to break with the Stuart line *per se*. This nuanced strategy manifests itself in the picture hang of the apartments at Hampton Court, which showcase large-scale portraits of the royal line in the rooms' most prominent place, overmantel: a portrait of Mary II's mother, Anne Hyde as Duchess of York, for instance hung in the Great Bedchamber, and the Privy Chamber featured van Dyck's famous equestrian portrait of Charles I, William's maternal grandfather, who connects him to the pre-Protectorate era.⁴⁵⁸

Volume Five: 1697-1700, ed. by Paul Hammond and David Hopkins (London: Longman, 2005), pp. 4–5, n. (i).

⁴⁵⁸ Jenkins, 'A Sense of History', p. 4.



FIGURE 33. Anthony van Dyck, Equestrian Portrait of Charles I (1637/8). London, National Gallery, NG1172. © National Gallery, London.

The identification of William with Alexander occasionally occurs nonetheless, both in third-party panegyric and, more surprisingly, in commissioned work. Prior employs the image of Darius's flight when he celebrates the French fleet's withdrawal in the Battles of Harfleur and La Hogue (1692):

ORANGE the Name that Tyrants Dread:
 He comes, our ruin'd Empire is no more,
 Down, like the Persian, goes the Gallic Throne,
 Darius flies, young Ammon urges on.⁴⁵⁹

He mitigates the allegory's drawbacks by referring to William as 'young Ammon' instead of Alexander. In ancient Greece, Ammon was identified as a form of Zeus and Alexander himself had claimed descent from Zeus.⁴⁶⁰ The periphrastic 'young Ammon' obliterates Alexander as individual and draws the reader's attention instead to his lineage. It invites a chain of associations with the powers of Zeus-Jupiter, which were more powerful than a straightforward identification with Alexander could have been.

Alexander also features prominently in Antonio Verrio's east wall fresco in the King's Staircase at Hampton Court (cf. 3.1). This fresco is the most equivocal

⁴⁵⁹ Prior, *An Ode*, p. 6.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. William Woodthorpe Tarn, *Alexander the Great: Volume 2, Sources and Studies* (CUP, 2003), pp. 347–59.

and most diversely interpreted visual testimony of Williamite mythological iconography. It features Verrio's (re)interpretation of Julian's satire *The Caesars* (c. 361), which tells the story of Romulus's attempted apotheosis of the Caesars. In Julian's original, Marcus Aurelius wins recognition as the best ruler. In Verrio's design, conversely, Hercules intercedes and defers to Alexander as the great prince who surpassed all Roman tyrants.⁴⁶¹ This modified narrative allows the viewer to read the fresco as an allegory of William as 'supplanter of Roman tyranny',⁴⁶² represented by Charles II and, above all, James II, the 'Tyrant [...] who was thy worst and last',⁴⁶³ and as vanquisher of Roman Catholicism.⁴⁶⁴ In essence, this stance is compatible with elements of Williamite accession rhetoric, which evokes the image of the 'Protestant Deliverer'.



FIGURE 34. Antonio Verrio, *The King's Staircase* (detail). Hampton Court Palace, HPR00677. © Historic Royal Palaces. Photo: James Brittain.

Verrio's work is sometimes also read as part of William's Herculean theme.⁴⁶⁵ This interpretation relegates William to the role of a mere, albeit powerful enabler to Alexander's triumph. Alexander's role remains vacant, and William-Hercules is a place-holder at most (cf. 1.2). Instead, the scene intentionally resists a clear role attribution. In this, it is representative of the staircase fresco in its entirety. Bret

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Wind, 'Julian the Apostate', pp. 128–9; Dolman, 'Antonio Verrio', p. 23.

⁴⁶² Barclay, 'William's Court as King', p. 248.

⁴⁶³ John Tutchin, *The British Muse: or Tyranny Expos'd: A Satyr, Occasion'd by All the Fulsom and Lying Poems and Elegies, that have been Written on the Death of the late King James* (London [i.e. Dublin?]: Elizabeth Mallet, 1702), p. 3.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. Wind, 'Julian the Apostate', p. 129.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Barclay, 'William's Court as King', p. 248; Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*, p. 73.

Dolman, whose re-reading focuses on the frescoes on the east and north walls ('The Apotheosis of the Caesars' and 'Apollo Presiding over a New Era of Plenty'), has made a persuasive case for casting William as Julian the Apostate, Alexander the Great, and Apollo. Verrio's work is, Dolman suggests, 'far from being simply expensive triumphalist wallpaper'. It instead offers 'an interactive debate about William's merits as a ruler',⁴⁶⁶ and thus transcends the positivist reading which Raffaele De Giorgi has advanced with a view to the confessional impact of William's reign: 'Verrio attribuisce al personaggio un ruolo chiaramente positivo, identificandolo con l'immagine del sovrano illuminato che si oppone alla tirannia del clero'.⁴⁶⁷ In fact, the equivocal nature of the staircase fresco contrasts with the rest of the decorative strategy employed at Hampton Court, which suggests 'an iconographic message of self-glorification [... as] triumphant military leader and pacifier'.⁴⁶⁸ It is remarkable and, to my knowledge, novel that such an equivocal representation of monarchical sovereignty takes pride of place in a space effectively loaded with the royal prerogative of self-representation. The fresco's ambivalence encapsulates the reservations with which certain factions greeted the new monarchy. If the political disposition of the fresco's creator is indicative in any way, it also conveys the optimistic message that those sceptics would ultimately relent and acknowledge William's value (cf. 3.1). In this sense, Verrio's commission shows William to be accepting of artistic license and able to navigate political dissent. In contrast to Louis, William thus once again appears as figurehead of the *modernes*.

⁴⁶⁶ Dolman, 'Antonio Verrio', pp. 23–24.

⁴⁶⁷ Raffaele De Giorgi, *Couleur, couleur!': Antonio Verrio: un pittore in Europa tra Seicento e Settecento* (Firenze: Edifir, 2009), p. 141; cf. also p. 133.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. *ibid.*; Jenkins, 'A Sense of History'; Simon Thurley, 'The Building of the King's Apartments', *Apollo*, 140 (1994), 10–21; Parnell, 'The King's Guard Chamber'.

4.3 The Figure of Perseus and its Allegorical Potential

In his study *L'Olympe du roi-soleil*, Jean-Pierre Néraudau discusses the ways in which French monarchs cultivated the Herculean theme. In this context, he raises the question of what (beyond the alleged ancestral affiliation) may have motivated the choice of this one allegory as opposed to another that was equally readily available; say, demi-gods such as Aeneas or Perseus. By way of answer, he adduces circumstantial narrative evidence: he purports that an assumption promulgated in a version of the Herculean myth, namely that Hercules had encountered both the Sun and Apollo during his travails, determined the precedence given to Hercules in French royal iconography.⁴⁶⁹ Effectively, this argument relies on mythological happenstance as the primary driving force behind the relative prominence of the Herculean figure in the mythological repertoire of monarchical representation. As such, Néraudau's assertion is doubly misleading: to conceive of the Herculean association as a convenient tangential derivation from the solar-Apollonian one is to underestimate the symbolic charge with which the figure of the *Hercule gallois* was invested by the end of the Renaissance. It is equally tantamount to overrating the significance of the solar-Apollonian iconography in the reigns prior to that of Louis XIV. The first of the following subsections examines this sustained bias in allegorical representation in favour of Hercules (rather than Perseus) with a view to the role Perseus played, or failed to play, in Ludovican and Williamite image-making. The second subsection then juxtaposes the allegorical potential of the Perseus narrative to that of Jupiter; both feature prominently in medal designs commemorating the coronation of 1689.

⁴⁶⁹ Néraudau, *L'Olympe du roi-soleil*, p. 68.

4.3.1 Perseus, the Liberator:

Challenge in France, Temporary Solution in England

In the Grecian myth of Perseus, the sea monster Cetus threatens to ravage the kingdom of Aethiopia. Andromeda is to be sacrificed to appease the beast. Perseus rescues her from her precarious fate and marries her. In William's case, Perseus's delivery of Andromeda actually features rather prominently, albeit on a single occasion: the coronation in 1689 (fig. 35). Below the phrase *PRETIUMQ. ET CAUSA LABOR* (both reward and cause of the undertaking) from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the scene emblazons the reverse of medals by George Bower and the Dutchman Jan Smeltzing. Bower had previously worked for both Charles II and James II.⁴⁷⁰ Smeltzing had produced medals both in support and in criticism of James II, ones that hailed William's victories and satirized Louis, but he had also worked at the French mint for a time.⁴⁷¹ His experience meant that he could effortlessly segue between the different perspectives and developed designs that were all the more poignant. Bower is known to have previously copied a design from Roettier. It is therefore entirely possible that Smeltzing devised the design.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷⁰ Cf. W. W. Wroth and Stuart Handley (rev.), 'Bower [Bowers], George (d. 1690), Medallist', *ODNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004).

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Philip Attwood, 'Smeltzing, Jan', *Grove Art Online*.

⁴⁷² Cf. British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, plate LXX 11.



FIGURE 35. George Bower, Coronation Medal for William III and Mary II (1689). London, British Museum, G3,EM.37. © Trustees of the British Museum.⁴⁷³

The design's combination of legend and scene of mythological delivery leave little room for interpretation. The medal propagates the message that William saved the exposed British Isles from doom akin to Perseus rescuing Andromeda. The design's vivid detail – with Andromeda shackled naked to a rock on the shore – heightens the sense of drama. His heroic act of delivery entitles William to 'wed' the country as its monarch in the coronation. In hindsight, his marriage to Mary, the eldest uncontested Stuart heir, almost appears to prefigure this destiny.

In France, by contrast, the legend of Perseus remained relatively inconspicuous even though image-makers evoked it repeatedly.⁴⁷⁴ Visual examples include Pierre Mignard's oil painting *La Délivrance d'Andromède* (1679), commissioned by Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, Pierre Puget's marble statue *Persée et Andromède* (1675-84), commissioned for the gardens of Versailles by Louis XIV via Colbert,⁴⁷⁵ and Nicolas Cochin's pen-, ink-, and-chalk drawing *Perseus and Andromeda Pay Homage to the Young Louis XIV*, which may be part of the work

⁴⁷³ Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. 1, nos. 25-8. The British Museum also holds an exemplar of the Smeltzing medal (M.7732). The obverse of the Smeltzing medal lacks the drapery and bears a different inscription to Bower's (GULIELM: R. MARIA REGINA. F.D.P.A.; William King, Mary Queen, Defenders of the Faith, pious, august).

⁴⁷⁴ For a discussion of early modern French renditions of this myth on stage and elsewhere, see also Wes Williams, *Monsters and Their Meanings in Early Modern Culture: Mighty Magic* (Oxford; New York: OUP, 2011), esp. chap. 4.

⁴⁷⁵ Pierre Puget, *Persée et Andromède* (1678-84), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des sculptures, M.R.2076.

for Cochin's series of plates on *The Entry of Louis XIV and his Queen into Paris in 1660*.⁴⁷⁶

The image originally presented here cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright reasons. The image was sourced at <http://www.photo.rmnm.fr/archive/11-514800-2C6NU0MXAMQ8.html>.

FIGURE 36. Pierre Mignard, *La Délivrance d'Andromède* (1679). Paris, Musée du Louvre, R.F. 1989-8. © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre)/ Franck Raux.

Attempts to read these French works of art in parallel to the 1689 coronation medal fail as soon as one factors in the circumstances of their genesis: Puget's statue is the least problematic of the three in this respect. Though its commission appears unmotivated insofar as it lacks a concrete, topical occasion, the statue clearly has a place among the host of commissions that contributed to the overall allegorical in the designs of Versailles. The relatively unknown drawing by Cochin the Elder, in contrast, troubles the spectator by juxtaposing two levels of narrative, the mythological and the historical. Perseus and Andromeda are shown to interact with Louis XIV; and while their paying homage to the king places mythology in subservience to Louis's real-life authority, it simultaneously bars the spectator from conceiving of Perseus as an allegorical rendition of Louis and of Andromeda as France personified. As such, Louis's figure remains external and merely contiguous to, rather than integrated into, the narrative of the familiar myth.

Mignard's painting also plays with the role allocations that are made available to the spectator, though less obviously so than Cochin's drawing.

⁴⁷⁶ Nicolas Cochin, *Perseus and Andromeda Pay Homage to the Young Louis XIV*, n. a., Sotheby's, New York, lot 83, Old Master Drawings, 29 January 2014; not sold, returned to consignor, private US collection; current location unknown.

Mignard's rendition of the myth effectively disallows an unequivocal attribution of the Perseus figure in that, similarly to the case of Alexander the Great, Perseus's part could be assigned in two ways: to Louis XIV on the one hand, and to the Prince of Condé on the other. Not least the circumstances of the painting's commissioning – by the Prince of Condé, from Pierre Mignard, the rival artist to the king's first painter Charles Le Brun – and its display at Condé's residence, the Château de Chantilly, give rise to a suspicion: that the figure of Perseus, here unusually depicted while receiving thanks for Andromeda's rescue rather than in the act of rescue proper, is intended to glorify not so much *le roi-soleil* as *le grand Condé* whose strategic vision and military exploits distinguished him for instance in planning and implementing the seizure of Franche-Comté (1668), in the 1672 campaign against the Dutch, and in the Battle of Seneffe (1674). If, however, one follows through this role allocation and casts Condé as Perseus, Andromeda as France, Cepheus and Cassiopeia inevitably come to represent Louis XIV and Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche. Fittingly, Jean-Claude Boyer stresses that the political charge which this reading of the Mignard painting entails may well be representative of the dangers of an excessive reverence for Condé more generally:

A une époque où tout était ramené à la gloire de Louis XIV, il aurait été délicat d'évoquer la reconnaissance due par le monarque à celui qui avait sauvé son royaume. L'humble attitude de Céphée, le corps qui se plie sous le manteau royal, la tête couronnée qui se penche pour embrasser la main du héros, sont des audaces que le travestissement mythologique pouvait seul autoriser.⁴⁷⁷

In an inventory trick at Chantilly, the painting is registered as a gift 'fait[] par l'artiste au prince du sang'.⁴⁷⁸ By obliterating '[s]'il y a eu, oui ou non, en réalité une demande préalable'⁴⁷⁹ in the records, the rendition becomes, at least on paper, the

⁴⁷⁷ Boyer and Musée du Louvre, Département des peintures, *Le Peintre, le roi, le héros*, pp. 103–4.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

expression of an artistic choice rather than an obviously politicized remittance work. Detracting from its status as a work commissioned by Condé thus in some measure alleviates the sting in Condé's glorification and the resultant, implicit snub of the king's grandeur.

