A Reappraisal of the Architectural Legacy of King-Stadholder William III and Queen Mary II: Taste, Passion and Frenzy

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A Reappraisal of the Architectural Legacy of King-Stadholder William III and Queen Mary II: Taste, Passion and Frenzy

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This article reappraises the architectural legacy of King William III and Queen Mary II on the basis of an examination of all of the building projects relating to castles and palaces in Great Britain and the Low Countries during their reign. In both countries William and Mary were continuously renovating and adding additions to already existing castles and palaces as well as creating new ones, always simultaneously combining various projects. The authors propose that the extent of William and Mary's architectural endeavours has so far been underestimated, primarily because these have not been assessed as an ensemble. Similarly, the monarchs' great interest in the interior of their residences, and especially in their painting collections, has not been sufficiently acknowledged. This article brings together two academic traditions at both sides of the North Sea: on the basis of primary sources such as the diaries of Constantijn Huygens Jr, travel accounts and probate inventories, both the motivation for their frantic building can be discerned, as well as the quality, scope and cultural agency of the architectural and art programmes of William and Mary.

In early June 1694, on the way to the Spanish Netherlands for a new season of military campaigning, William III made a stop at his castle at Breda in the south of the Dutch Republic.[1] Ever since 1686 he had been busy remodelling the large Renaissance castle built by Henry of Nassau one and a half centuries earlier. That evening, when William was getting ready for the night, Constantijn Huygens Jr, William's secretary, went to the King to bring him a few letters to sign. The King had a friendly chat with him about the paintings that hung in the castle, after which he pointed laughingly at his new bed with some outsized element, most likely a gigantic canopy, that almost reached the ceiling.[2] This evening scene offers a rare glimpse of the man William III, who was seemingly able to put his own glorification into perspective and, despite his moody reputation, in possession of a sense of humour. More importantly, it shows his interest in (decorative) art and verifies his ability to judge, at least in this instance, whether a decorative programme was tasteful or not. William III could joke about his over-the-top bed because he knew the rules of (high) art.[3]

In this article we will attempt to reappraise the architectural and artistic legacy of the King-Stadholder, William III, and his wife, Mary II. Although the art and architecture of William and Mary cannot be looked at without touching on their political and propagandistic value,

1 We would like to express our gratitude to Erik de Jong.

2 J.H. Siccama (ed.), *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens, 1673–1696,* 4 vols. (Utrecht, 1876–88), here cited vol. II (1877), p. 353: William III 'al lacchende wijsende een nieuw bedt in sijn slaepcamer, daer een … [baldakijn?] over was, reyckende schier aeñ solder, die vrij hoogh was, soo dat men het sonder lachen niet wel konde aensien'. 'William III pointed laughingly to a new bed in his bedroom, with a … [missing word: canopy?] that almost reached the ceiling, which was quite high, so that one could almost not look at it without laughing'.

3 See H. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley, 1982); P. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (New York, 1993).

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a political perspective will not be our point of departure. Moreover, instead of focussing on either gardens or palaces, or on either the British or Dutch architectural corpus separately, it is our aim to study the complete building project carried out during the reign of William and Mary: what did they, jointly and William singularly after Mary's death, (intend to) create? We will assess the different architectural projects (whether finished or unfinished), including their interior design as well as William and Mary's painting collection, and primary sources such as the diaries of Huygens Jr, travel accounts and probate inventories that touch on these projects, as an *ensemble*, so as to arrive at a comparative analysis and conclusion about the quality, scope and cultural agency of these projects.

State of the Art

When studying the architectural legacy of William and Mary, it can be difficult to disentangle history from historiography: from the start, the latter was inevitably informed by an author's political preferences and nationality. As the least-worst solution to the acute problem that James II was believed to be, William's presence in England was problematic from the start.[4] Jonathan Israel asserts that after the end of the Nine Years' War in 1697, William's reputation began to sink even further.[5] The regret and mistrust that accompanied the invitation of William III to rule England, Scotland and Ireland, and that lingered thereafter, is reflected in contemporary and later evaluations of William and Mary's architectural projects. Horace Walpole famously dismissed William III's architecture by stating that William contributed nothing to the advancement of the arts: 'He was born in a country where taste never flourished, and nature had not given it to him as an embellishment to his great qualities.'[6] Remarks like these were reiterated throughout the centuries. British critics were equally dismissive about the building projects William and Mary undertook on the other side of the North Sea in the Dutch Republic.[7] Dutch commentators, on the other hand, were often nostalgically positive in the century after William's death, at least until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when nationalistic rhetoric turned to William I instead of William III as the father of the nation.[8]

Echoes of these politically informed judgements of William and Mary's architecture have pervaded the contemporary scholarly debate. According to Simon Thurley, King William led 'court architecture into a cul-de-sac'; Adrian Tinniswood argues that the royal building projects in the Republic tended to be 'small-scale and restrained'; and J.R. Jones concludes that William's greatness lies not in his building activities, but in his military achievements.[9] According to Bucholz, the 'political, social, and aesthetic' court culture of the 'once-brilliant

4 J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic, Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 852-3.

5 Israel, *The Dutch Republic,* p. 861.

6 R.N. Wornum (ed.), *Anecdotes of Painting in England with Some Account of the Principal Artists (1765–1780) by Horace Walpole* (London, 1888), vol. II, p. 201.

7 English travel accounts such as that by Joseph Marshall from 1768 are often outright contemptuous: 'I took a walk to the wood near the Hague, belonging to the Prince of Orange, which is famous in Holland; but nothing in it will in the least strike a person used to the gardens in England.' In: J. Marshall, *Travels through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Lapland, Russia, the Ukraine, and Poland, in the Years 1768, 1769, and 1770* (London 1772), vol. II, p. 32.

8 See H. Ronnes, 'The Quiet Authors of an Early Modern Palatial Landscape: Transformation without Reconstruction at King William's Het Loo', in Jan Kolen, Hans Renes and Rita Hermans (eds), *Landscape Biographies: Geographical, Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on the Production and Transmission of Landscapes* (Amsterdam, 2015), pp. 205–33.

9 S. Thurley, 'Kensington Palace: An Incident in Anglo-Dutch Collaboration?', *The Georgian Group Journal* 17 (2009), pp. 1-18, p. 1; A. Tinniswood, *Visions of Power: Ambition and Architecture from Ancient Times to the Present* (London, 1998), p. 88; J.R. Jones, 'The Building Works and Court Style of William and Mary', *The Journal of Garden History* 8 (1988), pp. 1-13, p. 10.

past' ended with William III.[10] 'Bred in a domesticated and small-scale environment', William is believed to have been incompetent as a patron of the arts and architecture.[11] This modest, Dutch background, according to John Harris and Thurley, also explains why William preferred 'homely' and 'pleasant domestic' houses rather than 'baroque dream palaces'.[12] According to the latter, both Kensington and Hampton Court, mirroring the 'private domestic residence modelled on their houses in the Netherlands', were moved to 'the sidelines of English architectural and court history, and William III's reputation as an architectural patron took its place close by'.[13] Exceptions to this rule do also exist: William and Mary's garden architecture, for example, has received some acclaim.[14]

Dutch scholars have occasionally objected to this appraisal of William and Mary's architecture, stressing their role as patrons of architecture and art. Stefan van Raaij and Paul Spies state that the belief that William took no interest in the arts is based on a 'wilful misunderstanding'.[15] More commonly, Dutch scholars have created a separate discourse, parallel to the British debate, which attributes greater importance to the architecture of William and Mary. Erik de Jong argues that the garden of Het Loo was a self-conscious political propaganda tool and 'the high point in the architectural tradition of the stadholders as patrons of art.'[16]

Several British-Dutch initiatives, some the direct result of the 1988 tercentenary of the Glorious Revolution, can be assessed as attempts to overcome these different interpretations. Two edited volumes with telling titles stand out: Paul Hoftijzer and C.C. Barfoot's *Fabrics and Fabrications: The Myth and Making of William and Mary* (1990); and Esther Mijers and David Onnekink's *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context* (2007). Two chapters in the latter volume by Olaf Mörke on Williams III's stadholderly court in the Dutch Republic, and Andrew Barclay on the English court, are of particular interest here. While they go a long way in bridging the gaps between the different historiographical traditions, their scholarship bears a stronger resemblance to Dutch historiography than English. Mörke contrasts William's stadholderly court with that of previous Orange stadholders and concludes, in line with Erik de Jong's thesis, that William III's court was the apotheosis of Orange architecture.[17] Barclay, pointing to William's ambitions and enterprises, asserts that no one 'now denies that the visual splendour of the court of William and Mary in England after 1689 was at least as great as that of any of the other Stuarts'.[18]

10 R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, 1993), p. 34.

11 See J. Harris, 'The Architecture of the Williamite Court', in Robert P. Maccubin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips (eds), *The Age of William III & Mary II: Power, Politics, and Patronage, 1688–1702* (Williamsburg, 1989), p. 233; K.H.D. Haley, 'William III', in A.G.H. Bachrach, J.P. Sigmond and A.J. Veenendaal, Jr (eds), *Willem III, de stadhouder-koning en zijn tijd* (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 31-50, p. 38; Tinniswood, *Visions of Power*, p. 88.

12 Harris, 'The Architecture of the Williamite Court', p. 233; Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', p. 6.

13 Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', pp. 15-16.

14 John Dixon Hunt, 'Reckoning with Dutch Gardens', in John Dixon Hunt and Erik de Jong (eds), *The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary* (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 41-60.

15 Stefan van Raaij and Paul Spies, *The Royal Progress of William and Mary* (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 167-8.

