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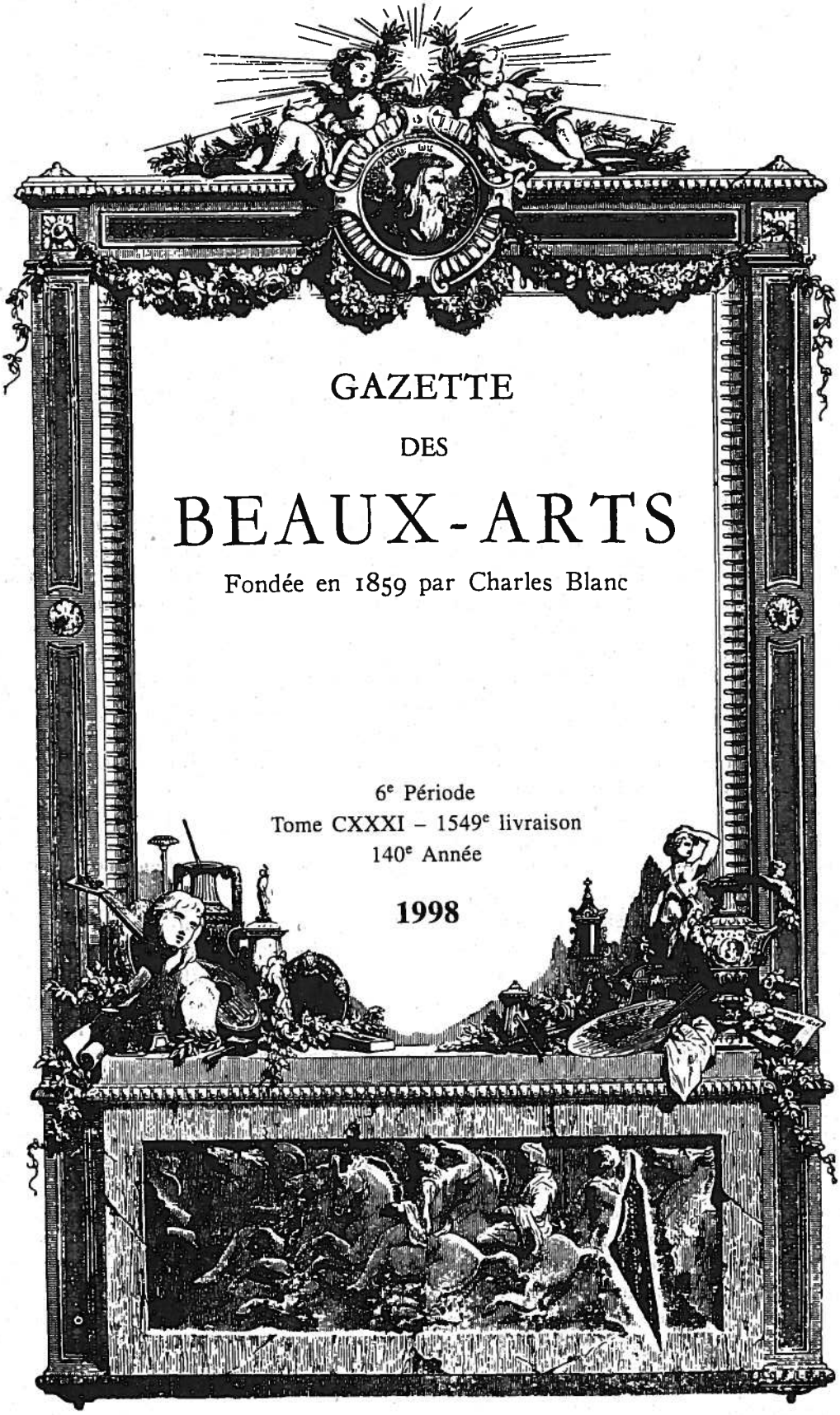

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THE GENESIS AND POLITICAL PURPOSES OF RIGAUD'S PORTRAITS OF LOUIS XIV AND PHILIP V

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HYACINTHE Rigaud's *Louis XIV* in the Louvre (fig. 1), painted in 1701 when the king was sixty-three years old, is surely the best known of the many hundreds of surviving portraits that were made of him during his lifetime[1]. The huge painting (2.77 × 1.94 m) has a special place in the history of royal portraiture. Few, if any, other portraits of monarchs make the spectator experience so strongly the sensation of being subject to Royal authority. Furthermore, while the painting describes the great French king with a physical and probably psychological accuracy that seems to have been greatly admired by Louis's contemporaries[2], by its expressive force it seems to reach beyond the portrayal of an individual, and it has become, understandably, an icon of the essence of monarchical absolutism.

Although the portrait was the subject about a decade ago of a very detailed and valuable study by Kirsten Ahrens, questions concerning its genesis and purpose have still not been satisfactorily answered[3]. As a result, we have not fully appreciated the extent to which its design and pictorial components were determined by the specific political circumstances in which it was conceived and expected to function. Nor has it been understood that it was because those circumstances changed soon after the portrait was completed that it hangs now in the Louvre instead of the Prado, which would otherwise have been its final destination.

The origin of the commission and some details about its execution have always been known, but the information we have is incomplete and in part ambiguous, and some questions must for the present be left open. We do know that the painting was commissioned between November 16 and December 4, 1700. The first date is the day at Versailles when Louis XIV proclaimed his seventeen-year-old grandson, Philippe, duc d'Anjou, King of Spain, successor to Charles II, the Habsburg monarch who had died on the first of that month. An early eighteenth-century biography of Rigaud informs us that Louis decided, "*some days before* [Philip's] *departure to take possession of his dominions*", to have the artist paint a portrait of the new king, who started his journey from Paris to Madrid on December 4. This inspired Philip "*to ask the king, his grandfather, to give him also his* [that is, Louis's] *portrait painted by the same hand*". His wish was granted and the artist began his picture of the French king "*the following year*"[4].