In France, the association with Perseus was clearly contested ground – similarly to Alexander the Great, and unlike Hercules. Although this was not the case in England, the allegory did not gain lasting prominence across the Channel either. This underpins Néraudau's observation concerning the prevalence of the Persean myth. It furthermore indicates its transferability; but it fails to render Néraudau's reasoning any more persuasive. A closer look at the narrative structure of the myths, however, helps to recognize why the image of Perseus's delivery lacks the potential for iconographic longevity which distinguished Hercules's defeat of Hydra. As Bardon has argued, the narratives are comparable in that they depict 'la lutte du prince contre le mal' alongside the 'Apollo pythien' (cf. 4.1.1).⁴⁸⁰ Yet, they also clearly differ in the uses they lend themselves to: Andromeda's rescue from the sea snake Cetus is a singular act of salvation. As such, it may compare to Hercules's delivering Hesione with the aid of Telamon rather than his defeat of Hydra.⁴⁸¹ Unlike Hercules-Hydra, both Perseus-Andromeda and Hercules-Hesione also represent the narrative pattern of the 'rescue of the princess'. They epitomize a significant, yet singular act of salvation. The Perseus imagery is consequently sufficiently impactful to visualize the momentousness with which William's accession was credited. Yet, while it is an apt feature for a coronation medal, the scene of rescue proves (too) momentary with a view to the expectations

⁴⁸⁰ Bardon, *Le Portrait mythologique*, pp. 39–40.

⁴⁸¹ Charles Le Brun, *Hercule délivrant Hésione* (c 1650/60), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inventaire du département des Arts graphiques, MA10516; Charles Le Brun, *Hercule délivrant Hésione* (c 1655), Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle. Boyer mentions the latter in Boyer and Musée du Louvre, Département des peintures, *Le Peintre, le roi, le héros*, p. 95.

and exigencies held of a monarch and their reign. The image of Hercules and Hydra, conversely, does not; for, even though Hercules's second labour centres once again on the fight of a serpentine monster, the monster's eventual defeat carries more weight by dint of the enemy's literal multi-headedness. Perseus and Andromeda focuses on the idea of deliverance. Hercules and Hydra emphasizes the idea of continuous struggles and resurging opponents paving the way to the final victory, which, in a monarch's case, could only be achieved at the end of the reign; and therein lies its reusability value.

4.3.2 Perseus and Jupiter: Two Visions of the Coronation

The Perseus motif was, despite its suitability, not the only design to illustrate medals issued for the coronation.⁴⁸² In fact, thirty-three medals of predominantly English, Dutch (Holland), and German (Nuremberg) provenance were cast or struck on the occasion.⁴⁸³ Among these thirty-three, designs reoccur, occasionally in slight variations; the Bower and Smeltzing medals with their Perseus design, for instance, were each produced twice, hinting at a relatively wide distribution.⁴⁸⁴ The Roettier medal, by contrast, appears to have been cast only once.⁴⁸⁵ Sources disagree as to which of the two medals was distributed as official memento among the spectators on the day of the coronation.⁴⁸⁶ This section continues the investigation of the allegorical underpinnings of the Perseus design in reading it

⁴⁸² Cf. the discussion of John Roettier's medal (fig. 2) in the introduction.

⁴⁸³ Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, I, pp. 332-80, nos. 25-57.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 26-8.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, no. 25.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. *ibid.*; Challis, 'Roettier'. The Belgian-born and known Catholic John (Jan) Roettier had been appointed joint chief engraver at the Royal Mint along with his brothers in 1662. His brothers left the employment in 1679 and 1685, respectively, migrating to France and the Low Countries. Roettier's own employment at the mint ceased shortly after the coronation, in September 1689. It is unclear whether increasing infirmity in his engraving hand brought about his departure or whether Bower's appointment to the post was politically motivated.

against Roettier's Jupiter design. On the one hand, this juxtaposition highlights the potential of the Perseus allegory as well as its temporariness; on the other, it draws attention to the jolty beginnings of the Jupiter allegory, which contrasts with its subsequent iconographical success, which I will investigate as part of chapter 5.



FIGURE 2



FIGURE 33



A more detailed reading of Perseus myth against the political events of the 1680s indicates that its use allows image-makers to diffuse the question of accountability and the attribution of guilt for the political turmoil of the Glorious Revolution. In the myth, it is Andromeda's parents, notably her mother, whose behaviour incurs the displeasure of Poseidon; the deity sends Cetus to take revenge on the kingdom, and the king, his hand forced, decides to sacrifice his daughter to appease the monster. The queen's actions thus brought misfortune over their realms as well as their daughter until Perseus set Andromeda free. In proceeding to wed her, Perseus violates a previous arrangement with Andromeda's uncle Phineus, to whom she had been promised in marriage. In the late 1680s, the use of this narrative invites associations with recent political events that go beyond the parallel of William saving England. Cepheus, Andromeda's father, undoubtedly resembles James II in the way he exposed the weal of the country to risks; by consequence, Cassiopeia represents James's then wife, the Catholic Mary Beatrice. Poseidon's punishment stands in for the domestic turmoil and the growing insurgency against James's rule, which had brought such grave dangers over his kingdoms. This role allocation externalizes the origin of the harmful influence on

James's realms and diffuses the attribution of guilt: Mary Beatrice's arrival heightens the sense that Catholicism and absolutism are sprawling and threatening the kingdom. It is James's inadequate handling of these abstract threats that constitutes his guilt towards his realms rather than an inherent inadequacy of character. In alleviating James's direct responsibility for this turmoil, the narrative partly rehabilitates the king; more importantly, however, it frees William of the stigma of having usurped another's throne. William took action against the threats represented by Catholicism and absolutism to which James had fallen victim. Lastly, Andromeda claims agency in breaking the arranged match with Phineus; in wedding Perseus, she ceases to be a chess piece in political ploys she has no active part in. The design conveys the notion that in the Glorious Revolution, England shed its subservient role as satellite to the powers of other relations such as James's cousin, Louis XIV. In offering the crown to William, the country reclaimed its freedom. The design captivates through its optimism; it conveys not only relief at Andromeda's rescue, but also hope for a blessed and fruitful marriage between Perseus-William and Andromeda-England.

By comparison, Roettier's Jupiter design is more equivocal and as a consequence, less buoyant. Rather than a scene of delivery, it depicts a scene of safeguarding; it more obviously points the proverbial finger at a perceived culprit, i.e. Phaeton-James, from whose destructive influence Jupiter-William needs to protect the realms. More obviously than the Bower design, Roettier's inclusion of the solar symbolism also invites the medal's handler to abstract from the figure of Phaeton to that of Apollo, to remember Louis's iconography,⁴⁸⁷ and by extension, the political allegiance between James and his French cousin. James is Phaeton to

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. Hone, 'Isaac Newton', p. 128.

Louis's Apollo. This association further belittles James and heightens his proclaimed ineptitude as sovereign. In its explicit inclusion of a culprit figure, the design also makes itself more prone to oppositional re-interpretations, which turn the tables on William and incriminate him instead of James (cf. p. 37). It may also suggest that 'reigning in' James is just the beginning of William's task; and that the true challenge consists in a head-on-head meeting to two true Olympian deities, Jupiter-William and Apollo Louis. If one wanted to take this line of argument further still, one could contend that the figure in the chariot is not clearly identified as Phaeton; ultimately, the beholder of Roettier's medal faces the challenge of determining whether the target of Jupiter's wrath is indeed Phaeton, or actually Apollo himself. Closer consideration thus reveals that to an extent, Roettier's iconographic strategy for the medal is a risky one – especially at a time of particular vulnerability such as this coronation when the accession of the new sovereign was contested and had no established iconographical programme to fall back on.

Considering the two medal designs alongside one another, it becomes evident that they differ remarkably in tone. Both are intended as celebratory mementos and pieces of monarchical image-making. Both conjure up a threat (Cetus to Andromeda, and Phaeton's frivolity in steering the sun towards the earth), an act of rescue, and a hint towards the future. Yet, they place the emotional emphasis entirely in opposition to one another. Bower does not show Perseus slaying Cetus, but liberating Andromeda. The quotation from Ovid identifies her as a worthy reward for Perseus's heroism. Thus, the medal raises hopes for the future through the evocation of a blessed union. By contrast, Roettier's mythological point of reference forces the viewer to focus on the moment of destruction. Jupiter destroys

to preserve; to preserve what is already there (NE TOTUS ABSUMATUR). Unlike Bower, Roettier's design celebrates the limitation of losses rather than the prospect of future gains and development. While it is considerably limited in its symbolic scope in later stages of William's reign, the Perseus allegory thus proves suitably jubilant and expectant in its implications in the context of the coronation. The Roettier design conversely, through the ease with which its intended laudatory narrative could be overturned and harnessed to oppositional distortions, is diminished in its efficacy, especially on an occasion such as the coronation. It appears more apposite in the context of battles won; as the next chapter will show, it is as such that it leaves its most enduring mark on Williamite image-making.

Chapter 5.

The Subsumation of Louis XIV

This final chapter traces the progression from the predominance of mythological allegory in William's to that of biblical allegory in Anne's image-making. At the same time, it maps out how the use of allegory in William's image-making increasingly conceives of the king in national terms, as English or British (5.1); panegyric and medallic depictions see William evolve from a liberating Hercules figure with prior, Dutch allegiances to a domestic liberator figure in the shape of Jupiter, or even Neptune (5.2). This growing sense of belonging heightens as allegorical appropriations resonate with ancestral pointers to the Medici and Stuart dynasties. The use of both the Jupiter and Neptune figures moreover brings the allegorical pattern reversal of Ludovican iconography to a head; in fact, the pattern reversal which sees Louis demoted for instance from Hercules to Hydra changes into an impostor narrative which pits a 'true' Jupiter against a 'false' one and ultimately culminates in Louis XIV's utter subsumation. The conception of William as stakeholder with English interests reinforces this dynamic (5.1-5.3). It is at this point in William's image-making narrative that motifs begin to transition into the reign of Queen Anne. The William-Jupiter pairing evolves into Anne's depiction as William's inheritress, and hence, in relation to Jupiter, as Minerva-Pallas (5.1); the figure of Neptune, in turn, overlaps with Anne's allegorical catalogue and emerges as embodiment of the notion that for England, deliverance lies in its seafaring (5.3). The chapter concludes by relating these two mythological deliverer figures to their potential biblical counterparts, and to the national saint. It compares the relative inconspicuousness these biblical allegories assume in William's image-making with the Ludovican campaign and the rise they experience

in Anne's allegorical image-making (5.4). It is in this sense then that the concluding section examines another kind of transition: from a predominantly pagan allegorical narrative to an increasingly Christian one under Anne (5.5).

5.1 Jupiter's Dual Use: William as Stakeholder of *English* Interests and Anne as Successor to the Revolution Settlement

By way of introduction to this section, I will consider an unusual, yet powerful Jovian reference which alludes to William's ancestry. The passage in question derives from Matthew Morgan's panegyric on William's victory in Ireland and his naval campaigns off the Norman coast. In contrast to the case of Hercules (cf. 4.1.3), which echoes Henri IV's monarchical iconography rather than the Medicis', these verses acknowledge that William also descended from the Florentine dynasty, in fact to the same degree as from the house of Bourbon.⁴⁸⁸ Strictly speaking, the passage is only a mythological reference in so far as Morgan employs a cosmological image which derives its name from Roman mythology in his description of William's qualities. Yet, its inconspicuousness does not detract from the significance of the instance. In fact, the specificity of this imagery suggests that its choice is more likely to be deliberate than conventional. The passage brings together a range of elements of Williamite image-making: on the one hand, it ties in with its confessional dimension as well as with its balancing of republican and royal undercurrents. On the other, it foregrounds contemporary debates around maritime (trade) policy, which feature prominently in William's appropriation of the Neptune allegory (cf. 5.2):

⁴⁸⁸ After the annulment of his first marriage, Henri IV espoused Marie de Medici' (m. 1600), the cousin of Cosimo II de Medici' (*1590/r.1609-1621), the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was a pupil and later patron of Galileo Galilei (1564-1642).

So that our Monarch at the *Hague* doth sit,
 'Compass'd with Honor, Courage and with Wit:
 They in one Sphere Concentrically move,
 Like *Medicæan* Stars attending *Jove*:
 There they a Country Cultivated see,
 A State whose Genius is Industry:
 The meanest doth with Application thrive,
 And every One brings *Thyme* unto the Hive.
 Frugal they are, but *Plenty* they enjoy,
 The Poor they best relieve, that is, Employ:
 Their Merchants to the utmost *Indies* run,
 Where they have spawn'd another Nation.⁴⁸⁹

William is Jupiter, his virtues the moons encircling him. The moons in question are now referred to as Galilean moons, in honour of the astronomer. In early 1610, the time of their discovery, however, Galileo vied for Medici' patronage. He proposed to name the orbiting planets 'Medicean stars' or 'Cosmica Sidera' ('Cosimo's stars') by way of homage to the Medici' family, and to Cosimo, to whom he dedicated his corresponding publication *Sidereus Nuncius*.⁴⁹⁰ The repercussions of this discovery went far beyond the patronage relationship Galileo coveted: his find builds on the Copernican model of heliocentricity, and thereby contradicted biblical cosmology which propagated a geocentric and geostatic world view. Galileo's advocacy of heliocentricity unleashed a controversy with the Catholic Church, which culminated in his condemnation.

In the subsequent lines, Morgan combines this reminder of early-seventeenth century astronomical achievements, Florentine nobility, and Church dogma with references to overseas trading exploits, and the image of a bee hive as representative of William's monarchy. The bee hive represents both an enclosed and inclusive community; it also offers a vision of the ideal monarchy, and thereby helps to establish the reign of William and Mary as such. The role of the 'queen bee'

⁴⁸⁹ Morgan, *A Poem to the Queen*, p. 24.

⁴⁹⁰ For a critical edition of Galileo's work in English, see Galileo Galilei, *Sidereus Nuncius, Or, The Sidereal Messenger*, ed. by Albert Van Helden (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

recalls Mary's centrality in the Revolution settlement. That both queen and hive are fiercely protected by the colony, however, does not prevent the bees from exploring resources beyond the immediate perimeter of their hive. The bee hive with its complex structure and high performance thus visualizes that navigation, expansion, and trade are essential for civilization.

William's rule, Morgan purports, can offer the island realms ideal conditions to thrive: protectionism combined with explorative trade. If, however, and this is where we come full circle, the advance of science (and with it, navigation) is hindered, as for instance through Catholic dogma, progress grinds to a halt. In William, the Medici's merchant-banking provenance, the republican background of their realms, and their patronage of science merge with Protestantism and monarchical government. These qualities provide the foundations for the prosperous development and the high degree of civilisation that should be achievable for Holland and England under his rule.

