Tony Claydon and Charles-Édouard Levillain, eds. *Louis Outside In: Images of the Sun King Beyond France, 1661-1715*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2015. xi + 231 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $124.95 U.S., £60.00 U.K. (hb). ISBN 978-1-4724-3126-4.

Review by Mark Bryant, University of Chichester, UK.

Having attended the original conference in Oxford where this volume originated, I was looking forward to reviewing the final outcome, and this collection does not disappoint. It succeeds, as the introduction asserts, in "breaking the spell of national narratives" by providing a broad range of colorful, expertly insightful and innovative reflections on international attitudes to Louis XIV and the tradition of the "black legend" generated by the excesses of the French government during the personal rule (p. 5).[1] Analysis of the wide range of views that were generated in differing cultural media (including prints, pottery, pamphlets, songs, opinion, and fashion) makes this compendium and its findings even more compelling. The collection also highlights the extent to which many countries in fact admired and imitated French culture and were envious of the political power wielded by its king from Versailles, despite the eulogistic immoderations that led to diplomatic difficulties and ultimately, the exploitation of Bourbon iconography to produce counter-propaganda that was witty, withering, vibrant, and damaging. This gave rise of a new form of artful and flexible political polemicism that historians have suggested contributed to the rise of German nationalism and Dutch patriotism, as several contributors also convincingly contend. The frequent references back to older works written or edited by Ragnhild Hatton emphasize the extent to which this volume is timely, and her seminal chapter entitled "Louis and His Fellow Monarchs" itself is a case in point.[2]

After an excellent introduction, chapter one by Hendrik Ziegler on "Image Battles under Louis XIV: Some Reflections" develops ideas outlined is his 2013 monograph, revealing how the enemies of France turned the tables on Louis XIV and used his own weapons of cultural warfare against him, including shaving bowls depicting the king emanating sunrays that each described his devilish crimes and vices.[3] This counter-propaganda campaign was prosecuted so effectively across Europe that by the end of the 1680s, Louis was apparently reluctant to try and counteract it. Indeed, in recognizing and regretting the negative impact of his "iconographic bombast," he was decreasingly reliant on solar symbolism from then on (p. 36).

Chapter two by Tim Harris on "Francophobia in Late-Seventeenth-Century England" reminds us how familiar national European stereotypes developed over the course of centuries, with the French regarded as cowardly, gambling, brandy-swilling, salad-munching "sworn servants of Venus" (p. 41). But sympathy was also expressed for the French people, whom politicians and pamphleteers claimed were impoverished and enslaved to the yoke of tyranny and popery imposed by a government that ultimately intended to establish a universal Catholic monarchy using his ever-expanding standing army. Many commentators and critics of Charles II also cited France as a mirror to highlight all that was going wrong in late Caroline England.

Chapter five by James Ostwald on "Popular English Perceptions of Louis XIV's Way of War" expands on Harris's themes in a military context, echoing the notion that the French were treacherous and dishonorable and, in contrast to Marlborough, made war "like foxes rather than lions." (p. 100) English critics eulogized the Hundred Years' War and excoriated the "faithless" French, who constantly avoided, rather than enjoined, battles and refused to do so unless a fort or natural cover could be found to protect an army weakened by a diet dependent on fricassees and ragouts rather than honest old English roast beef. Consequently, the devastation of the Palatinate from 1688 to 1689 is likened to Turkish depravity. Significantly, several authors identify this action as the one that definitively turned Europe against Louis XIV, whose regime many rulers had previously begrudgingly admired.

Chapters three and four bear out this last point, with Maria Hayward ("'We Have Better Materials for Clothes, They, Better Taylors': The Influence of La Mode on the Clothes of Charles II and James II") and Stéphane Jettot ("The Court of Louis XIV and the English Public Sphere: Worlds Set Apart?") revealing that the libertine court of Louis XIV, denounced by one pamphlet published in 1672 entitled *The French Rogue*, was indeed ridiculed as effeminate and indulgently extravagant, but that French culture was enormously influential nonetheless on the English elites (p. 77). They enviously imitated sartorial trends set in Paris and at Versailles, whose ruler they extolled as "great" and skillful in exacting order and obedience. This was in contrast to his Stuart counterparts, who they believed lacked the help of gifted ministers like Louvois, whom Sir Henry Saville, the ambassador to France from 1679 to 1682, admitted had a "pretty civil mind under a rough figure" (p. 83).

Chapter six by David Hayton on "Louis XIV, James II and Ireland" analyses how journalists, playwrights and engravers helped reinforce the renewed fear of the establishment of Popish tyranny and universal monarchy that contemporaries were convinced was being masterminded by Louis XIV, who conspicuously sponsored James' fateful invasion of Ireland in 1690. However, the exiled Stuart king is represented as merely the pupil and dupe of Louis XIV, who is conducting an affair with James' queen, Mary of Modena, behind his back. To highlight the enslaving designs of the avaricious usurper, ballads, pamphlets, sermons and plays all decried and directly compared the burning of Irish towns by Jacobite generals like St. Ruth, who had led *dragonnade* regiments against the Huguenots, with the violent destruction of the Protestant Palatinate.

