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## **Commemorating conquest: The triumphal entry of William III of Orange, King of England, into The Hague in 1691**

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## 2. The Art of the Triumph

The publication of an official account of William's triumphal entry in Dutch only months later underscored the event's importance, as such works were only rarely commissioned; despite the colossal undertaking of Louis XIV's famous *histoire métallique*, only his entries into Paris in 1662 and 1674 were commemorated in luxury folio editions.<sup>213</sup> However, previous studies of the triumphal entry, which are focused almost exclusively on Romeyn de Hooghe's illustrations, have ignored Govert Bidloo's text as well as the numerous gazettes, pamphlets and medals that circulated the imagery of the triumphal entry well before the publication of this festival book.<sup>214</sup> It has been (wrongly) stated that the versatile and prolific printmaking artist Romeyn de Hooghe (fig. 59) singlehandedly directed the conception of the ephemeral architecture and its decorative program, but the contributions of other artists, craftsmen, historians and clerics to the material mediation of William's entry has yet to be explored.<sup>215</sup>

More significantly, previous studies have also ignored the fact that the triumphal arches remained in place well after the King's public entrance on 5 February. While a lack of documentary evidence makes it impossible to determine the exact *terminus post quem* for their lifespan, it is made clear by the observations of contemporary visitors that the triumphal arches were popular sites frequented by loyalist supporters and curious observers. For more than three months, the triumphal arches in The Hague presented the most ostentatious, temporary monument ever created on European soil for Dutch stadholder or any British monarch. The triumphal arches were also seen by the many diplomats and princes arriving in The Hague, and who had to pass through Vennekool's triumphal arch, which now functioned as a monumental gateway to the Stadholder's Quarters.

When French armies captured Mons in early April, the *Mercure Galante* published letters, purportedly received from Holland, that the triumphal arches in The Hague had been left "dressed" for the victorious return of William III, who, the gazette claimed, had promised a "total victory" over Louis XIV.<sup>216</sup> This was also reported in the *Gazette de Paris*, which reacted with surprise on 21 April that "the confidence with which the people watched him [William III] leave, and the grand idea they had conceived of his projects...led people to believe to give him another magnificent entrance."<sup>217</sup> Although it is of course likely that the

<sup>213</sup> Gaëlle Lafage, *Charles Le Brun Décorateur de Fêtes*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2015, p.240

<sup>214</sup> In chronological order: Remmet van Luttervelt, "De versieringen ter eere van den intocht van Willem III te 's-Gravenhage in 1691." *Maandblad voor de beeldende kunsten* 24, 1948, pp.148-166. For contemporary pamphlets consult Pieter Ant Tiele, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandse pamfletten: eerste afdeling, verzameling van Frederik Muller te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1860, vols.2-3, Pamphlet Nos. 9179-9226; John H. Landwehr, *Splendid ceremonies. State entries and Royal Funerals in the Low Countries, 1515-1792. A Bibliography*, Leiden 1971, Pamphlet Nos. 143-180. See also Snoep, *Praal en Propaganda*, 1975, and the exhibition-catalogue by René W. Dessing, *Koning-Stadhouder Willem III. Triomfator. De triomfale intocht in Den Haag in 1691*, The Hague: Haags Historisch Museum, 1988.

<sup>215</sup> This view, first formulated by Derk Snoep, has retained currency in studies of Dutch print culture and most recently voiced in Cillessen, ed., *Krieg Der Bilder*, 1997, p.244.

<sup>216</sup> "Il ne nous promet pas moins qu'une victoire entière, & on laisse icy tous les Arcs de triomphes dressez pour son retour." *Mercure Galante*, April 1691, Paris, p.351.

<sup>217</sup> "La confiance avec laquelle les peuples l'avoient vue partir, la grande idée qu'ils avoient conceüe de ses projets, & l'espérance qu'on leur avoit donnée de la levée du siege de Mons comme infaillible, faisoit penser à luy faire une seconde entrée magnifique. Il a fallu cependant se contenter de le complimenter sur son heureux retour les voeux que ses créatures avoient faits pour la conservation de sa personne ayant eu plus de succes que ceux avoient rapport à la délivrance de Mons." *Gazette de Paris*, 1692, p.234.

*Mercure* and *Gazette* exaggerated the situation, it is not impossible that the triumphal arches were indeed still standing when William left for Mons in late March, given that it had taken almost three months to construct these temporary monuments.

The King's Dutch secretary, Constantijn Huygens, Jr. (1628–1697), complained in his diary of the “atrocious crowds” that he encountered when making a family visit to the triumphal arches on the day after the entry.<sup>218</sup> One anonymous pamphlet seems to satirise the reactions of simple country folk that travelled to witness this extravagant display and proclaimed: “We saw there all these delightful things, the triumphal arches, and everything that was raised to honour King William, it is so beautiful, that is worth travelling to The Hague three times.”<sup>219</sup> The Dordrecht historian Lambert van den Bos (1620-1698) later recorded in his continuation of Lieuwe van Aitzema's history of the Dutch Republic that: “Many days before and afterwards did this place teem with strangers, who came to first to see the unusual apparatus, and then to delight their eyes and hearts with the sanctified person of his Majesty.”<sup>220</sup>

This chapter examines the artistic creation of the triumphal entry and its dissemination after 5 February 1691. The involvement of artists and craftsmen in The Hague underscores how this event implemented the new style in architecture and sculpture on an unprecedented scale. The triumphal entry inaugurated a new kind of imagery of William III that was subsequently disseminated across Europe by medals, prints and descriptions. The notion that temporary artefacts like the ephemeral architecture can introduce and sustain a new style is not new and has been used to describe how the joyous entries organised for the Habsburg sovereigns introduced classical ornament and architecture in the sixteenth-century Low Countries Netherlands.<sup>221</sup> However, in the case of the 1691 triumph, it can be argued that the adaptation occurred at a crucial time when William III needed to assert and negotiate his new authority after a long absence. Not only was the King's claim to the throne disputed, but his predecessor was still alive and actively conspiring against him with Louis XIV.

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<sup>218</sup> “Smergens reed uyt met mijn vrouw, St Paul en sijn vrouw, om de preparatien van entrée, de Ares de Triomphe etc. te sien; daer was een gruwelijke menichte van menschen overall.” Subsequent diary entries by Huygens suggest that the crowds visiting the triumphal arches did not abate for some time. Huygens, *Journal van 21 October 1688 Tot 2 September 1696. Eerste Deel*, 1876, pp.395-396.

<sup>219</sup> “Daer hebben wy wesen sien al die heerlijke dingen/ die Arken-triomphael/ en alles wat ter eeren van Coningh William is opgerigt; het is soo schoon / dat het wel waerdig is dat men er driemaal om na den Haeg trekt.” Anonymous, *Eenvoudige boere-praet, behelsende een overtuigent bewijs, dat in alle het gene dat tot nog toe gehoort, gesien, en geseyt wort, en nog gehoort, gesien en geseyt sou kunnen worden, van William de Derde, Koning van Groot-Britanje, Geen genoegsame gront is, om te gelooven dat hij de levendighe Koningh selfs soude sijn, en dat het niet wesen soude kunnen een wasse-beelt*, s.l., s.n. [1691], p.1.

<sup>220</sup> “Nog vele dagen te vooren en nog daar na heeft deze plaat van vreemdelingen gekrioelt; eerst om de d'ongemeene toestellingen te aanschouwen; en daar na om haare ogen en harten ontrent de Geheiligde persoon van zijne Majesteit te verlustigen...”, Van den Bos, *Tweede vervolg van saken van staat en oorlog, in, en omtrent de Vereenigde Nederlanden, en door geheel Europa voorgevallen...*, Vol.31, 1698, p. 31.

<sup>221</sup> This is one of the main arguments made by Wouter Kuyper in *The Triumphant Entry of Renaissance Architecture into the Netherlands: the Joyeuse Entrée of Philip of Spain into Antwerp in 1549*, 1994. For more recent discussions about the avant-garde style of festival architecture and its influence on permanent structures see also Alice Jarrard, *Architecture as Performance in Seventeenth-Century Europe. Court Ritual in Modena, Roma, and Paris*. London; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## *William as Triumphator magnificus*

In his laudatory sermon, Govert Bidloo calls William the “blessed conqueror”, or *Triumphator magnificus*, and compared him to Roman emperors who embodied desirable qualities, such as Augustus and Constantine.<sup>222</sup> The victory banner of Constantine figured in the gold commemorative medal as well as the paintings of Steven Vennekool’s triumphal arch (figs.30-32, 85), reinforcing the link between William and the most famous conqueror of the Imperial Roman past. The *labarum* or victory banner of Constantine was an honour “allow’d by the Ancients to Triumphant Victors.”<sup>223</sup> This kind of militaristic imagery was entirely appropriate for a monarch like William III, whose reputation was based on his military leadership and who would be the first English king since Henry VIII to command his armies in person on the European continent.<sup>224</sup>

The triumphal entry sought to connect William to specific periods of the ancient past that were viewed as eras of imperial restoration and reform. The triumphal entry was one of “meekness and bravery” as had been achieved in ancient times by emperors like Constantine, which Govert Bidloo said, was now repeated in the present age by the princes of Orange.<sup>225</sup> Govert Bidloo also compared William’s reign with that of the Byzantine emperor Justinian (482-565), known for restoring the Roman legal code and rebuilding the Hagia Sophia after its destruction during the violent Nika Riots AD 532 and expanding the Roman Empire to its former boundaries. Other emperors that Bidloo compared William to in his triumphal salute were also known for having restored the Empire through war and legal reform, including the emperors Theodosius and Probus.<sup>226</sup>

It is worth quoting Bidloo’s text because it summarises some of the more grandiose claims made by the triumphal entry:

*“Oh! True, oh! Imperial Majesty... honoured not only by strength of arms, but weaponed with laws of justice, properly using the time of war and peace. Oh! Pure Royal lustre. Oh! Famous Prince, honour and refuge of anguished Europe, renowned for great battles, restoring your ancestral lands, fighting and winning so many cities; but also honoured by the lawful expulsion of the bitterness of your slanderous enemies, so that your Majesty, who honours both Divine and wordly laws, and who has conquered his enemies, may be called, the blessed Conqueror [Triumphator magnificus], as well as the Joy of the Netherlandish and Germanic peoples.”*<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> See the footnote accompanying the next quote from Govert Bidloo’s official account.

<sup>223</sup> Beeck, *The Triumph-Royal ...*, 1692, p.62.

<sup>224</sup> Barclay, “William’s Court as King”, in *Redefining William III. The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context*, 2007, p.247.

<sup>225</sup> “Deeze zeegepraal van zagmoedigheid en tegelijk van dapperheid hebben veele in oude tijden, ik spreek van *Theodosius*, *Probus*, *Constans*, en andere: toch by onzer vaderen en onze geheugenis voornaamentlijken de Vorsten en Princen van *Nassauw* en *Oranje* behaald: het zy verre dat ik U E Majesteyt (*Doorlugtig Koning*) hier in de hoogste eere niet zou geeven, die deeze deugen, gelijk een erf uwer groote Voorouderen, ontfangen heeft.” Bidloo, *Zeegegroet*, 1691, pp.19-20.

<sup>226</sup> Bidloo, *Zeegegroet*, 1691, p.19.

<sup>227</sup> “O! waarachtige, ô! Keizerlijke Majesteit (gelijk Tribonianus deelsgewijs van Justinianus zegt) niet alleen door kragt van waapenen geëerd; maar ook door wetten van billikheid gewaapend; gebruykende den tijd van oorlog en vrede naar

William's conquest of Ireland dominated the imagery of the triumphal entry. Several paintings depicted William's victory at the Battle of the Boyne, while medals showed Ireland in The Hague arriving as a captive Hibernia (fig. 79). However, the most significant imagery of William as conqueror in the triumphal entry were the gilded and bronze equestrian statues that crowned the arches on the Buitenhof and Plaats. The figure of the King on horseback on the Plaats appeared dressed as a contemporary general, while the triumphal arch on the Buitenhof showed William as a Roman hero (figs.27).<sup>228</sup> These statues were highly visible, three-dimensional portraits of William that appeared to be cast from gleaming metal, emulating the most prestigious kind of public monument, while the active stance of rider and horse, striding forth into space, recalled the King's actions on the battlefield and reinforced the militaristic overtones of the triumphal entry into The Hague. That this was the intention of the statue standing on Steven Vennekool's arch was reinforced by the inscription that ran across the cornice of the supporting cupola:

*"To the return of William III, the pious, fortunate, illustrious, victorious, the father of his country, perpetual governor of the United Provinces, the restorer of Belgic liberty, the deliverer of England, the preserver of Scotland, the pacifier of Ireland."*<sup>229</sup>

Since the days of imperial Rome the equestrian statue has been considered the ultimate ruler monument and one of the most important cultural models in the West.<sup>230</sup> The link between equestrian sculpture and the triumphal arch was often made by contemporary artists like Daniel Marot (fig.66) as one of the primary functions of Roman triumphal arches was to act as a support for sculpture and the trophies of war, as shown in Mantegna's cycle (fig.62). Pliny, in his *Natural History*, pointed out that this had evolved from the practice of raising statues to individuals, in order "...to elevate them above all other mortals; which is also the meaning conveyed by the new invention of arches."<sup>231</sup> The height of a statue's base therefore also reflected its importance. The base of the statue on the *Plaats* resembled that made by Michelangelo for the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Roman Capitol, although the statue itself resembled more the work of François Girardon for Louis XIV<sup>232</sup>. The plaster

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behooren. O! zuivere Koninklijke luister. O! beroemde Vorst, eer en toeverlaat van het quynende Europe: niet alleen door groote veldslagen, het herstellen van uw erffelijke landen, het bevechten en overwinnen van zoo veele steden vermaard; maar ook door wettige wegen de bitterheid uwer lasterende vyanden uyt dryvende, geëerd; zoo dat uw Majesteit, die beide het Goddelijke en waereldlijke recht in eere houd, zoo zeer hier door, als door het overwinnen van zyn vyanden, den gezeegenden Overwinnar, als het Welbehaagen der Nederduitsche volkeren mag genoemd werden." Bidloo, *Zeegegroet*, 1691, pp.13-14.

<sup>228</sup> A. Staring, "Een Borstbeeld van de Koning-Stadhouder", *Oud Holland*, 80, 1965, p.223.

<sup>229</sup> The Latin inscription read PIO. FEL. INCL. GUILIELMO III. M. BRIT. R. TRIOMPHA PATRIA PATRI. GUB. P. C. L. P. RST. BELG. FOED. LIB. ANGL. SERV. SCOT. PAC. HIB. REDUCI. Many of these inscriptions reappeared on medals issued in the wake of the entry. The translation is taken from Tindal, *The Metallic history of the three last reigns or a series of medals, representing all the Remarkable Events from the Revolution, to the Death of King George I*, 1747, p.14

<sup>230</sup> Philipp Fehl, *The Classical Monument. Reflections on the Connection between Morality and Art in Greek and Roman Sculpture*. New York: New York University Press, pp.43-44

<sup>231</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXV, 27, cited in Fehl, *The Classical Monument. Reflections on the Connection between Morality and Art in Greek and Roman Sculpture*, 1972, p.48.

<sup>232</sup> Van Luttervelt. "De versieringen ter eere van den intocht van Willem III te 's-Gravenhage in 1691", 1948, p. 156.

model of Girardon's statue was already in use in 1685 and although it would only be cast in bronze in 1692, it was very likely an important inspiration for the statue on the Plaats.<sup>233</sup>

Artists and patrons in the Netherlands knew of the equestrian monument primarily through graphic reproductions of examples found in Greco-Roman art, especially the bronze equestrian sculpture of Marcus Aurelius (figs.65). In the medieval period, it was believed that the statue represented Constantine the Great and came to signify the victory of Christianity over paganism.<sup>234</sup> Several of the artists at the Confrerie Pictura had acquired firsthand knowledge of this statue during their stay in Rome, where they could copy it from reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, like Augustinus Terwesten (fig.66). Despite well known antique precedents in the seventeenth century, equestrian statues of living rulers were still relatively rare outside Italy. There existed a tradition of monumental equestrian sculpture in England since the bronze statue of Charles I cast by the French artist Hubert Le Sueur in 1633. This equestrian statue of Charles I exercised a long lasting influence on many other later royal equestrian monuments in eighteenth-century Britain.<sup>235</sup> William must have been well aware of the significance of the statue of his Stuart grandfather since it was publicly reinstalled in Charing Cross following the Restoration in 1675.

Equestrian imagery with its noble connotations of chivalry and war had long been a source of inspiration to the Dutch stadholders and was one that William III could trace back to the early days of the Nassau dynasty in the Netherlands.<sup>236</sup> Although there were many genre paintings of horseback figures, frequently depicting the Orange court, there were few monumental portraits of men on horseback in the Northern Netherlands.<sup>237</sup> The earliest equestrian portraits painted by artists like Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne (c.1587-1662) and Pauwels van Hillegaert (1596-1640) consistently showed members of the courts of the Nassau princes in The Hague and in Friesland.<sup>238</sup> The more than life-size portraits in Huis ten Bosch by Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert display a young Frederik Hendrik

<sup>233</sup> Staring, "Een Borstbeeld van de Koning-Stadhouder", *Oud Holland*, 1965, p.224.