Particular instances such as this aside, however, William's allegorical identification with Jupiter predominantly serves to undermine the critical voices which portrayed him as foreign interloper on the throne who abused English resources to satisfy Dutch interests. It generates a vision of William as 'true' sovereign of the island kingdoms. In 1695, for instance, Thomas Yalden praises William as Jupiter in his pindaric ode on the re-capture of Namur. He envisages how '[e]ven Boufflers', the hardened Marshal of France in command of Namur, 'dreads the British Thunderer' as William's ire avenges the Belgians.⁴⁹¹ More often than not, this

⁴⁹¹ Thomas Yalden, *On the Conquest of Namur: A Pindarique Ode, Humbly Inscrib'd to His Most Sacred and Victorious Majesty*. (London: Jacob Tonson, 1695), p. 6; 2. In addition to the examples discussed in the following, see William as Jupiter in Samuel Cobb, *Pax Redux: A Pindarick Ode on the Return of His Majesty and the Happy Conclusion of the Peace* (London: E. Whitlock, 1697), pp. 3–4. In this context, see also Pincus on the shift from anti-Dutch to anti-French sentiment in the post-Restoration

narrative goes hand in hand with a deliberate use of rhetoric which relegates Louis XIV and his forces to insignificance. The same year as Yalden's poem, for example, the *Europische Mercurius*, a Dutch quarterly, published a sketch for the medal below, issued a year earlier.⁴⁹²



FIGURE 37. Friedrich Kleinert, Commemoration of the Bombardment of the French Coast (1694). London, British Museum, G3,EM.8. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The sketch of the medal's obverse depicts William as Jupiter in Roman profile and ancient armour, bolts in hand, flanked by the legend IOVI TONANTI (To Jove, the Thunderer). In addition to an exergue, the obverse also bears the legend: VANGIONUM NEMETUMQUE URBES ULCISITUR ANGLIUS, DISCE TIMERE GRAVES NUNC LUDVOCIUS VICES (the Englishman avenges the Palatinate cities, Louis, learn to fear grave setbacks). The sketch of the reverse shows coastal towns aflame alongside the legend URBES ASPICIT ACCENSAS, NEC TANTOS SUSTINET AESTUS (he beholds the cities in flames, and cannot bear so great a heat) and the exergue VIBRATA IN MARITIMAS GALLIAE URBES FULMINA 1694 (thunder hurled against the maritime towns of France).

The medal's central message matches with the one proposed in the sketch; it

decades in Steven Pincus, 'From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment from Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s', *The Historical Journal*, 38.2 (1995), 333-61.

⁴⁹² For a reproduction of the sketch, see Joop W. Koopmans, 'All the World Is Led and Rul'd by Opinion': The Relationship between Printed News and Public Opinion', in *Not Dead Things: The Dissemination of Popular Print in England and Wales, Italy, and the Low Countries, 1500-1820*, ed. by Jeroen Salman, Roeland Harms, and Joad Raymond (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 263.

offers an accolade of William's (and with him, the Alliance's) superiority over the French naval forces. Yet, the actual medal differs from the sketch in that its obverse omits the legend 'the Englishman avenges'. In obliterating this phrase, the medal conceives of William without national affiliation. It thereby contrasts with both Yalden's ode and the sketch, which project a vision of William as 'British' and 'English' respectively. The decision to efface rather than draw attention to William's affiliation in the Nuremberg medal creates a more unitary vision of the Grand Alliance as welded together by the common ambition to counter Louis rather than separated by national differences. Cast as first of the Roman deities, William appears as the 'great hope' for curbing Louis's bellicose ambitions and ensuring a mutually beneficial balance of power in the European realms.

In addition to their naturalizing effect, the adjectival qualifications also pit one 'Thunderer' against another, absent Jupiter-figure: Louis XIV. This use of allegory had extended into medallic design from panegyric; already in 1692, for instance, Prior visualized Louis XIV and his naval inferiority as over-confident aspirant to Jovian prowess:

Britannia safely through her Masters Sea
Plows up her Victorious Way.
The French Salmoneus throws his Bolts in vain,
Whilst the *true* Thunderer asserts the Main'.⁴⁹³

In Greek mythology, Salmoneus, the king of Elis, ordered his subjects to worship him as Zeus. He had a brass bridge built so the sound of his carriage crossing would imitate divine thunder. Eventually, Zeus struck him down with a thunderbolt as punishment for his hubris.⁴⁹⁴ In identifying Louis as would-be-deity and William as genuine one, Prior creates a new vision of the political world. He

⁴⁹³ Prior, *An Ode*, p. 5, my emphasis.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. 'Salmoneus', in Pierre Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, trans. by A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

elevates William to his 'rightful' heights and shifts the balance of powers to Louis's disadvantage. William occupies the seat of Jove, to which Louis had laid claim, and commands the powers with which Louis had caused harm.

In 1695, Prior reprises this technique in his reply to Boileau's *Sur la prise de Namur* (1693) twice; once, as we have seen in 4.2.1, in evoking the solar imagery, and a second time in exploiting the Jupiter image, a use which presents, as Claydon and Levillain have argued, a 'demysticised image of the Sun king as a fallen God, a powerless Jupiter':⁴⁹⁵

Boileau:

Mais, ô ma fidele Lyre,
Si, dans l'ardeur qui m'inspire,
Tu peux suivre mes transports [...]

Quelle effroiable Puissance [...]
Preste à foudroyer tes monts! [...]
C'est Jupiter en personne,
Ou c'est le Vainqueur de Mons
[Battle of St. Denis, 1678].

Prior:

[o]nce the Poet's Conscience ceases,
His measures soon from Truth will rove;
Give *Boileau* but Five Hundred Pieces,
And *Louis* takes the Wall of *Jove*.
Your *Jupiter* must quit his Thunder
And fright the injur'd World no more.⁴⁹⁶

At the same time, Prior also maintains his critique of French practices of patronage. In this passage, he presents his representative target Boileau as valuing monetary reward over truth. Artistic integrity contrasts with corruptibility. In his poetic refutation of Boileau's ode, Prior does not only pit monarch against monarch, but equally poet against poet, *anciens* against *modernes*: Boileau holds artistic offices at court, Prior does not. Boileau's praise, Prior reproves, is venal; the 'more laureate bent'⁴⁹⁷ of his own panegyric, conversely, is genuine; in contrast to their French counterparts, England's artists, it is implied, enjoy 'real' poetic agency.

What Prior offers in sly disparagement, Samuel Cobb turns into dramatic

⁴⁹⁵ Tony Claydon and Charles-Édouard Levillain, 'Introduction. Louis XIV Upside Down? Interpreting the Sun King's Image', in *Louis XIV outside in*, ed. by Claydon and Levillain, pp. 1–24 (p. 21).

⁴⁹⁶ Prior, *An English Ballad*, pp. 2–3, emphasis in original.

⁴⁹⁷ Frances M. Rippey, 'Prior, Matthew (1664–1721), Poet and Diplomat', *ODNB*.

outrage. He evokes the imagery of Jupiter at various points in his 1700 ode;⁴⁹⁸ but in stanza XI, he offers its most forceful treatment yet:

For this *Europa*, like a Sacrifice,
The Sword just lifted, on the Altar lies;
Hark! How she knocks her Lovely Breast,
 and wounds the Sufferings Skies.
Like that *Phœnicien* Dame,
From whence she drew her Name,
When the lascivious and Impostor-God,
Laid down his Heav'nly Arms, and that commanding Nod,
With which he rules the Powers Above,
Degrading his Divinity for Love.
When on his milky Shoulders through the Sea,
He bore His beauteous, panting Prey.
In vain on the *Sidonian* Strand,
Her fellow Virgins weeping stand;
In vain to th' unattentive Sky
Europa lifts her snowy hand,
And calls on *Jove*; but thinks not *Jove* so nigh.
With the false Waves the traitorous Winds conspire
Against th' afflicted Fair,
To gratifie th' Immortal Thief's desire,
And blow each gentle sigh away, and each ingaging Prayer,
But O, *Europa*, now forget to fear,
For in his own Majestick shape
Behold thy better Jupiter appear,
Not to beguile Thee to a Rape,
But save Thee from the Ravisher.⁴⁹⁹

Cobb here draws on the familiar myth which recounts that Zeus became enamoured of the Phoenician princess Europa, disguised himself as a bull, abducted and ravished her. After a lengthy exposition of the criminal intention and the near-perpetration of the crime, the narrative's climax, Europa's rescue, takes up merely three out of twenty-six lines. In parallel to the stanza's structure, Cobb seems to suggest that William's act of liberation of England, and with it, Protestant Europe at large had taken only a fraction of the time than Louis had previously

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. for instance Samuel Cobb, 'A Pindaric Ode, Occasion'd by the Succession of Spain, the Wars in the Netherlands, and the Juncture of Affairs in the Year of Our Lord 1700 in the 13th of the Reign of King William the Third', in *Poems on Several Occasions. With Imitations from Horace, Ovid, Martial. To Which Is Prefix'd a Discourse on Criticism, and the Liberty of Writing, by Way of Letter to a Friend* (London: Rand J. Bonwick, 1707), pp. 7–26 (p. 11 (stanza IV)).

⁴⁹⁹ Cobb, 'A Pindaric Ode', pp. 20–2 (stanza XI), my emphasis in bold.

spent abusing it. In addition to this structural device, the narrative derives its particular poignancy from an interplay of several factors: the duality of Jupiter as perpetrator (Louis) and liberator (William), the transgressive nature of the crime, the element of wilful disguise on Jupiter's part, Europa's inability to recognize him for what he is, and the fact that her companions are but bystanders. In this context, it is especially remarkable to consider how Cobb chooses to mark the two Jupiter-figures linguistically. It is by referring to William as 'Jupiter' and to Louis as 'Jove' that he enables his readers to distinguish between them. In one instance, he employs the Latinate name, its vulgar counterpart in the other. Simultaneously, he correlates the figure of 'Jove' with lasciviousness, authoritarianism, immortality, and divinity. 'Jupiter' instead comes with nothing but an (innate) majestic bearing. Respectively, the two sovereigns thus embody the Catholic, fallen, autocratic, and unfree continental monarchy on the one hand, and on the other the Protestant, grounded, pure, and liberal monarchy of the British Isles, whose sovereign is instrumental in the delivery of Protestant Europe.

Cobb and others maintain the allegory of Jupiter as well as the concept of an impostor-Jupiter into Anne's reign. If one for instance considers his poem on the Portugal campaign, and disregards its historic specificity, lines such as these may equally well be taken from a panegyric on William: '*Britain shall thy false Thunderer remove, / Prepar'd, like Crete, to give the Rightful Jove*'.⁵⁰⁰ Implicitly, this line also invokes Anne as *male* figure of authority. This rhetorical device reoccurs repeatedly, for instance in Dennis's panegyric on the victory of Ramillies

⁵⁰⁰ Samuel Cobb, 'The Portugal-Expedition, February 1703/4. On King Charles the Third's Voyage to Recover the Dominions of Spain, Usurp'd by the Duke of Anjou', in *Poems on Several Occasions. With Imitations from Horace, Ovid, Martial. To Which Is Prefix'd a Discourse on Criticism, and the Liberty of Writing, by Way of Letter to a Friend* (London: Rand J. Bonwick, 1707), pp. 55–58 (p. 58). Cf. also Samuel Cobb, 'On a Gentleman Drawing His Own Picture, September 1703', in *Poems on Several Occasions*, pp. 141–76 (p. 142); Matthew Prior, *A Letter to Monsieur Boileau Despreaux; Occasion'd by the Victory at Blenheim* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1704), p. 1.

(1706). Here, Dennis describes Marlborough as 'the Dreadful Delegate of Jove'. Five lines on, he softens this masculinized depiction of Anne with a reference to the 'Celestial Voice' with which she offers advice.⁵⁰¹ In reminding his readers of her femininity, Dennis does not diminish Anne's quality as sovereign. Rather, he brings to the fore the notion that Anne united the best of both sexes; this was a strategy Cobb had also used four years earlier when he suggested that it was the combination of Anne's feminine qualities and military command that brought about political successes such as the victory in the Battle of Vigo Bay (1702): 'DEAR MADAM [...] Whose Thunder o'er the shaken *West* prevails/ Whose Charms can Conquer, where Thy Thunder fails'.⁵⁰² While passages from Prior's 1706 ode operate in a similar fashion, too,⁵⁰³ Dennis puts the imagery to another purpose in an earlier poem on the victory at Blenheim;⁵⁰⁴ here, it functions as illustration of the Alliance and its joined military might more generally. Dennis exploits the fact that Jupiter traditionally dominated the iconography of Leopold I and that the eagle, Jupiter's sacred animal, served as heraldic animal of the Holy Roman Empire. Rather than as pretext for an iconographical stand-off, he uses this iconographical overlap as a unifying device and evokes English and Austrian-Imperial forces even-handedly.

⁵⁰¹ John Dennis, 'The Battle of Ramilla. Or the Power of Union [1706]', in *The Select Works of Mr. John Dennis. In Two Volumes*, 2 vols (London: John Darby, 1718), I, 231–329 (pp. 286, 291).

⁵⁰² Samuel Cobb, 'Vigovia. A Poem. Occasion'd by the Success of Her Majesty's Forces by Sea and Land, under the Command of the Duke of ORMOND, General, and Sir George ROOK, Admiral [1702/3?]', in *Poems on Several Occasions. With Imitations from Horace, Ovid, Martial. To Which Is Prefix'd a Discourse on Criticism, and the Liberty of Writing, by Way of Letter to a Friend* (London: Rand J. Bonwick, 1707), pp. 44–54 (pp. 44–45).

⁵⁰³ Cf. Matthew Prior, *An Ode, Humbly Inscib'd to the Queen. On the Late Glorious Success of Her Majesty's Arms. Written in Imitation of Spencer's Stile* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1706), pp. 3–4 (stanzas V and VI).

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. John Dennis, *Britannia Triumphans: Or the Empire Sav'd: And Europe Deliver'd. By the Success of Her Majesty's Forces under the Wise and Heroick Conduct of His Grace the Duke of Marlborough. A Poem* (London: J. Nutt, 1704), p. 58.

In parallel to Anne's identification with Jupiter, image-makers also avail themselves of mythological genealogy. It enables them to create a transition from William's identification with Jupiter to Anne whom they cast as Jupiter's favourite daughter, Pallas Athena (or Minerva). Yalden's 'British Thunderer' (1695) turns into a 'British Pallas' in Cobb's programmatically entitled ode *The Female Reign* (1709). Against the impudent Salmoneus, who 'With rattling Brass, and trampling Horse/ Should counterfeit *th'Inimitable Force/ of Divine Thunder*', weapons of vengeance are 'brandish'd by the *Rightful Jove, Or (a) Pallas, who supplies his place*'.⁵⁰⁵ Matching the deity's gender with Anne's increases the political agency image-makers can ascribe to Anne. Although the Jupiter allegory allowed them to emphasise that Anne's political agenda was William's, the gender mismatch with respect to Anne was a drawback which left its full appropriation potentially hanging between Anne and actual military commanders such as Marlborough. A female figure such as Minerva and Athena was a more apposite allegory for Anne. Mythological genealogy sufficed to construe Anne as heiress to William and his objectives; at the same time, however, it also allowed Anne to be depicted as powerful figure in her own right. As goddesses of wisdom and war as well as patrons of the arts and trade, Minerva and Pallas united an aesthetic and more feminine sphere with a more practical, masculine and military one; the frequent association of Anne with Bellona, the Roman goddess of war,⁵⁰⁶ further enhanced this latter dimension of Minerva-Pallas.