From this account it is clear that the great portrait of Louis was created serendipitously, as an afterthought, and not because of any initially perceived need for a new pictorial projection of the aging monarch's grandeur. Therefore, an inquiry into its meaning must begin with the first picture

FIG. 1. – RIGAUD. *Louis XIV*. Paris, Louvre. *Photo R.M.N.*.

FIG. 2. – RIGAUD. *Philip V.* Versailles, Musée national de Versailles et de Trianon. *Photo C.N.M.H.*

to be commissioned, the *Philip* (fig. 2), also a large full-length portrait (2.30 × 1.55 m).

Philip's reported request that he be given "also" a portrait of his grandfather means that it had been Louis's original intention to give the *Philip* to him, a fact that seems to have been overlooked by previous commentators on the picture [5]. There was, of course, barely time for Rigaud to begin work on the portrait of the new king before Philip himself left France, so the painting was a gift that would follow, not accompany, its recipient to Madrid. A state portrait of the King of Spain, commissioned by the King of France, painted by the leading French court portraitist of the day, and intended to be sent to the Spanish court, cannot have been innocent of political purposes.

On the most obvious level, the creation and dispatch of the painting would be a symbolic assertion, or reiteration, of Louis's self-declared authority to decide who would wear the Spanish crown. In addition, it would be a symbol and an example of the French art and culture that, like a gift to Philip's subjects, would – and, in fact, did – quickly follow him to Spain. But on another, more important, level, it would send a message of friendship and reassurance to the Spanish court. Philip was not being imposed on Spain. His claim to the throne was legitimate, based on descent from Marie-Thérèse, his grandmother and the eldest daughter of Philip IV [6], and also on the fact that Spain and its dominions had been bequeathed to him in October 1700 by the late Charles II. Furthermore, Louis knew that his declaration had the support of the Spanish grandees, whose good will he had secured by years of diplomacy, flattery and bribery [7].

Louis made his fateful declaration on November 16, 1700 before a very full court. "*Gentlemen*", he said, pointing to Philip, "*behold the King of Spain. His birth called him to that crown, as did the late king* [Charles II] *by his testament*". Then he addressed the young man : "*Be a good Spaniard, that is now your first duty ; but remember that you were born a Frenchman, in order that the union between the two nations may be preserved; it will be the means of rendering both happy, and of preserving the peace of Europe*" [8]. These may not have been Louis's exact words, but they surely express the political message he wanted the world to hear at that moment. And the same message was to be communicated in the portrait of Philip, where the new Bourbon monarch, in a palatial setting, stands by a chair suggestive of a throne, and lays claim with his right hand to the Spanish crown. He is a Spanish king now, dressed in the somber, black clothes of his new nation's royalty, and wearing the Spanish order of the Golden Fleece [9]. But, a Frenchman born, he has also, emblazoned on his left breast, the French order of the Saint-Esprit. In his person is the realization of a long-desired political dream, the elimination of the barrier between the two nations through the consolidation of their ruling families. With Philip's accession to the Spanish throne, "the Pyrenees ceased to exist" [10].

We can only guess at Philip's motive in requesting that he be given also a portrait of Louis. Possibly he only wanted an image that would help him to remember his grandfather as he knew him. Or, he may have been inspired by a sense that politeness required such a response to Louis's gesture. And it may also be that some canny minister, alert to the opportunity of making a supplementary political statement, suggested the idea to Philip. In any event, once in Madrid, the young, new king must have recognized that the display in Spain of an image of his powerful grandfather would have symbolic value in shoring up his own authority, and he soon made efforts to speed the completion and shipment of the portrait of Louis [11].

The *Mercure* of December 1700 reported that Rigaud began the *Philip* on the first day of that month [12] and that "*the whole Court was charmed by his first sketch*" which, incidentally, suggests something of the public nature of much artistic activity at court. In the three days before the king left for Spain the artist could not have done much more than make a study of Philip's head. But planning for the specific character of the final painting would have begun soon, and it is proba-

ble that already at this early stage the artist and official advisers were making decisions about both portraits simultaneously.

The *Philip*, of course, had to be a large state portrait. As a gift from the King of France to the King of Spain, anything less would have been inappropriate, not to say unworthy of royal generosity. And naturally, it was politically unthinkable that Louis's supplementary gift, a portrait of himself, could be less imposing. In general terms there was no problem about what Rigaud would produce. The state portrait as a type was international and long established in France, and surely no departures from it were wanted or expected [13]. What was needed, however, was a calculated selection and expressive presentation of the variables of the type, so that the portraits would function meaningfully in their given socio-political context. This involved choices concerning setting, pose, costume and attributes.

Rigaud may not have begun the actual execution of the *Louis* much before March 10, 1701 when, incapacitated by an attack of gout, the king grudgingly agreed to sit for the portrait [14]. The *Philip* may not yet have been finished – the date inscribed on it, "1700", is surely meant to commemorate the sitter's accession to the throne of Spain, not to record the picture's completion. Begun in December of 1700, the painting can hardly have been finished in a month's time. Possibly because Louis was not a very compliant subject, work on his portrait progressed slowly. But it must have been far advanced in September 1701, when Mme de Maintenon, writing to Philip, expressed her hope that the painting would soon be sent to Spain, and added that it was a work of unrivaled quality [15]. But it was not until January 1702, four months later, that the *Louis* was finished [16]. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that by the spring of 1701 the essential decisions about the form and content of the two paintings had already been made.