<sup>234</sup> Dumas, *In Het Zadel. Het Nederlands Ruitportret van 1550 Tot 1900*, 1979, p.11.

<sup>235</sup> 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. Charlotte Chastel-Rousseau, Aldershot: Ashgate 2011, p.158.

<sup>236</sup> The princes of Orange owned an important series of tapestries that showed members of the family in pairs, facing each other on horseback, which was originally made to the designs of the Renaissance artist Bernard van Orley, and which was presumably taken to Spain during the early years of the Eighties Year War (1568-1648). In 1632 William's grandfather Frederik Hendrik ordered a reissue of these genealogical tapestries in imitation of the series commissioned in 1530 by his ancestor Henry III of Nassau. In the 1640s, following the dynastic marriage of William II to Mary Stuart, Princess Royal, there also followed at least two monumental cycles of equestrian portraits and ancestors commissioned for town halls, in addition to the four equestrian portraits in the Oranjezaal Dumas, *In Het Zadel. Het Nederlands Ruitportret van 1550 Tot 1900*, 1979, pp.17, 54-55.

<sup>237</sup> Only once did an equestrian monument appear in a so-called triumphal medal designed by Jacques de Gheyn to commemorate the conquest of the Fort of St Andrew and the battle of Nieuwpoort in 1600, see Sanders, *Het present van Staat. De gouden ketens, kettingen en medailles verleend door de Staten-Generaal, 1588-1795*, 2013, p.130. The earliest equestrian paintings in the Netherlands date from the mid sixteenth-century and were inspired by engravings. Equestrian imagery in the Low Countries had first appeared in prints that depicted the so-called Nine Heroes, which, from the fifteenth-century, were represented as horseback riders. The Burgundian rulers enjoyed associating themselves with these heroes, which were selected from histories in the Bible, Graeco-Roman Antiquity and Medieval Christianity. Later, during the second half of the seventeenth century there were also portraits of leading Amsterdam citizens who, with a few exceptions, were mostly modest size cabinet pieces. Exceptional portraits that show citizens rather than nobles riding horseback are the portrait of the surgeon's son Dirck Tulp by the artist Paulus Potter (1625-1654) in the Collection Six, Amsterdam, and Rembrandt's portrait of merchant Frederick Rihel (1621-1681) in the National Gallery, London). See Charles Dumas, ed. *In Het Zadel. Het Nederlands Ruitportret van 1550 Tot 1900*. Leeuwarden; 's-Hertogenbosch; Assen: Fries Museum; Noordbrabants Museum; Provinciaal Museum van Drenthe, 1979, especially pp.13- 24.

<sup>238</sup> Dumas, *In het zadel. Het Nederlands ruitportret van 1550 tot 1900*, 1979, p.15.

accompanying his half-brother Maurits on horseback (fig.64), in a manner similar to Anthony van Dyck's famous portraits equestrian portrait of Charles I of England). In the same hall, there were also several *portraits historiés* by Gerard van Honthorst that showed Frederik Hendrik ruling the sea and land with arms.

The lifesize equestrian statues used in the triumphal entry were therefore a unique phenomenon. Although similar (permanent) monuments were to honour William's uncles James II and Charles II during their lifetime, the only equestrian statue erected to William III in his life was in the Irish capital Dublin in 1700. This statue commemorates the Battle at the Boyne in 1690, and the King's triumph into the capital following his victory (fig.127). By taking the equestrian statue as a key to understanding William's identification with the military and political roles as Stadholder and King, it is possible to situate the triumphal entry into a larger European context of monumental culture.

The wider cultural and political significance of these equestrian statues merits more attention because this form of public representation of William III looks both to antique sculpture, especially the well-known statue of Marcus Aurelius, as well as the work of contemporary French sculptors by François Girardon (1628-1715) and Antoine Coysevox (1640-1720). The equestrian statue of William surrounded by crouching slaves is also reminiscent of the immense portrait of Louis XIV at Versailles sculpted by the artist Antoine Coysevox (fig.93). This high and low relief medallion showed the French King as a triumphant Roman general on horseback king, presiding over the *Salon de la Guerre*, where the stucco relief was set into the wall looking out over the Hall of Mirrors and was framed by gilded bronze and polychrome marble reliefs.

The inscriptions on the sides of the equestrian statue's pedestal on Steven Vennekool's arch relate to the status William III and his role as ruler and leader expressed in the triumphal entry. The inscription facing the public square of the Buitenhof called William III the salvation of the people (*Populi Salus*), while the other side proclaimed him the ornament of Princes (*Procerum Decus*).<sup>239</sup> The inscription *Populi Salus* was taken from the Latin motto *Salus populi suprema lex esto* (The welfare of the people is the highest law), which was one of the well-known maxims of the famous Roman orator Cicero.<sup>240</sup> This inscription had a more immediate contemporary significance since it was a part of the epigraph used by John Locke in the preface of his *Second Treatise on Government* (1689), which Locke used to justify the Glorious Revolution.

The inscription *Procerum Decus* may have been taken from the late sixth-century panegyric text *In laudem Iustini minoris*, where the Roman poet Flavius Cresconius Ocrippus praised his patron, Anastasius of Samaria, who the Emperor Justinian II (c.520-578) had honoured by bestowing him with the highest offices of the Empire, namely the *magister officiorum* and the *quaestor sacri palatii*.<sup>241</sup> The legal and administrative powers of this dual office had made Anastasius one of the most senior figures in the empire, and it is possible

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<sup>239</sup> Translations taken from Bidloo, *Relation du voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande ...*, 1692, p.51 and Carr, *An accurate description of the United Netherlands ...*, 1691, p.21.

<sup>240</sup> Cicero, *De Legibus*, Book 3, 3:7.

<sup>241</sup> For the history of this text see Michael von Albrecht, *Roman Epic. An interpretative introduction*. Boston and Leiden: Brill, 1999, pp.330-331.



that such an association with an imperial official was thought to be appropriate with the office of stadholder held by William III or his role in relation to the Emperor Leopold. The other sides of the statue's pedestal were inscribed "He fortifies with his valour" (*Munit*) and "He unites with his counsels" (*Unit*), thus making explicit the connection between William's representation at the allied conference and his triumphal entry into The Hague.<sup>242</sup> This last point is important because it hints at the function of the triumphal arch during the Congress after the king's entrance. These inscriptions, relating the statue of William III to classical texts that exemplify classical notions of leadership contrary to the prevailing trend of absolutism, sought to temper the potentially controversial representation of the King and Stadholder as a Roman conqueror on horseback.

### *Medals and royal imagery*

Perhaps the most important object that remains from the triumphal entry is a gold medal (fig.37). This medal, sometimes referred to as a literary award, was designed by Romeyn de Hooghe and engraved by Daniel Drappentier, is the only medal accounted for in the payment records of the Nassau Demesne Council and is noted by contemporary sources as having been distributed after the entry.<sup>243</sup> The contemporary numismatist Nicolas Chevalier described medal's reverse figure as:

*"King William holding in one hand the Imperial Standard, and in the other the list of his commands; Fame who publishes his victories, and who holds the British expedition on a shield, which she has rested on the remains of his [William's] enemies. Further on we see a column with the hulls of vessels, and the representation of this expedition with Heaven's blessing that descended on the head of this great Monarch. Minerva, the goddess of Sciences, distributes medals to the erudite orators, painters and poets."*<sup>244</sup>

It was one of the rare medals to be struck in gold, the most recent other example being the coronation medal, whose choice of precious material highlighted the significance of the occasion (and medal) for the court's public representation. There is a resemblance with an ancient triumphal medal struck in 281 for the Emperor Probus (232-282), which couples the emperor's portrait with an image depicting him on a throne surrounded by figures that recall Romeyn de Hooghe's design (figs.37- 38). The 1691 medal perfectly illustrates how the triumphal entry used material as well as ritual histories to craft an artificial tradition in which the new regime was anchored in an imaginary past endowing William's reign with legitimacy. This medal perpetuated the regime's imperial aspirations, as expressed in the triumphal entry, which was voiced in poems referring to the prince's "pure blood of Emperors", thereby

<sup>242</sup> Bidloo, *Relation du voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande ...*, 1692, p.51.

<sup>243</sup> Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, 1692, p.209. Franks, Grueber and Hawkins, *Medallic illustrations of the history of Great Britain and Ireland to the death of George II*, Vol.2, 1985, pp.19-20; Sanders, *Oranjenpenningen in Paleis Het Loo met een catalogus van de penningcollectie van de Geschiedkundige Vereniging Oranje-Nassau*, 2006, p.76.

<sup>244</sup> Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, 1692, p.209.

allowing him to rule over more than one kingdom.<sup>245</sup> Taken together, it not only provides evidence of William's personal involvement but highlights the significance of the triumphal entry to his representation.

The medal was distributed before and after the entry to scholars and poets who had contributed to the glory of the king and the Glorious Revolution.<sup>246</sup> The *Europische Mercurius* reported that prior to the King's entry, "various commemorative medals" were handed out by the royal treasurer Willem van Schuylenburch to "those who had written laudatory poems of their Majesties' voyage to England as well as their coronation."<sup>247</sup> One of the recipients of this golden medal was the poet Pieter Nuyts (1640-1709), son of a notorious former Governor of Formosa (Taiwan), who heralded the return of William III as "Leader of Brit- and Nether-lands", who now held ruled the seas as Prince of the British Empire and Custodian of the Netherlands.<sup>248</sup> The poet Peter Rabus mentioned the reception of this golden literary award at the beginning of his poem dedicated to William's return.<sup>249</sup>

The gold medal is a rare glimpse into William's personal interests in these matters and reflects the kind of artistic representation promoted by the King himself. He realised the importance of crafting a canon for himself that reflected his ambitions. Medals, which offer the possibility to closely associate portraiture and figures or emblems, were a distinctly useful medium for perpetuating political messages. The distribution of medals was a key component of state occasions, such as coronations, and have been traced back to classical antiquity by John Evelyn, who wrote that Roman emperors presented these "marks of honour" like jewels during ceremonies of state.<sup>250</sup> This reinforces not only the link between the events of the Glorious Revolution and the occasion of the triumphal entry, but also the importance of this event to his political and social relations in the United Provinces.

The close iconographies of the triumphal arches and medals suggests that there was a central organisation behind the triumphal entry, while a number of medals were almost certainly commissioned for the Congress of Allies directly by members of the court or the States of Holland. Moreover, the medals of the triumphal entry were not only instrumental in generating a monument to the Roman William, but were also an entirely novel reinvention of the Roman triumphal medal, being produced in much greater numbers and varieties than such medals of Louis XIV (See Chapter 4). During this period, medals created in the Netherlands became more markedly classical in appearance, usually considered as a result of

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<sup>245</sup> "...Nous fassent voir en Guillaume, le pur sang des empereurs, regnant sur plus d'un Royaume..." Anonymous, *Ode pour leurs majestés Britanniques*. [The Hague?]: Adriaen I Moetjens, 1691, p.3.

<sup>246</sup> Snoep, *Praal en Propaganda*, 1975, p.99.

<sup>247</sup> "Eindelyk : den Heer Schuilenburg, Raadsheer en Griffier van zyn Brittanische Majesteits Raad, had in 't begin der Maand verscheidene Gedenkpenningen aan degeenen, welke eenige Vaerzen tot lof van haar Majesteiten, zo ten opzichte van hun overgaan na Engeland als komst tot de Kroon, gemaakt hadden, uitgedeeld [...]" *Europische Mercurius*, 2:1, Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1691, p.70.

<sup>248</sup> 'Op het Geslegte Gescil oover de See-Heerscappy' and 'De Waater-Monarchy staat tans in Wilhelms handen./ Als Vorst van 't Britse Rijk, als Voogd der Needer-landen'. In Nuyts, Pieter, 'Op de Landing van syn Majesteit den xxxi. Lou-maand M. DC. XCI.' [1691], re-published in Pieter Nuyts, *Punt-Digten* Amsterdam: 1696 by Heirs Lescaijle The Hague, Royal Library, 1696.

<sup>249</sup> Rabus, *Vreugdezang opgeoffert aan zijne majesteit Wilhem...Op zijne aankomste in Holland*, 1691, n.p.

<sup>250</sup> John Evelyn *Numismate. A Discourse of Medals, Antient and Modern. Together with Some Account of Heads and Effigies of Illustrious and Famous Persons, in Sculpt, and Taille-Douce ...* London: Benjamin Tooke, 1697, pp. 9, 15.



Fig. 40. Silver medal depicting the triumphal arch on the Market and an allegory of William's arrival in Holland accompanied by a captive Ireland, 1691, by Reynier Arondeaux. Amsterdam, Nationale Numismatische Collectie.



Fig. 41. Silver medal depicting William's landing at Oranjepolder with the personifications of Holland and Joy watching the fireworks on the Hofvijver, 1691, by D. Koene. Amsterdam, Nationale Numismatische Collectie.



Fig. 42. Silver medal struck for the Congress of Allies, showing Jupiter heading a council of the Gods (obverse) and Bravery, Unity and Wisdom united at the altar of common good (reverse), 1691, by Philipp Heinrich Müller and Friedrich Kleinert. Amsterdam, Nationale Numismatische Collectie.





Fig. 43. Silver medal showing the triumphal arch on the Buitenhof (obverse) and the arrival of William III at Oranjepolder (reverse), 1691, by Jan Smeltzing. Amsterdam, Nationale Numismatische Collectie.



Fig. 44. Silver medal depicting the return of William III from England, 1691, by Jan Smeltzing. Amsterdam, Nationale Numismatische Collectie.



Fig. 45. Pewter (?) medal made in London, 1691, by F.D. Winter. Amsterdam, Nationale Numismatische Collectie.



Fig. 46. Cast bronze medal showing bust of William III (obverse), triumphal arch on the Plaats (reverse), 1691, by Jan Luder. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 47. Silver medal of Louis XIV of France, 1670, by Jean Warin. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 48. Silver medal contrasting the victories of William III and Louis XIV, 1691, by an anonymous medallist. Amsterdam, Nationale Numismatische Collectie.



Fig. 49. Silver medal depicting William III and Hercules destroying the Hydra, 1690, by Jan Luder (?). © Trustees of the British Museum.

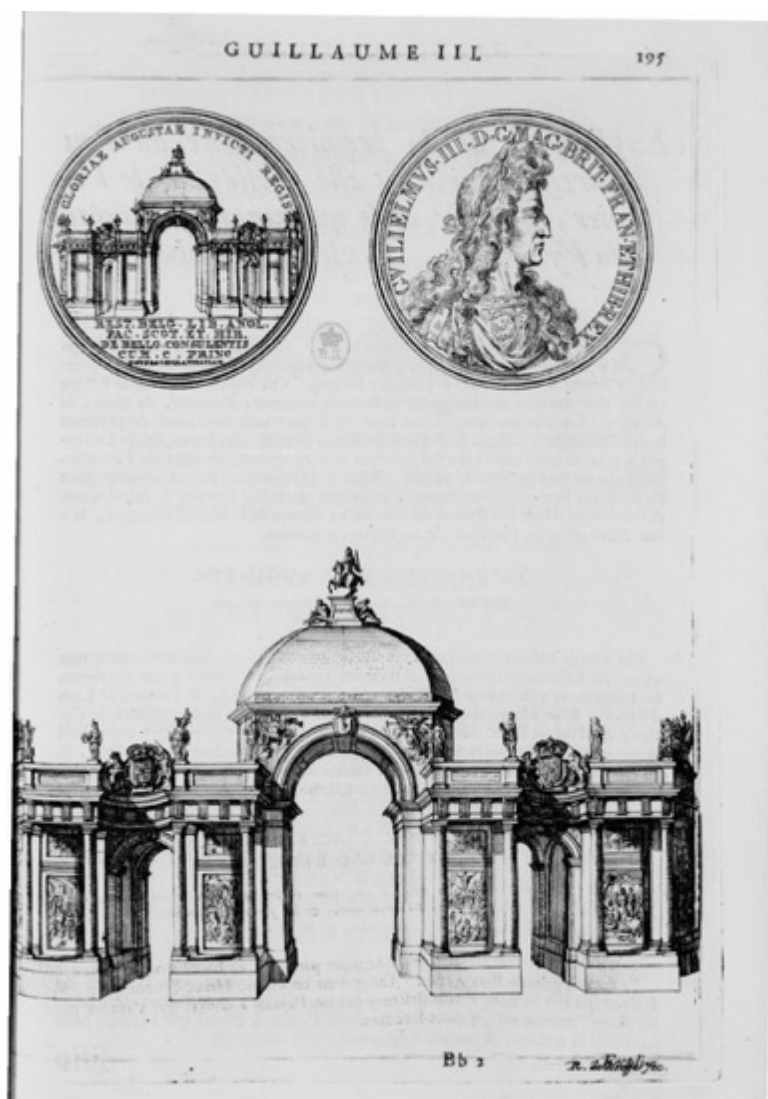


Fig. 50. Illustration by Adriaen Schoonebeeck in Nicolas Chevalier, *L'histoire de Guillaume III, Roy d'Angleterre....*, 1692.