The transition from Jupiter to Minerva also manifests itself in the image-

⁵⁰⁵ Samuel Cobb, *The Female Reign: An Ode* (London: s.n. 1709), p. 9 (stanza VII), typography and superscript in original.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. for instance John Paris, *Ramillies. A Poem, Humbly Inscrib'd to His Grace the Duke of Marlborough. Written in Imitation of Milton. By Mr. Paris* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1706), p. 7; *A Bridle for the French King; Or, an Emblem of That Tyrant's Downfal. Done from the Original, &c.* (London: s. n., 1707), Bodleian, Pamph. 274 (1), item no. 12; *An Ode to the Sun for the New-Year* (London: s. n., 1707), p. 10, Bodleian, Pamph. 274 (1), item no. 5.

makers' recurrence to the motif of the Gigantomachy and the Titanomachy, the Olympian gods' battles with the Giants and Titans. In his recent reappraisal of Isaac Newton's role in the mint, Hone discussed three design proposals for Anne's coronation medal, two of which featured Pallas Athena.⁵⁰⁷ Both Newton's papers and the publicised description of the final design configure the monster as a 'gyant'.⁵⁰⁸ Hone elaborates on how Newton's notes, the medal design, and its legend VICEM REGIT ILLA TONANTIS (fig. 13) recall Roettier's coronation medal for William (fig. 2) and thus help to configure Anne as his heir in spirit. In inscribing her in the narrative of the Revolution Settlement, the medal effectively 'elides Anne's potential status as heir to her deposed father'.⁵⁰⁹

Elsewhere Hone acknowledges that at the same time, Anne's coronation medal can also be read as a nod to Bower's restoration medal for Charles II.⁵¹⁰ I would like to pursue this point further still.



FIGURE 38. George Bower, Medal Commemorating the Restoration (1660). London, British Museum, 1930,0602.1 © Trustees of the British Museum.

The Restoration medal's reverse depicts the Gigantomachia with Jupiter astride his eagle hurling thunderbolts towards the prostrate giants. With a view to Roettier's

⁵⁰⁷ See Hone, 'Isaac Newton', p. 126–9;–134 on the endeavour to create a consistent medallic image for Queen Anne beyond the coronation.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 128. That Hone conflates the giganto- and titanomachy in his explication does not detract from his argument since image-makers seem to have employed allusion to either rather indiscriminately. For the former, see for instance the coronation medal, Cobb, *The Female Reign*, p. 15, or *An Ode to the Sun for the New-Year* (London: s. n., 1707), Bodleian, Pamph. 274 (1), item no. 5; for the latter, see Cobb, 'The Portugal-Expedition', p. 58. Hannah Smith refers to the monster in question as 'Hydra'; Smith, "'Last of All the Heavenly Birth'", p. 148.

⁵⁰⁹ Hone, 'Isaac Newton', p. 129.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. Hone, 'The End of the Line', p. 82.

1689 and Croker's 1702 coronation medal, one could argue that not only Anne's image-makers, but also William's intended to generate the vision (or, in William's case, the illusion) of a dynastic link.⁵¹¹ In Anne's case, this motivic coherence is clearly at its more powerful and persuasive. The connection between her coronation medal and its two predecessors of 1660 and 1689 show Anne and her reign as natural heir to *both* pre- and post-1688 models of kingship. In this sense, the designs for Anne's coronation medal and their deliberate iconographical echoes are representative of how her sovereignty afforded image-makers the opportunity to tell two narratives of continuation which united in her person. Unlike William, Anne unites both dynastic and popular legitimacy. She is, an anonymous occasion poem rejoices, the one

Who has not only, by Descent
A Just and Lawful Claim,
To Guide the Reins of Government;
But with a Universal Voice,
The People have expressed their Choice [...]
Thus Heaven the Kingdom, and the Laws, unite
To make her Glorious and confirm her *Right*.⁵¹²

Anne's succession opens up space for anti-Williamite and anti-Whiggish undercurrents in patriotic monarchical image-making. It is not only the continuation of an unequivocally Protestant and reformed monarchy, but also, and maybe more importantly, the restoration of a 'true' Stuart. Just as Williamite supporters can adapt Anne's succession to fit their political agenda, royalists rejoice, Richard Burridge's jibe leaves no doubt, 'to see a STUART [...] wield the

⁵¹¹ On the use of Jupiter in two medallic representations of Charles II by George Bower, cf. for instance Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 130.

⁵¹² *The English Muse: Or, a Congratulatory Poem. Upon Her Majesty's Accession to the Throne of England* (London: J. Nutt, 1702), p. 3.

British Scepter agen'.⁵¹³ There is a clear, unencumbered sense of relief at the succession of a native monarch, which spreads through royal panegyric after 1702. It is no longer an essential part of image-making to detract from the circumstances of their monarch's accession, and whitewash his original national heritage with nationalising narratives. Anne's Englishness is an undeniable fact, and panegyric such as *The English Muse* does not only liberally employ the qualifying adjective 'English', but equally implicitly oppose a 'true' Englishness to a 'false' one:

No foreign Spies or Councils to betray
 No Swarms of hungry *Dutchmen* round the Throne,
 No Belgick Minions to convey
 The Kingdom's Wealth away,
 Strenght'ning their Dams, and leaving us to Drown [...]
 A *Stewart's English* Heart supports the Crown [...]
 Who only will bestow,
 Honour on *These* whose Actions show,
 Their Hearts are truly *English* like her own.⁵¹⁴

Under Anne's reign, partisan publications of the kind which quite openly renounce the country's previous monarchy and express Anti-Whiggish sentiments no longer form part of an oppositional narrative; instead, they merge with Williamite stances into the curiously dualistic image-campaign of the new monarchy. Narratives which would have been dissident under William thus became permitted, and indeed, sanctioned elements of propaganda in Anne's cause.

5.2 Jupiter, Neptune, and the Subsumation of Louis XIV

In the course of the second part of this thesis, we have seen that the appropriation of William's pre-1688 identification with Hercules and his depiction as Jupiter

⁵¹³ Richard Burrige, *A Congratulatory Poem, on the Coronation of Queen Ann; as It Was Presented to Her Most Serene Majesty* (London: James Read, and the booksellers of London, and Westminster, 1702), epistle dedicatory.

⁵¹⁴ *The English Muse*, pp. 6–7.

dominated his allegorical representation. Alongside lesser comparisons such as that with Phoebus/Apollo, these enabled Williamite image-makers to oppose him to Louis's allegorical pretensions. Strikingly, they also associated him with Neptune, a figure that became increasingly emblematic of Anglo-British maritime interests and their quest for supremacy.⁵¹⁵ This section serves as transition from the investigation of William's identification with Jupiter to that of Neptune. Accordingly, it considers a rare instance in which the Jupiter and the Neptune allegory concur.

This is the case on a 1690 medal which entreats William to personally handle the Ireland campaign. Its reverse is unusually busy with figures. While this may well be a flaw in its design, it tells a revelatory story: It depicts Neptune and Tellus, attended by a nymph, as they implore Jupiter to personally strike down Phaeton. The legend flatters: *NISI TU QUIS TEMPERET IGNES* (Who but you can moderate the flames).



FIGURE 39. Jan Luder, William Called to Ireland (1690). London, British Museum, G3,EM.117. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The Irish campaign in the context of which Luder conceived this design evolved in 1689 when James II landed in Ireland to mount military action in the endeavour to regain the crown. Louis XIV supported him with both men and money. William had entrusted Marshal Schomberg with taking military action against James and his

⁵¹⁵ On Hercules and Neptune as significant symbols of William and post-revolutionary Whiggish ideals in the landscape gardens of early Georgian Britain, see Richardson, *The Arcadian Friends*, pp. 340–43.

Irish and French supporters. Luder's medal picks up on the slow progress of Schomberg's campaign; two months before the decisive Battle of the Boyne (July 1690), it appeals to William to take charge himself and dispel the Franco-Jacobite threat. It was but a year after William's coronation and consequently, he was still mainly preoccupied with settling the bases of his government. As yet, panegyric sentiment largely refrained from conceiving of him as 'British'; as aforementioned, Yalden, for instance, did not do so until the recapture of Namur in 1695 (cf. 5.1).

Luder's medal nonetheless exhibits the first signs of an allegorical development, which associates William with Jupiter as well as Neptune, two deities whose powers could symbolically subsume the Ludovican sun. Once again, Phaeton recalls James II and further alludes to Louis XIV's solar, Apollonian imagery. Jupiter is William. Neptune and Tellus, the Roman earth goddess, embody the realms which James's, and by extension by Louis's, ambitions and (ab)use of the solar powers threaten to 'scorch' and devastate. They recall both the English naval connection as well as their claim to 'groundedness'. Classical mythology frequently conceived of the gods of sea, earth, and sky as siblings. Here, as the legend implies, salvation depends on Jupiter joining their cause and on his powers complementing those of Neptune and Tellus. Jupiter is able to contain Phaeton by hurling his thunder from the skies and to throw him off his chariot, but equally to have his clouds block the sun (and consequently, Apollo). The medal design thus heightens the sense of William's capabilities to halt the Jacobite and Ludovican causes.

Upon closer consideration, however, the legend's implication seems a little curious. Jupiter clearly operates as an allegory with the powers to subsume the sun; but so does Neptune. In fact, the allegory of Neptune is the more absolute

symbol for solar defeat: Jupiter merely temporarily blocks the sun with his clouds; Neptune's power, in contrast, allows him to quite literally drown out the seemingly all-powerful Ludovican sun. The inclusion of both deities in the one design almost appears suggestive of a progression: first, it is essential to dispel the threats James-Phaeton represents, to have William-Jupiter 'cast clouds' over and thus weaken Louis-Apollo at least temporarily; then only can William adapt to the qualities of Neptune and finally subsume Louis once and for all.

5.3 Neptune: *English Maritime Policy and Tory Interests*

William's fusion with Neptune evolves as military and above all naval successes became more frequent. As such, it did not only occur in particularly striking cases like the Luder medal (fig. 39); rather, commemorative medals more generally became the most widely used outlet for this identification. In part, this is not least because from the point of view of military propaganda, it was crucial to make the most of successes such as William's naval victory at La Hogue (1692) as quickly as possible. After all, the odds in the individual campaigns could turn unexpectedly. Almost contemporaneously to the Allied victory at La Hogue, for example, Louis's forces captured Namur, a victory which the French immediately harnessed to their own propagandistic ends.⁵¹⁶ More so than in the case of medals for state occasions, therefore, the degree of craftsmanship and the quality of the material, which includes lead, gilt-bronze, and silver, varied.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁶ See for example Saveur Le Conte, *The Siege of Namur, June 1692*, Château de Versailles.

⁵¹⁷ Cf. the curator's comment in the respective entries of the museum catalogues; occasionally Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations* also contains notes regarding the medal's material and quality.

The general trend in this kind of Williamite medallionic propaganda was to combine the explicit glorification of William with an equally explicit satiric glee for the defeat of the French armies, which the medal designs hail as tantamount to Louis's justified demise. They boast suns setting in the sea, Louis in flight in a sea chariot drawn by frogs, the sinking of the battleship *Soleil Royal*, or puns on his motto *nec pluribus impar*. A design by Roettier for instance foregrounds the latter two elements (fig. 40, *IGNIBUS IMPAR*, unequal to fire) while one of Robert Arondeaux's designs (fig. 41) combines all of these features.



FIGURE 40. James Roettier, Commemorating the Battle of La Hogue (1692). London, British Museum, 1926,0817.869. © Trustees of the British Museum.



FIGURE 41. Robert Arondeaux, Commemorating the Battle of La Hogue (1692). London, British Museum, 1837,1030.48. © Trustees of the British Museum.

A further five of these medal designs on the victory at La Hogue are even more striking in their elaborate interplay between design and legend: the first of these, Jan Boskam's design (fig. 42), depicts a naval battle with a lion and a unicorn wrestling a trident from a cock; it bears the legend *IMPERIUM. PELAGI. NOBIS* (To us

belongs the empire of the sea) and thus casts Louis as usurper of domains that he cannot stake a rightful claim to;



FIGURE 42. Jan Boskam, Commemorating the Battle of La Hogue (1692). London, British Museum, 1865,0720.4. © Trustees of the British Museum.

For his part, Hautsch (fig. 43) chose the legend SIC PHAETHONTAEO TANDEM MARE SUFFICIT IGNI (Thus at length the sea suffices for the fire of Phaethon), which conjures up the image of the seas doing William's bidding and dousing 'Phaeton's flames', i.e. Louis's glory and supremacy.



FIGURE 43. George Hautsch, Commemorating the Battle of La Hogue (1692). London, British Museum, G3,EM.231. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Akin to figure 41, the third and fourth designs, another by Arondeaux and one by Smeltzing (figs. 44-45), also portray Louis as impostor-Neptune, whose aspirations to divinity are revealed to be delusions and whom William, the rightful ruler of the seas, casts out. The first of Arondeaux's designs as well as Smeltzing's (figs. 41 and 45) bear the inscription PSEUDONEPT: OCEAN: EXP: PUGN: AD BARFL. MDCXCII (The false Neptune driven from the sea in the fight off Barfleur, 1692) alongside the legend DIVUMQ: SIBI POSCEBAT HONOREM (And he demanded for himself divine honours). The

second Arondeaux design (fig. 44) bears the variant PSEUDO NEPTUNO MARI IEICTO (The false Neptune driven from the sea), alongside GALLIS OCEANO EXPULSIS A CLASSE BRITANNOBATAVICA. MDCXCII. (The French driven from the sea by the British and Dutch fleets, 1692).



FIGURE 44. Robert Arondeaux, Commemorating the Battle of La Hogue (1692). London, British Museum, 1837,1030.46. © Trustees of the British Museum.



FIGURE 45. Jan Smeltzing, Commemorating the Battle of La Hogue (1692). London, British Museum, M.7835. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The obverse of the fifth medal in this series, designed by Kleinert (fig. 46), shows Neptune with his trident against a backdrop of ships engaged in battle; he is poised to lift a prostrate Louis XIV from his chariot. Both legend NON ILLI IMPERIUM SED MIHI SORTI DATUM (Not to him but to me was the Empire allotted) and exergue GUILIELMO. III. M. BRIT. R. OB IMPERIUM MARIS ASSERT (To William III, King of Great Britain upon his asserting this Dominion of the Sea) unequivocally assert William's claims to hegemony. The reverse bears three further inscriptions. One reiterates the stereotype that the French battle strategy was cunning rather than honourable. It

further states that French forces deserve any ‘chastisement’ or defeat they suffer in fierce contest.⁵¹⁸



FIGURE 46. Philipp Heinrich Müller (engraved by) and Friedrich Kleinert (designed by), Medal Commemorating the Battle of La Hogue (1692). London, British Museum, G3,EM.177. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

Evidently, this last medal design resembles Arondeaux’s and Smeltzing’s design in that it plays on the notion of a true and a false Neptune. At the same time as it celebrates this particular naval victory, however, it both answers and retaliates to yet another medal by Smeltzing, which had been issued two years earlier, in 1690, this time in favour of the French, upon their naval victory over the Anglo-Dutch fleet in the Battle of Beachy Head (fig. 47).