It must have been expected, and I imagine intended, that in Spain the portraits would be hung in reasonably close proximity, so that their relationship could be easily recognized. The need to define that relationship in political or diplomatic terms apparently determined the specific visual character the pictures took. It is obvious that the two portraits were not designed to be seen as pendants. They are not the same size; they do not harmonize in color – the *Philip* is a picture of stark black against reds and red-browns, while the *Louis* is based on an orchestration of patterned, resplendent blues and whites against golds and reds [17] – and in action and composition they do not interrelate pictorially. Indeed, it would have been politically unwise to pair the portraits as pendants, for it would have suggested that the conduct of French and Spanish affairs of state was to be exercised jointly by the two monarchs, a notion that would not only alarm other European nations, but that would also undermine support for Philip in Spain. The Spaniards would welcome an alliance with France, but not at the cost of their kingdom's independence and the pursuit of their own interests, which, as Louis himself was well aware, might not always coincide with the interests of France [18].

The "union" between the two nations that Louis spoke about when he addressed his grandson on November 16 is not to be understood in modern political terms. It did not involve a sharing of sovereignty, or any specific treaties or plans for joint action. It was a union conceived according to the dynastic ambitions of the ruling families of Europe. Philip's acquisition of the Spanish throne was not understood as expanding the borders of France, nor as diminishing the power of Spain. It was the Habsburgs who had been diminished. Spain had become a property of the Bourbon House [19]. To convey this message in visual terms required that the two portraits, although designed to be dissimilar, share some feature that give them a powerful, unmistakable "family" resemblance. Rigaud's solution to the problem was inspired.

As Louis stands, so stands Philip. The pose the two men strike, like an assertion of Bourbon grandeur and power echoing across the generations, expresses by its distinctiveness and repetition the dynastic linkage of the monarchs. The pose has

always fascinated viewers, at least as rendered in the *Louis*, where – with the royal robes pulled up and back to reveal the elegance of the white-stockinged legs cinched by white garters and lifted on fashionable, high-red-heeled shoes[20] – it has the force of a theatrical declamation and radiates a sense of vitality that belies any suggestion that the aged king's powers might be waning.

FIG. 3. – *The Duc du Maine* (detail), embroidered French hanging, ca.1685. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Photo museum.*

Rigaud recognized the expressive potency of the posture, but he did not invent the pose. It had precedents in portraits painted in France and elsewhere, although never was it rendered with the same energetic twists and tensions that Rigaud gave to it. It appears in a work of fairly modest ambition, a French embroidered hanging that was probably designed in the shop of Charles Le Brun about 1685 (fig. 3)[21]. Rigaud was possibly inspired by this image, which represents another Bourbon, the duc du Maine, Louis XIV's son by Madame de Montespan. Still earlier Philippe de Champaigne employed what has been interpreted as a variant of the pose for his well-known *Louis XIII in Armor* in the Louvre[22].

The use of this pose in several portraits of members of the French royal family might seem to suggest that it was specifically a "Bourbon" signifier, but I think this dynastic association is valid only in the unique context of the presumed planned display in Spain of the portraits of Philip V and Louis XIV. In fact, the pose is not quite as uncommon in art as is often thought. It appears, for example, in variant forms before 1700 in portraits of the Stuart king Charles I, of the Habsburg minister Olivares, and of the son of the Dutch artist Gerard Terborch[23]. The pose manifests a controlled, cultivated elegance of bearing and being, and it signifies, in its general sense, the possession of a distinctive aristocratic self-confidence.

Many commentators on the portrait of Louis XIV have called attention to the dance-like character of his pose. In fact, as Jo Lynn Edwards has pointed out, Rigaud's Louis takes a real dance position, "fourth position, left foot forward", as it is illustrated in Pierre Rameau's dance manual of 1725[24]. But the king is not dancing in Rigaud's picture[25]. He is standing immobile in this monumental statement of the power and stability of his personal rule.

A few minutes before a mirror will convince most readers, I think, that Louis's stance is neither a natural one, nor an easy one to hold for any length of time. The posture must be learned, and it must be practiced if one is to be comfortable in it. It was surely taught by dancing masters, whose role, of course, was not merely to prepare their clients for musical entertainments, but also to establish and confirm high-societal norms for standing, walking and gesturing[26]. Courtly dance was, in fact, only the exquisite performance of the stylized comportment expected at the courts of Europe. In all of them Louis's posture would have

been unproblematic, readily understood as a sign of his superior, élite status[27]. In similar fashion, the left arm "akimbo" was a visual convention that signaled to contemporaries power or authority[28].

Whether the choice of the pose originated in Rigaud's mind as he planned the *Philip* or the *Louis* is impossible to say, since the work of pictorial invention for both portraits probably proceeded simultaneously[29]. In any event, in the paintings Philip seems merely to take the pose, as if only to echo its force in the portrait of his grandfather, where the king seems to strike it in a way that defines his monarchical persona. This is because, for the *Louis*, the artist conceived the pose as the expressive and architectonic core of the image. Around it he built an edifice that is at once visually opulent and iconographically explicit.

Louis is shown under a great, deep red baldachin at one end of a gallery[30]. He is garbed in *costume d'apparat*, ceremonial or parade costume, combining elements of court and coronation dress[31]. The resplendent, *fleurdelisée* blue and gold fabric of the ermine-lined robe and of the stool and throne make a glorious declaration that we are in the presence of the king of the French nation. He wears the sword named "Joyeuse", the celebrated weapon of Charlemagne; exactly depicted, it was the sword of the coronation of French kings, of their consecration as God's knights[32], and in the portrait it presumably alludes to the divine imperative behind Louis's actions.

The scepter on which Louis rests the weight of his right arm, and the "hand of justice" lying across the cushion in front of his personal crown, were not, however, the traditional instruments used in France at coronation ceremonies or in royal portraiture. This is a detail that would not have escaped the notice of courtiers and diplomats anywhere in Europe.