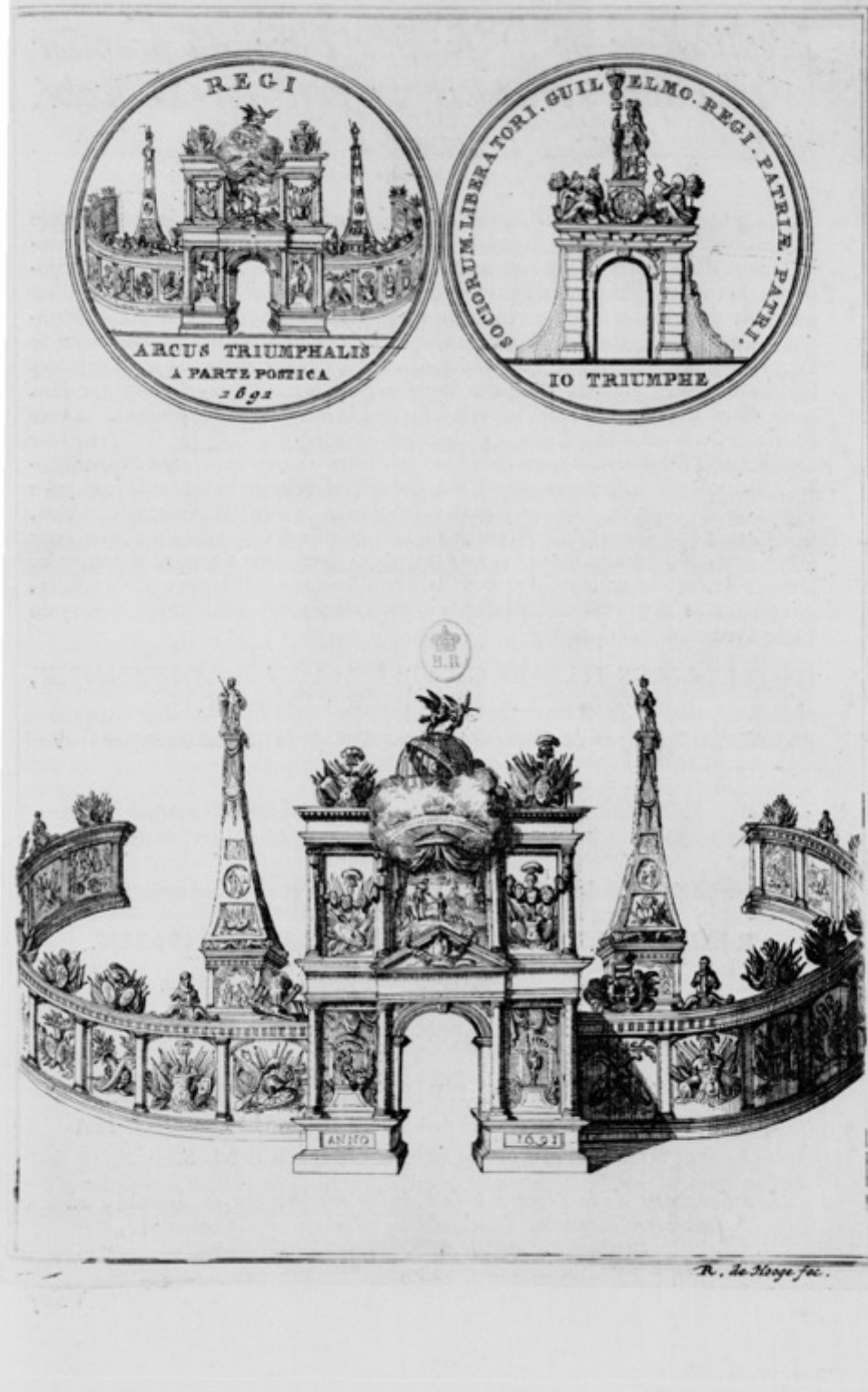


Fig. 51. Illustration by Adriaen Schoonebeeck in Nicolas Chevalier, *L'histoire de Guillaume III, Roy d'Angleterre...*, 1692.



Fig. 52. Allegorical frontispiece by Romeyn de Hooghe for William's medallion history, 1692. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.





Fig. 53. Commemorative medals of William's triumphal entry published in Nicolas Tindal's *The Metallic history of the three last reigns or a series of medals*, 1747.

French influence, and have therefore been viewed as less authentically “Dutch” and of lesser art historical importance than medals made before 1672.<sup>251</sup>

The triumphal medals made in 1691 by Netherlandish medallists like Reinier Arondeaux (active 1678-1702) and Jan Smeltzing (1656-1693), and that proliferated in the wake of the King’s return, established a new type of medal in the Northern Netherlands that affirmed the victorious image of William III established in the triumphal entry. Earlier triumphal medals that were made in the Northern Netherlands associated depictions of battlefields or sieges, evoking the geography of war, with emblems referring to the commanding general’s military virtue.<sup>252</sup> William was very familiar with this kind of medallic imagery, as similar triumphal medals commemorating the victories of his grandfather Frederik Hendrik decorated the famous Hall of Orange (*Oranjezaal*) of his residence Huis ten Bosch in The Hague. Although medallists would continue to show images of the cities won in battle, these new medals showed triumphal arches that embodied an abstract notion of victory derived from classical sources.

Seventeenth-century audiences viewed medals as acting in the same manner as other, larger monuments. For those observing William’s triumphal entry the link between the miniature and monumental was similarly evident (figs.2, 93). The relationship between medals and architecture had been established in numismatic literature since the recovery of classical antiquity in the Renaissance. Early humanists consistently compared small antique coins and medals to the much larger monuments of ancient Rome and Greece.<sup>253</sup> This was one of the reasons for which ancient coins and medals were celebrated by the influential Italian numismatist Enea Vico, who praised these objects for revealing triumphs, festivities and other public events for which no written records have survived.<sup>254</sup> Similarly the French antiquarian Guillaume du Choul used the images of triumphs found on ancient medals to reproduce structures on a much larger scale in his illustrated work on Roman antiquities.<sup>255</sup>

Medals ensured the legacy of William’s triumphal entry by transforming the event into permanent, metal objects that preserved his victorious return for future generations. Most of the medals struck in 1691 depicted the temporary triumphal arches that were commissioned by the States of Holland and local magistracy of The Hague in anticipation of the arrival of William III and his allies. On them, his victories against Louis XIV and James II in Britain and Ireland were celebrated (figs.75-80). Because medals were reproduced and discussed in gazettes and pamphlets, they quickly became one of the most effective representations of William’s return, extending his triumphal moment and proclaiming his leadership of the League of Augsburg.

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<sup>251</sup> For the classical influence in late seventeenth-century medals from the Northern Netherlands see Beliën, “Ken uw klassieken. Politieke boodschappen in een klassiek jasje op penningen uit de zeventiende eeuw”, in *Hulde! Penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, 2012, p. 98. For a recent example of the view that the style of Dutch medals made during this later period is less interesting than medals made during the first half of the seventeenth century see Stephen K. Scher, *The Proud Republic. Dutch Medals of the Golden Age*. New York: The Frick Collection, 1997, p. 11.

<sup>252</sup> Sanders, “Penningen ter beloning” In *Hulde! Penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, 2012, pp.89-90.

<sup>253</sup> Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious*, 1999, p.11.

<sup>254</sup> Cunnally, *Images of the Illustrious*, 1999, p.136.

<sup>255</sup> Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images. Art and the Interpretation of the Past*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993, p.16 ; F. Bourriot, “Un ouvrage lyonnais de la Renaissance : Discours de la religion des anciens Romains par Guillaume du Choul, Lyon, 1556.” *Revue du Nord* 66, 1984, pp. 657-658.

The Glorious Revolution had inaugurated a “veritable stream” of medals that perpetuated important events like the prince’s successful invasion of the British Isles, the subsequent flight of James II, and the eventual accession to the throne of William and Mary.<sup>256</sup> Medals were struck, cast and embossed in metals ranging from gold to tin and were used to both circulate William III’s portrait and actions in Britain and the Netherlands and to broadcast his achievements across Europe and beyond. In 1692 and 1728, respectively, the numismatists Nicolas Chevalier and Gerard van Loon catalogued approximately thirty medals struck during the short period (31 January - 21 April 1691) when William III resided in the Netherlands.<sup>257</sup> This amount is comparable to the number of medals associated with his coronation in 1689, which signals, once again, the importance of the representation of the King on this occasion.

Although more medals were issued to honour William III than any previous English king or Dutch stadholder, and have frequently been described as one of William’s most important propaganda strategies, little has been said about their function or impact.<sup>258</sup> To understand the function of these medals and the reactions their circulation provoked in France, both will be studied in Chapter 4 in relation to the contemporary *histoire métallique* conceived for Louis XIV of France, particularly since the rivalry between William and Louis increasingly shaped the production of medals in the Low Countries, England and France from 1689 onwards.<sup>259</sup>

### *The materiality of monuments*

Understanding the frequently overlapping roles and the compounded process of creating complex designs, involving patrons, advisors, artists and the craftsmen who interpreted these

<sup>256</sup> Henri Jean de Dompierre de Chauvigné, “De historiepenningen en munten betrekking hebbende op het Stadhuis van Oranje-Nassau”, published as the second part of W.G.C. Byvanck, *De Oranje Nassau-boekerij en de Oranje-penningen in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek en in het Koninklijke Penningkabinet te s-Gravenhage*, 1902, p.235.

<sup>257</sup> The approximate number of coronation medals is given by Kevin Sharpe in *Rebranding rule. The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714*, 2013, p. 437. Franks, Grueber and Hawkins, *Medallic illustrations of the history of Great Britain and Ireland to the death of George II*, Vol.2, 1885, pp.1-24. For contemporary accounts of the medals struck for William’s return in 1691 see Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, 1692, and Van Loon, *Beschrijving der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen...* 1728. These medals can be broadly categorised as representing the king’s arrival in the Netherlands, his triumphal entry into The Hague, the Congress of Allies and the siege of Mons in the Spanish Netherlands. Medals for the king’s return see Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, 1692, p. 159; Van Loon, *Beschrijving der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen...* 1728, pp. 510-515. For medals commemorating the triumphal entry Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, 1692, pp. 172-208; Van Loon, *Beschrijving der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen...*, 1728, pp.515-529. Medals for the Congress of Allies see Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, 1692, pp. 209-220; Van Loon, *Beschrijving der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen...*, 1728, pp.529-534. For Dutch and French medals for Mons see Van Loon, *Beschrijving der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen...*, 1728, pp.535-539. See Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, 1692, pp. 216-218 for a description of the siege of Mons.

<sup>258</sup> Sharpe, *Rebranding rule. The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714*, 2013, p. 418; George Sanders, *Oranje-penningen in Paleis Het Loo met een catalogus van de penningcollectie van de Geschiedkundige Vereniging Oranje-Nassau*. Rotterdam: Geschiedkundige Vereniging Oranje-Nassau, 2006, p. 9; H.E. van Gelder, . "Koning-Stadhouder Willem III in de Penningkunst", in *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 67, 1980, 241. For the importance of medals leading up to and during the Glorious Revolution see B. Weiss, “Medals of the Glorious Revolution : the influence of Catholic-Protestant antagonism”, in *American Numismatic Society Magazine* 13, 2014: 6-23; Schwoerer, “Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688-1689”, *The American Historical Review*, 1977: 852-5. For the previous, very limited discussions of the use of medals during William’s triumphal entry see Snoep, *Praal en Propaganda: Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16e en 17e eeuw*, 1975, p.100.

<sup>259</sup> De Dompierre de Chauvigné, “De historiepenningen en munten betrekking hebbende op het Stadhuis van Oranje-Nassau”, *De Oranje Nassau-boekerij en de Oranje-penningen in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 1902, p.237.

designs, is further complicated by the near complete absence of preparatory drawings or models. The impossibility of reconstructing the exact process of commission and design highlights the importance of finding more fruitful ways to engage with the available material and historical evidence. In the Dutch edition of the official account, Govert Bidloo wrote that “countless buildings, images and medals” had embodied the virtues and memories of the deeds of the princes of Orange, which in the French edition was translated with the more comprehensive term *monuments*.<sup>260</sup> The official account argued that the memory of William’s ancestors, who had led the Dutch to freedom, lived not just in these “public monuments”, that is material objects, but even more so in the hearts of the Dutch peoples.<sup>261</sup> The editor Barent Beeck, who collaborated with the architect Steven Vennekool on an unofficial account of the triumphal entry, also argued that these “public monuments” served to preserve the extraordinary action William III and so that future generations be “thus more inclined to imitate [these actions]”.<sup>262</sup> Like Bidloo, Beeck also emphasised the popular acclaim of the people that validated these public honours, while also pointing out their future usage:

“We observe in all Histories that whenever any great Personages had Signaliz’d themselves by any Extraordinary Actions that merited to be preserved in Remembrance, they erected in their Honours Trophies and Triumphal Arches, not only to set forth the Joy of the People, but that they might serve as Eternal Monuments to perpetuate the Renown of these Great Heroes.”<sup>263</sup>

The definition of the monument as the material embodiment of a living memory of human action hearkens back to the word’s Latin root *monere*, to remind or to warn, as found in several contemporary treatises. In the contemporary *Dictionnaire de l’académie française*, published by the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* in 1694, the term “monument” was defined as a “public mark” left to posterity to “preserve the memory” of an illustrious man or action, or erected to the glory to a Prince, or as testimony of the grandeur of Rome.<sup>264</sup> For the Dutch Kiliaen, the Latin *monumentum* was the translation of the Dutch word “memorie” or memory.<sup>265</sup> For late seventeenth century intellectual figures, the category of the public monument may therefore be defined broadly as works of art, modern or ancient, that contain or describe the memorable actions of famous public men.<sup>266</sup>

<sup>260</sup> Bidloo, *Relation du voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande ...*, 1692, p.2. Compare with Bidloo, *Komste van Zyne Majesteit Willem III, Koning van Groot Britanje, enz., in Holland...*, 1691, pp.2-3.

<sup>261</sup> Bidloo, *Relation du voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande ...*, 1692, p.2

<sup>262</sup> Barent Beeck, *Le triomphe royal où l’on voit descrites les arcs de triomphe, piramydes, Tableau, & Devises au nombre de 65, erigez à la Haye, à l’honneur de Guillaume III, Roy d’Angleterre, Ecosse, France, & Irlande*, The Hague : Barent Beeck, 1691, Fol.3b

<sup>263</sup> “To the Reader” in Beeck, *The Triumph-royal: containing a short account of the most remarkable battles, sieges, sea-fights, treaties, and famous achievements of the princes of the House of Nassau...*, 1692, n.p.

<sup>264</sup> “Monument. Sub. M. Marque publique qu’on laisse à la postérité pour conserver la memoire de quelque personne illustre, ou de quelque action célèbre. Monument illustre, superbe, magnifique, durable, glorieux, éternel. C’est un monument à la postérité, dresser, ériger un monument à la gloire d’un Prince. &c. on voit encore de beaux monuments de la grandeur Romaine.” *Le dictionnaire de l’Académie françoise, dédié au Roy*, Vol.2, 1694, p.87.

<sup>265</sup> Cornelis Kiel, *Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae*, ed. by F. Claes, original edition 1599, Vol. 3, Monumenta Lexicographica Neerlandica 2, The Hague: Mouton, 1972, p.710

<sup>266</sup> For a comparison of contemporary French discussions of the monuments collected by Louis XIV of France, see Jean-François Félibien des Avaux, *Monumens Antiques*, Paris: chez Florentin et Pierre Delaulne et chez Louis Lucas, 1690.

The fleeting nature of ephemeral architecture has posed an issue in architectural historiography, which has tended to focus on permanent structures.<sup>267</sup> It seems self-evident that the painted gilded ceremonial gates bearing life-size statues of the king used in the triumphal entry were only temporary structures, rather than permanent, marble mausoleums, and yet the construction and decoration of the triumphal arches cost more than any other public monument ever paid for out of the public purse. An important distinction with the permanent monuments built in the Republic is that these honours were normally only granted posthumously, while the triumphal entry was presented to a living Stadholder, who was now also the monarch of a neighbouring nation.