⁵¹⁸ For a very similar design and layout, see Jan Luder, Medal Commemorating the Battle of La Hogue (1692), London, British Museum, G3,EM.60. On Louis XIV as treacherously oath- and contract-breaking, see also Tutchin, *The British Muse*, p. 9.



FIGURE 47. Jan Smeltzing, Medal Commemorating Battle of Beachy Head (1690). London, British Museum, M.7792. © Trustees of the British Museum.⁵¹⁹

The obverse of this earlier medal shows the bust of Louis XIV in armour along with the inscription *INVICTISSIMUS LVDOVICUS MAGNUS* (The invincible Louis the Great); akin to the lion décor on William’s armour or Nantueil’s portrait with its illusion frame of lion’s paws, a lion’s head on the breastplate gestures towards the Herculean imagery. Against a backdrop of ships engaged in battle, the reverse shows Louis as Neptune in a marine car, wielding a trident. The legend *MATURATE FUGAM ILLI IMPERIUM PELAGI* (Speed your flight; to him belongs the empire of the sea), which draws on Virgil’s *Aeneid* (i., 141-2), frames the scene. Clearly, the 1692 design constitutes a deliberate answer to this earlier version. It suggests that, in the victory at La Hogue, William reveals himself as the true Neptune as he unmasks Louis as mere impostor.

As with Jupiter, this identification with Neptune transcends into Queen Anne’s reign. A medal design by Christian Wermuth constitutes a significant example of this use. It celebrates the Royal Navy’s success in thwarting the attempt of the putative James III and VIII to invade Scotland with French support (1708).

⁵¹⁹ With reference to the *Medallic Illustrations* of 1885, the curator’s comments on this item indicates that the medal is not part of the national French series. There is no information as to how this medal relates to one attributed to Anton Meybusch, which is identical in design, though poorer in quality, cf. Anton Meybusch, Medal Commemorating Battle of Beachy Head (1690), London, The British Museum, G3,FrM.8.



FIGURE 48. Christian Wermuth, Commemoration of the Attempted Invasion of Scotland (Gotha, 1708). London, British Museum, 1883,0104.15. © Trustees of the British Museum.

The reverse of this rare bronze medal depicts Anne in a sea-chariot and pair. In its depiction of a female sovereign, the design recalls Smeltzing's design of Mary's regency (fig. 4). However, unlike Mary, whose posture recalled that of a defensive patrol, Anne's stance is far more active-aggressive – that of a queen regnant rather than a queen regent: she does not simply hold a trident aloft, but wields it in a piercing motion, putting two snake-tailed, winged monsters with fleur-de-lys headpieces into flight. The exergue on the reverse reads *MATURATE FUGAM REGIQUE HÆC DICITE VESTRO. NON ILLI IMPERIUM PELAGI. 1708.*, the legend *MIHI SORTE DATUM*. Respectively, the phrases translate as: 'Speed your flight and tell this to your King [Louis], the empire of the sea does not belong to him' and 'To me it is allotted'. In its distinctive reference to the 1692 La Hogue medal, Wermuth's design continues the refutation of the 1690 Beachy Head medal. It forcefully asserts that, under William's successor, nothing about the (by then) British naval prowess has changed. Although Anne may not be able to lead the fleet into battle, it is nonetheless she who is the 'true' Neptune, and neither Louis XIV nor her half-brother should mistake their prospects in this regard.

In this sense, these latter three related medal designs in particular emblemize the decisive role which naval policy had assumed in the latter seventeenth century. Back in 1668, Jean Warin's medal design on the restored

marine gave a sense of the French hope for a successful navy, both from a military and merchant perspective.



FIGURE 49. Jean Warin, *The Marine Restored* (1668). London, British Museum, M.2342. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Under Jean-Baptiste Colbert's administration, the French navy did indeed experience a powerful rise, which culminated in its aforementioned victory at Beachy Head. The ensuing resounding defeat at La Hogue (1692), its cost-intensive upkeep, and the government's generally strained finances, however, precipitated its renewed decline to a merely supportive role.⁵²⁰ As France forfeited its claim to naval superiority, England rose to it.⁵²¹ Thus William's and Anne's identification with Neptune, the ruler of the seas and allegorical embodiment of maritime pre-eminence, creates an emphatic and apposite counterpoint to the possibilities of Ludovican panegyric. At the same time, William's glorification as Neptune detracts from England's military involvement on continental *terra firma*. It presents William's foreign policy as continuing the policies of naval advancement which Charles II had adopted after the Civil War and developed during the Restoration with its reform of the Admiralty and the incipient professionalization of the royal

⁵²⁰ Cf. Daniel A. Baugh, 'Great Britain's "Blue-Water" Policy, 1689-1815', *The International History Review*, 10 (1988), 33-58 (p. 39); Geoffrey Symcox, *The Crisis of French Sea Power, 1688-1697: From the guerre d'escadre to the guerre de course*, Archives internationales d'histoire des idées, 73 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1974); Ernest Harold Jenkins, *A History of the French Navy, from its Beginnings to the Present Day* (London: Macdonald & Jane's, 1973).

⁵²¹ Cf. John Ehrman, *The Navy in the War of William III, 1689-1697: Its State and Direction* (Cambridge: CUP, 1953), p. xv.

navy.⁵²² It also undercuts the preconceived notion that William favoured a policy of *land wars* in line with his Orange heritage.⁵²³ In England, naval power was synonymous with political and economic liberties. Military strength, conversely, was considered a threat to these liberties.⁵²⁴ Maritime warfare contrasted with land warfare, navy with (standing) army. If anything, it elicits once again memories of William's Medici heritage and the Florentine city-state with its maritime trade,⁵²⁵ and at least until the standing army controversy (1697-9), the Neptune allegory helped to depict William's reign as a new era that would do without James II's and Louis XIV's conscripted standing armies. The identification furthermore suggests that William was favourably disposed towards the continuation of a blue-water policy. It consists in the pursuit of 'calculating commercialism' through a policy that was 'essentially defensive in Europe (and European waters) and aggressive overseas'.⁵²⁶ By the time of William's reign, it had become a keen Tory interest.⁵²⁷ The evocation of Neptune can thus also be read as an acknowledgement of William's initial (albeit unsuccessful) attempts to conduct a policy of balance between Whig and Tory. In this context, it is worth stressing the fact that, as we have seen, not just medallists from England, but from across the Allied territories took up and perpetuated the Neptune imagery. While

⁵²² Cf. J. D. Davies, *'A Lover of the Sea and Skillful [sic] in Shipping': King Charles II and His Navy*, Betty Loosely Memorial Lecture (Huntingdon: Royal Stuart Society, 1992); C. S. Knighton, 'Pepys, Samuel (1633-1703), Naval Official and Diarist', *ODNB*.

⁵²³ Throughout the Anglo-Dutch Wars, the Orangist faction advocated a policy of 'continental warfare' while the Loevesteiners supported 'neutrality and/or naval warfare'. See David Onnekink, 'The Ideological Context of the Dutch War (1672)', in *Ideology and Foreign Policy*, ed. by Rommelse and Onnekink, pp. 131-44 (pp. 131-2); J. R. Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century*, *Modern Wars in Perspective* (London: Longman, 1996).

⁵²⁴ Cf. Lois G. Schwoerer, 'The Role of King William III of England in the Standing Army Controversy, 1697-1699', *Journal of British Studies*, 5.2 (1966), 74-94.

⁵²⁵ Cf. Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, pp. 103-16. The central figure of Bartolomeo Ammannati's Fountain of Neptune (1565), situated on the *Piazza della Signoria* in Florence, for instance, bears the features of Cosimo de' Medici in celebration of the Florentine maritime connection.

⁵²⁶ Baugh, 'Great Britain's "Blue-Water" Policy', pp. 37-39.

⁵²⁷ Cf. Steven Pincus, 'Absolutism, Ideology, and English Foreign Policy: The Ideological Context of Robert Molesworth's Account of Denmark', in *Ideology and Foreign Policy*, ed. by Rommelse and Onnekink, pp. 29-54 (pp. 31-3, 37-8, 42, 54).

this observation also holds true for the Jovian imagery (cf. 5.1, 5.2), the allegory's pervasiveness reaches a far larger scale in the case of Neptune since the naval campaigns generated a much greater wealth of medallic commentary. Indirectly, it shows that, at least in medallurgy, William's growing Anglicisation evolved as an integral part of his image-making and did not erode its federal voice which had conceived his role as liberator on a supranational level.

Verse panegyric, by contrast, transports above all the Anglo-centric vision of William in its use of the Neptune allegory. This restrictive focus on Neptune as symbolic of national maritime policy may help to explain why the allegory did not gain the same currency in verse as it did in metal; its titular prominence in John Hughes's pompously entitled *The Court of Neptune* (1700), for instance, is entirely deceptive.⁵²⁸ Its comparatively rare occurrences home in on the vision of William as England's representative in direct contest with, and victory over, Louis; as this vision extends from military to mercantile and artistic matters, it also conceptualizes the dissociation of England as nation from France as its ever-imposing model. At the same time, the stylistic choices which panegyrists make in their use of the Neptune allegory closely resembles their medallic counterparts. Colepeper, for instance, does not only employ the same image as the medals, that of the sinking ship, but also their legends' tone of biting ridicule. He counsels:

Let the French King his Enterprise repent
The proud Inscription on his Royal Sun
Is to the Bottom [of the Sea] with Derision sent.⁵²⁹

His subsequent evocation of '*England's KING, the Ocean's LORD*' introduces a sustained commentary on William's successes on land and sea, military as well as mercantile. Here, Colepeper's verse ties in with the pursuit of blue-water policy:

⁵²⁸ John Hughes, *The Court of Neptune, a Poem* (London: s. n., 1700).

⁵²⁹ Colepeper, *An Heroick Poem*, p. 6.

Let *Lewis* learn from this, his giddy Thought
 Of Empire in the *West* to lay aside.
 The World indeed shall feel *Great WILLIAM'S* Sway,
 And distant Climates know his pow'rful Hand;
 Both *Indies* with their Riches shall obey;
 He that Commands the Sea Commands the Land.⁵³⁰

Morgan makes a similar point in his poem on the French defeat at La Hogue. His tone of derision also resembles the medals' and Colepeper's.⁵³¹ He furthermore predicts that not only would William defeat Louis, but equally would English poets outdo their French counterparts.⁵³² While he clearly recognizes the pivotal role of medals in royal image-making, he primarily criticizes the French's mint dependence and satirizes Louis as crazed megalomaniac, who sees treason in all corners, deems 'A Rat behind the Hangings [...] a Foe', 'sen[ds] unto the Academies Mint[...] [f]or those who never yet appear'd in Print', and is, at the end of the day, nothing more than a would-be Hercules.⁵³³ A year previously, in 1691, Morgan had already ridiculed the French monarch's autocratic image-campaign and the wider public's alleged blind worship when he suggested that Bernini's statue of Louis served the people as idol, in a manner reminiscent of the Golden Calf:

And now his Image they fall down before,
 Bernini made the God they do adore;
 Unto his Statue they do Incense burn,
 The Marble Hero doth whole Nations spurn.⁵³⁴

In his tragi-comic ridicule, he chimes in with Charles Montagu's ironic parade of the arts, which envisages all those whom Louis would have harnessed to singing his praises had he been victorious at the Battle of the Boyne (1690):

Oh! if in *France* this Hero had been born
 What Glittering Tinsel wou'd His Acts adorn! [...]

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7, emphasis in original.

⁵³¹ Matthew Morgan, *A Poem upon the Late Victory over the French Fleet at Sea* (London: s. n., 1692), p. 1-2.

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-2.

⁵³⁴ Morgan, *A Poem to the Queen*, p. 31.

What Summs wou'd *Louis* give That *France* may say
 That Victory followed where He led the Way?
 He all his Conquests wou'd for this resound [...]

Their Plays, their Songs, wou'd dwell upon his Wound,
 And Opera's repeat no other Sound
Boyne wou'd for Ages be the Painter's Theam
 The Goblin's Labour, and the Poet's Dream
 The wounded Arm wou'd furnish all their Rooms,
 And bleed for ever Scarlet in their Looms:
Boileau wou'd plume with this his Artful Pen.⁵³⁵

Akin to Prior (cf. 4.2.1, 5.1), Montagu names Boileau as representative of all those who lost their artistic agency to Louis's glorification-campaign. The recurrence of these lines of argument adds weight to the observation that just as William's allegorical representation serves as counterpoint to Louis's, so do the works of the English poets with respect to French ones in their opposition of artistic freedom and a quasi-nationalisation of the artistic production.

5.4 Joshua or St. George: From Pagan to Biblical Liberator Narrative?

Up until this point, my reading of mythological allegories in Williamite image-making have above all followed a dual scale of progression: his allegorically configured supersession of Louis on the one hand, and his increasing anglicisation on the other. This section returns to the question of whether one can argue for a Christianisation of the allegorical personae deployed in William's cause. To this end, it considers two figures: that of the oldtestamentarian Joshua in brief, and that of England's national saint, St George, in more detail. For the time being, the interest in the former figure consists solely in its iconographical value as a potential alternative to the Jupiter allegory. The figure of St George, by contrast, offers considerable potential for a Christianisation of the liberator narrative that

⁵³⁵ Charles Montagu Halifax, *An Epistle to the Right Honorable Charles, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, Lord Chamberlain of His Majesties Household* (London: Francis Saunders, 1690), pp. 8–9.

Williamite image-making had been developing through the pagan allegories as well as for a further anglicisation thereof. Considering its significance also facilitates conclusions as to whether Williamite image-making sought to counter the cult of St Louis which constituted a cornerstone of the Ludovican image-campaign. These considerations are pertinent to the line of enquiry in that they broach the question of whether Williamite allegorical image-making narratives underwent a progressive Christianisation and whether, under William, the interaction with the Ludovican image-making can be argued to occur both on the level of pagan and biblical allegory. This is particularly relevant with a view to the progression of Queen Anne's image-making and its disengagement from the Ludovican image-campaign (cf. 5.5).

In 1689, then, the reverse of a medal celebrating William's resistance to France depicts William as Joshua who halts the Sun. The legend reads *UT ET IOSUA CURSUM SOLIS RETINET* ('Like Joshua, he arrests the course of the sun').



FIGURE 50. Jan Luder, William III's Resistance to France (1689). London, British Museum, M.7749. © Trustess of the British Museum.

The resemblance to the way in which image-makers deployed the Jovian allegory is unmistakable. The design neatly slots in with the evolving iconography, which construes William as halting, and ultimately even subsuming Louis's progress. It is

tempting to assume that accordingly, the Joshua figure might operate as oldtestamentarian continuation of and complement to the pagan allegory; even more so, if one considers that the motif had already been in use much earlier on William's behalf during the years of his struggle for the Stadtholdership in the context of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668).⁵³⁶ However, much like in the case of Louis whose appropriation of the biblical figure remained rather limited,⁵³⁷ evocations of Joshua in Wiliamite image-making post-1689 remained far and few between.