16 See also Uta Janssens-Knorsch, 'From Het Loo to Hampton Court: William and Mary's Dutch Gardens and Their Influence on English Gardening', in Paul Hoftijzer and C.C. Barfoot (eds), *Fabrics and Fabrications: The Myth and Making of William and Mary* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 277-96; Erik de Jong, *Nature and Art. Dutch Garden and Landscape Architecture, 1650–1740* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 42.

17 This acknowledges a seemingly simple fact that it is William who is the first to acquire various new residences beyond The Hague, in provinces such as Utrecht and Guelders. See O. Mörke, 'William's III Stadholderly Court in the Dutch Republic', in Esther Mijers and David Onnekink (eds), *Redefining William III. The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 234.

18 Barclay, 'William's Court as King', in Meijers and Onnekink (eds), *Redefning William III*, p. 251. Barclay points to William's 'desire for conspicuous display'.

The consensus implied here does not exist, however. Instead of reiterating widely shared ideas, it is Barclay himself who, with his article, debunks many paradigms about the architecture and court of William and Mary.

Building in the Low Countries

Like Mary II, William III was raised at a court where art and architecture were held in high esteem.[19] His grandmother Amalia van Solms had been the driving force behind Huis ten Bosch near The Hague, a house she commissioned 'for her recreation'.[20] After her husband's death in 1647, Amalia decided to dedicate Huis ten Bosch to her late husband, filling the central hall, the 'Oranjezaal' (Orange Hall), from top to bottom with paintings by Jacob Jordaens, Jan Lievens, Gerard van Honthorst and other celebrated painters of the day, depicting the glorification of the late Prince and the House of Orange-Nassau.[21] Several scholars regard Huis ten Bosch as the apex of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik and Amalia's architectural endeavours.[22] Travel accounts at the time frequently commented on the Orange Hall, which received, without exception — and that is rare in the often disparaging genre of the travelogue — positive acclaim.[23]

During their stadholderate in the first half of the seventeenth century, Frederik Hendrik and Amalia commissioned, apart from Huis ten Bosch, the palaces of Honselaarsdijk and Huis ter Nieuburch (or Rhyswijck), as well as the rebuilding of the Binnenhof and Noordeinde in The Hague and the renovation of the castles at Breda and Buren. Frederik Hendrik was the first stadholder to build on such a scale and much scholarship has been devoted to his architectural pursuit, his influence on the development of Dutch classicism and his involvement and interest in art and architecture, 'one of his favourite pastimes'[24], in his own words.[25] Frederik Hendrik hired French architects to work at the palace of Honselaarsdijk and Huis ter Nieuburch. The French-Swedish

19 N.M. Japikse, *Prins Willem III: de stadhouder-koning* (Amsterdam, 1930), vol. I, pp. 11, 22.

20 D. F. Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik* (Leiden, 1945), p. 183; M. Loonstra, *Het húijs int bosch: Ket Koninklijk Paleis Huis ten Bosch historisch gezien* (Zutphen, 1985), p. 23. The document that granted Amalia permission to build Huis ten Bosch clearly expresses its function as a summer retreat: 'tot hare recreatie, exercitie ende oeffeninge te veranderen soo in plantagie als betimmeringe, *soo sy t selve t 'haerder vermaeck dienstich soude vinden*' [that she may alter both the garden and panelling to suit her recreation, use and exercise, *as she finds convenient for her amusement*], italics ours, for emphasis.

21 M. Vonk, *Huis ten Bosch, de Oranjezaal: Pracht en praal van de Oranjedynastie* (Zwolle, 2015).

22 Mörke, '*Stadtholder' oder 'Staetholder'? Die Funktion des Hauses Oranien und seines Hofes in der politischen Kultur der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1997), pp. 230-7; J.I. Israel, 'The Courts of the House of Orange c. 1580–1795. The United Provinces of the Netherlands', in John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture in the Ancien Régime, 1500–1750* (London, 1999), p. 129.

23 See G. Upmark, 'Ein Besuch in Holland 1687, aus den Reiseschilderungen des schwedischen Architekten Nicodemus Tessin', *Oud-Holland* 18-2 (1900), pp. 117-28; J. Shaw, *Letters to a Nobleman from a Gentleman Travelling thro' Holland, Flanders and France* (London, 1709); J. Taylor, *A Relation of a Voyage to the Army. In Several Letters From a Gentleman to his Friend in the Year 1707* (Leiden, 1997).

24 K. Ottenheym, '"van Bouw-lust soo beseten". Frederik Hendrik en de bouwkunst', in Marika Keblusek and Jori Zijlmans (eds), *Vorstelijk vertoon: aan het hof van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia* (The Hague 1997), p. 106.

25 Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, pp. 25-6; Ottenheym, '"van Bouw-lust soo beseten"', pp. 105-07; R. Tucker, '"His Excellency at Home", Frederik Hendrik and the Noble Life at Huis Honselaarsdijk', *Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51-1 (2000), pp. 90-96. In recent years, more research has concentrated on the art patronage and displaying strategies of Amalia: C.W. Fock, 'Interieuropvattingen van Amalia van Solms. Een Frans getint hof in de Republiek', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Interieurgeschiedenis* 34 (2005), pp. 25-45; S. Broomhall and J. van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism: Gender, Materiality and the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (London, 2016); S. Beranek, 'Strategies of Display in the Galleries of Amalia van Solms', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 9-2 (2017), pp. 1-30. When it comes to Frederik Hendrik's interest and knowledge of architecture, historians also refer to his education in mathematics, which included subjects such as architecture and fortification, his collection of literature and documentation on architectural theory, and his secretary Constantijn Huygens Sr (1596–1687), who had knowledge of the theory and principles of classical architecture.

architect Simon de la Vallée (1590–1642), who had previously worked at the Palais du Luxembourg in Paris, was the first to be appointed official court architect to the stadholder in 1633.[26]

Until 1674, William resided in these and other buildings he had inherited from his predecessors. Most of these palaces stood in and around The Hague, which was still the administrative centre of government. The exceptions to this rule were the hunting lodge at Dieren — the only architectural undertaking of William's father, William II, who died at a young age — as well as the castles of Breda in the province of Brabant, Buren in Guelders and IJsselstein in Utrecht. William significantly added to this collection by purchasing the properties of Soestdijk in Utrecht in 1674 and Het Loo in Guelders in 1684. The States of Guelders gave him the properties of Hoog Soeren in 1677 and Meerveld in 1698, and he acquired Kruidberg in Holland in 1682 and the castle of Coldenhove in Guelders in 1700.[27]

William III built and renovated practically all of the castles, palaces, houses and gardens that he and his wife possessed, almost regardless of the use he thought he was going to make of them. The reasons for this incessant building activity were multifaceted, ranging from habitual, political, cultural and personal motivations. Thurley argues that William turned his attention to architecture especially during two periods: immediately after his marriage to Princess Mary in 1677, and after the death of Charles II in 1685, when William, together with his wife Mary, came closer to the succession to the English throne.[28] Jones similarly argued that the death of Charles II led to a 'sudden flowering' of William and Mary's court, now welcoming streams of British visitors and investing in (re)building the various Orange houses.[29] In fact, when we look at the time frame of William and Mary's architectural enterprise, instead of a two-phased building spree, we see a continuous stream of acquisitions, renovations and construction work (fig. 1).[30] The building of the Soestdijk hunting lodge was the first sizable project that William undertook. Erik de Jong stresses the political significance of this purchase.[31] The province of Utrecht had surrendered a bit too quickly to the troops of Louis XIV in 1672, the Dutch 'year of disaster', and after William had driven out the French troops, he punished the States of Utrecht by taking away much of their power and jurisdiction.[32] De Jong states

26 R. Baarsen and N. Aakre (eds), *Courts and Colonies: The William and Mary Style in Holland, England, and America* (Pittsburgh, 1988), p. 12; Ottenheym, '"van Bouw-lust soo beseten"', p. 105; Tucker; '"His Excellency at Home"', pp. 90, 96. Parts of these palaces appear to have been directly copied from designs published by Du Cerceau, and Honselaarsdijk was very similar in plan to the Palais du Luxembourg in Paris. French influences are also visible in the design of Huis Ter Nieuburgh at Rijswijk, consisting of two remote pavilions linked by exceptionally long galleries to a central block. The adoption of the French styles can, at least to some degree, be explained by the fact that Frederik Hendrik was partly raised at the French court.

27 Japikse, *Prins Willem III*, vol. II, p. 123; L. van Everdingen, *Het Loo, De Oranjes en de Jacht* (Haarlem, 1984), pp. 48, 51-53. Coldenhove burned down during its re-construction.

28 Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', p. 1. In 1685, Mary became King James' heir, then her sister, Anne, and William followed, as the son of James' sister Princess Mary.

29 Jones, 'The building works', p. 2. He notes that during the years of 1685–88, William spent heavily on 'new' buildings, by completing the sixteenth-century palace at Breda, remodelling Honselaarsdijk and Het Loo, and acquiring 'a new country house built for him at Soestdijk'.

30 Based on the timeline, the death of Charles II certainly could have impacted the design of Het Loo and the decision to complete work at Breda. However, it can be argued that William was motivated to build or renovate these houses regardless of the death of the British king, as William had already ordered drawings for work at Honselaarsdijk, and had purchased Het Loo before 1685.

31 Heimerick Tromp, instead, regarded Soestdijk as 'a good opportunity arising at the right moment': the natural environment was suitable for hunting and it was situated close to various members of the Nassau family and (other) allies. See H. Tromp, *Het húijs te Soestdijck: het Koninklijk Paleis Soestdijk historisch gezien* (Zutphen, 1987), pp. 19-21.

32 Utrecht surrendered so as to prevent further damage to the province's cities and castles, yet this was not appreciated by the other provinces or by William III.