At his own coronation Louis XIV held, as was usual for French kings, the "scepter of Charlemagne", a fourteenth-century object crowned with an image of the emperor (fig. 4), and he displayed the medieval "hand of justice" carved from a narwhal tusk[33]. The same instruments served his father, Louis XIII, and his great-grandson, Louis XV, at their coronations. And they, as well as Louis XIV, were depicted in state portraits with the Charlemagne scepter in hand[34]. Henri IV, however, the progenitor of the modern House of Bourbon, had been forced by the circumstances of the civil war in France at the time of his coronation in 1594 to have new regalia fabricated for him[35]. The decision to depict the scepter and hand of justice made for Henri IV (fig. 5) in the portrait of Louis was necessarily a considered one. These regalia, associated uniquely with the Bourbon House[36], served as an emphatic visible reminder of Philip's dynastic filiation.

There was, of course, nothing hostile in this insistence on the family linkage. In fact, it is to

FIG. 4. – *Scepter of Charlemagne* (detail), seventeenth-century engraving.

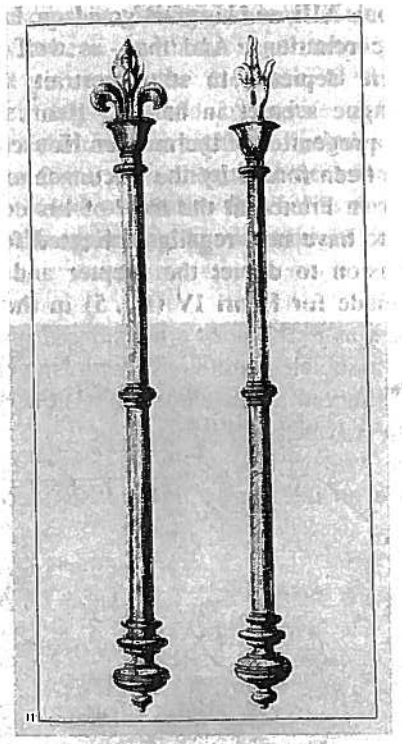

FIG. 5. – *Henri IV's Scepter and Hand of Justice*, seventeenth-century watercolor.

be interpreted as an assurance to the Spaniards that they could depend upon the amity and support of their French relations[37]. In a similar way, the size of the *Louis* relative to the *Philip* – the former on a canvas about half a meter higher and a third of a meter wider than the latter – was probably intended less as an assertion of Louis's superior status (although surely it was that too) than as a sign of the awesome Bourbon might that stood at the ready behind the new Spanish king.

By itself, Rigaud's great portrait of Louis was freighted with a powerful, topical political message for the Spanish court, one that would have been still more explicit and insistent if read together with the "text" of the *Philip*[38]. We know that in Madrid the young king of Spain anxiously awaited it[39]. The painting was finished and exhibited publically at Versailles in January 1702, when, being so much admired, it was decided that a replica should be made so that a version of it would remain in France[40].

And that is the last we learn about the gift that Louis had promised his grandson. Astonishingly, the promise was never honored, for apparently neither the *Louis* nor its replica, nor the *Philip*, ever left France. The documentary record is silent on the reasons why. Few scholars have concerned themselves with the question[41], although Kirsten Ahrens has recently proposed that the prime replica of the *Louis* was, in fact, sent to Spain in 1702 and that the replica now at Versailles replaced it[42]. Lacking further evidence the questions involved cannot be answered definitively, but I am not convinced by Ahrens's argument and I believe that a consideration of historical events can explain why the portraits were not – and in a sense could not be – sent to Spain. In the months that followed the exhibition at Versailles, they came to be seen as politically inappropriate for their intended destination.

The decision to make a copy of the huge painting of Louis naturally meant postponing its shipment to Spain. Rigaud probably needed several months to execute the replica. The portrait of Philip, reduced copies of which were already made in 1701[43], was presumably being kept in France until it could be sent together with the *Louis*. Meanwhile, in Spain, the inexperience and fecklessness of the young king had become apparent, and he was growing unpopular in the months that saw the first military actions in what was to become the long War of the Spanish Succession[44]. In April 1702, when Philip went off to visit his troops and subjects in Naples and the duchy of Milan, it was rumored that he was abandoning his royal duties and did not intend to return to Spain[45]. In an atmosphere of distrust and disillusionment a picture of an authoritative Philip taking possession of the Spanish crown would have been a galling apparition at the court of Madrid, and diplomatic considerations would have suggested that shipment of the portrait await a more favorable moment. Besides, the king was not even in Spain to receive it. He did not return from his Italian journey until January 1703.

FIG. 6. – RIGAUD. *Louis XIV in Armor*. Madrid, Prado. *Photo museum*.

The replica of the *Louis* was finished at least by September 1702[46]. It would have been reasonable to delay sending it and its companion portrait until the intended recipient of the royal gifts was expected to be in residence again at the court of Spain. But the decision to keep them in France indefinitely was probably made months earlier, when it must have become clear that the *Louis*, like the *Philip*, no longer accorded with the mood and the needs of the time.

The portrait of Louis includes a pointed display of an allegorical figure of Justice, seen as a gilded relief on the pedestal behind the royal scepter[47]. It is meant, of course, as a statement of the authority and rightness of Louis's decision to put his grandson on the throne of Spain. At a time when

doubts had arisen about the wisdom and justice of that decision, this grandiose portrait would surely have been seen by the Spaniards as making a tactless statement. Furthermore, its seeming assertion of an unchallengeable power to shape the destiny of nations would have lost its force the moment that power had been seriously challenged.

On May 15, 1702 England and the Dutch Republic declared war on France, and a twelve-year struggle ensued. Rigaud was probably still working on the replica of the *Louis* in May. But the portrait had suddenly become outdated. What was now needed in Spain was not an image of the "just Louis", adjudicating dynastic claims, but a display of the "bellicose Louis", assuring the Spaniards of his military might and determination. And that need seems to have been met by the dispatch to Spain of another portrait of Louis, in the same pose, but now showing him dressed in armor, on the battlefield, the baton of command in his hand (fig. 6).