In a sense, William's allegorical identification with St George is similarly minimal. However, the few occurrences that there are gain significance in their juxtaposition and contrast with the role of the saintly allegory in Ludovican France, and with a view to biblicised allegorical narratives in Anne's image-making. In France, the monarch's identification with the figure of a national saint had become firmly established in the early years of the Bourbon monarchy. The notion that the sovereign enjoyed divine endorsement had gained prominence during the reign of Henri IV, and served him as essential propaganda tool in his endeavour to consolidate his position and legitimate the accession of the House of Bourbon.⁵³⁸ To that effect, Henri had decided to pay particular deference to Louis IX (r. 1226-1270), the Capetian king who had been canonized in 1297. He even named his heir, the future Louis XIII, in the royal saint's honour;⁵³⁹ and from then on, each heir presumptive to the French throne would bear that same name. Henri IV thus not only engineered the revival of the saint's cult. He also tied his commemoration to a re-configuration of monarchical sentiment, effectively providing the impetus for

⁵³⁶ Cf. Ziegler, *Der Sonnenkönig und seine Feinde*, LXXIX, p. 28.

⁵³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵³⁸ Cf. David J. Sturdy, *Louis XIV* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998) p. 15.

⁵³⁹ For a recapitulatory overview of the sacralised portrait and Louis IX in France, see Polleroß, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt*, pp. 255–58.

the (re-)creation of a ‘mystique familiale et royale, où s’unissent sainteté et souveraineté’.⁵⁴⁰ The re-emerging cult of Saint Louis received official papal sanction during the reign of Louis XIII (r. 1610-1643) when the bishop of Paris proclaimed Saint Louis ‘patron et protecteur de la France’ in 1618.⁵⁴¹ The future Louis XIV was thus born into a mode of royal (self-)representation, which strategically reinforced the connection between Bourbon rulership, saintliness, and divine endorsement. This approach was all the more opportune given that the prolonged childlessness of Louis XIII and Anne of Austria had gravely endangered the continuity of the Bourbon line (cf. 2.1). The decision to name to infant *Louis Dieudonné* doubly reflects the assumed mystic nature of kingship: on the one hand, it carries forward the nominal connection with the king’s saintly forebear; on the other, it also draws attention to the quasi-miraculous nature of the dauphin’s birth, which was considered proof of the divine endorsement of the monarchy as such, and the Bourbon succession in particular.

The identification of the future Louis XIV with the royal saint was developed diligently and promoted widely.⁵⁴² Its cultivation operated both ways, akin to a cross-fertilisation: on the one hand, the revival and increasing prominence of the cult of Saint Louis resumed the ‘smoothing’ effect of official historiography which had set in with Louis IX’s canonization and effaced, ‘*touche par touche, les ambiguïtés politiques et religieuses de la conduite de Louis IX*’.⁵⁴³ Louis IX thus gradually turned into an ahistorical, hagiographical ideal. On the other hand, the heir’s identification with this saintly model generated an anticipation of and expectations for the future monarch and his reign. After Louis XIV’s accession, it

⁵⁴⁰ Neveu, ‘Du Culte de Saint Louis’, pp. 282.

⁵⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 281-2.

⁵⁴² According to Burke, at least three likenesses of St Louis bear the features of Louis XIV, see Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 113.

⁵⁴³ Neveu, ‘Du Culte de Saint Louis’, p. 281.

constituted a convenient platform for showcasing Louis XIV as living incarnation of the ideal Christian monarch. The cult of the saint became a vehicle for the glorification of Louis XIV insofar as '[l]es hommages rendus au roi-chevalier héros de la Chrétienté rejailliss[ai]ent tout naturellement sur la personne du roi régnant'.⁵⁴⁴ Such was the case for instance in Charles du Fresne Du Cange's dedication to his edition of Jean de Joinville's biography of Saint Louis.⁵⁴⁵ Here, Du Cange establishes Louis XIV as heir to Saint Louis in name, title, secular and sacral qualities:

Je violerois toutes les loix de la Justice, si je ne consacrais cette histoire de S. LOUIS à Vostre Majesté, puisque tout ce qui regarde ce Grand Prince Vous appartient par un droit hereditaire [...] Ce qui me fait avancer, sans flaterie, que le même Genie qui inspira à S. LOUIS de si judicieux conseils dans toutes les actions de sa vie, Vous conduit par les mêmes routes, et veut que Vous ne soyez pas moins l'heritier de ses autres vertus Royales, que de son Sceptre et de sa couronne.⁵⁴⁶

By then, references to the royal saint no longer expressed expectations that the monarch had to live up to; nor was the veneration of the saint on a par with the praise for Louis XIV any longer. Instead, revering Saint Louis had become an auxiliary to articulating awe for Louis XIV. In his canonization bull, Boniface VIII had referred to Louis IX as 'superhomo'.⁵⁴⁷ Louis XIV, it seems, endeavoured to attain a similar status. He urged on institutionalization, and strategically exploited the resulting structures to further intertwine the worship of Saint Louis with his own adulation: The *Académie française*, for instance, came to routinely observe the saint's day (25 August) by calling for panegyrics to be composed for the occasion

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 282. In this context, see also Polleroß on the juxtaposition of Louis IX and Louis XIV in Antoine Godeau's dedication to his *Eloges historiques des empereurs, des roys, des princes, des imperatrices, des reynes, et des princesses, qui dans tous les siècles ont excellé en piété* (Paris: s. n., 1667) in Polleroß, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt*, pp. 257–58.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 28. See also Charles de la Rue's Latin poem on the military successes of the War of Devolution in 1667, which Pierre Corneille translated into French, *ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵⁴⁶ 'Au Roy', Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de S. Louys IX. du nom Roy de France*, ed. by Charles du Fresne Du Cange (Paris: Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy, imprimeur du Roy, rue S. Jacques, aux Cicognes, 1668).

⁵⁴⁷ Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), p. 826.

(one in prose for Saint Louis, one in verse for the king); the winning submissions were awarded medals, one of which bore the effigy of Louis IX, the other that of Louis XIV.⁵⁴⁸

In addition, two institutions were founded and named with the intention of welding together the cult of saint and king: the *Maison Royale de Saint-Louis*, a boarding school for the daughters of deceased, ailing, or impoverished nobility, in 1686,⁵⁴⁹ and the *Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint-Louis*,⁵⁵⁰ an order of chivalry and the first that granted military decorations to men outside the nobility, in 1693. They constituted a 'living' and performative testimony to the dualistic veneration of Saint Louis and Louis XIV in that the ceremony of conferring the order and the daily routine at the boarding school perpetuated and, in a way, enacted its interdependence. As both *pensionnat* and order outlived their founder, they functioned as 'vestales du culte royal'⁵⁵¹ even posthumously. In addition to this range of transient contributions to Louis XIV's personality cult, the mere architectural existence of establishments such as the *Maison Royale* gave this dual veneration of saint-king a permanent physical presence in a way orally recited or printed panegyric could not.

In early modern England, conversely, neither of the two canonized kings – Edmund (d. 869) and Edward the Confessor (1003x5–1066) – retained much currency in monarchical representation.⁵⁵² Although they were still regarded as

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Burke, *The Fabrication*, p. 115, but in particular Zoberman, 'Généalogie d'une image', pp. 81–7; Académie française and Zoberman, *Les Panégyriques du roi*, chap. III 'Sous le signe de Saint Louis: le roi très chrétien', pp.49–66 (esp. pp. 49–50).

⁵⁴⁹ Cf. Jean-Joseph Milhiet, 'Histoire de la maison royale de Saint-Louis', pp. 8-120, and Bruno Neveu, 'Institut religieux, fondation royale, et mémorial dynastique', pp. 130-48, in *Les Demoiselles de Saint-Cyr, maison royale d'éducation, 1686-1793*, ed. by Jean Dubu (Versailles: Archives départementales des Yvelines; Paris, 1999).

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, p. 115.

⁵⁵¹ Neveu, 'Du Culte de Saint Louis', p. 277.

⁵⁵² Cf. Jonathan B. Bengtson, 'Saint George and the Formation of English Nationalism', *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 27.2 (1997), 317–41 (p. 321).

specifically royal patron saints, the cult of Saint George had grown in prominence such that the saint was formally recognized as patron saint and protector of the English nation by the early fifteenth century.⁵⁵³ In fact, the symbolic potential of Saint George exceeded that of the royal patron saints. In France, Saint Louis united royalty with chivalric militarism in the first instance; it only brought these together with the French populace at large in the second. Saint George, by contrast, was above all a *military*, not a *royal* saint; as such, he was a ‘useful vehicle’ in transcending and bridging the boundary between Crown and the nation *per se*, and became ‘central in the formation of a collective imagination [...] and the creation of a sense of national community’.⁵⁵⁴ The rhetorical potential of the saint’s military dimension also explains why peaks in the saint’s visibility seem to have coincided with large-scale military campaigns. The third stanza of an anonymous mid-fifteenth-century poem on the Battle of Agincourt (1415), for instance, hails the saint’s support against the French accordingly:

He keped the mad from dragon's dred,
And fraid all France and put to flight.
At Agincourt — the crowne cle ye red —
The French him se formest in fight.⁵⁵⁵

Despite the relatively continuous warfare of the latter seventeenth century, however, sources that evoke William alongside the English patron saint are scarce, and in no way did he or his image-makers appear to encourage a campaign of the kind Louis XIV had built up in France. The few exceptions to this trend, however,

⁵⁵³ Cf. Bengtson, ‘Saint George’, p. 317; Christopher Stace, *St George: Patron Saint of England* (London: Triangle, 2002), p. xiii. The legend of St George and the Dragon originated in Eastern (Orthodox) representations, and had been disseminated widely, in particular via Jacobus de Voragine’s hagiographical collection *Legenda Aurea* (c 1260, trans. into English by William Caxton in 1483).

⁵⁵⁴ Bengtson, ‘Saint George’, p. 317. On the role of military saints in ruler portraiture, especially in England, Germany, and Italy, see also Polleroß, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt*, pp. 259, 265–84.

⁵⁵⁵ ‘A Carol of St. George’ in Reginald Thorne Davies, *Medieval English Lyrics: A Critical Anthology* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), p. 185, no. 92. For further examples, see Bengtson, ‘Saint George’, pp. 325–26, 331.

are both powerful and programmatic. One such exception is a painting of William III, executed by Kneller c. 1695-1700 for Saint George's Hall, Windsor. Oil on plaster, the likeness has only partially survived, but a description provided by the antiquary Elias Ashmole gives a sense of the spatial arrangement and its visual impact: 'at the upper end of the hall...the picture of King William III, seated on a throne, ten steps high... and above this St George killing the Dragon'.⁵⁵⁶ The intensity of this juxtaposition is heightened even further if one considers that Kneller's portrait completed a decorative overhaul that had begun under Charles II. Edward Croft-Murray records in this context that akin to the ceiling painting featuring Charles II, the depiction of Saint George dates back to this earlier stage of the redevelopment:

At one end of the hall was a false tapestry with *St George and the Dragon*, below which was subsequently added by Sir Godfrey Kneller an enthroned figure of William III. [...] The ceiling was an allegory on the Stuart conception of kingship, with Charles II in Garter robes as the central figure.⁵⁵⁷

The sheer proximity of Kneller's illusionary piece to the effigy of Saint George actually reconfigured the programmatic message of the space. Its positioning helps to focus the viewer's attention to this top end of the hall and detracts from Charles II's lofty apotheosis. It could almost be seen as indicative of the saint's protection of William III and watchfulness over his reign. James D. Stewart asserted in this context that this depiction firmly associated William III 'with the national saint, the nation's highest order of chivalry, and also emphasized the continuity of the royal succession'.⁵⁵⁸ On the same note, Kevin Sharpe suggested that 'it might have been a celebration of William's victory, the dragon representing defeated France and

⁵⁵⁶ Elias Ashmole in Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 414.

⁵⁵⁷ Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1837* (London: Country Life, 1962), vol. 1, p. 55. Cf. also Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: Phaidon Press, 1963), catalogue no. 336.

⁵⁵⁸ Stewart, 'William III', p. 332.

Catholicism'.⁵⁵⁹ In fact, the arrangement projects a sense of continuity in several respects: it falls in line with those earlier portraits of William wearing the sash of the Order of the Garter.⁵⁶⁰ As such, the Windsor portrait indeed showcased the connection with the House of Stuart and his long involvement with England's highest order of chivalry. In conjunction, portrait and tapestry project a vision of William III as monarch, Sovereign of the Order, and dragon-slaying warrior-saint. The reference to the national patron saint promotes the naturalization of William as English king and appeals to established patterns of the collective imagination and national self-conception. It also ties in with the iconographical and poetic schemes which cast William as slayer of the python (Apollo) or the hydra (Hercules). Apollo, Hercules and Saint George conflate as do the python, the hydra and the dragon, each of which is symbolic of the destruction of 'social order and cohesion'.⁵⁶¹ The analogy with Saint George thus aids in Christianizing and Anglicizing the narrative of William as heroic liberator.

A second example which is significant in the way it draws on Saint George as symbol of the liberation from the French yoke and as the guiding spirit of England's monarch is the twenty-fifth stanza from Robert Fleming's *Fame's Mausoleum* (1702):

Hold Infamy! Our Hero's not yet wholly gone;
 He and his Blest *Maria* lives in one,
 Who will yet further shake thy *Gallick* Throne:
 Thy *Jabin* and thy *Sisera's* shall fall,
 By a Royal *Deborah* and *Jail*.
 For *Anna* lives, whose wise and happy Reign
 Elizabeth's good Fortune now does claim

⁵⁵⁹ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 414.

⁵⁶⁰ The survival of number of portraits of William in Garter robes, all presumed to be after Kneller, suggests that this may have been a more pervasive effigy than the restricted access to its original might suggest; see for instance Sir Godfrey Kneller (after), *King William III*, Norfolk, Oxburgh Hall; *King William III (Oval Painted Head-and-Shoulders Portrait)*, County Londonderry, Springhill; *King William III*, Derbyshire, Hardwick Hall; *King William III*, Somerset, Lytes Cary Manor.

⁵⁶¹ Bengtson, 'Saint George', p. 319.

To humble *France*, as she did lower Spain.
 With her a valiant *Barak* bright doth shine,
 Our true St. *George* to break thy *Hydra's* Reign,
 And be the Dread of *Tyber* and the *Sein*;
 For he's our Hero now, as she our Heroine.⁵⁶²

This passage is particularly interesting in that it combines the Christian image of St. George with the pagan one of the Hydra (rather than the dragon) on the one hand, and with a set of biblical figures from the Book of Judges on the other. In this sense, Saint George and the Dragon, or the Hydra, constitute the 'hinge' between classical and biblical imagery. Fleming uses this amalgamation of images to create a narrative which conceives of Anne as embodiment of both William and Mary, and ultimate vanquisher of Louis's supremacy. It is this increasingly biblicalised narrative as it unfolds its potential in the course of Anne's reign, which is at the centre of the final section.