The expense of the triumphal entry was comparable to the permanent monuments that the government of provincial and federal states had previously dedicated to the heroes of the Republic. The total costs of the triumphal entry, as far as the available archival records allows us to verify, amounted to approximately 24,000 guilders. The States of Holland dedicated 12,000 guilders to the construction of the triumphal arch on the Buitenhof and the fireworks display on the Hofvijver, while the local magistracy committed another 12,000 guilders to the triumphal arches built on the Markt and Plaats, as well as the banquet held following the entry. The most expensive publicly financed tomb was the cenotaph built by the sculptor Bartholomeus Eggers for the Admiral Jacob van Wassenaer Obdam (1610-1665), for which the States General had given 15,800 guilders.<sup>268</sup> These lavish expenses justify a comparison with the permanent monuments awarded to the Republic's heroes. The most expensive monument was the mausoleum of William I of Orange (1533-1584), for which the States General (after persistent pressure from the prince's widow, Louise de Coligny) had finally given 34,000 guilders.<sup>269</sup>

Considering the public expense of construction as well as contemporary descriptions it is uncertain if late seventeenth-century observers distinguished between the representational function of permanent and ephemeral architecture. Many contemporary authors remarked on the permanent appearance of the triumphal arches, which had been painted to resemble marble and stone relief. One English pamphlet published in 1691, echoing the descriptions of many other observers, emphasised the "marble" quality of the triumphal arch, which was achieved by skilled painters who were able to achieve a high degree of illusionism in imitating different kinds of precious stone.<sup>270</sup> The colour scheme of red, white and black marble painting in combination with gilded architectural ornament used for the triumphal arches was found in the most prestigious commissions for official sculpture, like the tomb of Michiel de Ruyter in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam, as well as in the seventeenth-century state rooms of Het Loo.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> For an overview of current approaches to festival architecture and its relation to art and architectural history, see the Introduction in Sarah Bonnemaïson and Christine Macy, eds., *Festival Architecture*, London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

<sup>268</sup> Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories. Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch tomb sculpture*, 2003, pp.149, 153.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, p.42.

<sup>270</sup> Anonymous, *A description of the most glorious and most magnificent arches erected at The Hague, for the Reception of William III. King of Great Britain...*, 1691, p.6.

<sup>271</sup> Adriaan W. Vliegthart, *Het Loo Palace. Journal of a Restoration*, transl. Margot Clegg, Stichting Paleis Het Loo Nationaal Museum, 2002, p.66.

These similarities suggest that stone tombs and wooden triumphal arches perform similar functions despite their different materialities. This concerns in particular the commemorative function of monuments like tombs and medals that preserve the present for future generations. The memorialisation of great deeds was of particular concern to seventeenth-century patrons and artists alike and could serve to extend a group's political ambitions posthumously (not unlike medals). Frits Scholten has argued that the creation of monumental tombs for Dutch naval heroes created a national pantheon for the young Republic.<sup>272</sup> However, although this memorial function is well developed for seventeenth-century funerary sculpture in the United Provinces, little has been said about how ephemeral architecture may serve a similar purpose.

Both Govert Bidloo and Barent Beeck offered profoundly humanist explanations of the honorific origins of ancient art and architecture. These sentiments find their earliest expression in the writings of the Italian scholar Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), who wrote in the *De Re Aedificatoria* that monuments built to preserve the memory of illustrious men imitated the Roman custom of erecting memorials following periods of war to "...mark the course of their victories, and to distinguish the limits of their conquests."<sup>273</sup> Alberti's conception of the public monument as being rooted in its social function and relation to human history foreshadows contemporary discussions of monuments.

The function of a monument as a repository of human memory and activity is how, four centuries later, the art historian Alois Riegl (1858-1905) defined the term in his work *Der moderne Denkmalkultus* (1903), in its most ancient sense, as a "work made by human hands in order to preserve for ever and living in the mind of future generations the memory of human actions or fortunes."<sup>274</sup> The essence of the monument for Alois Riegl was constituted by its artificial, man-made nature, and its defined purpose to keep the memory of certain actions "alive" for future generations.<sup>275</sup> The piety received by these monuments was, according to Riegl, not due to human craftsmanship but to the divine essence that is perceived to lodge itself in an ephemeral form.<sup>276</sup>

Monuments are usually legitimised through a physical connection, usually through interring bodies, bones, or other remains, or activated through inauguration ceremonies. The triumphal entry was a ritual representation of his military achievements, which explained the imagery of the ephemeral architecture while simultaneously legitimising its construction. William's triumphal entry served as the animation of the ephemeral architecture while the King's passage through the triumphal arches endowed the temporary structures with meaning. The ritual inauguration of these temporary structures enabled the organisers to draw parallels between William and the historical figures who had famously been rewarded for

<sup>272</sup> Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Tomb Sculpture*, 2003, p.15.

<sup>273</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, ed. Joseph Rykwert. Translated by James Leoni. London, 1755, p. 158

<sup>274</sup> "Unter Denkmal im ältesten und ursprünglichsten Sinne versteht man ein Werk von Menschenhand, errichtet zu dem bestimmten Zwecke, um einzelne menschliche Taten oder Geschehnisse (oder Komplexe mehrerer solcher) im Bewußtsein der nachlebenden Generationen stets gegenwärtig und lebendig zu erhalten. Es kann entweder ein Kunstdenkmal oder ein Schriftdenkmal sein, je nachdem es das zu verewigende Ereignis mit den bloßen Ausdrucksmitteln der bildenden Kunst oder unter Zuhilfenahme einer Inschrift dem Beschauer zur Kenntnis bringt." Alois Riegl, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus, Sein Wesen und Entstehung*, Vienne and Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1903, p.1:

<sup>275</sup> Alois Riegl, *Le Culte Moderne Des Monuments: Son Essence et Sa Genèse*, transl. Daniel Wiczeorek, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1984, p.35.

<sup>276</sup> Riegl, *Le Culte Moderne des Monuments*, transl. Wiczeorek, 1984, p. 58.

their accomplishments with similar honours, in particular the demigod Hercules, who appeared on all the triumphal arches. Whereas anthropologists like Arnold van Gennep might view the triumphal arch as a strictly ritual instrument, Alois Riegl would argue that it was the perceived embodiment of William's virtues that made contemporary observers attribute such efficacy to these temporary structures. Both Riegl and Assmann observe that the monument's core is constituted by what Bidloo refers to as the "living memory", which Assmann considers to be the driving force or so-called mythomotor of the regime.

The monument, in Jan Assmann's concept of cultural memory, does not change with time, but presents "a fixed point on the horizon" that communicates the same truth between the past and present. Monuments thus serve as a site for group identification, which encourage reflecting on future aspirations and historical milestones, or as Assmann succinctly puts it "prospective achievement and retrospective respect."<sup>277</sup> The theory of cultural memory, as developed by Jan Assmann, inscribes the conception of Alois Riegl's *Erinnerungswert* (the value of remembrance) in the larger arena of memory studies and specifically of the visualisation of the state through art and ritual. The cultural notion that artefacts of ritual significance functioned as material repositories of memory, transforming human actions into material signs, was a commonplace view held by contemporary figures like the Jesuit priest Claude-François Menestrier, whose unofficial medallic history of Louis XIV spoke of "medals, inscriptions, triumphal arches and other public monuments." A year later, in 1692, the illustrated history of medals published by Huguenot numismatist Nicolas Chevalier also described its contents as depicting the most important events of William's life by way of "medals, inscriptions, triumphal arches and other public monuments."<sup>278</sup> This illustrated volume, like the publications of Barent Beeck and Arnoud Leers, focused on the triumphal entry of 1691 and Chevalier situated this event in the historical context of William's memorable actions during as the Glorious Revolution, his coronation, and the conquest of Ireland.

Medals were an especially effective way of extending the lifespan of the triumphal entry, prolonging its ephemeral architecture as small, permanent objects that travelled easily across borders. The intrinsic value of medals resides, for a large part, in their weight and material.<sup>279</sup> Golden medals were the most prized, followed by silver, although these were fewer in number than medals struck in base metals like bronze, copper, tin and even lead. These different physical qualities were a major part of the appeal of medals but also influenced their conservation, which increasingly became an important question for seventeenth-century collectors<sup>280</sup>

However, to observers of the triumph it was the durability of metal that was the medal's most important physical property. According to the English diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706), it was this specific material advantage that had led Louis XIV to create an "Academy of

<sup>277</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 2011, p.47.

<sup>278</sup> Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, 1692.

<sup>279</sup> Although the scarcity of a medal's design also plays an important role in determining the value of such pieces in the real world. See also Marjan Scharloo, "Introduction", in Marjan Scharloo and Iris Tijmann, eds., *Images for Posterity. The conservation of coins and medals*, Leiden: Rijksmuseum Het Koninklijk Penningkabinet, 1995.

<sup>280</sup> Scharloo and Tijmann, eds., *Images for Posterity. The conservation of coins and medals*, 1995.



Medalists” in France.<sup>281</sup> The French Abbot Pierre Bizot (1630-1696), who wrote the first modern numismatic history, praised these “most solid metals” that preserved the present for posterity, while the Dutch numismatist Gerard van Loon (1683-1758) would similarly speak of “durability esteemed for their resilience... to transmit in a pleasant way, current events to the future, in imitation of the Ancients.”<sup>282</sup> This made medals a particularly powerful and dangerous form of monument. The medals made for William’s return to the Dutch Republic in 1691 used the imagery of the triumphal entry to promote him as a victorious general who had successfully defeated Louis XIV and James II and would lead the Alliance to success. The golden medal struck by Daniel Drappentier in particular served to perpetuate William’s portrait as triumphant conqueror into the minds of poets and scholars who sung his praises when acceding to the throne in Britain. The medals transformed the ritual of the triumphal entry into objects that were able to communicate the event’s ritual coherence beyond The Hague.

### *Advisors & artists*

The creation of William’s gold medal perfectly illustrates how the collaborative process of advisors, artists and craftsmen defies the traditional art historical focus on authorship. Although Romeyn de Hooghe provided the design for the golden literary award, its inscription must have been provided by another person while the diesinker, Daniel Drappentier, was allowed to sign the medal, and thus claim it as his own creation. Likewise, the apparatus of the triumphal entry was created by a team of artists and craftsmen who were directed by the King’s physician Govert Bidloo, the artist Romeyn de Hooghe and the architect Steven Vennekool. Bidloo described the art of the triumphal entry in his laudatory sermon:

*“Whatever arches of honour and victory, triumphal and artful buildings, fireworks and discourses, whatever titles of honour, inscriptions and images one may see in this place [...] all of this and more, brought together through the benevolent minds, arts, and expenses of the high Authorities of our land.”*<sup>283</sup>

This description covers a wide range of objects, including the medals that were struck with the same imagery and inscriptions linked to the triumphal entry as well as the ephemeral architecture with its sculpted and painted décor. All these artefacts served, according to

<sup>281</sup> Evelyn *Numismate. A Discourse of Medals, Antient and Modern. Together with Some Account of Heads and Effigies of Illustrious and Famous Persons, in Sculpts, and Taille-Douce* ..., 1697, pp. 2-3.

<sup>282</sup> “...sur les plus solides metaux”, Pierre Bizot, *Histoire métallique de la république de Hollande*, Vol.1, Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1689, p.17 ; “...duurzaamheid te achten voor de bestandigheid... de heedendaagsche voorvallen, aan de volgende Eeuwen, naar het voorbeeld van de Ouden, op een aangename wijze zullen overleveren.”, Van Loon, “Voorbericht”, in *Inleiding tot de Heedendaagsche Penningkunde*..., 1717, n.p.

<sup>283</sup> ‘Wat eer- en zeegeboogen, wat praal-en konstgebouwen, wat vuurwerken en vertoogen, wat eernamen, opschriften en uitbeeldsels men op de zelve ook in deeze plaats gezien.... Dat alles en wat noch meerder door het goedwillig gemoed, door konst, of kosten van de hooge Overigheeden onzes lands...” Bidloo, *Zeeegroet ter gewenste komste in de Vereenigde Nederlanden van den grootmagtigen en dapperen Vorst Willem, Koning van Engeland, Schotland, Frankrijk en Yrland*, 1691, pp.2-3.



Bidloo, as tangible proof of the "incomparably beneficent actions" of William III and who "could not be sufficiently honoured."<sup>284</sup>

There is insufficient evidence to pinpoint a particular creative force behind the triumphal entry. Although Romeyn de Hooghe was involved in many different creative aspects, including the designing of prints, paintings and medals, the case of the gold medal indicates that he could not have been in charge of the actual content of the triumphal entry.<sup>285</sup> He must have played a leading role in designing the paintings on the triumphal arches, but it is unlikely that he fulfilled an analogous role to that of Jean Berain (1640-1711) who, as *Dessinateur de la Chambre et du Cabinet du roi*, was responsible for the design of the ephemeral structures used by the court to mark important occasions.<sup>286</sup>

Previous scholars have found it difficult to explain the source of Romeyn de Hooghe's apparently encyclopaedic knowledge of antiquity but have assumed that the artist was in full control of the content of the triumphal entry. In 1691, De Hooghe was known for his depictions of contemporary events through satire or allegory but the artist was neither close enough to William III nor did he possess Govert Bidloo's scholarly knowledge. Although Romeyn de Hooghe was in touch with Portland in 1691, he is not known to have developed a personal relationship with the king, unlike the physician Govert Bidloo, who even waited on William at his death bed. For example, Walter Harris does not mention De Hooghe amongst the team of artists who supported the Earl of Portland with the design of the royal residences.

Romeyn de Hooghe claimed responsibility for the design of Steven Vennekool's arch and at least one broadsheet praised the prolific artist for his "Revival of Rome", which supposedly ensured him eternal fame.<sup>287</sup> Yet other authors criticised the artist for besmirching Vennekool's design with common paint and that his superficial baubles only appealed to illiterate peasants.<sup>288</sup> If Steven Vennekool and Romeyn de Hooghe designed the triumphal arches under the direction of Govert Bidloo, it is certain that his training and background made Vennekool a more qualified architect. De Hooghe could not describe himself as both draftsman and architect as the French Bérain, as could Daniel Marot for example.<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> "... zal voor de nakoomelingen alleenlijken tot een gering teeken van hun schuldige eerbiedigheid, verplichten dank en volle bijdschap moogen dienen: alleenlijken tot een eeuwig bewys van zyne Majesteys onvergelykelijke weldaaden aan deeze Staat kunnen strekken; weldaaden, welker minste gedeelte, niemand naar waarde roemen kan en wy met als ons vermoogen, minder met eerestaciën, kunnen vergelden." Bidloo, *Zeegegroet ter gewenste komste in de Vereenigde Nederlanden van den grootmagtigen en dapperen Vorst Willem, Koning van Engeland, Schotland, Frankrijk en Yrland*, 1691, pp.2-3.

<sup>285</sup> Scholars have been uncertain where Govert Bidloo and De Hooghe may have acquired their inspiration, see for notably Snoep, *Praal en Propaganda*, 1975, p.152.

<sup>286</sup> Christoph Frank, "'Die widerrechtlich angemassete Cron, under der unter- oder beygeschobene Printz...' Die europäische Dimension der Feierlichkeiten aus Anlass der Geburt des Prinzen von Wales 1688.", in *Krieg der Bilder*, 1997, p.45.

<sup>287</sup> Anonymous, *Op de triomfboogen, zegepoorten, etc. voor Sijn Koninklijke Majesteyt van Groot-Britanje, uytgevonden door den geestrijken Heer Romeyn de Hooghe* (S.L. 1691) The Hague.

<sup>288</sup> "Romein die trokse: van de bouwkunst weet hy niet, Maar slegts wat prullen, daar een boer zig blind aan ziet; 't Was Vennekool alleen, die d'eer van 't werk verdienden, Romein heeft met wat verw dat schoon gebouw bek lat..." *Nederduitse en Latynse keurdigten by een verzamelet door de Liefhebbers der Oude Hollandse Vryheit*, 1710, p.240.

<sup>289</sup> M.D. Ozinga, *Daniel Marot – de Schepper van Den Hollandschen Lodewijk XIV-Stijl*, Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1938.



Fig. 54. Hans Willem Bentinck, Earl of Portland, circa 1698-1699, by Hyacinthe Rigaud. Harley Gallery, Portland Collection.

Fig. 55. Willem van Schuylenburch, 1682, by Jan de Baen. The Hague, Haags Historisch Museum.

Architectural historians have also questioned Romeyn de Hooghe's actual role in the design of the triumphal arch on the Plaats, and it has been said (perhaps unkindly) that his triumphal arches were more painting than architecture, shallow with little carving or sculpted surface.<sup>290</sup> The involvement of William's architect Jacob Roman (who loaned the equestrian statue) has led to speculation that he was responsible with the design and construction of this triumphal arch, since, as one scholar put it, De Hooghe's triumphal arch on the Markt could be described as a mass of picture frames rather than architecture.<sup>291</sup>

Steven Vennekool's design was praised for its "correctness" by at least two anonymous laudatory poems that also took aim at the self-serving courtiers Romeyn de Hooghe and Govert Bidloo.<sup>292</sup> Like Jacob Roman, Vennekool was a member of the second generation of architects who developed Dutch Classicism.<sup>293</sup> He is considered an exponent of the so-called "flat style" that characterised this late phase of Dutch Classicism, although the astylar compositions of the few commissions that can be ascribed to him are enlivened with smooth rustication, such as the Town Hall of Enkhuizen.<sup>294</sup>

<sup>290</sup> Van Luttervelt. "De versieringen ter eere van den intocht van Willem III te 's-Gravenhage in 1691.", 1948, p. 155.