Strangely, there exists no certain early documentation concerning this large painting (2.38 x 1.49 m.). It is signed by Rigaud and bears the date 1701, but it was first recorded in a 1746 inventory of the palace at La Granja[48]. It is not likely that in the same year two life-size portraits of Louis were commissioned for shipment to Spain[49], and it is reasonable to assume that the *Louis in Armor* was originally intended for display in France. In 1701 the coalition against France was beginning to assemble, and preparations for war were made everywhere, even as diplomats made efforts to avoid it. It was a time when an image of the monarch as warrior would have served usefully to remind foreign dignitaries entering a reception room at Versailles of the dangers they were courting.

Sometime in 1702, surely after it was decided to keep the *Philip* and the *Louis* in France, a crate containing "le grand portrait du Roy" was packed to be sent to Spain[50]. There is no reason to think that this crate was not shipped; if it was, and if we reject Ahrens's conjecture, it can only have contained the *Louis in Armor*. One must conclude, I think, that a need was felt soon after the war began for a symbolic message to be dispatched to Spain in order to reassure the Spaniards that their king's French grandfather was prepared to defend them. The portrait of Louis on the battlefield was available and filled that need. It would have been sent, less as a gift to Philip, who was then in Italy, than as a gift, a promise, addressed to the young king's subjects.

If a very reasonable hypothesis advanced by Juan Luna is correct, this painting was soon followed to Spain by smaller portraits of other men of the French royal family, also wearing armor and seen on the battlefield. As Luna suggests, they would have been meant, together with the *Louis in Armor*, to comprise a suite of bellicose pictures, making a pictorial declaration of Bourbon might and determination[51].

Meanwhile, in France, any lingering thoughts of eventually sending the original *Philip* or either of the prime versions of the *Louis* to Spain faded with time[52]. Gifts too long belated lose their identity as such. The *Philip* was hung in the *Cabinet du Roi*[53], which served as the council chamber at Versailles. There, if it had no larger political function, it must have pleased Louis as a symbol of his success in extending the territory ruled by the Bourbon House. The great *Louis* was installed in the Throne Room[54], also known as the Salon of Apollo. There could have been no more appropriate place for it.

In the Throne Room Rigaud's portrait became the centerpiece of a pictorial program that, although pre-dating it, might have been created specifically for it[55]. Images of the four parts of the world, of the seasons, and of ancient kings and heroes – Alexander, Augustus and others – surround it. Above, in the ceiling painting by La Fosse, Apollo, the Sun-God, drives his chariot across the sky, bringing light to the world and illuminating the figure of Louis, the Sun-King, the figurative center of the natural and historical world. The monarch stands beneath his canopied throne, on a dais that lifts him, as one did in the room itself, above the level of his subjects. Thus, even when the king was elsewhere, the august

authority of the royal "presence" was never absent from the Throne Room.

The role of the royal portrait as a surrogate for its subject, as well as its talismanic, and even existential nature, has been discussed by Peter Burke and Louis Marin, specifically in connection with images of Louis XIV[56]. The conceptual issues involved cannot be addressed here, but it seems appropriate to conclude this essay with another example of the use of Rigaud's great *Louis* to affirm the symbolic or, perhaps as Marin would have it, the "real" presence of the king in his physical absence[57].

In September 1704 the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture mounted an exhibition of works by its members in the Grande Galerie of the Louvre[58]. Financed by the crown and administered by the official bureaucracy, it was an event designed as part of the celebrations to mark the birth, in June of that year, of the duc de Bretagne, Louis' great-grandchild, who would be third in the line of succession to the throne. One might have expected the king to have inaugurated, or at least to have visited, the show, which lasted nearly two months. But he never made a personal appearance at the exhibition[59]. Instead, he sent Rigaud's portrait to officiate. At one end of the gallery, preceding the exhibition space proper, the visitor was greeted by the majestic pictorial figuration of the monarch, placed on a dais beneath an ornate canopy[60]. Thus, the royal presence was there, at every moment, from the first till the last day of the exhibition.

Louis was not alone on the dais. He was accompanied by portraits of his son, the Dauphin, of his grandson, the duc de Bourgogne, and of his newly arrived great-grandson, Bretagne[61]. Together, these painted surrogates welcomed their subjects and guests, and made a clear political statement : the artistic magnificence on display, one of the glories of the French nation, was to be understood as the product of the providential rule of the lords of the Bourbon House.

NOTES

1. C. MAUMENÉ and L. D'HARCOURT ("Iconographie des rois de France", *Archives de l'art français*, n.s., XVI [1929-30] 1931) catalogue 433 portraits. This number, in fact, grossly understates the actual production of images of the king since it omits lost works, medals and tapestries, a vast body of engravings and all *portraits déguisés*. Cf. P. BURKE, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, New Haven and London, 1992, p. 209.

2. The *Mercure* of January 1702 described its unveiling at court : "Jamais portrait n'a été mieux peint ni plus ressemblant ; toute la cour l'a vu et tout le monde l'a admiré". Quoted by MAUMENÉ and D'HARCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 96. See also below, n. 15.

3. K. AHRENS (*Hyacinthe Rigauds Staatsporträt Ludwigs XIV. Eine typologische und ikonologische Untersuchung zur politischen Aussage des Bildnisses von 1701*, Worms, 1990, and "'Honori Praevia Virtus'. Une interprétation de l'architecture à l'arrière-plan du portrait officiel de Louis XIV peint par Rigaud en 1701", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, mai-juin 1990, pp. 213-26), assumes that the portrait was a message specifically addressed to the Spanish king Philip V in order to inspire him to emulate the monarchical virtues of his grandfather. Considering the historical circumstances discussed here, and details of Ahrens's argument (see especially nn. 30 and 47 below), this explanation seems to me inadequate and unlikely.