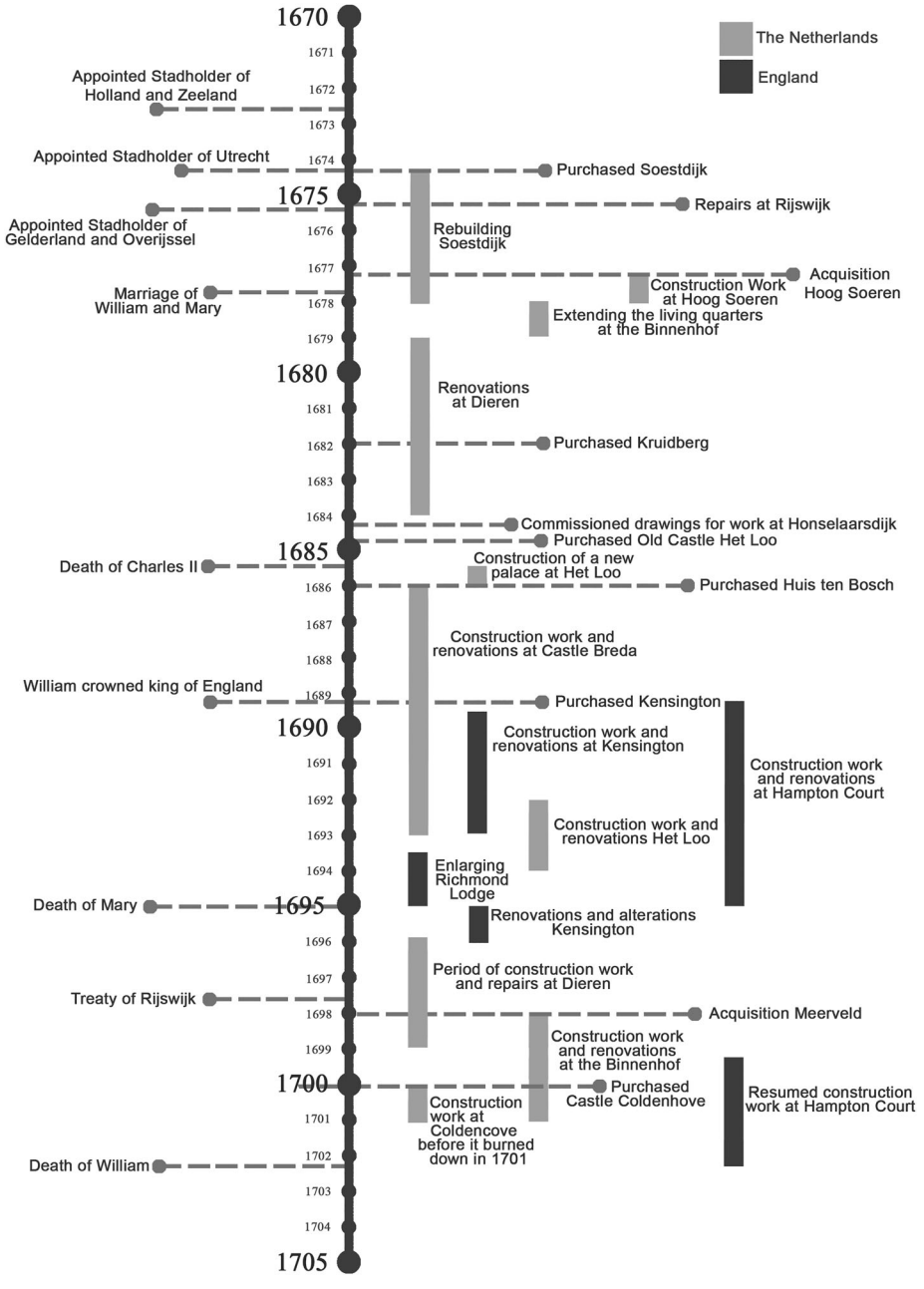

FIGURE 1 Timeline showing William's architectural activity in the Netherlands and England between 1672 and 1702

that William's architectural activity at Soestdijk had to symbolize his presence in Utrecht and therefore became the first example of the political use of architecture in his career.[33] While the choice for the location might have been politically charged, politics did not determine the

33 De Jong, *Nature and Art*, p. 41.

design of the house and gardens of Soestdijk, which were laid out according to the latest fashion, between 1674 and 1678.[34] While Thurley and Jones do mention William's acquisition and rebuilding of Soestdijk from 1674 onwards, they still correlate the start of his architectural activity with his marriage to Mary in 1677.

Thurley likewise squeezes Honselaarsdijk into the mould of William's political key years, stating that after 1685 Honselaarsdijk was 'hung with paintings of William and Mary's Stuart forbears'.[35] Little is actually known about the construction work at Honselaarsdijk during William and Mary's reign, yet, based on a travel account by the Bovio brothers from Bologna, alterations to the palace and its galleries probably took place at various moments. The two brothers who visited the palace in December 1677, declared that already two galleries were very well decorated and filled with portraits.[36] In 1684, mention is made in the ordinances of the payment for arbours, and 'drawings for other works' by court architect Jacob Roman.[37]

Apart from the timeframe, Thurley also misinterprets the intentions of some of William's building projects. The two building phases were, according to Thurley, initiated by practical considerations, related to his marriage and the death of Charles II, not to 'a love of building and architectural display', similar to that of his grandfather Frederik Hendrik.[38] Breda, for instance, was rebuilt according to Thurley because William was eager to 'create the only building that the contemporary English might call a palace'.[39] Under the supervision of the Italian architect Thommaso Vincidor da Bologna, William's forefather Henry III of Nassau (1483–1538), chamberlain and close confidant of Emperor Charles V, had turned Breda into a large Renaissance palace with an exceptionally spacious great hall.[40] The assumption that Breda's antiquity and size held special meaning for William is a misreading of William's appreciation of his residences. William showed no particular interest in the old castle of Buren, for example, and although the size of Breda might have been more in tune with what was built by monarchs in England and France, Huygens Sr had to convince William to renovate the castle.[41] Bigger was not always better: the building tradition in the Low Countries allowed for smaller structures, and the popularisation of the Italian villa architecture endorsed this tradition. The castle of Breda was remodelled between 1686 and 1695 not because of the potential William saw in this building — he only used the castle for a night or two when passing by at the start or end of a military season — but simply because this is what he did

34 Tromp, *Het húijs te Soestdijck,* p. 35.

35 Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', p. 4. Others state that changes made to Honselaarsdijk probably occurred after his marriage to Mary in 1677 and were executed according to 'his taste and the wishes of his spouse'. See for example, T. Morren, *Het Huis Honselaarsdijk* (Leiden, 1905), pp. 46-47; Slothouwer, *De paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, p. 82.

36 G. Brom, 'Reisbeschrijving — een Italiaanse — der Nederlanden (1677–1678)', *Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 36 (1915), pp. 101-02.

37 'Registers van ordonnanties voor de thesaurier en rentmeester-generaal en rentmeesters van de prinsen van Oranje en de Domeinraad 1684–1692', National Archives, The Hague, 1.08.11, inv.nr. 998, p. 7.

38 Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', p. 1.

39 Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', p. 2.

40 Israel, 'The Courts of the House of Orange', pp. 119-20; G.W.C. Wezel, *Het paleis van Hendrik III, graaf van Nassau te Breda* (Zeist, 1999), pp. 57-61, 95. The castle of Breda came into the House of Nassau's possession when Engelbert I of Nassau (c. 1370–1442) married Johanna of Polanen (1392–1445) in 1403. According to Gerard van Wezel, Henry made these plans around 1528, based on his correspondence about the ongoing renovations and reports of dilapidation. The complex was unfinished at Henry's death in 1538, with only half of Vincidor's design completed.

41 J.A. Worp, *De Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens* (The Hague, 1917), vol. VI, letter 7089. Constantijn Huygens Sr did try to work on William's sympathies by connecting Buren with William's ancestors and making the castle there into an Orange *Stammschloss*: 'Many come to see the beautiful castle daily, but one hardly dares to push a wheelbarrow over the bridges, so fragile are they, and collapsed walls fill the canals. I cannot resist requesting Your Highness to not let the castle fall into decay, which your grandfather had decorated with so much care and cost'.

with all of his properties, with the exception of (medieval) castles he never frequented, such as IJsselstein and Buren.

Patronage and Stimulus on the Veluwe

Before he purchased Het Loo, William III turned his attention to four other properties located on the heathlands known as the Veluwe, in the middle of the country. Between 1677 and 1678 he transformed the old farm at Hoog Soeren into a small hunting lodge with new kitchen buildings, stables and kennels.[42] William purchased Kruidberg in 1683, which appears to also have been used as a hunting lodge.[43] Meanwhile, William had started to renovate the house and gardens of his inherited hunting lodge at Dieren, a complex of buildings centred on a tall and narrow house with high top gables, a house that Mary longed for once back in England.[44] William remodelled the complete layout of the garden, which he embellished with terraces, lakes, grottos and fountains.[45] Although most scholars note that the house received a classical addition and a courtyard before 1688, notes by travellers suggest that this was done after 1696.[46] In that same year, Edward Southwell remarked: 'The King is very fond of this seat [Dieren], & talks of building an Apartment on the Garden side for himself.'[47]

In 1684 William made arrangements to build a 'palais ou maison de chasse' at Het Loo.[48] The place was an ideal location for hunting. Moreover, the low-lying grounds enabled large fountains which, some said, worked better than those at Versailles.[49] Drawings for the new structure were provided by the Académie Royale d'Architecture in Paris, but it is unknown to what extent these were incorporated into the plans for Het Loo.[50] William and Mary

42 Everdingen, *Het Loo*, p. 49.

43 S.W.A. Drossaers and Th. Lunsingh Scheurleer (eds), *Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes*, 3 vols (The Hague, 1974–76), vol. I, p. 637. Although little is known about this particular place, tradition has it that this was the house where William held his 'secret' meetings that eventually led up to the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The fact that one of the rooms there was for his English secretary Henry Sidney probably has contributed to this fact.