<sup>291</sup> Wouter Kuyper pointed out the similarities of the triumphal arch with the frontispiece designed by Jacob Roman only a few years earlier for the garden façade Het Loo. Van Luttervelt. "De versieringen ter eere van den intocht van Willem III te 's-Gravenhage in 1691.", 1948, p.159.; Wouter Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture. A Survey of Dutch Architecture, Garen and Anglo-Dutch Relations from 1625 to 1700*, Delft: Delft University Press, 1980, p.186.

<sup>292</sup> *Nederduitse en Latynse keurdigten by een verzamelet door de Liefhebbers der Oude Hollandse Vryheit*, 1710, pp.239-240.

<sup>293</sup> Koen Ottenheym. "Hollandse Bouwkunst in Het Derde Kwart van de Zeventiende Eeuw: De 'strakke Stijl' En de Tweede Generatie Architecten van Het Classicisme," in *Adriaan Dortsman (1635-1682). De Ideale Gracht*, Zwolle: Waanders Books / Museum van Loon, 2013. P.12.

<sup>294</sup> Jakob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive, and E.H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture: 1600 to 1800*, 3<sup>rd</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup> integrated) ed, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977, Ppp.404-405.



Fig. 56. Govert Bidloo, circa 1680-1690, Abraham Blooteling after Gerard de Lairesse. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 57. Jacobus Gronovius, 1685, by Carel de Moor. Leiden, Academiegebouw.

Little is known about him except that his father, Jacob Vennekool, was one of the draftsmen employed by Jacob van Campen during the construction of the Town Hall of Amsterdam.<sup>295</sup> Before 1691, Steven Vennekool appears to have already been active in the circle of the stadholder's court and would later work on the castle of Middachten for Godard van Reede-Ginkel, where he collaborated with Roman.<sup>296</sup>

Despite the general interest for the festivities being prepared in The Hague, the archives do not reveal much about the intentions of the organisers. On 24 November 1690, the receiver general of the States of Holland, Cornelis van Aerssen (1646-1728), allocated an "additional" 3000 guilders to Cornelis van den Broeck for the "expenses of the triumphal arch" to be made for the "entrance of His Royal Majesty of Great Britain into The Hague".<sup>297</sup> The record also states that a "comprehensive document" was needed to serve both the receiver general and Cornelis van den Broeck, but unfortunately this text did not survive.

<sup>295</sup> There is very little literature about the architect and the most important work is the insightful work on the architect's role at Castle Middachte. Koen Ottenheym, "De Herbouw van Kasteel Middachten, 1695-1698." in *Middachten. Huis En Heerlijkheid.*, Utrecht: Nederlandse Kastelenstichting, 2002. Pp.27-33.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

<sup>297</sup> "Last ontfangen Generael noggh 3000" gulden aen den Camerbew-r van de Broeck in handen te geven, omme tot de onkosten van de arcus triumphalis: Innen voorgaende deliberatie goet gevonden ende geresolveert den ontfanger generael mr Cornelis van Aerssen by desen te gelasten ten eynde hy uyt de penningen van het Comptoir Generael van den Lande syn bewint aenbevoelen aen den Camerbewaerder Cornelis van den Broeck op deselfs quitantie alsnog ende booven de somme van drie duysent gulden by hem volgens haer Edele Mog. Resolutie van den 24e Novemeber laest leeden getoucheert sal betalen de somme van drie duysent gulden omme by eengehouden ende versterckt te werden omtrent de onkosten die ten respecte van het binnencoomen alhier in den Hage van syne Coninglycke Majesteit van Groot Brittagnen gedaen ende gesupporteert staen te werden ende dat den voorn. Ontfanger generael hier naer in de plaetse van deesen tot syne discharge een behoorlyck document sal werden voor haden gestelt ende sal van deesen gegeven werden extract van voorn. Camerbewaerder van de Broeck van de finantie, omme tot dienst tot haere naenigtinge." The Hague, National Archives, *Gecommitteerde Raden van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland 1621-1795*, Inv.nr.3040, Folio 363r-364r.

Almost nothing is known about Cornelis van den Broeck except that he was an usher (camerbewaerder) to the States of Holland, just like Arnoud Leers.

A month later, the second entry of the preparations occurs on 6 December 1690, when the head of the Treasury of the States of Holland, Gerard Bicker van Swieten (1632-1716), recorded a request from the magistrates of The Hague to “erect a triumphal arch or similar mark of honour” on the grounds of the Plaats, which was owned by the States.<sup>298</sup> The request was presented by the chief magistrate Nicolas van der Houck, who would welcome William at the entrance gate at the Loosduinen bridge.<sup>299</sup> There is unfortunately no list of payments for the triumphal arch by Steven Vennekool, although it was considered the most important one. However, a few days after the States of Holland recorded the first payment for the triumphal arch on the Buitenhof, his name appeared in the registers of patent demands to the States of Hollands. Vennekool requested a copyright protection for any engravings that he would have produced from the “Arcus triomphales” he had made for William’s triumphal entry.<sup>300</sup>

The most important source of information about the artists and artisans working on the triumphal entry is a list of payments, or *Lijste van Betalinge*, which is preserved in the municipal archives of The Hague. This record provides the names, job descriptions and payments for the triumphal arches on the Markt and the Plaats. The list was signed by the treasurer Cornelis van Schuylenburch of The Hague, who would have a clear sight of the construction from his house on the Northern edge of the Buitenhof.<sup>301</sup>

Besides the gold medal described in the accounts of William’s Dutch household, there is little evidence allowing us to document the production of the many medals that circulated in 1691. Because of the frequently overlapping relations between the roles of the States of Holland and the federal States-General, it was not always possible to determine who exactly commissioned commemorative medals.<sup>302</sup> However, since the States of Holland played a key role in organising and financing the triumphal entry as well as the Congress of Allies, it seems likely that they would also be involved in the production and distribution of triumphal medals. This has been implied by contemporary observers, such as the numismatist Nicolas Chevalier, when he discusses the medals struck to commemorate the congress (figs.75,79) and possibly some of the other medals discussed here. Perhaps by encouraging public bodies, such as the States of Holland, to present William III with public honours, it was made to appear that these medals and triumphal arches originated from the citizens of the Dutch Republic rather than William III or his court.

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<sup>298</sup> “Versoek wegens die Van Hage om een arcus triumphael of diergelijke op grafelijkheydts grandt, te mogen opregten”. 6 December 1690. NA, Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer registers 57 Inv.nr. 414.D.

<sup>299</sup> Bidloo, *Komste van Zyne Majesteit Willem III, Koning van Groot Britanje, enz., in Holland...*, 1691, pp.30-31.

<sup>300</sup> Fr. D.O. Obreen, *Archief voor Nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis*, Vol. 7, Rotterdam: W.J. van Hengel, 1888-1890, p.156.

<sup>301</sup> Fölting, *De landsadvocaten en raadpensionarissen der Staten van Holland en West-Friesland 1480-1795*, 1985, 175

<sup>302</sup> George Sanders, “Penningen ter beloning”, in *Hulde! Penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, Haarlem : Teyler Museum, 2012, pp.80-83. For a detailed example of the design process of medals in the seventeenth-century Northern Netherlands see Dirk-Jan Biemond, “Johannes Lutma en de penningkunst. Handzame kunstwerken van een beeldhouwer in zilver”, in *Hulde! Penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*. 2012, p. 17. For preparatory drawings for medals in the Dutch Republic, see Marjan Scharloo, “Some designs for a medal on the peace of Utrecht (1713-1714)” In *Designs on Posterity. Drawings for medals*, ed. Mark Jones, London: British Art Medal Trust, 1994, pp.97, 104. For the collection of seventeenth-century Dutch die and the absence of die for the year 1691, see A.O. van Kerkwijk, *Catalogus der verzameling van penningstempels aan ’s Rijks Munt te Utrecht*, Utrecht, 1917, pp.12-13.

Although, as one numismatic specialist has remarked, the organisation behind the propaganda for William III was perhaps less organised than that of Louis XIV, it was no less effective.<sup>303</sup> Physical evidence indicates there was probably some form of collaboration between The Hague and the Royal Mint in London.<sup>304</sup> One medal, executed by the British medallist F.D. Winter, copied one of Smeltzing's designs for the triumphal arches (fig.45).<sup>305</sup> As with many other seventeenth-century medallists, little is known about Winter apart from his activity during the last decades of the seventeenth century, when he produced medals commemorating the events of William and Mary's reign.<sup>306</sup> F.D. Winter was active at the Royal Mint in London under the direction of Thomas Neale, Master and Worker of the Royal Mint from 1678 to 1699, and whose signature appears frequently on medals by him, including several medals depicting the triumphal entry into The Hague.<sup>307</sup> Willem van Schuylenburch, who distributed the medals prior to William's public entry, spent an extended period of time in England during the winter of 1690 and may have acted as an intermediary between the two centres of production.<sup>308</sup> As a former mayor Schuylenburch would have been well aware of the preparations undertaken by his former colleagues in The Hague. These facts indicate that the court was more involved in the medals struck for the King's return than has been previously thought.

### *The List of Payments*

The *List of Payments* shows that the majority of funds committed by the mayors of The Hague to the triumphal arches went to craftsmen, specifically carpenters, as well as sculptors and painters from the artist's academy, the *Conferie Pictura*, founded in 1656.<sup>309</sup> There were strong links between the court and the academy, and the names that appear on the *List* are a roll-call of some of the most prominent craftsmen involved in the creation of the court style in the United Provinces, in particular the sculptors and woodcarvers. Although The Hague was a relatively small town, the wealth of its population per head exceeded that of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century.<sup>310</sup>

<sup>303</sup> P. Beliën, "Ken uw klassieken. Politieke boodschappen in een klassiek jasje op penningen uit de zeventiende eeuw", in *Hulde! Penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, Haarlem, 2012, p.113.

<sup>304</sup> Franks, Grueber and Hawkins, *Medallic illustrations of the history of Great Britain and Ireland to the death of George II*, Vol.2, 1885, p.13. Beliën, 2012: 113; Sharpe, *Rebranding rule. The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714*, 2013, 2013, p. 439.

<sup>305</sup> Franks, Grueber and Hawkins, *Medallic illustrations of the history of Great Britain and Ireland to the death of George II*, Vol.1, 1885, p. 175.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 638. Forrer, 1919: 516-517.

<sup>307</sup> Franks, Grueber and Hawkins, *Medallic illustrations of the history of Great Britain and Ireland to the death of George II*, Vol.1, 1885, p. 638 and Vol.2, pp. 2-3, 8, 12-13; L. Forrer, *Biographical dictionary of medallists, coins-, gem-, and seal-engravers, mint-masters,... ancient and modern with references to their works B.C.500 - A.D.1900*, Vol. 4, London: Spink & Son, 1909, p. 236. For the most recent discussion of Neale's activity at the Royal Mint see C.E. Challis, ed. *A new history of the Royal Mint*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 392-3, 395

<sup>308</sup> The times that the treasurer Willem van Schuylenburch visited the court in England is documented by Constantijn Huygens in his journals, indicating that the role of Schuylenburch was important enough to require him to visit William III several times. See Huygens, *Journal van 21 oktober 1688 tot 2 september 1696. Eerste deel*, 1876, pp. 88, 90, 94-96, 496.

<sup>309</sup> "De Lijst van de betalinge bij den thesaurier van s'Gravenhage verstrekt tot het oprechten der Arquis Triump=hales", in The Hague Municipal Archives, *Oud Archief*, BNR. 350, Inv. Nr. 5444.

<sup>310</sup> On the population and development of The Hague, see F.P. Wagenaar, *Dat de Regering Niet En Bestaet by Het Corpus van de Magistraet van Den Hage Alleen: De Sociëteit van 's-Gravenhage (1587-1802): Een Onderzoek Naar Bureaucratisering*, Hilversum: Verloren, 1999, p.33.





Fig. 58. Jacob Roman, by Pieter Schenck. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 59. Romeyn de Hooghe, Jacob Houbraken after H. Bos, 1733. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

This meant that skilled craftsman, as well as luxury goods and services, were in high demand in The Hague throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries.<sup>311</sup>

The recipient of the largest payment was the master carpenter Nicolaes Bloteling, baptised in The Hague in 1655, who was also a citizen and volunteer.<sup>312</sup> Carpenters played an essential role in the construction of temporary spaces, such as theatres, and would have also been responsible for constructing the stands observed by commentators along the processional routes.<sup>313</sup> In 1700, Bloteling was involved in the construction of the organ of the Nieuwe Kerk of The Hague and was paid 1749 guilders for “*schrijn- en timmerwerk*” (joinery and carpentry), giving an idea of the scale of his work on the triumphal entry for which he was paid 3199 guilders.<sup>314</sup> After Bloteling, the most important carpenter that figures on the list of payments was the carpenter Gijsbert van der Burgh, who earned around 1313 guilders, about the same amount as received by Romeyn de Hooghe.<sup>315</sup> The payments to other carpenters amount to a little over 2500 guilders, which makes up the bulk of expenses incurred by the construction of the triumphal arches.<sup>316</sup>

A familiar name on the list is William’s primary architect Jacob Roman (1614-1716), who lent the life-size equestrian statue of the King that stood on the triumphal arch on the

<sup>311</sup> There was little production and the only real export industry in The Hague was a gun foundry, which did not attain great heights. Although much smaller, the population of The Hague was wealthier per head than Amsterdam. F.P. Wagenaar, *Dat de Regering Niet En Bestaet by Het Corpus van de Magistraet van Den Hage Alleen*, 1999, p.33.

<sup>312</sup> See the entry for Nicolas Bloteling in *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 94, 1977, p.49.

<sup>313</sup> See B. Logger et al (ed). *Theaters in Nederland sinds de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam: Theater Instituut Nederland, Stichting OISTAT, 2007

<sup>314</sup> “Nicolaes Blotelingh, Mr Timmerman volgens rekening tot 3199 ...” in *Lijste van Betalinge*, The Hague Municipal Archives, *Oud Archief*, BNR. 350, Inv. Nr. 5444, No.6. On Bloteling’s work on the organ see A.J. Servaas van Rooijen, “De Nieuwe Kerk te ’s-Gravenhage”, *Nederlandsche Kunstbode*, 3:27, 1881, p.210.

<sup>315</sup> “Gijsbert van der Burgh, Mr Timmerman bij rekening tot 1313:11....” In *Lijste van Betalinge*, The Hague Municipal Archives, *Oud Archief*, BNR. 350, Inv. Nr. 5444, No.7.

<sup>316</sup> See *Lijste van Betalinge*, The Hague Municipal Archives, *Oud Archief*, BNR. 350, Inv. Nr. 5444, No.6-9.

Plaats. Whereas the building activities on William and Mary's palaces in Britain were directed by Christopher Wren, a somewhat similar position was held in the Republic by the architect and sculptor Roman.<sup>317</sup> Roman had originally trained as a sculptor and woodcarver before becoming an architect and worked primarily for William and members of his inner circle. He was nominated by the prince as his official architect in 1689 and travelled to England around the time of the coronation.<sup>318</sup> The king later paid for Roman's son, the architect Pieter Roman (1676-1733), to travel to Italy for his studies in architecture in 1700.<sup>319</sup>

Jacob Roman provided one of the most important sculptural decorations of the ephemeral architecture: one of the statues of the king on horseback, which are the only known examples of life size equestrian statues of a member of the Nassau dynasty until the nineteenth century.<sup>320</sup> Some idea of what the statues may have looked can be gained by considering the equestrian monument made by the Anglo-Dutch carver Grinling Gibbons (fig.138).

Although art historians have tended to focus on the pictorial elements in entries like the triumphal entry, it is evident from contemporary descriptions that virtuous carving of woodwork played an equally important role in the perception of the ephemeral architecture. One English pamphleteer in 1691 admired the "...gold, rich carvings and curiosity of fantasies in painting."<sup>321</sup> Sculptors and particularly woodcarvers held an important place in creating the decoration of the ephemeral structures erected on public occasions in England and in Holland. For instance, Gibbons received his most prestigious and most expensive commission in 1694 for the sculptured decoration of large parts of the catafalque constructed for the funeral of Queen Mary.<sup>322</sup>

Another important artist on the *List of Payments* was the sculptor and woodcarver Johannes Hannaert (d.1709), originally from Hamburg, who was part of the Confrerie Pictura as well as the St Joseph Guild.<sup>323</sup> The Confrerie had initially comprised sculptors as well as woodcarvers, although the latter group did not enjoy full privileges of their membership and eventually left.<sup>324</sup> He was appointed master carver to the city of The Hague in 1682 and was known to make carved frames. Contemporary examples of his technical virtuosity dating from around the time of the triumphal entry are two carved frames in the collection of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig.60).<sup>325</sup> In 1691,

<sup>317</sup> Stefan van Raaij and Paul Spies, *In Het Gevolg van Willem III & Mary: Huizen En Tuinen Uit Hun Tijd*, Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1988, p.21.

<sup>318</sup> Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture. A Survey of Dutch Architecture, Gardens and Anglo-Dutch Relations from 1625 to 1700*, 1980, pp.178-179.

<sup>319</sup> Staring, "Een Borstbeeld van de Koning-Stadhouder", *Oud Holland*, 1965, p.225.