5.5 From Athena to Deborah: Christianising Allegory under Queen Anne

In contrast to Williamite allegorical image-making where the repertoire of allegorical personae rarely turned from pagan to scriptural, Anne's identification with biblical figures equals, if not exceeds her association with classical ones. The following section illustrates that as much as with Athena-Minerva in the case of mythological allegories, her most powerful biblical identification relies on a rather substantial stock cast of female warrior figures. The associations range from Judith and Delilah to Jael and Deborah. All the corresponding narratives include a male adversary and/or aid (Deborah/Barak-Jabin, Judith-Holofernes/Nebuchadnezzar, Jael-Sisera, and Delilah-Samson [fig.1]); they are also all taken from the Apocrypha

⁵⁶² Fleming, *Fame's Mausoleum*, pt. 1, stanza XXV.

or the Old Testament proper.⁵⁶³ Unlike the sometimes casually thrown in classical references, the biblical imagery often governs the panegyric pieces in their entirety, starting with their title.⁵⁶⁴ Panegyrists thus present their pieces as early modern quasi-scriptural retellings of the biblical story. In contrast to the image-making narratives that rely on predominantly classical allegory, they thus also subliminally generate the impression that Anne and her political undertakings enjoy the benefit of textual (scriptural) and thereby indirectly divine approval; the fact the pieces occasionally segue smoothly from versified panegyric to sermon further heightens this effect.⁵⁶⁵

The cultivation of this strong oldtestamentarian link foregrounds Anne's staunch Protestantism; as they could with William, image-makers can set Anne up as stark contrast to the Catholicism of Louis XIV and the French monarchy more generally. Once again, gender marks a point of difference, for they cannot exploit the figure of St George in the same way for Anne as they would have been able to in the case of William. For Anne, there is, it seems, no female counterpart that draws together the biblical and the national. Unsurprisingly, evocations of the martial

⁵⁶³ The Book of Judith, for instance, is part of the so-called biblical apocrypha. In contrast to many later Protestant bibles, the 1611 version of the King James Bible did not omit these writing, but included them in an inter-testamental section. I have not come across any instances which draw on comparable pairings from the New Testament, e.g. Salome-St John. For a typology of female figures in the Book of Judges and related biblical writing, see above all Susan Ackerman, *Warrior, Dancer, Seductress, Queen: Women in Judges and Biblical Israel*, Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2009); Lillian R. Klein, 'A Spectrum of Female Characters in the Book of Judges', in *A Feminist Companion to Judges*, ed. by Athalya Brenner, Feminist Companion to the Bible; 4 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), pp. 24–33; 'The Book of Judges: Paradigm and Deviation in Images of Women', in *A Feminist Companion to Judges*, ed. by Brenner, pp. 55–71.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. for instance *Deborah: A Sacred Ode* (London: Richard Sare, 1705); Joseph Browne, *The Royal Prophetess: Or, Israel's Triumphs over Jabin King of Hazor. An Heroick Poem. Written after the Manner of the Antients; and Now Publish'd upon the Occasion of the Unparallell'd Success of Her Majesty's Forces, under the Command of His Highness the Prince and Duke of Marlborough* (London: A. Baldwin, 1706); Richard Daniel, *The British Warriour, a Poem. In a Letter to His Excellency the Lord Cutts* (London & Dublin: B. Bragg, M. Gunne, 1706).

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. for instance John James Caesar, *The Victorious Deborah. A Thanksgiving-Sermon, for the Most Glorious Success of the Arms of Her Majesty of Great Britain, &c. and Her Allies, Both by Sea and Land. Preached the 12th of November, 1702. To the Prussian Congregation in the Savoy. By J.J. Cæsar, Chaplain to the King of Prussia* (London: Thomas Bennet, 1702).

Britannia represented the embodiment of Britain's growing political power, especially in the wake of the union between England and Scotland;⁵⁶⁶ on the whole, however, the term occurred more often by way of geographical designation than allegorical reference. While it emphasized the notion of a sense of national self in either form, it did not allow for the telling of a hero-epic akin to the classical allegories used under William, or their closest biblical counterpart, St George. Anne's Englishness and national allegiance, though, were beyond question and sufficiently represented through other means (cf. 3.2). It was this allegorical access to a liberator narrative that eluded her and her image-making. The motivic transitions I have discussed in the preceding chapters all operate in a forward chronology, i.e. from William's to Anne's image-making via classical personae such as Jupiter and Athena-Minerva. While they contribute to a narrative of monarchical continuity in the post-revolution era, they ultimately do not lend themselves to Anne's allegorical ownership as they did to William's. The set of biblical figures presented in this section, however, do; they even allow for image-makers to 'retrofit' their use with respect to earlier instances of Williamite image-making, i.e. they create a motivic transition with a 'regressive' trajectory: starting from Anne and moving backwards.

As regards this set of female personae, Anne's identification with Deborah is by far the most prominent one. It also emerges very early in Anne's reign. Fleming's aforementioned poem, for instance, is in fact a transitional piece, which combines mournful elegy of William with a hopeful outlook to the future reign. Fleming acknowledges William's political strife and sets up Anne as successor in

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. for instance James Shute, *A Pindarick Ode, upon Her Majesties Sending the Duke of Marlborough to Command the English Forces in Holland* (London: James Shute for J. Nutt, 1703), p. 6 (stanza IX).

spirit to his cause of curbing Louis XIV's monstrous ambition. At the same time, he generates the impression that William was but a pathfinder and 'precursor'-St George who smoothend the path for Anne-Deborah and her military commander, Barak-Marlborough.⁵⁶⁷ It is he who earns the appellation of the 'true' Saint George since he enacts Anne's endeveaours and performs the deeds necessary to free the nation from the 'Dread of *Tyber* and the *Sein*', i.e. from both Roman Catholic and Gallic strife for power.

The parallel between the narratives of Deborah and Anne is all the more remarkable if one bears in mind the iconographic challenge Anne's gender constituted (cf. 3.5).⁵⁶⁸ In its adaption to Anne's cause, the prophetess and warrior Deborah, who defeated the Canaanites, embodies the queen, and her military commander Barak represents Marlborough; Jabin, the king of Canaa, designates Louis XIV, and Sisera, Jabin's military commander alternatively the *maréchaux* Boufflers, Tallard, de Villars, and de Villeroy. At first sight, it may seem as though the pairing of Deborah and Barak is another instance of female delegation to the male hero. Its narrative and, as Michelle Osherow persuasively argued, linguistic agency, however, set these gender dynamics apart: although Barak assumed the military leadership against Jabin's troupes, Deborah accompanies him rather than sending him into battle on this own; although her victory song contains Barak's male voice, the female verb endings of the Hebrew indicate that Deborah's voice is indeed the primary one;⁵⁶⁹ and although Barak's military campaign is successful, it is not he, but another woman, Jael, who kills Sisera, Jabin's representative, and achieves the ultimate deliverance of Israel. Fleming's close juxtaposition of the two

⁵⁶⁷ In this context, cf. also Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 562.

⁵⁶⁸ On how the figure of Deborah challenged early modern gender conceptions, cf. Michele Osherow, *Biblical Women's Voices in Early Modern England*, *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 86.

⁵⁶⁹ Cf. Osherow, *Biblical Women's Voices*, p. 80.

women in the parallelism “Thy *Jabin* and thy *Sisera’s* shall fall, /By a Royal *Deborah* and *Jail*”⁵⁷⁰ unites their agency in one verb. As far as the biblical narrative is concerned, both women proved instrumental to and responsible for the victory on different levels. Fleming, in reworking the biblical story, conflates these levels, and unifies their agency. In doing so, he implicitly transfers their roles to Anne jointly, as she comes to represent both Deborah and Jael, both instigator and true deliverer of the nation.

In using the motif of Deborah, image-makers such as Fleming and others on the one hand obviously hearken back to Elizabethan iconography which had reworked the sacerdotal dimension of sovereignty in the Renaissance context of female sovereignty.⁵⁷¹ On the other hand, they also, albeit more circumstantially, construe a retrospective narrative connection to William’s image-making. Although the figure of Joshua does not feature prominently at all in Williamite allegorical narratives (cf. 5.4), the identification William-Joshua is often implied, and on rare occasions even directly invoked, in the context of Anne’s identification with Deborah.⁵⁷² In the biblical narrative, Deborah and Joshua are connected in that they oppose and defeat an eponymous opponent, Jabin, the King of Hazor (Joshua 11:1-14; Judges 5:6-11). The analogy implies that akin to these biblical personae, both William and Anne defeat Louis, in their own way. Rather than a forward transition as in the case of Jupiter-Minerva, image-makers here create an explicitly Protestant successor-narrative retroactively. In doing so, the primary allegorical ownership emanates from Anne as Deborah, rather than William (as in the case of Jupiter).

⁵⁷⁰ Fleming, *Fame’s Mausoleum*, pt. 1, stanza XXV.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. Osherow, *Biblical Women’s Voices*, pp. 77–90; Robert Zaller, ‘Breaking the Vessels: The Desacralization of Monarchy in Early Modern England’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29.3 (1998), 757–78 (p. 759).

⁵⁷² Cf. e.g. Browne, *The Royal Prophetess*, p. 1.

Occasionally, classical and biblical narratives also concur and complement one another. Just like the 1710 Wermuth medal evoked at the very outset of this inquiry (fig. 1, again below), the earlier anonymous medal below (fig. 51) is a remarkable example thereof.



FIGURE 1



FIGURE 51.
Ludovicus
Magnus, Anna
Maior (British
Isles, 1706).
London, British
Museum,
G3,FD.402 ©
Trustees of the
British Museum.

The medal celebrates the defeat of the French at Ramillies, Brabant, on 23 May 1706. Its busy reverse conveys the details of this success, which consisted in the recapture of twelve cities with their provinces within fifteen days. It features Victory with a palm branch, surrounded by twelve shields and a range of inscriptions. Another shield beside the allegory of Victory bears the inscription CURA PUGNACIS FACTA MINERVAE [Effected by the care of warlike Minerva]. The medal's obverse boldly proclaims LUDOVICUS MAGNUS. ANNA MAIOR [Louis the Great, Anne the Greater]. The scene below depicts Anne as Minerva and Louis as a Roman soldier. Anne overthrows Louis, waving a palm branch over him akin to the Victory

figure on the reverse. The medal's outer edge bears the inscription DOMINUS TRADIDIT EUM IN MANUS FEMINÆ. JUDITH. XVI. C. [The Almighty Lord hath delivered him into the hands of a woman. Judith, xvi. 6.].⁵⁷³ This verse recalls Judith beheading Holofernes, Nebuchadnezzar's general. It conjures up the oldtestamentarian notion of God's wrathful justice and invites the medal's beholder to conceive of Anne as biblical instrument meting out divine punishment to the hubristic Louis.

The 1706 and 1710 designs resemble one another in that they combine satire with both classical and biblical references. With minimal variation, both feature an inscription which uses the positive and comparative to ridicule Louis's claim to the epithet 'the Great' and expose his political and military inferiority to a woman. At the same time, however, the anonymous design is far more complex in the way it unites factual news (reverse), classical reference (scene obverse and inscription reverse), and biblical analogy (outer edge obverse). Wermuth's design operates through the two contrasting satirical depictions: the secular and contemporary dance scene (reverse) and the adaptation of the story of Samson and Delilah (obverse). The 1706 design, by contrast, does not directly visualize the satire in any way. It even relegates the biblical reference to the most inconspicuous position, the medal's outer edge. In this sense, it requires far greater literacy to decode this earlier medallic commentary than Wermuth's.

Unlike the pairing Delilah-Samson (1710), the palpable contrast between Anne as deity and Louis as mortal (1706) also generates a status difference between the two to Anne's advantage. The victory of Anne-Minerva, the Olympian deity, over Louis evokes the notion of divine endorsement akin to the verse from the Book of Judith; in its Romanized form, it could even be taken to visualize the

⁵⁷³ In full: 'But the almighty Lord hath struck him, and hath delivered him into the hands of a woman, and hath slain him' (Judith 16:7).

concept of the monarch as *imago Dei*. Both the mythologically inspired scene and the inconspicuously included biblical allusion once again illustrate that it is above all through the use of allegorical analogy that Anne receives credit for the military successes of her reign (cf. 3.5) and the defeat of Louis XIV; but her image-makers leave no doubt a defeat it is, and the ultimate one at that. Williamite panegyrists had generated a range of allegorical pattern reversals in availing themselves of allegories used in Louis's praise and harnessing them to William's. Now, Anne's image-makers relegate her predecessor to the role of pathfinder in his contention of Ludovican supremacy:

Cry'd LEWIS the Great,
 When he knew his Defeat,
 What, vanquish'd by ANNA a-new!
 Still beat by a Woman!
 In forty years no Man
 Cou'd, what she has done, ever do.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷⁴ *Old England's New Triumph: Or, the Battel of Oudenard. A Song* (London: A. Baldwin, 1708), stanza XIV.

Conclusion

With the events of 1688/9 and the post-revolutionary accession of William III and Mary II, the prospects of both the Protestant British Isles and Protestant Europe at large changed. This period of increasing emancipation of the British kingdoms coincided with the progressive political and cultural demise of Louis XIV and Catholic France. The central contention of this thesis has been that English monarchical image-making under William III and Queen Anne not only echoed, but actively contributed to the opinion-making processes of this period, to England's dissociation from French assumed exemplarity, and with it, to the death of Louis XIV *avant la lettre*. To this end, I have investigated contemporary monarchical image-making on an international level, i.e. between England and France, on the one hand, and on a national, internal level, i.e. between William III and Queen Anne, on the other.

It is evidently not possible to argue for a monocausality between the role of the French monarch(y) and the progressive emancipation of English (and after 1707, British) national self-conception. Yet, this investigation of contemporary monarchical image-making has distilled a set of parameters which undoubtedly shaped Anglo-French relations in the period. It tells, in fact, a set of distinctive narratives. Most prominent among these are the narrative of continuity vs. rupture, that of an imperial vs. a federal endeavor, and that of a single vs. plural iconography.

William III needed both to negotiate two contradictory narratives – one of continuity, and one of rupture – and to find a way of suspending their contrariness in order to facilitate his rule. He had to establish a monarchical rule that derived its

legitimacy from common law instead of hereditary right while simultaneously evoking conventional, yet increasingly outworn notions of dynastic legitimacy. He and his councillors sought to overcome his obvious flaw in this latter respect by upholding Mary's ancestral claim and by turning the concept of divine right into the Revolution's rhetoric of divine providence. William availed himself of representational modes that connect to established monarchical court culture on the one hand, effectively belying, as Gerald Straka terms it, 'one of the vacuous banalities [of] revolution rhetoric [according to which] divine right theory died a sudden death in 1689'.⁵⁷⁵ On the other hand, however, he was alive to his dependence on Parliamentary consent, which entailed restrictions on the established royal prerogatives. In sum, he remained the figurehead of incipient constitutionalisation, and by extension, of the progressive demystification and modernisation of monarchy.