44 M. Bentink, *Lettres et Mémoires de Marie Reine d'Angleterre, Épouse de Guillaume III* (The Hague, 1880), p. 116. It was probably in March 1689 that she wrote: 'que je n'oublieray jamais ny la Holland ny ceux qui y sont, et quell bonher que je puysse avoir icy (par la grâce de Dieu), je ne laisseray pas de regretter à un païs qui m'est si cher. Je suis présentement à la campagne, à un lieu qui a esté fort négligé, il est à environ quatre lieues de Londres et l'air y est fort bon ; mais comme il y manque beaucoup des commodités de Dieren (quoique la maison a quatre ou cinq cent chamres) il y manque aussi une aussi [sic] bonne voisine que Mad. de Rosendalle.'

45 Hunt and De Jong, *The Anglo-Dutch garden*, p. 141; Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*, vol. I, p. 25.

46 For example in Spies and Raaij, *The Royal Progress*, pp. 120-22. Compare: Groninger Archieven [*hereafter* GA], Groningen, 623, inv.nr. 425, p. 167: 'out gebouw' (1683); K. Fremantle, 'A Visit to the United Provinces and Cleves in the Time of William III: Described in Edward Southwell's Journal', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 21 (1970), pp. 53-4: 'small and very old' (1696); C.D. Strien, *Touring the Low Countries: Accounts of British Travellers, 1660–1720* (Amsterdam, 1998), p. 150, 166, note 59: 'house is large and brick … after the Italian mode' (1698); GA, 493, inv.nr. 53: pp. 35-6: 'nieuw Italiaens gebouw gehegt' (1705); Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Inventarissen*, vol. I, pp. 385-402 and pp. 597-620: difference in number of rooms and descriptions, for example in the inventory of 1699, William's lodgings are referred to as either new 'Nieuw quartier' or old 'Sijn Majts. oude anti-chambre'.

47 Fremantle, 'A Visit to the United Provinces and Cleves', p. 54.

48 H. Lemonnier, *Proces-Verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture 1671–1793* (Paris, 1912), vol. II, p. 69.

49 Hunt and De Jong, *The Anglo-Dutch Garden*, p. 146; Spies and Raaij, *A Royal Progress*, p. 123; De Jong, *Nature and Art*, pp. 59-60.

50 K.H.D. Haley, 'William III as Builder of Het Loo', in John Dixon Hunt (ed.), *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century* (Washington, 1990), p. 7. Soon after the purchase of Het Loo, the ambassador Van Wassenaer van Sterrenburgh submitted a request for a design to the *Académie Royale d'Architecture* in Paris. Between 1682 and 1686 the Académie consisted of six members: François Blondel (director), André Félibien (secretary), Libéral Bruant, Daniel Gittard, François d'Orbay and Jules Hardouin-Mansart. The members met weekly. From the published proceedings by the Académie we know that Blondel, Bruand, Girard, d'Orbay and Félibien were present when the project of Het Loo was discussed. Already by 15 December 1684 the layout of the *corps de logis* had been largely determined. The following week, a draft by Gittard was discussed at the meeting. When it became clear to the architects that the design was intended for a highly placed person, it prompted them to take a closer

again spent heavily on enlarging Het Loo after their coronation in England. Between 1692 and 1694 two square pavilions were added, ensuring lodgings for a larger entourage, and a new sequence of rooms for the King and Queen, including a long gallery for Mary, which was an English rather than a Dutch architectural feature. Huygens remarked that William 'talked to him about the things that were being made there, especially the sculptures',[51] and he showed Huygens drawings made by Daniel Marot for the hall of Het Loo and, on another occasion, for the big staircase.[52] William III also inquired how others liked Het Loo,[53] and worried about the effect of the extensions of Het Loo, arguing that 'these would bring comfort and convenience, but no splendour'.[54]

Het Loo was William's proudest achievement, although the garden received more acclaim than the house.[55] It is evident from Huygens' diary that William frequently walked the garden at Het Loo: gardening and hunting were the two pastimes William said he loved the best.[56] Recent research has shown that especially with regards to the garden William was proactive and innovative. He was an early adopter of glasshouse technology, French-style modernisations such as new forms of parterres and the introduction of long axial walkways, perfected French waterworks techniques for fountains, and he is considered an early collector of exotic plants from the Dutch colonies.[57]

Authors generally point towards William's enthusiasm for the hunt as an explanation for his fondness of the Veluwe and his eagerness to (re)build several houses there (fig. 2). His ambitions were perhaps grander, however, with William desiring to look the part of a royal person, creating a landscape that bore all the hallmarks of a 'Royal Wood' reminiscent of Louis XIV's forested domains around Paris.[58] Huygens often notes in his diary when the King caught a deer; in fact, many entries end with this remark, and this seems also to reflect an interest in French royal culture since in France, deer were always reserved for the King.[59]

look at the design. Van Wassenaer van Sterrenburgh received the drawings on 5 April 1685 (Lemonnier, *Proces-Verbaux*, vol. II, pp. 66-7, 69, 86; J.F. Dröge, *Paleis Het Loo, Bouwhistorisch Onderzoek, Deel 1. Algemeen* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 16-21).

51 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 407: 'praete daernae van 't Loo eñ vañ wercken, die daer gemaeckt waeren, specialijck de beelden.'

52 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 134: 'Wandelde smergens omtrent de vijver eñ daeromtrent. De Con. liet mij roepen, om een teeckening van Marot tot de sael boven hier op 't Loo te sien.' [I was walking around and near the pond in the morning. The King had me summoned to look at the drawing by Marot of the hall here at Het Loo']; p. 50: 'Laste mij de teeckeningh van Marot te sien, die hij voor de groote trap hier op 't Loo gemaeckt hadde.' [He ordered me to look at Marot's drawing, that he had drawn of the great staircase here at Het Loo.]

53 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 496: 'Vraegde hoe St Annelt de dingen van 't Loo al aenstonden.' [Asked if St Annelt liked matters at Het Loo.]

54 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 39: 'Seyde, dat het nieuwe gebouw, dat ter zijde aen het huys van 't Loo gemaeckt wierd, veel gemack daeraen, maer geen welstandt soude geven.'

55 See for example Strien, *Touring the Low Countries*, pp. 259-60; Shaw, *Letters to a Nobleman,* pp. 9-10; J. Farrington, *An Account of a Journey through Holland, Frizeland, etc. in Severall Letters to a Friend* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 72-6; Hunt and De Jong, *The Anglo-Dutch Garden*; Uta Janssens-Knorsch, 'From Het Loo to Hampton Court'.

56 N.M. Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck*, *Eerste gedeelte, Deel 1, KS 23* (The Hague, 1927), p. 226: letter from William to Bentinck, Kensington, 13 February 1698: ' … chasse et voir des jardinages que vous saves estre deus de mes passions.'

57 N. Wijsbek, B. Kooij and R. van Immerseel (eds), *Kassen in Nederland 1650–1950. Studie over de geschiedenis, de ontwikkeling en het behoud van plantenkassen* (Amersfoort, 2019), p. 259; L. Berkhout, *Hoveniers van Oranje: Functie, Werk en Positie 1621–1732* (Hilversum, 2020), *passim*.

58 A. Picon, *Architectes et Ingenieurs. Au siècle des Lumières* (Marseille, 1988); C. Steenbergen, 'De Stap over de horizon: de ontleding van het formele ontwerp in de landschapsarchitectuur' (PhD dissertation, Delft University, 1990), p. 161; J. Buridant, 'Chasse, Sylviculture et Ornament. Le bois dans les parcs', *André le Nôtre: Fragments d'un paysage culturel* (Château de Sceaux, 2000), pp. 62-73; H. Wassenaar, 'Stadhouder Willem III als opperjagermeester van de Veluwe: een vriend van de adel?', *Virtus* 3-1 (1995), pp. 11-24.