<sup>320</sup> No permanent statue was erected for William III or any other Dutch Stadholder in the Netherlands until after the office was abolished in 1795 during the Batavian Republic. Only in the nineteenth century were (equestrian) statues erected to members of the Orange-Nassau dynasty, who were by then kings of a United Netherlands thanks to the Congress of Vienna. See also the inventory of equestrian monuments compiled by Joep Leerssen in the NWO project *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (ERNiE), consultable at <https://ernie.uva.nl/>.

<sup>321</sup> Anonymous, *An account of the Magnificent publick entry which his Majesty of Great-Britain made into The Hague communicated in a Person of Quality's Letter, who was present at the time of that Great Performance*, 1691.

<sup>322</sup> Frederick Oughton, *Grinling Gibbons and the English Woodcarving Tradition*, London: Stobart, 1979, p.122.

<sup>323</sup> Elisabeth Neurdenburg, *De zeventiende-eeuwse beeldhouwkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. Hendrick de Keyser, Artus Quellinus, Rombout Verhulst en tijdgenooten*, Amsterdam, J.M. Meulenhoff, 1948, p. 231.

<sup>324</sup> Plantenga, *De academie van 's-Gravenhage en haar plaats in de kunst van ons land. 1682-1937*, 1938, p.26.

<sup>325</sup> Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, Wolfram Koeppe and William Rieder, *European Furniture in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006, p.60.

he also collaborated with Jacob Roman on a public fountain for the fish market in Leiden.<sup>326</sup> When the architect left for Leiden, Roman sold his tools to Hannaert and also rented his house and studio to the carver.<sup>327</sup>

There was a relatively well-defined group of sculptors working in The Hague for William and Mary in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>328</sup> Although nothing remains of the triumphal arches, it is possible to gain an idea of contemporary ornaments at that moment by considering the carvings of contemporary picture frames (figs.60-61). One particular frame, gilded and dated 1690, is particularly revealing in this regard (fig. 60). It is not entirely certain if this frame was by Johannes Hannaert (who also worked on the triumphal arches) or by another (anonymous) sculptor or woodcarver from The Hague, most of whom worked at some point or another on the prestigious commissions that flowed forth or were influenced by members of the court.<sup>329</sup> The frame was ordered through the art agent and Confrerie Pictura member, Robert Duval, whose father-in-law Desmarets was the intendant of William's residences in Holland and in 1690, the archives record Duval's payment of 80 pounds for the "making and gilding of the frame of the effigy of his Royal Majesty of Great Britain."<sup>330</sup> Both the frame carved by Hannaert and especially the 1690 frame, whose gilding shows French influence, demonstrate the contemporary level of skill of designing and carving ornament for simple architectural frameworks.

The most important painter mentioned in the list was Hendrick van der Spijck (act.1667-1716), who was paid the considerable sum of 2169 guilders.<sup>331</sup> He was a decorative painter (*kamerschilder*) in The Hague and between 1690 and 1691, he was also the dean of the Saint Lucas Guild in The Hague.<sup>332</sup> As such, Van der Spijck was probably responsible for paying other artists and the sizeable sum allocated to him suggests that De Hooghe was not the only one responsible for directing the team of artists. That De Hooghe had to contend with the hierarchy and organization of the local academy is also implied by his registration with the guild shortly before the entry, which the artist accompanied with a handwritten note expressing his "great fortune" at being admitted into this "select and excellent brotherhood."<sup>333</sup>

The second most important decorative painter mentioned in the *List of Payments* was Zacharias Dijkmans (1645-1702), registered as master painter by the Saint Lukas Guild since

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<sup>326</sup> J. Blok, "De Fontein op de Vischmarkt te Leiden", *Oud-Holland* 36, 1918, p. 247-255

<sup>327</sup> Neurdenburg, *De zeventiende eeuwse beeldhouwkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, 1948, pp. 235-236.

<sup>328</sup> Staring, "Een Borstbeeld van de Koning-Stadhouder", *Oud Holland*, 80, 1965, p.221-227.

<sup>329</sup> C.E. Zonneville-Heyning, review of P.J.J. van Thiel and C.J. de Bruyn Kops. *Prijst de Lijst. De Hollandse Schilderijlijst in de Zeventiende Eeuw*. Amsterdam/The Hague: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam / Staatsuitgeverij, 1984, in *Oud Holland*, 1986, 100:1, pp.50-52.

<sup>330</sup> P.J.J. van Thiel and C.J. de Bruyn Kops. *Prijst de Lijst. De Hollandse Schilderijlijst in de Zeventiende Eeuw*. Amsterdam/The Hague: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam / Staatsuitgeverij, 1984, p. 295

<sup>331</sup> "Hendrick van der Speyck, mr schilder weg... van 2169", Haags Gemeentearchief, Oud Archief, BNR. 350, Inv. Nr. 5444, [2]

<sup>332</sup> Hendrick van der Spijck also organised the auction of belongings of the philosopher Baruch de Spinoza, who lodged at the painter's house at the time of his death. P.C. Molhuysen, P.J. Blok, F. Kossmann, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, Amsterdam: Israel, 1974, vol.3, pp.385-386. Abraham Bredius, "Mededeelingen uit het Haagsche Gemeente-Archief. 1. De boeken van het oude St. Lucasgilde te 's-Gravenhage", in Frederik Daniel Obreen, *Archief voor Nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis*, Vol. 4, Rotterdam: Van Hengel & Eeltjes, 1881-1882, p.38; Buijsen, *Haagse Schilders in de Gouden Eeuw*, 1998, p.47.

<sup>333</sup> Johan Gram, *De schildersconfrerie Pictura en hare academie van beeldende kunsten te 's Gravenhage 1682-1882*, Rotterdam: Elsevier, 1882, p.25.



1678.<sup>334</sup> His father, Zacharias Sr. had previously been headman of the Saint Lucas Guild in 1645 and was also active as a decorative painter.<sup>335</sup> Their relative, the painter Anthonie Dijkmans, had displayed the royal coat of arms of Britain and an inscription proclaiming that the return of the king had ignited a great fire of gratitude in the bosom of Painting.<sup>336</sup>

Another decorative painter mentioned in the list of payments is Jacobus van Nijmegen, who belonged to a prominent family of decorative painters, and joined the Confrerie Pictura in 1690.<sup>337</sup> His father was Willem van Nijmegen (1636-1698), who was noted for his trompe-l'oeil pieces, grisailles and heraldic emblems, as well as a decorator of carriages.<sup>338</sup> Around 1680, Willem executed decorative works for a chimney piece at the hunting lodge of William III at Dieren.<sup>339</sup> Their cousin, Elias van Nijmegen (1667-1755), was a well-known decorative painter, who became member of the Saint Lukas Guild in Leiden in 1689. "Miss Jacoba Fagel" was paid for the delivery of "taxis" and other green elements for the swags and coverings of the triumphal arches on the Markts and the Plaats. She may be Jacoba Fagel (c.1645-1702), about whom little is known, besides being the daughter of the former counselor of the court François Fagel (1585-1644).<sup>340</sup>

Several of the artisans and craftsmen involved with the triumphal entry were regularly employed on court commissions, and one particularly significant example may illustrate the enduring influence of this period on subsequent architectural projects. In 1697 the States General decided to renovate the assembly hall in the Binnenhof, the so-called Trêveszaal. This was done under the direction of William Adriaan of Nassau-Odijk, who was the king's natural cousin and confidant.<sup>341</sup> This hall had also been the location of the gathering between the Earl of Portland, the Dutch statesmen and foreign diplomats in March 1690 to discuss the preparations for the Congress of Allies.<sup>342</sup> Odijk had suggested that the States improve their meeting quarters according to the designs of Daniel Marot, who received the considerable sum of 2500 guilders for his drawings and supervision of the project.<sup>343</sup> This important commission was managed by Daniel Marot as well as the master carpenter Gijsbert van der Burgh, who was mentioned in the 1691 *List of Payments* as one of the main recipients of the funds.

<sup>334</sup> "Zacharias Dijkmans mr schilder volghens reken[ing] tot 95:19", Haags Gemeentearchief, Oud Archief, BNR. 350, Inv. Nr. 5444, [1]

<sup>335</sup> J. van der Minne, "Geslacht Dijkmans", *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 21, 1903, pp. 58-59.

<sup>336</sup> Uytwerf, *De publijke intrede van William de III. koningh van Groot Brittannien*, ..., 1691, p.40.

<sup>337</sup> Bredius "Mededeelingen uit het Haagsche Gemeente-Archief. 1. De boeken van het oude St. Lucasgilde te 's-Gravenhage", in *Archief voor Nederlandsche kunstgeschiedenis*, Vol. 3, 1880-1881, p.268,

<sup>338</sup> E. Buijsen, ed., *Haagse Schilders in de Gouden Eeuw. Het Hoogsteder Lexicon van Alle Schilder Werkzaam in Den Haag 1600-1700*, The Hague; Zwolle: Kunsthandel Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder; Waanders, 1998, p.33. For more information on Willem van Nijmegen, see Abraham Jakob van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*. Vol. 13, Haarlem: Brederode, 1868, p.420.

<sup>339</sup> Roeland van Eynden and Adriaan van der Willigen, *Geschiedenis Der Vaderlandsche Schilderkunst*, Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1979, Vol.1, pp.89-90.

<sup>340</sup> "Jfr. Jacoba Fagel, leverantie van taxis en andere groente, tot cieraden tot de festons voor de arques..." in *Lijste van Betalinge*, The Hague Municipal Archives, *Oud Archief*, BNR. 350, Inv. Nr. 5444, No.14. On the family Fagel see N.M. Japikse, *Inventaris van het archief van de familie Fagel, 1513-1927*, The Hague: Nationaal Archief, 1964, p.27.

<sup>341</sup> Ising, *Het Binnenhof te 'S Gravenhage in plaat en schrift*, 1879, p.7.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.* p.10.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, p.9.



Fig. 60. Sculpted frame, ca.1690-1700, carved by Johannes Hannaert. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 61. Sculpted frame dated 1690, attributed to Johannes Hannaert. Leiden, Gemeenlandshuis.

At this time, Gijsbert van der Burgh was assisted by his fellow master carpenter, Gerrit van der Elburgh, who, during the triumphal entry in 1691, had built a “royal pavilion” in front of his house on the Wagenstraat, draped with red velvet and gold trimmings, underneath which stood the royal arms of the king of Britain<sup>344</sup> The sailmaker, Nicolaas Muller, and ironmonger, Bartholomeus Spijck, who were also mentioned in the list of payments for the triumphal entry, were also paid for their part in this important renovation.<sup>345</sup>

### *Courtiers and Scholars*

According to the *List of Payments*, the physician Govert Bidloo was responsible for the conception and design of the triumphal arches.<sup>346</sup> William III must have been pleased with Govert Bidloo for in 1692, the king spent a great deal of effort to release his physician, who had been imprisoned by the Court of Holland on charges of insulting members of the local courts.<sup>347</sup> Although Bidloo possessed an intellectual character, he also had a reputation for debauchery.<sup>348</sup> He had established his reputation as a medical practitioner with the publication an anatomical atlas illustrated by the artist Gerard de Lairesse in 1685. Although he is mentioned in the archives as a professor of anatomy at The Hague (suggesting that he

<sup>344</sup> Uytwerf, *De publijke intrede van William de III. koningh van Groot Brittannien*, ..., 1691, p.38.

<sup>345</sup> Arnold Ising, *Het Binnenhof te 'S Gravenhage in plaat en schrift*, The Hague: H.C. Susan, C.H. Zoon, 1879, p.8.

<sup>346</sup> “... desselfs moeijten in 't concipieeren, formeren ende wat aende arques was dependerende...” The Hague, Haags Gemeentearchief, Oud Archief, BNR. 350, Inv. Nr. 5444, p.[3]

<sup>347</sup> See L. van Poelgeest, “The Stadholder-King William III and the University of Leiden”, in *Fabrics and Fabrications: The Myth and Making of William and Mary*, eds. P.G. Hoftijzer and C.C. Barfoot, DQR Studies in Literature 6. Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1990, pp.132-133

<sup>348</sup> Ibid. See also Elizabeth Lane Furdell. *The Royal Doctors, 1485-1714: Medical Personnel at the Tudor and Stuart Courts*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001, p.218.

was already working for the court), there was no institution of higher learning there. Bidloo would be officially admitted as a professor of medicine at the University of Leiden in 1694.<sup>349</sup>

Govert Bidloo probably discussed the triumphal entry with scholars who pronounced public orations on the occasion of William's return and are named by Bidloo in the official. He praised the contributions of the eminent theologian, Friedrich Spanheim (1632-1701), as well as the celebrated classicists, Jacobus Gronovius (1645-1716) and Johann Graevius (1632-1703), to the triumphal entry.<sup>350</sup> Bidloo was the strongest link between the scholars of Dutch universities and the court. Good relations between the two were important since the Stadholder held the right to select the Rector of the university, based on recommendations from three of the candidate's peers.

Spanheim, Gronovius and Graevius were all well placed to compose the Latin inscriptions for the triumphal arches. Friedrich Spanheim was a conservative Calvinist who held his post as Rector of the University of Leiden for four election cycles and exercised considerable political clout.<sup>351</sup> On William's appointment as Stadholder in 1672, Friedrich Spanheim and other professors made it a point to visit the young prince (a former pupil of the university) and congratulate him.<sup>352</sup> Gronovius and Graevius were highly knowledgeable about the monuments of classical antiquity and would later publish illustrated reference works that numbered twelve and thirteen volumes, respectively, setting new standards for illustrated encyclopaedias of classical culture.

Jacob Gronovius (fig.57) was a classical scholar at Leiden and between 1697 and 1702, he published an early and important encyclopaedia of Greek antiquity, *Thesaurus Graecarum antiquitatum*.<sup>353</sup> He was also vice-chancellor of the University of Leiden and consecrated a public address *Felix in Bataviam adventus Regius* at the academy to William as king of England and as the patron of the University of Leiden and all the humanities.<sup>354</sup> Gronovius stated in his public address on the king's return that he had accepted the invitation of the authorities to offer wishes of piety to the king in name of the university and its members, emphasised the momentousness of the king's return after his two year absence, and proclaimed a general wish for the protection of the king's reign and thanks for his triumph in Ireland.<sup>355</sup> Gronovius connected the triumphal entry with the victories in Ireland, but also acknowledged the origins of such practices. In his speech, Gronovius recounted the historical

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<sup>349</sup> Ibid.

<sup>350</sup> "Ik, kan alhier niet voorby gaan, dat de blijdschap en plicht welke verhevene geesten gaande maakt, deezen dag aan de befaamste pennen stof verschaft... en hebben onder meenigte uitgeblonken de Hooggeleerde Heeren F. Spanheim, J. Gronovius, J.G. Graevius..." Bidloo, *Komste van Zyne Majesteit Willem III, Koning van Groot Britanje, enz., in Holland...*, 1691, p. 28.

<sup>351</sup> L. van Poelgeest, "The Stadholder-King William III and the University of Leiden", 1990, p.110.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid., p.109.

<sup>353</sup> Colette Nativel, "Isaac Vossius, entre philologie et philosophie", in *Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) Between Science and Scholarship*, eds. Eric Jorink and Dirk van Miert, Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 243-254.

<sup>354</sup> Jacob Gronovius. *Felix adventvs in Bataviam Serenissimi & Potentissimi Wilhelmi Britanniarum regis, cui ex auctoritate Illustriss. DD. Curatorem & Consulum Academiae Vice Gratulatur Jacobus Gronovius Die XVII Februarii CICICCXCI*. Leiden: Jacobus Hackium.