4. L. DUSSIEUX, *et al.* [eds], *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale*, II, Paris, 1854, p. 118 : "[Rigaud] eut l'honneur en 1700, d'être nommé par Sa Majesté, pour peindre Philippe V, roi d'Espagne, son petit-fils, quelques jours avant son départ pour aller prendre possession de ses royaumes. Cet ouvrage donna lieu au roi d'Espagne de prier le roi, son grand-père, de lui donner aussi son portrait peint de la même main ; ce que Sa Majesté lui accorda. Rigaud eut l'honneur de le commencer l'année suivante". The biography was apparently composed in 1716 and probably vetted by Rigaud himself (see *ibid.*, p. 114).

5. Some scholars (Y. BOTTINEAU, *L'Art de cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V*, Bordeaux, 1962, p. 112, followed by G. MARTIN-MÉRY in exh. cat. "El Arte europeo en la Corte de España durante el siglo XVIII", Madrid, Museo del Prado, 1980, p. 146, K. AHRENS, "Rigauds Staatsporträt", op. cit., p. 28, and J.-G. LAVIT in exh. cat. "Du duc d'Anjou à Philippe V", Sceaux, Musée de l'Île-de-France, 1993, p. 74) have assumed that Louis always meant to keep the picture in France as a remembrance of a cherished grandson. The report in Rigaud's biography may, of course, reflect a slip of the pen or a lapse in memory. While there is no evidence confirming the report, there is also no evidence contradicting it, and the form and iconography of the *Philip*, especially in relation to the *Louis*,

suggest, not a portrait-souvenir, but a political statement, and one more appropriate to display in a Spanish, rather than a French, court. J. LUNA ("Hyacinthe Rigaud et l'Espagne", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, mai-juin 1978, pp. 188-89) appears to think that the *Philip* was planned for a Spanish audience, but he does not take up the question of why the original was not in fact sent to Spain.

6. The other potential French claimants, the Dauphin, the son of Louis XIV and Marie-Thérèse, and the Dauphin's oldest son, the duc de Bourgogne, both renounced their claim in favor of Philip. There was, of course, an Austrian Habsburg counterclaim to the throne.

7. See A. LOSSKY, "'Maxims of State' in Louis XIV's Foreign Policy in the 1680s", in *William III and Louis XIV* (R. Hatton and J. S. Bromley, eds.), Liverpool, 1968, p. 19, and M. A. THOMSON, "Louis XIV and the Origins of the War of the Spanish Succession", in *ibid.*, p. 144. On Philip's welcome in Madrid, see L. DE SAINT-SIMON, *Mémoires. Additions au journal de Dangeau* (Y. Coirault ed., Bibliothèque de la Pléiade), Paris, 1983, I, p. 825 and *passim*.

8. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 782-83. Two weeks later, in a letter to the duc d'Harcourt, Mme de Maintenon gave much the same account of Louis's remarks and instructions to Philip (T. LAVALLÉE [ed.], *Correspondance générale de Madame de Maintenon*, Paris, 1866, IV, p. 351).

9. The order was presented to Philip before he left France. See SAINT-SIMON, *op. cit.*, I, p. 788, and B. SAULE, "Où le Duc d'Anjou fut déclaré roi d'Espagne", in *Philippe V d'Espagne et l'Art de son temps* (Actes du colloque à Sceaux, 1993), Sceaux, 1995, pp. 66-67.

10. The phrase is variously attributed to Louis XIV or to the Spanish ambassador on the day Philip was declared King of Spain. See SAINT-SIMON, *op. cit.*, I, p. 1545, n. 1. For the earlier history of this political goal, see K. JOHNSON, "Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées : The Iconography of the First Versailles of Louis XIV", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, janv. 1981, pp. 29-40, and LOSSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

11. To that end he enlisted the help of Mme de Maintenon, who remarked in a letter of March 11, 1701 that she was making efforts "pour lui [Philip] envoyer le portrait qu'il m'a ordonné de lui faire faire". On Sept. 3, 1701 Philip wrote to her : "Je vous remercie des soins que vous avez pris pour me procurer le portrait du roi, que j'attends avec impatience" (LAVALLÉE, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 416-17, 443-44). See below, n. 15, for her response to him.

12. Cited by BOTTINEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 112, n. 126, and AHRENS, *op. cit*, p. 16.

13. See M. JENKINS, *The State Portrait. Its Origin and Evolution* (College Art Association Monographs on the Fine Arts, III), n.p., 1947, p. 29, who notes that Rigaud's *Louis XIV* is mainly derived from earlier portrait types. (Cf., also W. W. E. MAI, *Le portrait du roi ; Staatsporträt und Kunsttheorie in der Epoche Ludwigs XIV*, Bonn, 1975, p. 41.) BURKE's assumption (*op. cit.*, pp. 33, 192) that Rigaud's *Louis* departs from tradition in pose and costume is wrong (cf. below, n. 31). The *Philip*, incidentally, has elements in common with Titian's *Portrait of Philip II of Spain* in the Prado, making an association that would be iconographically meaningful, although I doubt that it was intended.

14. This was reported by Mme de Maintenon (LAVALLÉE, *op. cit.*, pp. 416-17) and also in the *mémoires* of the marquis de Dangeau (MAUMENÉ and D'HARCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 96). The sitting would only have involved painting the head of the gout-stricken king. The execution of the figure would have been carried out in the artist's studio. The head is on a separate canvas pasted onto the larger canvas.

15. LAVALLÉE, *op. cit.*, p. 447 (letter of 20 Sept. 1701) : "J'espère que le portrait du roi partira bientôt ; nous n'en avons point qui en approche".

16. Rigaud signed and dated it 1701, but gave it his final touches on January 19, 1702. See MAUMENÉ and D'HARCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

17. For color illustrations see : for the *Philip*, MARTIN-MÉRY, cat. cit. (as in n. 5) p. 36 ; for the *Louis*, M. LEVEY, *Painting and Sculpture in France, 1700-1789*, New Haven and London, 1992, p. 5.

18. THOMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

19. See *ibid.*, pp. 142, 144-5 ; also JOHNSON, art. cit. (as in n. 10), p. 37. It should be noted that, as Thomson remarks, Louis believed that Philip's claim to the Spanish throne was based primarily on the divine right of familial inheritance, not on Charles II's will.

20. Such shoes are also worn by Louis XV in Alexis-Simon Belle's 1723 portrait of him in coronation dress. See D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, *Regalia. Les instruments du sacre des rois de France*, Paris, 1987, p. 58, fig. 9. But they were also worn by ordinary gentlemen, as seen in J.-F. de Troy's *Declaration of Love* (Wrightsman Collection).

21. See E. STANDEN, "Children of the Sun King : Some Reconsiderations", *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, XXVIII, 1993, pp. 121-27.

22. A. BLUNT (*Art and Architecture in France, 1500-1700*, London, 1953, p. 280), followed by A. SCHNAPPER (in *Au temps du Roi Soleil. Les Peintres de Louis XIV*, Lille, 1968, pp. 59-60), suggested it as a source for Rigaud, which does not seem convincing to me.

23. W. WEISBACH (*Franzosische Malerei des 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1932, p. 289) first noted the similarity to the pose seen in Van Dyck's *Charles I Hunting* in the Louvre, which is now often cited as Rigaud's source. The portrait of Olivares, by Velazquez, is in the New York Hispanic Society. For the Terborch portraits, see A. KETTERING, "Het *Portret van Moses ter Borch* door Gerard en Gesina ter Borch", *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, XLIII, 1995, pp. 317-35, 377-81, figs. 1, 10, 12.

24. "Watteau and the Dance", in F. MOUREAU and M. MORGAN GRASSELLI [eds.], *Antoine Watteau, le peintre, son temps et sa légende*, Paris and Geneva, 1987, pp. 219-25, and fig. 7. The young Louis XIV appears, in fact, in exactly this position in a drawing of 1654 that shows him dancing the role of Apollo. Illustrated in BURKE, *op. cit.*, p. 46, fig. 15.

25. BURKE's suggestion that the pose of the *Louis* was intended as "a reminder of the king's dancing days" (*ibid.*, p. 33), ignores the use of the pose for people who are less well known for their balletic skills (see above, n. 23), and, moreover, it assumes what is most unlikely, that Louis XIV would have approved an image alluding (for a Spanish audience !) to powers he no longer possessed.

26. EDWARDS (as in n. 24), p. 220.

27. This would have been recognized outside the courts too ; hence, the use of "the pose and body language of a gentleman" in the flattering portraits of the bourgeois Moses ter Borch (KETTERING, art. cit., p. 378). Joshua Reynolds was to use the pose for comic effect in his painted caricature of 1751 of *Four Learned Milordi* (National Gallery of Ireland).

28. See J. SPICER, "The Renaissance Elbow", in J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg, *A Cultural History of Gesture*, Ithaca (N.Y.), 1991, pp. 84-128.

29. MAI's belief *(op. cit.* , pp. 52, 64) that the *Philip* was completed before the *Louis* was begun, and BURKE's contrary notion (*op. cit.*, p. 169) that the *Philip* imitates the *Louis*, are both unwarranted assumptions.

30. AHRENS ("Honori Praevia Virtus", art. cit., pp. 215-24) has interpreted this gallery, represented by one bay (possibly cut down from a bay and a half) seen in the left background, as a "temple of virtue". Such a symbolic allusion may have been intended, but her assumption that this subsidiary element provides the iconographic key to the portrait seems unwarranted. Concerning the virtues of the temple, see n. 47, below.

31. GABORIT-CHOPIN, in a richly documented study of the coronation regalia, points out (*op. cit.*, pp. 12-15) that, contrary to what is often said, Louis does not actually appear in coronation garb, and also that Belle's *Louis XV* (see above, n. 20) is one of the rare examples in this period of a royal portrait displaying the "costume de sacre" in a relatively exact fashion.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 64-72.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 76-77, 81-83. We borrowed the illustration fig. 4 from GABORIT-CHOPIN's *Regalia,* p. 83, fig. 18.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14, 73, 82, figs. 4, 7, portraying Louis XIII and Louis XV respectively. Louis XIV holds the Charlemagne scepter in Henri Testelin's portrait of him as protector of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (Château de Versailles ; BURKE, fig. 5).

35. At the time of his coronation the traditional regalia were in the hands of Henri's enemies, the *ligueurs*. See GABORIT-CHOPIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 79.

36. GABORIT-CHOPIN, *op. cit.*, notes that in several royal portraits, one of Louis XIII and one of Louis XVI, for instance, the king is shown holding the scepter of Henri IV. Such examples seem rare, however, and she suggests, as I have here, that Henri's regalia served when it was deemed important to symbolize the Bourbon dynasty. It might be noted that in Testelin's portrait, mentioned in n. 34 above, Louis's royal, protective role is unrelated to his family lineage. We borrowed the illustration fig. 5 from GABORIT-CHOPIN's *Regalia,* p. 79, fig. 11.

37. THOMSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 149, remarks that many Spanish notables thought that with a Bourbon on the throne of Spain Louis would be bound to defend the integrity of the Spanish empire, and some even expected France to reconquer Portugal for Spain.

38. See above, n. 5.

39. See above, n. 11.

40. Contemporary accounts agree that as of that date the portrait was expected to be sent to Spain. See Dangeau, Sourches and the *Mercure*, cited by MAUMENÉ and D'HARCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 96. The *Mercure* reported that Louis "veut tenir sa parole en lui [Philip] donnant l'original", but the biography of Rigaud states that the king liked the portrait so well that he commissioned the artist "d'en faire une copie... pour l'envoyer au roi d'Espagne, à la place de l'original" (DUSSIEUX, *op. cit.*, p. 119), a report confirmed in the 1709 inventory of the Royal Collection (MAUMENÉ and D'HARCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 94).