59 Buridant, 'Chasse, Sylviculture et Ornament', p. 64.

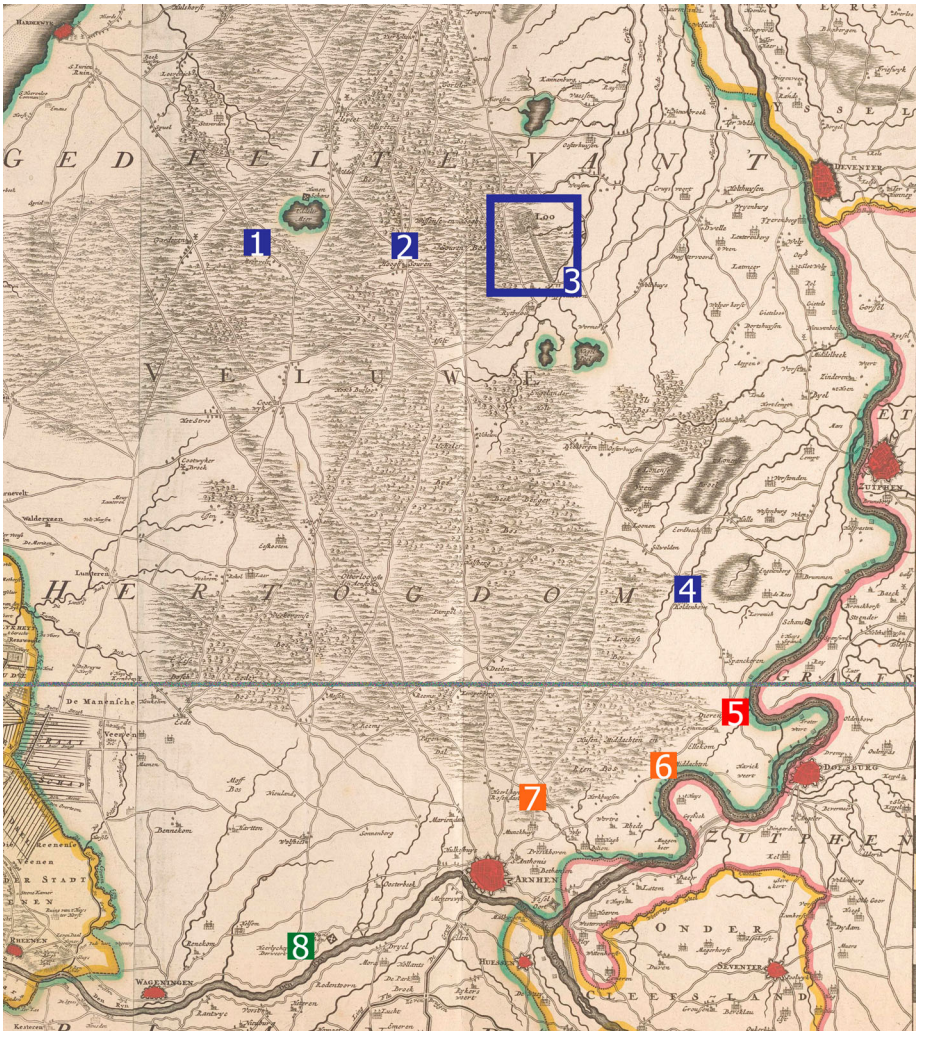

FIGURE 2 Map of the Veluwe with the locations of the houses of William III and his favourites. 1. Meerveld, 2. Hoog Soeren, 3. Het Loo, 4. Coldenhove, 4. Dieren, 6. Middachten, 7. Rosendael and 8. Doorwerth. Engraving by Luggert van Ansen, 1720–1803 *(Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)*

In other ways too, William's mode of behaviour and plans for the Veluwe reflect royal ambitions in tune with what was happening in France. During the reign of Louis XIV, 'un mouvement d'appropriation de terres' could be witnessed and a 'transformation rapide de forêts, de marécages, de prés ou de terres vaines et vagues en bois enclos de murs et percés de grandes perspectives'.[60] The royal forests around Paris now consisted of a designed landscape with straight roads for the royal hunt leading up to star-shaped crossroads.

The Veluwe was divided into three *hoge heerlijkheden* (great baronies, or 'honours') with extensive jurisdiction: the one in the north, Het Loo, was William's since 1684; the lord of

60 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

the second was William's close friend Jan van Arnhem at Rosendael in the south-east; and the one in the south-west was Doorwerth, which William tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain.[61] He built *Koningswegen*, 'King's Roads', connecting not only these three great baronies, but also his various (other) properties, such as Dieren and Hoog Soeren.[62] The roads were not wide, but completely straight, notwithstanding the uneven terrain.[63] Was William trying to lay a claim to this landscape? The name of the roads, using his British title of king, is one clue that he might have been trying to do exactly this. Further evidence supporting this contention includes the various building projects beyond his Veluwe houses.

In 1700 Daniël Marot built a tower for William III on top of a hill, later referred to as the King's Hill, as a resting place and a viewpoint.[64] At Jan van Arnhem's Rosendael the King and Queen created more architectural structures. It was probably they, instead of the owners of Rosendael, who commissioned 'Mary's Cabinet', a square 'fabrique' consisting of one room with a mirrored ceiling that was a copy of those at Honselaarsdijk, Huis ten Bosch and Het Loo, all probably inspired by the Cabinet du Dauphin at Versailles. The cabinet at Rosendael was decorated with a portrait of Mary and painted views of the garden outside.[65] In all likelihood, Mary's cabinet functioned as a cabinet of curiosities, containing amongst other things a collection of her porcelain. William asked Marot to build a belvedere for him at Rosendael, showcasing his coat of arms on the outside and his statue inside.[66] The belvedere contained a viewing platform, kitchen and wine cellar, which makes it plausible that it functioned as a banqueting house.

Other favourites and courtiers, often bedecked with British and Irish noble titles, similarly possessed houses on the Veluwe. Godard van Reede Ginkel, earl of Athlone, who fought and won William's war in Ireland, rebuilt the house of Middachten between 1695 and 1698.[67] The highlight of Middachten, a highly ambitious project, was its central hall containing a double staircase, a glass dome and imposing plasterwork, containing multiple references to Ireland, including the Irish snake, harp and knot and the names of the Irish towns where the battles were fought in cartouches.[68] At De Voorst, William's favourite, Joost van Keppel, earl of Albemarle, built a house which had a façade that was even grander than the one at Middachten and which was built in stone instead of the indigenous brick.[69] Rosendael, Middachten, De Voorst and also Amerongen, the seat of Godard van Reede's parents, all contained large portraits of the King and other architectural references to the King, highlighting the latter's patronage and friendship.[70] These houses, as well as

61 Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck*, pp. 702-705.

62 P. Bijster, 'Snelwegen voor de Koning: Een onderzoek naar koningswegen op de Veluwe aangelegd tussen 1675 en 1702 ten behoeve van (Koning-)Stadhouder Willem III' (MA dissertation, University of Groningen, 2019), p. 125.

63 Bijster, *Snelwegen voor de Koning*, p. 156.

64 Everdingen, *Het Loo*, p. 54.

65 J.C. Bierens de Haan, *Rosendael, Groen Hemeltjes op Aerd: Kasteel, tuinen en bewoners sedert 1579* (Zutphen, 1994), pp. 62-3. Citation from the Dutch preacher Johannes d'Outrein who visited Rosendael and the belvedere in 1713 and noticed the statue of 'Koning William' in front of the fireplace.

66 Bierens de Haan, *Rosendael*, pp. 69-70.

67 K. Ottenheym. 'De herbouw van kasteel Middachten, 1685–1698', in T.J. Hoekstra *et al.* (eds), *Middachten. Huis en heerlijkheid* (Utrecht, 2002), pp. 21-47, p. 21.

68 J. van der Linden, E. Mijnheer, A. van der Werf, 'Verslag Onderzoek Werkweek Middachten' (MA student research report, University of Groningen, 2019); Ottenheym, 'De herbouw van kasteel Middachten', p. 47.

69 H.M.W. van der Wijck, 'De Voorst', *Bulletin KNOB* 16, 3 (1963), pp. 149-61; Ottenheym, 'De herbouw van kasteel Middachten', p. 39.

70 H. Ronnes, 'The Architecture of William of Orange and the Culture of Friendship', *Archaeological Dialogues* 11-1 (2004), pp. 57-72.

Sorghvliet owned by Hans Willem Bentinck, earl of Portland, and the house of Zeist near Utrecht, built by William's relative and trusted courtier Willem Adriaan van Nassau-Odijk, finished in 1686, all underwent an upscaling in terms of size and (garden) architecture which the Low Countries had never before witnessed.[71] In tandem with the great wealth acquired during the seventeenth century, the Low Countries had been the setting for a very large amount of relatively smaller country house construction well before the stadholderate of William III; the architectural endeavours of William III and his Dutch courtiers were not a novelty, but a further proliferation and upscaling of an extant country house culture.

Building Projects in and around London

Upon being crowned King and Queen of England, William and Mary inherited the palaces and residences of Richmond, New Market, Windsor, Whitehall, St. James's and Hampton Court. They could not wait to put their own stamp on the palatial landscape. Whitehall had functioned as the official residence of English monarchs for several centuries, but for William, bothered by his asthma as well as his reclusiveness, Whitehall was not suitable as his year-round residence.[72] A newsletter in March 1689 reported that 'the bed of state' was moved to Hampton Court and that 'Sir Christopher Wren hath received orders to beautify and add some new buildings to that fabric'.[73] As early as May 1689, William and Mary had purchased Kensington House.[74] On paper, Whitehall would still serve as the 'official' residence of the monarchy, yet William and Mary never moved into Whitehall. In the early years of their reign they rented Holland House and stayed at Hampton Court while builders worked on the new palace at Kensington.[75] William had purchased this house and its estate from the earl of Nottingham in June 1689.[76] A series of building projects to enlarge the outdated house for royal use were started around 1690 under the supervision of the court architect Christopher Wren.[77] With the growing importance of Kensington, the royal apartments there were regarded as too small: Mary's apartments were enlarged in 1690, and an extension of the main house accommodating William's apartments was added in 1695.[78]

In two phases, between 1689 and 1702, the architects Wren and William Talman created the new baroque wing at William and Mary's other principal seat at Hampton Court, which complemented the Tudor palace built during the time of Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII. In the months following Mary's death, William would often go to Richmond. He had no interest in the remains of the old palace, but was pleased with its surroundings, and in January 1695, decided to turn the house into a hunting lodge for personal use.[79]

After Mary's death in 1694, the work at Hampton Court was temporarily halted, only to resume at extra speed in 1698. The importance of (garden) architecture for William — 'continually experimenting and changing his mind in order to get the perfect result' — is evident in his treatment of the Privy Garden at Hampton Court, which lay between the River Thames and

71 C.L. van Groningen. 'Het Slot te Zeist en zijn bewoners vanaf 1745 tot 1924', *Bulletin KNOB* 101-3/4 (2002), pp. 81-120.
72 Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', p. 6.
73 H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King's Works, Vol. 5. 1660–1782* (London, 1976), p. 155.
74 Barclay, 'William's Court as King', p. 27.
75 Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', p. 7. Mary did, however, often stay at Whitehall when William was on the Continent; M. Bowen, *The Third Mary Stuart. Mary of York, Orange & England* (London, 1929), p. 159: 'The King had bought Lord Nottingham's house […], but that not being ready, he resolved to borrow Hollandhouse the mean while.'
76 Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 185.
77 *Ibid*., p. 184.
78 *Ibid*., pp. 183-5.
79 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, pp. 452-4; Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 281.

the palace.[80] William wished to have a view over the river from the royal apartments on the first floor. When, after a year's work on the Privy Garden, William discovered he could not see the river, he made the radical decision to lower the whole garden, demolishing all the flowers, plants, waterworks and terraces.[81] In the park, a planned quadruple avenue and the long water avenues in the style of French landscape architect André le Nôtre were 'in its scale and ambition unprecedented'.[82] William made sure to use the best available architects from the Low Countries and Great Britain, as well as the occasional Frenchman. Andrew Barclay refers to William's unrelenting drive to build in Great Britain: he even wished to rebuild Whitehall, which he had never liked, after the fire, though he never did.[83] He cared tremendously about what he created on both sides of the North Sea and devoted more resources than he probably should have, given the financial state of both of the war-torn countries, and pressed workmen to build faster, resulting in several deaths. Whether or not the end result was always appreciated, William built fanatically, and on a grand scale. According to Tony Claydon, William III's central career objections were 'the recovery of his family's position, and resistance to the king of France', and this also holds true for William and Mary's building activities.[84] Yet, their frantic building pace was not only related to political matters and (family and noble) honour: both William and Mary, nurtured in castles and palaces, were accustomed to discussing and evaluating architecture and art, and had developed a great passion especially for (garden) architecture, paintings and porcelain.