<sup>355</sup> "Ideirco in hoc eodem loco auctoritati Procerum, consensui totius Academici populi adjungere sustinui pietatem meam, & quanquam voces facto Tuo congruas ignorarem, tamen ut ne taceretur, quod maximum aetate nostra gestum est, narrare conatus, effeci, ut successus & amplitudinem rerum. Tuarum prosperis cogitationibus sequentibus appareret, quam Regiae Tuae Majestatis auspicia, & natalis diei caerimonia, & triumphatae Hiberniae opportunitas effent imperiosa contra taciturnitatem meam." Jacob Gronovius. *Felix adventvs in Bataviam Serenissimi & Potentissimi Wilhelmi Britanniarum regis...*, 1691, pp.6-7, 10.

practices of the Romans surrounding the veneration of the emperors in their absence through the dedication of gifts:

*“The Roman senate had the custom of venerating on feast days the seat of Caesar placed in the curia when he was absent during a war or for another reason, be it by adoring it, or by bringing it presents. Even more so, all the Quirites, by frequenting the places consecrated to the Emperors, and by invoking them were used to figuring their presence.”*<sup>356</sup>

The parallel implied by Gronovius description’s of the Quirites, mentioned by the Roman historian Livy as the Roman citizens, or members of the Curia, adorning the seat of the Emperor with the decoration of The Hague with the public honours bestowed on William in 1691, provides a humanist explanation of the history behind these public practices.<sup>357</sup>

Johannes Graevius (1632 - 1703) was entrusted with writing an official history of William III, but only managed to write the first two chapters, which are now in the archives of the Grand Pensionary Anthonie Heinsius.<sup>358</sup> Johann Graevius and Govert Bidloo had both pronounced public orations on the occasion of William’s coronation in Utrecht and The Hague.<sup>359</sup> He was also a German philologist, who taught at the university of Utrecht, and a numismatic heavyweight. Like Gronovius, Graevius also published an illustrated encyclopaedia, but on Roman antiquity, the *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum*, which appeared from 1697 onwards. Significantly, the editor François Halma had already announced his intention to publish Graevius’s *Thesaurus* in 1688 and Halma would apply for a privilege from the States of Holland in 1692.<sup>360</sup> This project, illustrated by Jan Goeree and Willem van Mieris, began much earlier at the initiative of the publisher François Halma, who was himself a great amateur of the arts of classical antiquity (figs.71-73).<sup>361</sup> Graevius was also very interested in ancient art and its theory and in addition to his project to create an encyclopaedia of Roman culture, he was responsible for an important re-edition of Franciscus Junius’ *De Pictura Veterum* in 1694. This treatise defended the morality of ancient art and promoted its canonical status.<sup>362</sup> Graevius also wrote a major treatise on antique medals and coins, *Disputationes de usu et præstantia numismatum antiquorum*, which was later consulted by specialists like Gerard van Loon (1683-1758).<sup>363</sup>

The profile of the Earl of Portland had visibly increased by the time of the entry, riding close to the king’s carriage, and even entertained William III and the German Electors at his

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<sup>356</sup> “Senatus Romanus sellam Caesaris sui propter bella aut aliam causam absentis in curia positam solennibus diebus tum adorando, tum muneribus apponendis venerari solebat. Etiam universi Quirites frequentando loca Augustis sacrata & invocando praesentiam eorum sibi fingere solebant.” Jacob Gronovius, *Felix adventus in Bataviam Serenissimi & Potentissimi Wilhelmi Britanniarum regis...*, 1691, p.5.

<sup>357</sup> Titus Livius, *The History of Rome. The first eight books*. Translated by D. Spillan. Henry G. Bohn, 1853, pp.45-46.

<sup>358</sup> The Hague, National Archives, *Anthonie Heinsius, Raadpensionaris van Holland en West-Friesland*, access number 3.01.19, Inv. Nr. 2143.

<sup>359</sup> Lillington and Van Cuilemborgh, *Oratie of reden tot lof van het doorluchtige huis van Orangien ...*, 1691, p.5

<sup>360</sup> Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659-1733): Leids drukker en boekverkoper*, 1999, pp.36-38

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, p.38.

<sup>362</sup> Fehl, *The Classical Monument. Reflections on the Connection between Morality and Art in Greek and Roman Sculpture*, 1972, pp.58-59.

<sup>363</sup> See for example Gerard van Loon, *Inleiding tot de Heedendaagsche Penningkunde ofte Verhandeling van den Oorsprong van ’t Geld, Opkomst En Onderscheid Der Gedenkpenningen...* Amsterdam: Pieter de Coup, 1717 pp.5, 8, 9, 78.

estate Zorgvliet just outside The Hague.<sup>364</sup> He was William's closest advisor and favourite courtier and acted superintendent of the King's Gardens in Holland and Britain.

The Earl, who participated in the triumphal entry, must have also played an important role in advising the team of artists working on the entry. Portland was actively involved with the Office of Works, which was the department of the English royal household overseeing construction of the royal residences and castles. The collection of French architectural drawings Portland obtained during his diplomatic mission to France in 1697 was available to members of the Office during the later phases of building at Hampton Court.<sup>365</sup>

The Treasurer of the king's ancestral estates, Willem van Schuylenburch (fig.55), was also involved in the triumphal entry. He had previously served as a mayor on the council of magistrates of The Hague and Willem van Schuylenburch's name appears frequently in the Earl's correspondence with William III during the Magistrates Controversy. He had distributed the golden literary award prior to the king's return and displayed illuminations in front of his residence near the Binnenhof (fig.35). Besides the treasurer of the Nassau Demesne Council, which regulated the private properties and possessions of the Prince of Orange, he was also responsible for some of the Earl of Portland's financial affairs.<sup>366</sup>

Willem van Schuylenburch also acted as the intermediary between the court and artists. Romeyn de Hooghe wrote to the Earl of Portland in a letter dated 24 December 1692 that he had been contacted by "various malicious French creatures" during his work on the *triumphalia* and that he had immediately contacted Schuylenburch. When it happened again a year later, the artist again received instructions from both Portland and Schuylenburch, although it is unknown what these instructions were.<sup>367</sup>

It seems likely that discussions were underway on how to appropriately mark William's return. A year before the events in The Hague, several figures related to the court and the triumphal entry conferred in England. Constantijn Huygens reported meeting with Jacob Romans and the artillery lieutenant, Willem Meesters, in early April 1690.<sup>368</sup> Meester may well have been involved with the firework displays in 1691, since he was sent to Hannover in 1692 with Steven Vennekool.<sup>369</sup> Meester and Vennekool travelled to Herrenhausen to consult for the Elector of Hannover, who would have known their work from attending the Congress of Allies in The Hague. That Meesters was described then as William's *surintendant des machines* further suggests that the pyrotechnic specialist, along with the king's architect

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<sup>364</sup> For description of Bentinck's role during the Congress see Onnekink, *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite*, 2007, pp.175-176.

<sup>365</sup> Thurley, *Hampton Court : a social and architectural history*, 2003, p.190

<sup>366</sup> Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck, eersten Graaf van Portland...*, Vol. 1, 1927, pp.163, 165.

<sup>367</sup> "Twee jaeren geleeden ben ik, in Den Haeg aen de Triumphalia beesig sijnde, ter selver tijd omtrent het naspooren van verscheyde malicieuse Franse creaturen geocupeert geweest, wanneer my onder deese byquam een Italiaan, aen my over de twalef jaren bekend tot Amsterdam op de naem van Borgese van Romen [...] Dese was twee jaer geleeden tot Rotterdam by de Vismarkt met seekere dame de meeste winter, welke my met alle konstenaryen attacqueerde om te polstasten, of ik niet mogt hebben eenige dispositie ten dienste des Fransen konings, van dewelke hy my toonde, sowel als van de geweesten Koning Jacob, ten dien fine gemachtigt te sijn, van welke communicatiën en ouvertures ik aenstonts heb kennis gegeven aen den heer Schuylenburg, raedsheer etc." In Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck, eersten graaf van Portland. Eerste gedeelte: het archief van Welbeck Abbey*, 1927, p.374.

<sup>368</sup> Huygens, *Journaal van 21 October 1688 Tot 2 September 1696. Eerste Deel*, 1876, p.252.

<sup>369</sup> Ozinga, *Daniel Marot – de Schepper van den Hollandschen Lodewijk XIV-Stijl*, 1938, pp.34, 43.

Roman, was consulting with Huygens not just on English projects, but also William's eventual return to the Republic as king of England, Scotland and Ireland.<sup>370</sup>



*Fig. 62. Andrea Mantegna's Triumphs of Caesar, c. 1484-92. © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2018.*

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<sup>370</sup> Ibid.



Fig. 63. *Triumph of Frederik Hendrik of Orange*, 1652, by Jacob Jordaens. © Staat der Nederlanden.

### ***Classical culture and courtly ambitions***

The reinterpretation of current events in classical guise, as observed by Govert Bidloo, was intended to facilitate the reintegration William III into Dutch society by connecting his reign to a universal mythology. These temporary structures were consistently described in the laudatory poetry as surpassing the examples of Greek or Roman antiquity.<sup>371</sup> The design of the ephemeral architecture, based on authoritative classical models, drew William's entry into a broader cultural context by connecting it to the victory ceremonies and stone monuments of ancient Rome and Greece. Govert Bidloo described the paintings on Steven Vennekool's triumphal arch in the official account as representing:

*"The current age... in the ancient manner of the Greeks and Romans, which had be done with the liberty that Poets and Painters allow themselves in such descriptions, in order to enliven the matter by changing it, and to produce the same thoughts to engage the attention of the spectator."*<sup>372</sup>

<sup>371</sup> For example, see Anonymous, *Nederlandt verheerlykt door de verheffinge van Willem de III, Tot de Kroon van Engeland, Schotland, Vrankryk en Yerland, En juychende over de triumphante wederkomst van haren Vorst*, s.l., s.n., 1691, n.p.

<sup>372</sup> "Les choses de ce temps y étoient représentées selon l'ancienne manière des Grecs et des Romains, & l'on s'y étoit servi de la liberté que les Poëtes & les Peintres se donnent en de pareilles descriptions, afin d'égayer la matière en la diversifiant, & de produire les mêmes pensées, sous une forme nouvelle, pour engager l'attention du spectateur." Bidloo, *Relation du voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande ...*, 1692, pp.50-51



Medals were another important source for contemporary knowledge about ancient ritual practices and John Ogilby praised medals for the light that they shed on imperial apotheosis and funeral pyres.<sup>373</sup> Pyrotechnic displays were also generally suspected to have been an integral part of ancient performances and although there was some uncertainty in this regard, the Amsterdam antiquarian, Ludolf Smids (1649-1720), had found proof in an ancient medal that the ancient Romans and Greeks must have practised lighting bonfires on such occasions.<sup>374</sup> William and Mary are known to have collected medals and antique coins, although we know little about their collection or patronage of medallists.<sup>375</sup> Huygens noted his discussions with William III about these matters, while also describing that some of the objects in the personal collection of the royal couple were counterfeits.

Another available model that may have exerted influence on the triumphal entry was the rare set of plaster casts of Trajan's Column owned by the Earl of Portland, which were exhibited in the orangery of the gardens at his estate of Zorgvliet.<sup>376</sup> The Trajan Column was praised by Roland Fréart de Chambray in his *Parallèle de l'architecture* (1650) as one of the most important pieces of evidence of the magnificence of the Romans, which immortalised the emperor's reputation and transmitted the memory of his success in the Dacian Wars across the centuries.<sup>377</sup>

Knowledge of key works from classical antiquity, like the triumphal arch of Constantine, the equestrian monument and the imagery of Hercules, was well-established amongst the artists in The Hague, many of whom derived directly from the travels of its members, such as the painters Willem Doudijns and Augustinus Terwesten to Rome (figs.66, 74). One of the founding members of the academy, Robert Duval (1649-1732), who maintained strong relations with the court in The Hague, had even travelled to Rome in service to Charles II of England and later acted as a dealer of paintings and precious objects, as well as sculpted objects and picture frames.<sup>378</sup> Many of the drawings by Terwesten were available to members of the *Confrerie Pictura*.<sup>379</sup> Annotations by William's architect Jacob Roman (or perhaps his son Pieter) on a set of architectural drawings of Roman architecture noted that the inscriptions on a certain monument could be found in the "Antiquities of Graevius or Gronovius, professors at Leiden and Utrecht" or the work of Antoine Desgodets (probably *Les Edifices antiques de Rome dessinés et mesurés tres exactement*, 1682).<sup>380</sup> This

<sup>373</sup> Ogilby, 1662, pp.34-35.

<sup>374</sup> Ludolf Smids, *Oranjes overtocht naar Engelenad: of beschrijvinge van Romein de Hooges printen, vertoonende de aanmerkelijke zaaken van de Overtocht van Zyn Koninklyke Hoogheid de Heer PRince van Oranje tot aan deszelfs Krooning toe, voorgevallen. Met Byschriften, Verklaaringen en Medalien verciert door Ludolph Smids, M.D.* Amsterdam, 1689, p.79.

<sup>375</sup> In 1690 Huygens was in England, and recorded the numismatic interest of William III and Mary in his diary. He noted a discussion about 'pictures, antique sigils and medals' with the king, while queen Mary kept a collections of medals and cameos, many of which Huygens deemed bad counterfeits. Huygens, *Journal van 21 oktober 1688 tot 2 september 1696. Eerste deel*, 1876, pp. 356, 325.

<sup>376</sup> Nicodemus Tessin, *Nicodemus Tessin the Younger. Travel Notes 1673-1677 and 1687-1688*, eds. Merit Laine and Börje Magnusson, Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002, p.147.

<sup>377</sup> Fréart de Chambray, *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne avec un recueil des dix principaux auteurs qui ont écrit des cinq ordres...*, 1701, p.90.

<sup>378</sup> Judy A. Hayden, "Cornelis de Bruyn: Painter, traveler, curiosity collector – spy?", in *Through the Eyes of the Beholder: The Holy Land, 1517-1713*, eds. Judy A. Hayden and Nabil I Matar, Brill: Leiden/Boston 2013, p. 157.

<sup>379</sup> Dr. Ir. J. H. Plantenga, *De academie van 's-Gravenhage en haar plaats in de kunst van ons land. 1682-1937*, 1938, p.23.

<sup>380</sup> "[...] lest plusieurs inscriptions qui eteoint sur cette Arque, ie crois mesme dans Degodetz, si non vous les trouves dans les Antiquites de Grevius, ou Gronovius, Professeur a Leyde et Utrecht" in Hubertus Günther, *Das Studium der antiken Architektur in den Zeichnungen der Hochrenaissance*, Tübingen : Wasmuth, 1988, p.368.





Fig. 65. Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, 1677, published in Joachim von Sandrart's *L'Academia Todesca...* Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 66. *The Submission of the Barbarians to Marcus Aurelius*, 1677, by Augustinus Terwesten. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 67. A decorative wall panel for Queen Mary's Water Gallery at Hampton Court, c.1690. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 68. A series of triumphal arches and city gates series, before 1700, by Daniel Marot. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 69. View of the Temple-Bar arch in London, circa 1690. Etching and engraving, 165 x 195 mm. © Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 70. Arch of Constantine published in Antonio Salamanca and Antonio Lafreri, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae...*, 1583. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

rare testimony attests to the influence of contemporary scholarship on the practice of the architects working for William and Mary's court and connected with the triumphal entry.

The manner in which architecture communicates status and ambition is illustrated by contemporary projects undertaken by William and Mary at the time of the entry. For example, when William III returned to The Hague in 1691, a large renovation of the palace of Hampton Court had already been started by Christopher Wren, who had led the Office of Works since the reign of Charles II (1630-1685).<sup>381</sup> When William visited Het Loo after the triumphal entry, it was apparent that the princely hunting lodge was no longer able to fulfill its representational purpose. A renovation campaign was begun to accommodate the growing court. The king remarked to his secretary that the destruction of the modern colonnade to be replaced by more spacious pavilions was a victory for comfort rather than aesthetics.<sup>382</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century, his ancestors used architecture to solidify the constitutionally ambiguous role of Stadholder and position the dynasty at the pinnacle of

<sup>381</sup> Thurley, *Hampton Court: a social and architectural history*, 2003, p.188

<sup>382</sup> Vliegenthart, *Het Loo Palace. Journal of a Restoration*, 2002, pp.41, 45-46.



Dutch society by building residences whose structure, form and scale were unprecedented in the United Provinces.<sup>383</sup> Foreign visitors had remarked on the magnificence and “royal” appearance of these princely residences, which, in the words of Simon Schama, “... remained something of an anomaly in Dutch public life, reserved for the ceremonies of signing treaties, visiting royalty and sustaining the somewhat ambiguous dynastic politics [of the House of Orange].”<sup>384</sup>

William III had a great interest in architecture and was keenly aware of its capacity to communicate cultural as well as political ambitions. Architects, authors and patrons in the seventeenth-century United Provinces and Britain recognised the links between architecture and statecraft. In England, a rhetorical view of architecture had been espoused since the publication of the *Elements of Architecture* by Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), whose work also influenced the architect Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723).<sup>385</sup> Wren's observation of architecture's political use is well known, but it is not usually pointed out that it highlights its social as well as prospective function: “...public Buildings being the Ornament of a Country; it establishes a Nation, draws People and Commerce; makes the People love their native Country, which Passion is the Original of all great Actions in a Common-Wealth [...] Architecture aims at Eternity.”<sup>386</sup> His pupil, Nicholas Hawksmoor, responsible for the design of the King William Block at Greenwich Hospital, also made the link between public architecture and effective rule, where the former was as an essential element of statecraft.<sup>387</sup>

William and Mary pursued this monumental quality in their building campaigns. The concept of the classical monument as transmitting the memory of the rulers from antiquity across the ages served as a model for discussing the architectural ambitions of the court. Walter Harris (1647-1732), one of the English royal physicians, was charged with writing an account of the palace and gardens at Het Loo, which William and Mary had renovated in 1692, but which the queen never saw again after leaving the United Provinces in 1691.<sup>388</sup> Harris starts his description of Het Loo by explaining how the ruins of Rome still communicate the greatness of their age in the present as their sight elicits praise from those who contemplate the “magnificence” through these artefacts:

“[...] that some are likely to continue to the end of the World everlasting  
Monuments of the just Veneration due to Ancient Times, of their admirable

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<sup>383</sup> On the patronage of the Stadholder Frederik Hendrik of Orange see Koen Ottenheym. “‘Possessed by Such a Passion for Building’. Frederik Hendrik and Architecture.” In *Princely Display. The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms*, 105–25. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 1997. See also C. Willemijn Fock, “The Princes of Orange as Patrons of Art in the Seventeenth Century.” *Apollo*, December 1979, pp. 469-470.