41. MAI (*op. cit.*, pp. 64f.) and LUNA (art. cit., p. 188) suggested that the completed *Louis* was so "French", and so grandiose and imposing, that in the end it appeared inappropriate for the Spanish court. But these are precisely the qualities it was from the beginning designed to convey to that court.

42. *Rigauds Staatsporträt, op. cit.*, pp. 16-28.

43. Judging from their prices, as recorded in Rigaud's account book, these were modest works, apparently none larger than half-length, and none were specifically designated as destined for Spain. See J. ROMAN, *Le livre de raison du peintre Hyacinthe Rigaud*, Paris, 1919, pp. xix, 89-91.

44. THOMSON (*op. cit.*) notes that there was a perceived danger at the time that the Spaniards might rebel and offer the throne to a Habsburg. BOTTINEAU (*op. cit.*, p. 111) says of Philip : his "impréparation, son insuffisance étaient totales..., il montrait encore, à certains moments, une puérilité touchante". On Philip's character see also SAINT-SIMON, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 367-68 ; 1350, nn. 3, 4. For a brief, recent account of the history of the war and surrounding events, see A. LOSSKY, *Louis XIV and the French Monarchy*, New Brunswick, 1994, 257-78.

45. Philip, in fact, was forced to leave his wife in Spain as a pledge of his intention to return. See THOMSON, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

46. Final payment for "deux grands portraits du Roy en pied, avec l'esquisse en petit desdits portraits, comme aussy du portrait en pied du roy d'Espagne" was recorded on Sept. 16, 1702 (J. GUIFFREY, *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*, IV, Paris, 1896, p. 827).

47. Barely visible on the left face of the pedestal is another gilded relief. AHRENS ("Honori Praevia Virtus", art. cit., p. 215) identifies it as "Fortitude". It cannot have been intended to play a genuine role in the picture's meaning.

48. The date was discovered by LUNA (art. cit., p. 186). There is no mention of this work either in the royal accounts or in Rigaud's account book.

49. LUNA (*ibid.*, p. 187) proposed that the *Louis in Armor* is the picture that Mme de Maintenon referred to in 1701, but

I believe he has misinterpreted her comment. Dangeau, writing a day earlier, specifically says that portrait in question is the one Louis had promised Philip (see above, nn. 11, 14).

50. Payment for packing was made Sept. 17, 1702. See GUIFFREY, *op. cit.*, p. 832.

51. The others are three-quarter length portraits of Philip's father and two brothers. See LUNA, art. cit., pp. 186-88, figs. 2, 3.

52. Another replica of the Louvre *Louis* was eventually made by Rigaud to be sent to Philip, but only in 1721. Many copies of the *Philip* exist in Spain, including a fine, three-quarter length version by Rigaud in the Prado, which bears the date 1701 (but on the back of the painting, probably referring to the execution of the original rather than of the copy [cf. above, n. 43]). It is first recorded in 1746. See LUNA, *ibid.*, pp. 188-91, figs. 4, 6.

53. DUSSIEUX, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

54. *Ibid.* This was presumably Rigaud's original painting, now in the Louvre. Today, the artist's replica hangs in the Throne Room at Versailles.

55. Cf. MAI, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

56. BURKE, *op. cit.*, *passim*; L. MARIN, *Portrait of the King*, Minneapolis, 1988, *passim*.

57. *Ibid.*, especially 215-38.

58. For a detailed analysis of the exhibition and the events surrounding it, see C. HAMILTON, *The Salons of 1699 to 1739 : The Academy, the Bâtiments and the Politics of Display* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), Institute of Fine Arts, N.Y.U., 1994, especially pp. 29-39. See also the *livret* for the 1704 exhibition (in H. JANSON [ed.], *Catalogues of the Paris Salons*, New York and London, I, 1978).

59. HAMILTON, *op. cit.* , p. 37.

60. This was not an innovation. At the Salon of 1699 a portrait of Louis by Charles Poerson was exhibited in the same way. See the *livret* for that year, p. 4 (in JANSON, as in n. 58).

61. The first two were painted by Rigaud, the last by Pierre Gobert. Rigaud's *Philip V* was present, but in the exhibition space of the gallery, two bays distant from the dais. See the *livret* for 1704, pp. 5, 8 (*ibid.*).

RÉSUMÉ. - *La genèse des portraits de Louis XIV et de Philippe V peints par Rigaud et leurs intentions politiques.*

L'auteur soutient l'idée que les portraits de Rigaud de 1701 représentant les monarques français et espagnol, Louis XIV et Philippe V, furent commandés afin d'être envoyés en Espagne à la veille de la Guerre de Succession. Ces tableaux étaient par eux-mêmes des messages politiques délibérés qui affirmaient le pouvoir du Grand Roi de désigner le successeur au trône d'Espagne tout en assurant les Espagnols de ses intentions amicales, et qui mettaient en évidence l'hégémonie en Espagne non de la France, mais plus spécifiquement des Bourbon. C'est ce que révèlent certains détails comme les insignes royaux (les *regalia*) dans le *Portrait de Louis XIV*. Cependant, dans les mois précédant le départ prévu de ces tableaux pour l'Espagne, des facteurs politiques nouveaux, en particulier l'impopularité grandissante de Philippe V en Espagne et le commencement de la guerre contre Louis XIV, rendirent inadéquats de tels messages. Un nouveau portrait de Louis XIV, militaire cette fois, montrant le roi en armure, fut expédié en Espagne. Les deux premiers portraits de 1701 restèrent en France et le *Louis XIV* y trouva un autre rôle, ce portrait peint manifestant la présence du roi dans son royaume.