William, Mary and Art

In the same way that scholars have questioned William III's love for and knowledge of (garden) architecture, they also doubt his love, and especially his connoisseurship, of art.[85] Even when William is believed to have shown genuine interest in art and architecture, the tone is often censorious: Thurley concludes that William was 'first a soldier, second a huntsman and only third a husband and cultural patron'.[86] According to Michael Hall in *Art, Passion & Power: The Story of the Royal Collection*, William did not 'show much interest in portraiture'.[87] In Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij and De Heer's *Paintings from England: William III and the Royal Collections*, William is described as 'not a passionate collector',[88] while Hugh Dunthorpe weakly pleas that William's decorative paintings do 'not deserve to be completely ignored'.[89]

Several of these authors have referred to the diaries of Constantijn Huygens Jr, which touch on William's dealings with the paintings he found in the various Stuart palaces after 1688.[90]

80 S. Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History* (London, 2003), p. 234.
81 Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp. 234-5.
82 *Ibid.*, p. 229.
83 Barclay, 'William's Court as King', pp. 252-3.
84 T. Claydon, *William III: Profiles in Power* (London, 2002), p. 17.
85 A rare exception is Dunthorpe's remark that William possessed 'a discriminating taste in pictures', see H. Dunthorne, 'William in Contemporary Portraits and Prints', Meijers and Onnekink (eds), *Redefining William III*, p. 270.
86 Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', p. 1.
87 M. Hall, *Art, Passion & Power: The Story of the Royal Collection* (London, 2017), p. 167.
88 B. Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij and E. de Heer, 'William III and the Royal Collections', in B. Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij (ed.), *Paintings from England: William III and the Royal Collection* (The Hague, 1988), pp. 21, 39.
89 *Ibid.*, p. 41.
90 R. Dekker, *Family, Culture and Society in the Diary of Constantijn Huygens Jr, Secretary to Stadholder-King William of Orange* (Leiden, 2013); R. Dekker, *The Diary of Constantijn Huygens Jr: Secretary to Stadholder-King William of Orange* (Amsterdam, 2015); S. Jenkins, 'A Sense of History: The Artistic Taste of William III', *Apollo* 140 (1994), p. 6; Hall, *Art, Passion & Power*; Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij and De Heer, 'William and the Royal Collections'; S. Edwards, '"Very noble, tho' not greate": The Making of a New Court for William, Mary and Anne', in Tracy Borman (ed.), *Kensington Palace: Art, Architecture and Society* (New Haven/London, 2018).

Huygens Jr was the son of the multi-talented *homo universalis* Constantijn Huygens Sr, who had assisted William III's grandfather Frederik Hendrik with his architectural projects.[91] These diary excerpts provide insight into the ways in which William, and to a lesser extent also Mary, tried to establish which artworks were present in the various palaces before deciding on a pictorial programme for their various residences.

Little mention has been made about the sheer amount of references to William's business with paintings in Huygens' diaries. The frequency with which the King spoke of art to Huygens, as well as the content of their conversations, clearly conveys William's passion for paintings. In February 1689 Huygens was in the King's cabinet where they talked about the beautiful paintings there, after which the King showed him two other, still more private rooms, where more 'admirable, beautiful' pieces hung.[92] A few months later, Huygens comments that William III wanted to show him a Van Dyck painting which, he believed, was in the room behind his cabinet in Hampton Court, but which they could not find.[93] Shortly afterwards, William III told Huygens about a fire at Kensington destroying parts of the building, after which William immediately went to his cabinet, fearing the paintings were damaged — but to his relief they had been saved.[94] A subsequent entry in Huygens' diary finds the King and his secretary at Windsor Castle, where William 'conversed about paintings and figures which were there, asking my opinion about them'.[95] In the autumn the King asked Huygens to take a look at the list of all the paintings in Whitehall, Windsor Castle and Hampton Court,[96] and in the early winter the King asked Huygens to come to Kensington to talk about a few paintings which he wanted to place over the door of his cabinet.[97] Another time, Huygens' diaries disclose an occurrence when the King occupied himself with the selection of paintings for the back stairs.[98] And so it continues. Huygens sometimes almost seems a

91 Ottenheym, '"van Bouw-lust soo beseten"', pp. 105-25; R. Tucker, '"His Excellency at Home"', pp. 83-102; I. Broekman, 'Constantijn Huygens, de kunst en het hof'(PhD. dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2010), pp. 125-39.

92 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 86: 'admirabele fraeye dingen'.

93 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 118: 'Naermiddagh was bij de Coningh, die mij praette van schilderijen, en particulierlijck vañ de Con. te peerd van van Dijck, die hij uyt de galerije hadde laten weghnemen, en meende geset was iñ camer, die achter sijn cabinet komt, hier te Hamptoncourt; maer willende mij die daer laeten sien, was daer niet.' [I was with the King this afternoon, who spoke to me about paintings and particularly of the King on a horse by Van Dijck, which he had ordered to be removed from the gallery, and believed to have been put in the chamber, which lies behind his cabinet, here at Hamptoncourt, but wanting to show me that [painting] there, it was not there]

94 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 517: 'Seyde, dat ten eersten naer sijn cabinet toe geloopen was, om naerr̄ schilderijen te sien; dat gevreest hadde die in 't afrucken gequetst geweest souden hebben, maer geconserveert waeren.' [Saying, that [he] first went to his cabinet, to see the paintings which he feared had been damaged by being torn off, but which had been preserved]

95 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 175: '[…] eñ viel voorts op het discours vañ schilderijen en figuren, die daer waeren, mijn opinie over die vraghende.'

96 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 187: 'De Coning mij hebbende doen haelen, gaff mij de lijst van all de schilderijen, die in Whitehall, te Winsor en Hamptoncourt waeren, willende hebben dat ick die eens soude oversien.' [The King, who had sent for me, gave me the list of all the paintings, which were in Whitehall, Winsor [sic] and Hamptoncourt, wanting me to take a look at them]

97 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 226: ' … te praeten van eenighe schilderijen, die in sijn cabinet had laten boven de deuren hangen. Hij liet Berghesteyn mede binnen komen eñ gingh met ons iñ beneden logementen, daer schilderijen stonden, eñ wij waren daer een tijdt langh.' […to talk about various paintings, which he had hung above the doors in his cabinet. He also let Berghesteyn enter and went with us to the apartments downstairs, where pictures were put, and we spent some time there]

98 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 520: 'De Con. liet mij eenighe schilderijen sien, die hij op de achtertrap aen sijn cabinet doen ophangen had, en daer mijn opinie van vraegde. Daer waeren twee vrij goede Julio Romano's bij.' [The King showed a few paintings, which he had hung in the backstairs by his cabinet, and asked for my opinion. Among them were two pretty good Julio Romano's.; *Ibid*., p. 193: 'De Con. vraeghde mij

little weary: 'Again the King talked about paintings';[99] and 'the King sent for me; I ate hurriedly and went to the King's cabinet, where he talked and enquired about his paintings, antique seal matrices and medals, lasting up to an hour'.[100]

Not only did William try to obtain an overview of the royal art collection immediately after his arrival in 1688; Huygens also notes that all the stewards in the houses of the various royal palaces were commanded not to move furniture, silverwork and so on, without royal orders. Still, most references to art and architecture concerning William's British enterprise concern paintings rather than other (applied) art forms. William was actively involved in the way in which his paintings were hung: thanks to the diaries of Huygens, we know William III devised a method of putting up paintings, hanging them from cords so as to be able to swap them around according to his liking.[101] The King also interfered in the choice of frame types for the paintings. Sometimes William mused about his collection: 'the King sent for me and, sitting and looking out of the windows of his cabinet, said that one day he would go to the house of Mylord Montagu to see the paintings there by the French painter Rousseau.'[102] At other times he seemed rather obsessive, as when he told Huygens that he had spotted him at a collector's house as he rode by, and stopped and called after Huygens with the intention of showing him some of the paintings he had seen: 'a few good things by Van Dyck, a virtuoso!'[103]

The diaries seem to disclose a link between William's mood and the subject of art. Huygens often remarks on the good temper of the King — who was otherwise known to be taciturn and quite irritable — when talking about art. The diary consists of entries such as: 'The King, signing letters, was friendly and talked about paintings';[104] the King was 'friendly, talked of paintings in his cabinet and asked for news from The Hague';[105] and 'the King was friendly and showed me the new painting in the upper hall and on the stairs [of Het Loo]'.[106]

The idea that William's limited collecting activities denies a love of art, can also be refuted. The diaries disclose that the King would have liked to acquire the collection of the Queen of Sweden, had it been possible.[107] Other entries confirm his wish to expand the royal

savonts; wat ick te Londen al gedaen hadde, eñ of de lijst van sijn schilderijen al hadde naergesien.' [The King asked me in the evening what I had done in London, and if I had had a chance to look at the list of his painting frames.]