<sup>384</sup> See for example the description of the residences of the Stadholder Frederik Hendrik of Orange visited by the exiled French Queen Marie de Medici given by Puget de La Serre in his account, *Histoire de l'entrée de La Reyne Mere Du Roy Tres-Chrestien Dans Les Provinces Unies Des Pays Bas Enrichie de Planches*, Londres: Jean Raworth pour George Thomason & Octavian Pullen, 1639. Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, New York: First Vintage Book Editions, 1997, p. 66.

<sup>385</sup> Caroline van Eck, “Statecraft or Stagecraft? English paper architecture in the seventeenth century”, in *Festival Architecture*, ed. Sarah Bonnemaïson and Christine Macy, London : Routledge, 2008, p.115

<sup>386</sup> Lydia M. Soo, *Wren's "Tracts" on Architecture and Other Writings*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.153

<sup>387</sup> See Vaughan Hart. *Nicholas Hawksmoor. Rebuilding Ancient Wonders*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002, p. 226.

<sup>388</sup> Harris published a description of the royal residence of Het Loo in 1699, claiming that he had originally intended to publish the account of the gardens and house during the lifetime of Queen Mary, who never saw the substantial alterations of the former princely hunting lodge after her return to England in 1689.

*Skill, if not Perfection in Architecture; and in a word, as undoubted Testimonies of the Splendour and Magnificence of the Greatest People that were ever recorded in History.*"<sup>389</sup>

Thus, the creation of a new seat for the monarchy was a serious task and William III made sure to be kept informed of the progress while he travelled abroad. There are certain parallels to be found in the décor of the triumphal entry and the preliminary designs made for the East and South Fronts of Hampton Court Palace (figs.76-78). These presentation drawings were made by the architect, Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736), who worked as a draughtsman for Christopher Wren since 1685 and had become the Clerk of Works at Kensington Palace in 1689. Apart from Wren, who was Surveyor of the King's Works, the Office also employed William Talman (1650-1719), who would later take his experience as Master of Works at Hampton Court to Derbyshire, where he worked for the first Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth.

The resemblance with Steven Vennekool's triumphal arch can be observed in the façade designs for Hampton Court and especially in the architecture of the central avant-corps, which is similarly modelled after triumphal arches. Both the East and South Fronts have a central projecting avant-corps, whose disposition of columns and entablature (especially the pilastered attics) are similar to the Arches of Septimus Severus and Constantine (figs.70-71). Wren's distribution of columns in Hawksmoor's drawings recalled the decorative treatment of surface in French architecture, but ultimately it was the magnificence of the monuments of Imperial Rome that late seventeenth-century patrons and artists sought to restore and surpass in commissions for public architecture.

The almost contemporary designs by Christopher Wren and the Office of Works for Hampton Court Palace are of a similar character as the "noble dignity" attributed by Govert Bidloo to the triumphal arch by Steven Vennekool. This is visible in the exterior façades of royal residence like Het Loo as well as those of the English palaces, where the frontispiece is composed of a central arch flanked by pilasters supporting an entablature or pediment. It is revealing that the same classical monuments, particularly the equestrian sculpture and the Constantine's Arch, are referenced in the re-design of Hampton Court and the triumphal entry. It is tempting to consider the triumphal arch by Vennekool as a portent of the more expressively baroque character that William and Mary pursued in their building projects following the Glorious Revolution and which must be seen as a statement of public representation. In the period immediately preceding the triumphal entry, the architect, Nicholas Hawksmoor, had suggested a similar coupling of an equestrian statue with a dome in the preliminary designs for the West Front of Hampton Court Palace, which were never realised (fig.41).<sup>390</sup> William and Mary were closely involved in the decisions at Hampton Court and Simon Thurley wrote that the equestrian motif was probably suggested by the King himself.<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>389</sup> Walter Harris, *A Description of the King's Royal Palace and Gardens at Loo Together with a Short Account of Holland in Which There Are Some Observations Relating to Their Diseases*. London: Printed by R. Roberts and sold by J. Nutt, 1699, p.1.

<sup>390</sup> Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2003, p.156, fig.133.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, p.208.

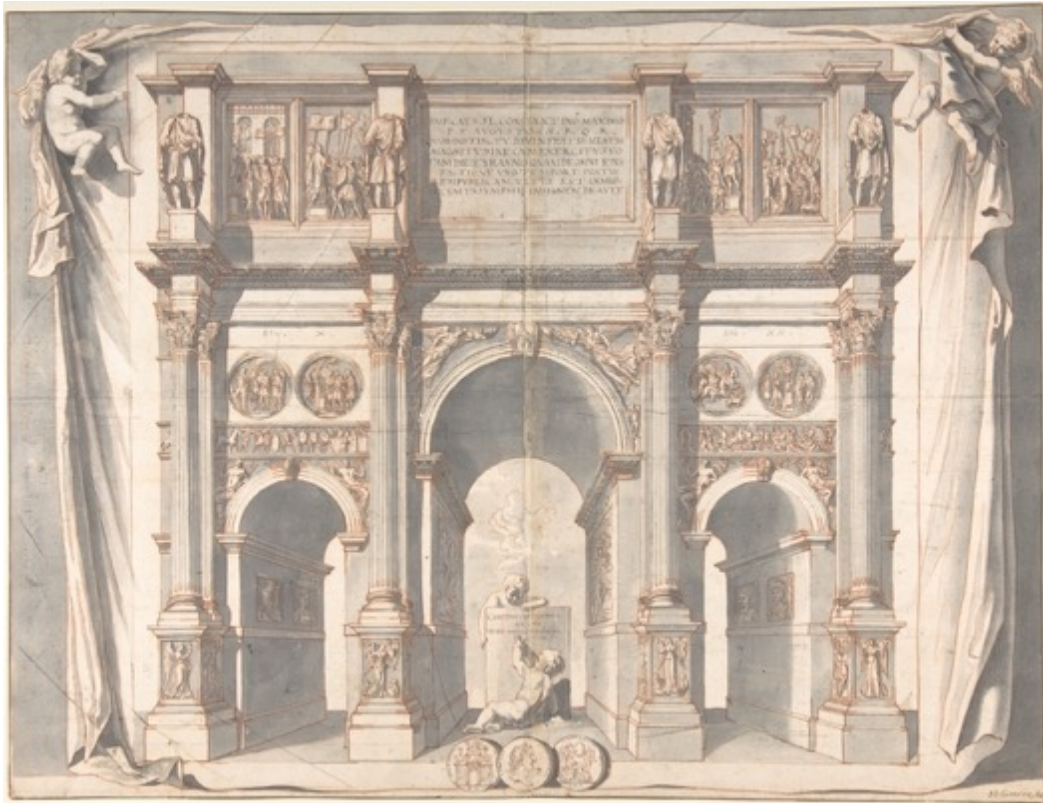


Fig. 71. Preparatory study of an illustration of Constantine's triumphal arch published in Johann Georg Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum...*, 1697. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 72. Preparatory study of an illustration of Septimius Severus's triumphal arch published in Johann Georg Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum...*, 1697. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.





Fig. 73. Preparatory study of an illustration of the Columna Rostrata published in Johann Georg Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum...*, 1697. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.





Fig. 74. Bust of the Emperor Commodus as Hercules, c.1666-1671, Jan de Bisschop after Willem Doudijns(?). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 75. Pediment of the East Front of Hampton Court Palace showing Hercules triumphing over Envy, 1694-1696. © Historic Royal Palaces.



Fig. 76. Nicholas Hawksmoor's presentation drawing for engraving of south elevation of Hampton Court, nearly as executed, c.1691. © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

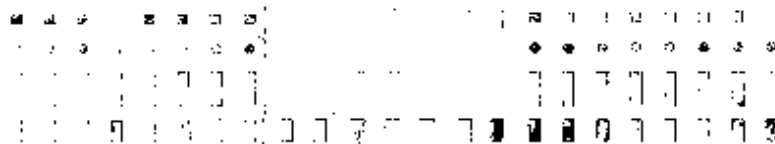


Fig. 77. Nicholas Hawksmoor's presentation drawing for engraving of east elevation of Hampton Court, nearly as executed, c.1691. © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.



Fig. 78. Nicholas Hawksmoor's preliminary design for the main west front of Hampton Court, March 1689. © Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

Even though this grand entrance to the palace was never realised, it is significant that the equestrian statue appears so prominently in the early stages of the design process. It implies that figures with triumphant and imperial connotations were on the minds of the patrons and advisors at this time.

One such classical motif that was prominent in the triumphal entry as well as renewed décor of Hampton Court (as well as gardens of Het Loo) was the figure of the demi-god Hercules. Around the Fountain Court, designed by Christopher Wren, the window frames of the upper attics were carved to resemble the mythical hero's lion skins by the sculptor William Emmett.<sup>392</sup> Similar to the Doric order, Hercules was associated with masculinity and physical prowess, both of which were qualities embodied William's vision of rulership and the regime's need for a stable and solid image during a period of contested authority. Sir Balthasar Gerbier's manual for the young prince William III had praised the Hercules Farnese as the ultimate embodiment of masculinity.<sup>393</sup>

Late seventeenth-century audiences were probably aware that the identification of the Roman emperors with Hercules permitted the former to promote the idea of their divinity.<sup>394</sup> Louis XIV owned a statue of the Emperor Commodus (161-192 CE) in guise of Hercules, while the famous bust of Commodus as Hercules in the Capitoline Museums must have been familiar through the well-known engravings of Jan de Bisschop (fig.74).<sup>395</sup> Bisschop's engravings of classical antiquities were one of the most modern sources for classical sculpture in the seventeenth-century. He engraved some of his compositions after the drawings of Willem Doudijns (1630-1697), who was a leading member of the *Confrerie Pictura*.<sup>396</sup>

The figure of Hercules appeared on several triumphal arches and featured prominently in the fireworks displays. The rear facade of the triumphal arch on the Markt displayed the mythical hero trampling a dragon, which showed the power of William III to suppress the tyranny of the common enemy threatening all of Europe.<sup>397</sup> One of the paintings on the triumphal arch on the Buitenhof showed the youthful Hercules (known as Alcides) as an allegory for the difficult childhood of the young prince of Orange, whose youth had been beset by familial discord and political opposition.<sup>398</sup> As an illegitimate son of the supreme god Jupiter, the young demi-god had incurred the wrath of Juno, who sent serpents to kill the infant in his crib. However, instead of killing the child, the serpents were strangled by Alcides, who thus demonstrated not only his godly strength but his fortuitous destiny in spite of dire circumstances.

Although the association between William III and Hercules is well-known, there is reason to think that the triumphal entry solidified the public connection between the king and

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<sup>392</sup> Van Raaij and Spies, *In Het Gevolg van Willem III & Mary*, 1988, p.70.

<sup>393</sup> Gerbier, *Princely Virtuous Academicall Discours...*, 1660, p.169.

<sup>394</sup> Friedrich Polleross, "From the exemplum virtutis to the Apotheosis: Hercules as an Identification Figure in Portraiture: An example of the adoption of Classical Forms of Representation", in *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, ed. Allan Ellenius. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, p.46.

<sup>395</sup> One of these versions of the Hercules figure was made around 1685 by the French sculptor Nicolas Coustou (1658-1733) and is now displayed in the gardens of Versailles. Musée national du Château de Versailles, MR 1797.

<sup>396</sup> H.M. Mensonides, "Twee Haagse schilders en hun werk voor het oude stadhuis. Willem Doudijns en Theodorus van der Schuer", in *Die Haghe*, 1959, p.80.

<sup>397</sup> Beeck, *The Triumph-Royal ...*, 1692, p.39

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*, p.64.

the mythical hero. There was a clear connection in the minds of contemporary viewers between the king's successes at the Boyne and the triumphal entry in The Hague, as evidenced in the laudatory poetry. The courtier Samuel Sylvius combined Caesar's cry of conquest with the myth of Hercules, declaring that William had come to Ireland and had seen and defeated Louis XIV like Alcides.<sup>399</sup> One of the medals struck to commemorate the war in Ireland showed Hercules destroying the seven-headed monster Hydra, whose two remaining heads represented James II and Louis XIV.<sup>400</sup> The accompanying inscription lauded William's accomplishment, proclaiming him *Guillelmus III. Dei gratia Britanniarum Imperator* (William III by the grace of God, Emperor of Great Britain).<sup>401</sup>

The fight of Hercules against the Hydra was also depicted in one of the biggest medals struck in the period leading up to the triumphal entry (fig.49). The obverse face of this medal showed Hercules striking down Ireland, while in the background, the French forces retreating in the face of William's assault, accompanied by the inscription *Hibernis subjectis, Gallis fugatis* (The Irish subdued, the French put to flight).<sup>402</sup> The poet Derck Rouckens from Nijmegen wrote that the king was like the "Hercules that knew how to tame Monsters, or expelled them across the sea to France".<sup>403</sup> The artist Christoffel Pierson proclaimed William's near death at the Battle of the Boyne had earned him Hercules's laurels, which are only earned through resisting such perils.<sup>404</sup> Jan Vollenhove compared him to Hercules as an invincible hero, whose return was like that of the sun.<sup>405</sup>

The image of Hercules defeating the serpents as depicted on the triumphal arch on the Buitenhof later appeared in the statuary of the gardens of Het Loo in Apeldoorn, suggesting that this was a motif whose mythical associations were actively cultivated by the court. In the new Fountain Court at Hampton Court, Louis Laguerre painted the twelve labours of Hercules inside blind round windows whose frames were carved by the sculptor William Emmett to resemble the lion skins worn by the mythical hero.<sup>406</sup> The tympanum of the central pediment of the English palace's new garden facade (fig.75), designed by Christopher Wren, also depicted Hercules destroying Envy, carved by the sculptor Caius Gabriel Cibber (1630-1700). The demi-god is easily identifiable by his lion-skins and is shown crushing the personification of Envy, which was another recurrent figure in the poetry produced at this time. It seems that the presence of Envy may have anticipated some of the criticism directed at William III; nevertheless, given the ban on pamphlets critical of the regime, only one or two such publications are known.

<sup>399</sup> "De rijxpest, Vrankrijx list, in Ierland aan het woeden, Zat in de steden om een Hydra uit te broede; Maar gij Alcides komt en ziet en wint..." Samuel Sylvius, *De Hollandsche groete aan koning Wilhem, op zijne majesteits blijde inkomste in 'sGravenhage*, The Hague: Gillis van Limburg, 1691, p.12.

<sup>400</sup> Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, 1692, p.154.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid., p.154.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid., p.232 ; Nicholas Tindal, *The History of England, by Mr. Rapin de Thoyras. Continued from the Revolution to the Accession of King George II. Illustrated with the Heads of the Kings, Queens, and Several Eminent Persons; Also with Maps, Medals, and Other Copper Plates*, Vol. 3, London: John and Paul Knapton, 1744, p.15.

<sup>403</sup> "Ghy bent een Hercules die Monsters weet te temmen, of dwinght over zee nae Vrankryck toe te swemmen." Rouckens, *Blyde Overkomst van William De III. Koningh van Groot Brittanje*, 1691, n.p.

<sup>404</sup> Christoffel Pierson, *Aan zijne Alderdoorlugtigste Majesteyt Willem de Derde, Koning van Groot-Brittanje, Vrankrijk en Yerland...*, 1691, p.8.

<sup>405</sup> Vollenhove, *Welkoomzang ter blyde inkomst van zyne Koninklyke Majesteit van Groot Brittanje in s' Gravenhage*, 1691, p.6.

<sup>406</sup> Van Raaij and Spies, *In Het Gevolg van Willem III & Mary*, 1988, p.70.



## Conclusion

The triumphal entry created a monumental setting for the return of William III as king and introduced a new visual style for the new age inaugurated by the Glorious Revolution. The significance of the triumphal entry as public representation of William III is complicated by the unique character of his reign as Stadholder in the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht and Gelderland in the Dutch Republic, and as King of England, Scotland and Ireland. Thus, it was crucial to establish a new kind of visual language that appropriately expressed and effectively communicated William's new status.

Contemporary authors like Gerbier and Ogilby described classical ornament as the product of ancient rituals, thus relating the appearance of the artefact to its performative origins. The historical explanation of public architecture in contemporary Dutch, French and English texts suggests that the term monument or adjacent terms in Dutch were used to describe the creation of the triumphal arches as a foundational moment for the myth of William III that was expressed in ritual and material terms. The creation of an artificial pedigree for the new regime was one of the most important functions of the triumph as it provided a semblance of continuity. Jan Assmann would argue that the construction of a future for William in the United Provinces and in Great Britain was only possible through the rediscovery of a past.<sup>407</sup>



Fig. 79. Kermesse of The Hague with the civic guard companies saluting William and Mary, 1686-88, by Daniel Marot. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

<sup>407</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 2011, p.18



Fig. 80. Birthday ball held at Huis ten Bosch for Prince William of Orange, 1686, Daniel Marot. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.