Anne and her image-makers, in contrast, pursued two narratives of continuity: a pre-and post-revolutionary one. She deliberately revived the sense of monarchical spectacle and an element of sacerdotal sovereignty, whilst showing essential progressive pragmatism in her unwavering support of the Protestant Succession. In many regards, her image offered up counterpoints to the critique which had been levied against her predecessors, including William III. Her self-representation answered both fears of Catholicism and a dislike for Calvinist austerity with an emphatic Anglican Protestantism. Her demonstrative Englishness nullified xenophobic tendencies among the monarchy's critics. She countered residual alarm at the autocracy and influence of continental monarchies, most notably France, with pragmatic support of the governmental reforms won by the

⁵⁷⁵ Gerald Straka, 'The Final Phase of Divine Right Theory in England, 1688-1702', *The English Historical Review*, 77.305 (1962), 638-58 (p. 638).

Whig sympathizers in 1689, while simultaneously responding to Tory preferences for traditionalism with a demonstrative appreciation for courtly ceremonial. She thus succeeded in creating a royal persona with a relatively broad gamut for identification, which 'Heaven, the Kingdom, and the Laws, unite'.⁵⁷⁶

Both William's and Anne's image-making was unlike Louis XIV's in that it lacked the latter's autocracy as well as his considerable drive towards a streamlined iconography. The greater plurality of their iconography facilitated a greater devolution of agency. Rather than a drawback or even a failure, this diversification constituted a particular strength of English monarchical image-making in the period. It allowed for a broader participation in William's and Anne's respective image-campaigns and, in turn, increased support for their vision of sovereignty.

Throughout this period, we have seen the relevance of Louis XIV as conceptualized in William's and Anne's monarchical image-making steadily decrease. In both reigns, monarchical representation hinged on variants of a liberator narrative. These see Louis's role reduced from contestant to opponent, and, ultimately, vanquished party. In early Williamite image-making, the French king was a steady presence; as William's reign progressed, his value as marker of William's success changed; Louis turned from competitor to inferior party. The progress of this palpable level of contention with the French monarchy and its representative manifested itself above all in the allegorical patterns of reversal (Hercules, Apollo, Jupiter) and the impostor narratives (Jupiter, Neptune). In their use of allegory, Williamite image-makers undermined the French king with the same means they employed to honour their own. Yet, Louis never conclusively lost

⁵⁷⁶ *The English Muse*, p. 3.

his relevance in Williamite image-making. Instead, it was during Anne's reign, that the shift in his relevance, and with it, his *mort avant la lettre* became realized.

By and large, the reasons for this development relate to the respective challenges William's and Anne's sovereignty faced. William's image-making narrative accommodates the liberator narrative in the first instance as a deliverance of Protestant Europe and hence as a federal endeavour which sought to undermine the imperial project of Louis XIV. Only in the course of his reign does his increasing allegorical Anglicisation offer a vision of him as pursuing a national project, too. Thanks to her lineage, Anne, by contrast, could access both the national and the European dimension of the liberator narrative from the beginning of her reign; the union of England and Scotland diversifies this narrative insofar as the War of the Spanish Succession now represents the continuation of the federal endeavour of European Protestant states as well as a federal endeavour of the newly minted United Kingdom.

At the same time, however, the continuous warfare also posed a considerable challenge to Anne's monarchical image-making in that it brought to the fore questions of gender. Yet, neither the modest success of the anti-French alliance nor Anne's gender derogated from her queenship. In fact, her gender offered her the opportunity to pursue one striking aspect of her narratives of continuity – that of the native Protestant queen – through her identification with Elizabeth I. From the very beginning, there was clearly less space for Louis XIV in this narrative (which construed her role vis-à-vis seventeenth-century France in parallel to Elizabeth's role vis-à-vis Renaissance Spain) than in the one which emphasized her role as heir to William. With her national allegiance beyond doubt, it is the allegorical access to biblical women warriors which turns the image-making challenge posed by her

gender into a distinct advantage. Anne's identification with classical allegories carries forward personae that had served Williamite image-making; however, their transferal into Anne's allegorical repertoire effectively reduces the allegorical potential of these figures. Anne cannot access and appropriate them in the same way William could. The shift towards an increasingly Christianised repertoire, by contrast, unlocks an allegorical potential for Anne that allows image-makers to portray her as the divinely sanctioned, ultimate vanquisher of Louis XIV.

In considering post-revolutionary Anglo-French relations through the lens of monarchical image-making, this thesis has revisited and revised received opinions about Anglo-French relations in the wake of the 'Glorious' Revolution. My readings have explored early modern notions of monarchical authority, legitimacy and achievement, the dynamics between public agency and royal prerogative, the concepts of kingship and nationhood, and the interplay between early modern culture and politics, more generally. They have belied a range of interpretative intuitions as premature, if not just plain wrong: Louis XIV's relevance, for instance, did not cease with the adoption of Williamite foreign policy; Anne did not endorse continental monarchical models ('despite' her familial link to sovereignty by divine right); and neither did the latter end of the Stuart monarchy (saddled as it was by progressive constitutionalisation and succession crises) precipitate to its own demise. Instead, as I have shown, the period constituted a key moment of English (British) national emancipation, and the figure of the monarch proved to be a significant player in this development.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁷ In conceiving of this period as pivotal in the national emancipation of the British Isles, this thesis indirectly also connects with larger eighteenth-century questions of national self-conception and identity. In this context, cf. for instance Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, rev. edn (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2009 [2003]); Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740-1830*, new rev. edn (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997 [1987]).

Appendix

List of Statues

I. William III

i. In his lifetime

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. 1690 (c)
Circular medallion (relief).
Jean Cavallier.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.</p> <p>2. 1691 (after)
Plans for a statue to be mounted on a portico facing the Thames as part of the Whitehall rebuild.</p> <p>3. 1695
Statue; pair with Mary.
John I Nost [Van Ost].
Royal Exchange, London; line of kings on the façade of the piazza.
Current whereabouts unknown.</p> | <p>4. 1701
Statue; equestrian.
Grinling Gibbons.
Commissioned by Cooperation of Dublin.
Originally College Green, Dublin.
Destroyed in 1928.</p> <p>5. 1702 (by)
Bust.
Nicholas Alcock.
Royal Armouries, Tower of London.</p> |
|--|---|

ii. Posthumously

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. 1718
Statue.
Originally Parade Ground, Long Row, Portsmouth.
Relocated.</p> <p>2. 1732 (by)
Bust; part of the set 'British Worthies', which also includes Elizabeth I.
Michael Rysbrack.
Originally Stowe House, Buckinghamshire; Temple of British Worthies (garden).
National Trust.</p> <p>3. 1734 (1732-4)
Statue; equestrian.
Peter Scheemakers.
Market Square, Kingston upon Hull.</p> <p>4. 1734
Statue.
Henry Cheere.</p> | <p>Originally Bank of England, Pay Hall Bank of England, in transversal ground-floor corridor, close to Bartholomew Lane Vestibule.</p> <p>5. 1735 (1730-5)
Bust.
Michael Rysbrack.</p> <p>6. 1735
Statue; equestrian.
J. & G. Mossman; Peter Scheemakers; Catherine Nost [?].
Gifted to the city by James Macrae.
Originally Tontine Hotel, Trongate, Glasgow Cross, Glasgow.
Currently Castle Street, Glasgow, west side of Cathedral Square gardens.</p> |
|---|---|

7. 1735
Column; doric; surmounted by statue.
Henry Cheere.
Destroyed; replaced in 1757 by John
Cheere's statue of George II on a column.
Hartwell House, Buckinghamshire.
8. 1736 (1733-6)
Statue, equestrian.
Michael Rysbrack.
Queen Square, Bristol.
9. 1737*
Statue.
John Cheere.
Wrest Park, Silsoe, Central Bedfordshire.
10. 1750s†
Statue; equestrian; Kings Louis XIV and
William III.
Peter Vanina [Vannini].
Untraced.
11. 1751 (after)
Statue; adapted from Cheere's George II,
Jersey.
Private collection, US.
12. 1754
Bust.
John III Nost [Van Ost].
Untraced.
13. 1757
Statue; equestrian.
Cheere brothers.
Paid through bequest of Sir William
Jolliffe, M. P. for Petersfield.
Originally Petersfield House, Petersfield.
The Square, Petersfield.
14. 1760s (?)‡
Bas-relief; circular.
Thomas Banks.
Untraced.
15. 1774
Monumental medallion; relief; William
and Mary.
John Francis Moore.
Untraced.
16. 1777
Bust
Joseph Nollekens.
Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire.
17. 1807
Statue; equestrian.
John Bacon.
St. James's Square, London.
18. 1812
Bust.
Peter Turnerelli.
Bank of England.
19. 1837
Miniature bust.
Eliza Kirk.
Untraced.
20. 1862(1862-7)
Statue; pair with statue of Mary by
Alexander Munro (1862-8).
Thomas Woolner.
Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey.
21. 1689 (1861-9)
Statue; 'Eight English Monarchs', including
Elizabeth I and Queen Anne.
John Birnie Philip.
Palace of Westminster.
22. 1888
Statue.
W. & T. Wills.
Prince William Quarry, Berry Head Rd,
Brixham, Torbay.
23. 1889 (date of unveiling)
Statue; equestrian.
Harry Hems & workshop.
Orange Hall, Clifton Street, Belfast; rooftop.
24. 1908
Statue.
Heinrich Baucke.
Gifted by Wilhelm II, German Emperor.
Outside Kensington Palace.
25. n.d.§
Bas-relief; equestrian.
Fountain Inn, Westgate 53, Gloucester;
doorway from the yard.

* Not shown in 1737 account of gardens; first recorded in 1831.

† Based on sculptor's activity between 1753 and 1770.

‡ Based on sculptor's lifetime.

§ Turn of 18th C (?); likely to have been produced after a royal visit which gave rise to the legend that William rode his horse upstairs into a room used by a Jacobite club, cf. 'Historic England', s.v. Fountain Inn, List Entry No. 1271932.

II. Queen Anne

i. *In her lifetime*

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. 1701
Statue.
Royal Exchange, London, east end.
Destroyed or possibly the one now at
Finchcocks, Kent.</p> <p>2. 1705
Statue.
Thomas White.
Originally on a pedestal in front of the
medieval Guild Hall, Worcester.
Currently Worcester Guild Hall,
Worcester; above door, flanked by
statues of Charles I and Charles II in
niches either side of the entrance;
building for this new and current
Guildhall began in 1722.</p> <p>3. 1705 (1708 at the latest)
Statue.
Originally Queen Anne's Gate,
Westminster; middle of east side of
Queen Square.
Currently Queen Anne's Gate,
Westminster, return flank wall of No. 15.</p> <p>4. 1705
Relief; oval portrait plaque medallion in
tortoiseshell.
Jean Obrisset.
Museum of London, London.</p> <p>5. 1705⁵⁸⁷
Relief.
David Brisset.
Untraced.</p> <p>6. 1705
Statue.
Jibrell [?].
Southampton Bargate, Southampton.</p> <p>7. 1706
Statue.
Francis Bird.
Commissioned by Sir John Banford,
Chamberlain of Kingston Corporation.
Market Square, Kingston; on stone shelf
above the parapet of the first</p> | <p>floor balcony at the front of Market
House (former Town Hall).</p> <p>8. 1706⁵⁸⁸
Design and model for fountain with
statue of Queen Anne, the Duke of
Marlborough on horseback, and several
river gods.
Claude David.
Whereabouts unknown.</p> <p>9. 1706
Statue.
John Nost [Van Ost].
Christ Church, Oxford.</p> <p>10. 1707
Statue
Commissioned by Corporation of
Windsor.
Guidhall, Windsor.</p> <p>11. 1708
Statue.
Comminssioned by Rober Rolle of
Stevenstone.
Queen Anne's Walk (formerly The
Mercantile Exchange), Barnstaple.</p> <p>12. 1712
Statue.
John Tilston of Chester.
Originally at the Exchange, Northgate
Street, Chester; later
Bonewaldesthorne's Tower, Chester.
Current whereabouts unclear.</p> <p>13. 1712
Statue.
John Ricketts the Elder.
Originally Southgate Street, Gloucester;
north end.
Currently Spa Field, Trier Way,
Gloucester.</p> <p>14. 1712 (1702-12)
Relief; profile portrait.
David Le Marchand.</p> |
|--|--|

⁵⁸⁷ Based on sculptor's activity in the early
1700s.

⁵⁸⁸ Based on sculptor's activity between 1706
and 1722.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Coll. Lord Thomson of Fleet, Toronto, Canada.</p> <p>15. 1713
Statue.
Francis Bird.
Commissioned by Sir Christopher Wren; replaced by Richard Belt's copy in 1886. Originally Ludgate Hill, London. Currently St. Mary's School, Holmhurt, near Hastings, East Sussex.</p> <p>16. 1713 (commissioned 1711)
Statue.</p> | <p>Andrew Carpenter [Charpentière]. Originally Moot-Hall, Leeds. Now City Art Gallery, Leeds.</p> <p>17. 1713
Statue; project only.
Forum Universitatis, Oxford.</p> <p>18. 1713
Statue.
Gifted by Georges Bridges, M. P. for Winchester.
High Street, Winchester.</p> |
|---|--|
- ii. Posthumously*
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. 1715
Statue.
Giovanni Battista Foggini.
Untraced.</p> <p>2. 1715
Statue.
Francis Bird.
Commissioned during Anne's lifetime by Swedish-born Sir Jacob Bancks. Originally St. Michael's Church, Minehead. Then Wellington Square, Minehead.</p> <p>3. 1719
Statue; project only.
Cavendish Square, London.</p> <p>4. 1720
Statue.
Francis Bird.
University College, Oxford.</p> <p>5. 1738
Bust.
Michael Rysbrack.
Sold by Sothby, NY, lot 157, 11 Jan 1995.</p> <p>6. 1738 (1735-8)
Statue.
Michael Rysbrack.
Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire.</p> <p>7. 1738
Statue.
Dursley Town Hall, Oxfordshire.</p> <p>8. 1741
Column; doric on square plinth surmounted by statue.
Cirencester Park, Cirencester.</p> | <p>9. 1765
Misc; inscription with seal alluding to Queen Anne's bounty, with the queen's head in profile.
Richard of Worcester, Squire.
All Saints, Worcester.</p> <p>10. 1773
Medallion relief.
John II Moore.
Untraced.</p> <p>11. 1860
Bust.
William II Theed (after M Rysbrack).
Royal Collection.</p> <p>12. 1867 (1866-7)
Statue.
Farmer and Brindley.
Maughan Library, Kings' College London; central tower.</p> <p>13. 1867 (1866-7)
Architectural sculpture; incl. Elizabeth I. Joseph Durham.
Chancery Lane, City of London; parapet of central tower.</p> <p>14. 1869 (1861-9)
Statue; 'Eight English Monarchs', including Elizabeth I and William III.
John Birnie Philip.
Palace of Westminster.</p> <p>15. n.d.
Statue; project only.
Greenwich Hospital, Greenwich.</p> |
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