99 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 175: 'praete weder van schilderijen.'

100 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 356: 'Aten met der haest, en gongh bij de Con. in sijn cabinet, daer hij praete, eñ vraegde van sijn schilderijen, antique cachetten eñ medalien, wel een uer langh.'

101 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 551: 'Sprack met hem vañ schilderijen, en seyde hij mij dat de Coningh wilde aen touwtjes gehangen hebben, om se te konnen schicken en wederom verschicken.' [Talked with him about paintings, and he told me that the King wants [the paintings] to hang from cords, so as to be able to arrange and rearrange them.]

102 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 365: 'Ten half dryen liet de Con. mij halen, sittende en kijckende uyt de vensters van sijn Cabinet. Seyde mij, dat eens in 't huys van Myl. Montagu soude gaen, om de schilderijen te sien, die daer vañ Fransche schilder Rousseau zijn.'

103 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 320: 'Savonts was bij de Con., die mij seyde tot m. Newport voorbij rijdende gesien te hebben, en dat gestaen hadden om mij aen te roepen en mij de schilderijen vañselve te thoonen. Dat goede dingen van van Dijck hadde en een virtuose was.'

104 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 97: 'De Con., die teeckende, was vriendelijck eñ sprack vañ schilderije.'

105 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 151: 'Was vriendelijck, praete vañ schilderijen in sijn cabinet, eñ vraeghde naer nieuws uyt den Haegh.'

106 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 195: 'De Con. was vrundel. eñ liet mij de nieuwe schilderijen in de boven-sale en op de trappen sien.'

107 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 517: He did not have someone he felt he could send to Italy, where the collection was auctioned. 'dat hij groote lust hadde om de collective vañ Coninginne Christina van Zweden te koopen, die te Roomen noch te krijgen was, maer dat men daer een bequaem man most naer toesenden, daertoe ick iets in passant seyde in faveur van Sonnius.' [that he had a great desire to buy the collection of Queen

collection.[108] The fact that William did not commission as many portraits of himself as his Stuart predecessors has been linked to a lack of interest in art but has equally been attributed to the fact that prints rather than portraits were *en vogue* in William's days. It was Romeyn de Hooghe especially who produced a staggering amount of prints, as well as birds-eye views of his palaces, medals and more.[109] (fig. 3) Whether or not William commissioned them remains somewhat disputed; however, it is likely that he did.[110]

The notes on Huygens' communication with Mary about art are more varied than those with William. An early, 1680 diary entry deals with Mary's porcelain collection, then still in the making.[111] Huygens recalls how Princess Mary, at the gallery in Soestdijk, showed him porcelain that she had bought in Amsterdam.[112] Upon their arrival in Britain, Mary occupied herself with their various residences: soon she was actively involved in the coordination of the building process, and she seems to have been eager to show the highlights to courtiers and other visitors of high standing.[113] She occasionally asked Constantijn Huygens what he thought of one of their houses; her great interest in the building process resulting in too much haste might even have been responsible for the death of several workmen.[114] Once the building at Kensington Palace was well under way, the Queen at one point gave Huygens and other visitors a tour of her new apartment, and by the end of 1689 she showed Huygens the King's cabinet at Kensington, bidding him to act as a guide for other curious visitors present that day, most likely to show them the paintings in the palace.[115]

Another diary entry states that the Queen is away furnishing Hampton Court.[116] Mary not only devoted time to porcelain, architecture and furniture; she too, like her husband, showed a keen interest in paintings and prints, more so than seems to be recognised.[117] The diaries prove

Christina of Sweden, which was still available in Rome, but that one had to send a competent man there, to which I replied in passing to be in favour of Sonnius]

108 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 28: 'Sprack de Con. vañ schilderijen, die tot de Coningin douariere waeren en sijne collectie stonden te vermeerderen, naer haer vertreck.' [Talked to the King about paintings, which belonged to the Queen Dowager and with which to expand his collection, after her departure.] This refers to Catherine of Braganza, who returned to Portugal in March 1692.

109 H. van Nierop, *The Life of Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708), Prints, Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam, 2018), see Chapter 13; H. Dunthorne, 'William in Contemporary Portraits and Prints', Meijers and Onnekink (eds), *Redefining William III*, pp. 272-5.

110 Van Nierop, *The Life of Romeyn de Hooghe*, Chapter 13; Dunthorne, 'William in Contemporary Portraits and Prints', p. 273.

111 Hall, *Art, Passion & Power*, p. 160: 'nothing on this scale had ever been seen in Britain before'.

112 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. III, p. 69: 'In haer galerije daernaer komende, thoonde my de Porceleynen die te Amsterdam gekocht hadde.'

113 L.G. Schwoerer, 'The Queen as Regent and Patron', in Maccubbin and Hamilton-Phillips (eds), *The Age of William III & Mary II*, pp. 217-24; Broomhall and Van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism,* pp. 109-13, 119; J.C. Bierens de Haan, 'Een bezoek aan Willem III en Mary in Londen in 1692', *Jaarboek Oranje-Nassau Museum* (1995), pp. 75-93.

114 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 199: 'Op̄ bordes vañ trap quam de Coningin mij tegen, en vraeghde mij met vriendelijckheit in 't voorbijgaen mr Zeelhem: how doe you like this house.' [I encountered the Queen on the landing of the stairs and [she] kindly asked me in passing: mr. Zeelhem: how do you like this house]. This name refers to Huygens' title, Lord of Zuilichem, in Gelderland.

115 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, pp. 154, 218: 'Aeñ inganck van het Green quam de Coningin tegen, die mij medenam om des Coninx Cabinet te sien, en gaff mij daernae Briennes wijff mede, om mij te leyden.' [At the entrance of the Green I encountered the Queen, who took me with her to see the King's Cabinet, and after that sent Brienne's wife to me to guide me]

116 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 439: '. De Coningin was naer Hamptoncourt om te meubleren etc.' [The Queen was away furnishing Hamptoncourt]

117 Literature usually focuses on Mary's porcelain collection as her sole contribution to the arts, though sometimes her commission of the 'Hampton Court Beauties' by Godfrey Kneller is mentioned. See for example, Broomhall and Van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism*; Hall, *Art, Passion & Power,* pp. 153-4, 159-61; Schwoerer, 'The Queen as Regent and Patron', pp. 218-19, 223.

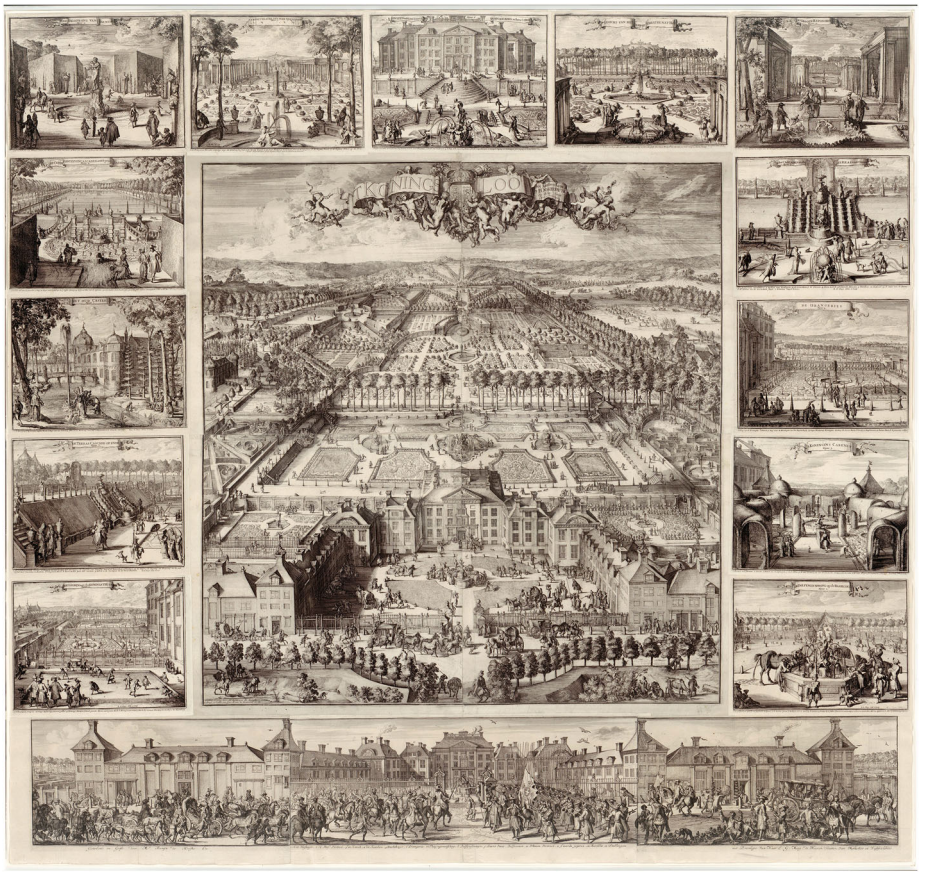

FIGURE 3 *View of Het Loo*, engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe, 1690-1694 and/or 1700–1737 *(Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)*

she was occupied with the hanging of the famous Raphael cartoons in the gallery of Hampton Court.[118] Huygens, moreover, remarks that he was sent by Mary to acquire good prints, first to be framed and then to be put up in Hampton Court.[119] In a final entry, Huygens notes that after walking in the park in Hampton Court, the Queen leaned out of a window, saying to him that she wanted to show him a few paintings she had received.[120]

118 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 428: 'Smergens had Sylvius, de Hr vañ Lier, Leyenbergh eñ mr Walton, die mij seyde dat last hadde vañ Coningin om de patroonen van tapijten van Rafel te doen approprieren om in een galerye te Hamptoncourt opgehangen te werden, met armoisyne gordijnen daervoor, die men ophaelen eñ nederlaten soude konnen.' [This morning I had [a visit from] Sylvius, the Lord van Lier, Leyenbergh and mr Walton, who told me that the Queen had ordered to appropriate the patterns of the tapestries of Rafael, so as to be hung in a gallery at Hamptoncourt, with taffeta drapes hanging in front of them, which one can raise and drop.]