Similar themes and more are explored in chapter seven on "Lampooning Louis XIV: Romeyn de Hooghe's Harlequin Prints, 1688-89" by Henk Van Nierop, which is the outstanding essay in this collection. Nierop brilliantly reveals how the renowned Dutch broad sheeter and illustrator produced nine remarkable portraits at the end of the 1680s that took political criticism to new heights, graphically ridiculing Louis XIV and his devotees to vilify the enemies of William III, who was de Hooghe's longstanding patron. With French headings, Dutch text, and vivid illustrations that blended often bizarre burlesque comedy with razor-sharp political parody, these prints would have been sold cheaply and circulated widely in European taverns and coffeehouses, whose audiences would have enjoyed reflecting upon the obvious messages in many images, while simultaneously debating the hidden meanings that Nierop concedes remain obscure to this day. Nevertheless, his shrewd surgical analysis of the broadsheets, which are all beautifully reproduced on pages 153-61, shows how effectively de Hooghe manipulated recent and contemporary examples of French acts of aggression (in the Netherlands, the Palatinate, and Ireland, and against Protestants in general) and exploited Louis XIV's personal and physical vulnerabilities to savage his reputation and present him as the "great monster" (p. 139). Detailed references are also made to the failed policies of Louis XIV and James II, including the exoneration of the Seven Bishops in England in June 1688, and the inability of the French candidate, Cardinal Fürstenburg, to become Archbishop-Elector of Cologne in the same month. The use of animalistic imagery and explicit illustrations (portrayed in broadsheet eight: a bare-buttocked Sun King being purged of the Palatinate towns he had recently seized) dehumanized and humiliated Louis XIV, James II, and both their heirs with devastating success. Indeed, they set a new standard in satire that Nierop persuasively claims remained unrivalled until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

In chapter eight ("Foe and Fatherland: The Image of Louis XIV in Dutch Songs") Donald Haks analyzes over two hundred verses that helped solidify the Dutch notion of "fatherland" by championing the heroic liberal endeavors of William III and mocking Louis XIV's despotic war-mongering. Interestingly, the songwriters also showed a good deal of sympathy for James II, but also respect for Louis XIV after his death in 1715, with two balladeers conceding that he had established peace in 1713 and been constrained by the will of God, who would no doubt welcome the glorious king into heaven. Chapter nine ("Amsterdam and the Ambassadors of Louis XIV, 1647-85") by Elizabeth Edwards reveals that the Dutch burgher regents were often more concerned with promoting international trade through Amsterdam from 1675 and the resurgence of aristocratic power spearheaded by William of Orange than they were about the threat posed by Louis XIV's France. And in a stimulating final chapter on "Millenarian Portraits of Louis XIV," Lionel Laborie explains how some Protestant soothsayers initially predicted that Louis XIV would bring peace to Europe by defeating Rome and Austria and defending tolerance, but that these hopes were dashed in 1685 when the Revocation of Nantes revealed "the anti-Christ unmasked" (p. 214). However, William's defeat of James II in 1690, and the successive victories of the Allies over France in the War of the Spanish Succession, meant that Protestant prophets increasingly became disinterested in Louis XIV and focused on other more threatening powers like Sweden and Turkey.

Overall, this is a fine volume. A few sections in certain chapters could have been better organized and technical terms, in places, more clearly explained. The lack of thorough final copy-editing is also to be regretted, as ever, with a one centimeter gap appearing on line ten on page 206 where presumably a paragraph was supposed to begin. A longer index would also have been useful, and a general conclusion would have bolstered the collection overall and underscored the value of its findings, which are significant. More international perspectives would also have been welcome. Publication costs no doubt made this prohibitive, but a second volume analyzing perspectives beyond England, France, and the Dutch Republic, and indeed Europe into Africa, Asia, and America where so much work is currently being carried out, would further enrich this important and expanding field of research.[4]

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NOTES

[1] Isaure Boitel, *L'image noire de Louis XIV. Provinces-Unies, Angleterre (1668-1715)* (Seyssel: Éditions Champ Vallon, 2016).

[2] Ragnhild Hatton ed., *Louis XIV and Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1976), pp. 16-59. See also Joseph Klaits, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV: Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977, reprinted 2016), Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), and J. A. W. Gunn, *Queen of the World: Opinion in the Public Life of France from the Renaissance to the Revolution* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1995).

[3] Hendrik Ziegler, *Louis XIV et ses ennemis. Image, propaganda et contestation* (Paris: Presses universitaires Vincennes, 2013).

[4] Gillian Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2011); Junko Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce: Marseille and the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Sara Chapman Williams, "Reluctant Expansionists: Louis XIV, the Ministers of the Colonies and the Founding of Detroit," in *The Third Reign of Louis XIV, c. 1682-1715*, ed., Julia Prest and Guy Rowlands (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 82-99.

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