119 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 332: 'Naermiddach was bij haer [de koningin], latende sij mij terstondt binnen komen. Versocht mij naer goede printen voor haer om te sien, om in lijsten te setten, en te Hamptoncourt op te hangen.' [This afternoon I was with her [the Queen], who asked me to come in immediately. [She] requested me to acquire good prints for her, to frame, and hang at Hamptoncourt.]

120 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. I, p. 153: 'Soo uyt het Parck quamen, sprack de Coningin hem eerst aen uyt de venster, en seyde mij daernae, dat schilderijen gekregen had, die mij wilde thoonen; dat ick sanderen daeghs te Londen soude komen, welck lest ick niet en verstondt.' [Coming out of the Park, the Queen spoke to

That the King and Queen often talked to Huygens about paintings is related to the latter's expertise as a great art connoisseur; however, there are other clues suggesting that they had a more-than-average interest in art themselves. A contemporary source stated that William intended to create an art academy, where twelve teachers would instruct anyone who would like to learn how to paint, a Royal Academy avant la lettre.[121] William III's correspondence with Hans Willem Bentinck, later the earl of Portland, frequently touches on the royal architectural projects, paintings, furniture and gardens. Growing up together at court in The Hague where the young Bentinck was the Prince's page, art and architecture was part of their shared curriculum, and the two boys undoubtedly influenced each other in their knowledge of and love for the subject.[122] It is known that they visited the garden of the Mauritshuis in The Hague together to study its pump system, looking for inspiration for Bentinck's Sorghvliet garden near The Hague, as well as for the stadholderly gardens.[123] Bentinck had an impressive botanical collection and was widely acknowledged as a connoisseur of gardens in general and plants more specifically.[124] It has been argued that Bentinck was one the main patrons and stimulators of the French and Italian print series by Le Pautre and Silvestre, and of publications on (garden) architecture such as those by Dodart and Perrault.[125] Hailed as a great garden expert, he was invited to see all of Louis XIV's gardens. William and Bentinck were immersed in a continuous discourse on (garden) architecture, and William made Bentinck Superintendent of the Royal Gardens.[126] William, in a letter written to Bentinck in 1690 on the contemporary political situation, added that he should go and see Het Loo: 'I beg you among your many more important duties not to forget Het Loo, nor to go there and organise what still has to be done; you know how fond I am of the place'.[127] Mary was just as interested in gardens and architecture as her husband. After her death, Bishop Gilbert Burnet wrote that Mary 'gave her minutes of leisure with the greatest willingness to architecture and gardenage'.[128] William's correspondence with Bentinck shows that Mary's opinion on the subject mattered: in a letter dating from 1688, William adds in a postscript that Mary approved of Bentinck's design for an aviary.[129]

Still, a love for art and (garden) architecture does not necessarily go hand in hand with knowledge of it. William and Mary's reliance on Huygens and Bentinck might be interpreted as proof that they themselves lacked expertise. However, the available sources suggest that William enjoyed talking to these men out of a shared interest. That William was fairly confident about his knowledge of art can be ascertained from his opinion on

him [a walking companion] from the window, and told me that [she] had received paintings, that she wanted to show to me; that I should come to London the next day; I could not understand the last part]

121 Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (Oxford, 1857), vol. IV, pp. 343-4.

122 See D. Onnekink, *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite: The Career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649–1709)* (Aldershot, 2007).

123 Vanessa Bezemer-Sellers, 'The Bentinck Garden at Sorgvliet', in Hunt (ed.), *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. XII, p. 114.

124 Bezemer-Sellers, 'The Bentinck Garden at Sorgvliet', p. 120.

125 Bezemer-Sellers, 'The Bentinck Garden at Sorgvliet', p. 120; De Jong, *Nature and Art*, pp. 69-76.

126 Bezemer-Sellers, 'The Bentinck Garden at Sorgvliet', p. 103.

127 Hunt and De Jong, *The Anglo-Dutch Garden*, p. 148: 'je vous prie que parmis vos affaires de plus d'importance n'oblies pas Loo n'y d'y aller et ordonner ce qui y reste à faire; vous saves comme ce lieu me tient au coeur' [Translation from French to English by Veronica Shäfer].

128 G. Burnet, *An Essay on the Memory of the Late Queen by Gilbert, Bishop of Sarum* (London, 1695), pp. 81-2.

129 Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck,* letter of William III to Bentinck, 29 April 1688, p. 36: 'La Princesse a ordonné a Ysack de vous répondre touschent sa volière qu'elle approuve vostre dessin.'

other collections: while he seemed to appreciate certain collections, he could be more dismissive of others, such as that of Lord Essex, who was told by the King that he owned nothing but 'rags of paintings'.[130]

Conclusions

Parallel national debates in Great Britain and the Netherlands on the architecture of William III and Mary II have resulted in contradictory conclusions on the joint monarchs' architectural legacy. The dominant British discourse presents their architecture mostly as inward-looking and modest.[131] In this article we have attempted to paint a more nuanced picture based on the study of the architectural legacy of William and Mary on both sides of the North Sea and by using a wide variety of (previously understudied) sources.

Both in Great Britain and the Low Countries, William and Mary never stopped building, always combining several projects at the same time. Their drive to build is not surprising in the context of their respective family traditions: their forefathers were avid builders too, who infected both William and Mary with the same bug. However, the scale of their projects was unprecedented; it seems appropriate to ask which contemporary monarch, other than Louis XIV, built on the same scale as William and Mary. They were so preoccupied with building that it was seriously detrimental to both the treasury and working conditions. Driving forces behind these many building projects were the political and cultural war with Louis XIV, the upkeep of William and Mary's royal position, family and noble honour and, perhaps most importantly, a great penchant for architecture and art.

The contemporary and later derogatory utterances on William and Mary's taste in architecture and art might be explained by their tendency to water down their projects by building a little too much, in too many different places, and by their both having died a little too young. Moreover, they were sometimes too hurried: how can we otherwise explain that both Het Loo and Kensington Palace needed extensions so soon after completion, a fact that was immediately criticised? William also showed an inclination to mix excellent paintings with lesser ones, possibly because there were so many palaces to decorate. One of Huygens' diary entries relates how William asked Huygens whether he had already looked at the new paintings, which probably came from other palaces. Huygens replied that he had, but that the new paintings were no better than the ones they had selected and which were already on display. The King then articulated his belief that these new artworks might still be useful elsewhere, and that Huygens should sort them for this purpose.[132]

130 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 475: 'Myl. Essex te Kinsington seyde, dat de Coningh hem verweten had, dat hij niet als vodden van schilderijen had, en geseght dat hij 't mij vrij vragen konde. [Myl. Essex at Kensington said that the King had blamed him, that he had nothing but rags of paintings, and told him that he could ask me.]

131 O. Mörke, *'Stadtholder' oder 'Staetholder'*, p. 233; De Jong, *Nature and Art*, pp. 59-97; Barclay, 'William's Court as King', pp. 241-61: Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', p. 1; Tinniswood, *Visions of Power*, p. 88; Jones, 'The Building Works', p. 10. In line with these views, William III himself is seen as either sensitive to propaganda or not, see: Robert P. Maccubin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips, 'Introduction', in Maccubbin and Hamilton-Phillips (eds), *The Age of William III & Mary II*, pp. 3-18; H. van Nierop, 'Profijt en propaganda. Nieuwsprenten en de verbeelding in het nieuws', in Henk van Nierop, Ellen Gravowsky and Anouk Janssen (eds.), *Romeyn de Hooghe: de verbeelding van de late Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle, 2008), pp. 66-84; Thurley, 'Kensington Palace', p. 1.

132 Siccama, *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. II, p. 555: 'of de nieuws gekomene schilderijen hadde gesien, van jae, maer dat die meest alle slechter waeren, als die wij opgehangen hadden. Hij seyde: jae, maer dat men se elders soude konnen employeren, eñ dat se wat schicken soude.' [if [I] had seen the newly arrived paintings, said yes, but that most of them were worse than the ones we had hung up. He said: yes, but that one could use them elsewhere, and that they should be sorted]

Though they commissioned a tremendous amount of work, William and Mary did not manage to build one ideal palace: whilst one palace could be said to be situated ideally, another was seen as fitted out with a perfect garden. A third palace was acclaimed for its architecture, while yet another hoarded the best art. The legacy of William and Mary's architectural enterprise also suffers from the negative press that baroque architecture in general receives nowadays. Our *Kunstwollen* ('artistic volition') does generally not look upon the art and architecture of this period favourably.[133] Whilst William Talman was well respected at the time, today his work is considered somewhat trite, or boring at best.

However, when assessing the ensemble of (garden) architecture and art, and the overall enterprise, we can conclude that a reappraisal of William and Mary's architectural interests and achievement is necessary and justified. Indeed, we can only judge William and Mary's contribution and passion for art and architecture by looking at their endeavour from a combined British-Dutch perspective, leaving national biases behind.

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133 The notion of *Kunstwollen*, translated as 'artistic volition', 'will to art' or 'artistic intent', was coined by the Austrian art-historian Alois Riegl in *Problems of Style* (Princeton, 1993).