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Seeing is Believing: The Ducal House of Lorraine and Visual Display in the Projection of Royal Status

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Abstract: This article examines the visual strategies employed in the early modern period by a dynasty ruling a smaller state, the Duchy of Lorraine, to survive in the face of expansion by larger neighbours (notably France). The central argument posits that in order to be treated as fully royal (and therefore with inherent rights to exist independently, as full members of the society of princes), princes like the dukes of Lorraine had to appear as royal in their visual representation. The article therefore looks at different examples of self-representation produced by the dynasty over time, including genealogical treatises, coins, portraits, and printed material, in order to see how this was achieved and what symbols were used. What emerges is a sense that this strategy was more closely tied to dynasticism, not necessarily state-building, and while it can be said to have failed for the Duchy of Lorraine as a state, it proved successful, even beyond what had been imagined, for the dynasty itself. This idea repositions our conceptions of "sovereignty" in this period, to see it, at least in some cases, as a quality pertaining to dynasties rather than more rigidly to the states they governed. Their hereditary estates in Lorraine were lost in 1737 but the dynasty survived, as grand dukes of Tuscany, and was deemed worthy of transformation into a fully royal—even imperial—dynasty through marriage to the Habsburg heiress Maria Theresa and the election of Francis Stephen of Lorraine as Holy Roman Emperor in 1745.

Keywords: Lorraine, dynasticism, sovereignty, royal status, visual representation, propaganda, genealogy, heraldry, iconography, symbolism

The seventeenth century was a period obsessed with projecting an image, whether pertaining to social status, religious dogma, or military strength. After the relentless dissension and violence of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, many Europeans were satisfied to participate in forms of collective self-delusion. The appearance (if not reality) of a strong, well-organized government was sufficient to allow merchants and artisans to go about their daily business, leaving the questioning of reality to the philosophers. In the most famous instance, we have the façade of "absolute" power in late seventeenth-century France: it is now a commonplace to think of the grandeur of the style of Louis XIV as merely an elaborate mask (Figure 1), projecting the values of absolutism without having the substance behind the mask to back up claims of unlimited royal authority.[1] The visual apparatus carefully crafted by the "Sun King" and his advisors has been thoroughly scrutinized since the pioneering work of the cultural

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[1] Our current views were shaped by Revisionist historical thinking about absolutism. See Richard Bonney, "Absolutism: What's in a Name?" *French History* 1 (1987): 93–117. This is nuanced by more recent studies, such as Daryl Dee, *Expansion and Crisis in Louis XIV's France: Franche-Comté and Absolute Monarchy, 1674-1715* (Rochester, NY: Rochester University Press, 2009) and, for the Empire, Peter H. Wilson, *Absolutism and Central Europe* (London: Routledge, 2000).

historian Peter Burke.[2] More recent studies have demonstrated, unsurprisingly, that other contemporary monarchs followed a similar path: it was more effective for Emperor Leopold I to project power and status through lavish displays of theatre and ritual than to admit to having a poorly funded army with which to defend Christendom against the Turks.[3] Other late seventeenth-century monarchs made use of visual ceremony to assuage a more domestic audience—the democratic organs of popular government, or "public opinion"—notably King Charles II in Britain, who sensed that his people wanted to see a monarch who was "merry" and nothing more; or William III, Prince of Orange, who knew that his supporters in the Dutch Republic craved a symbol of strength in the face of persistent French aggression.[4]
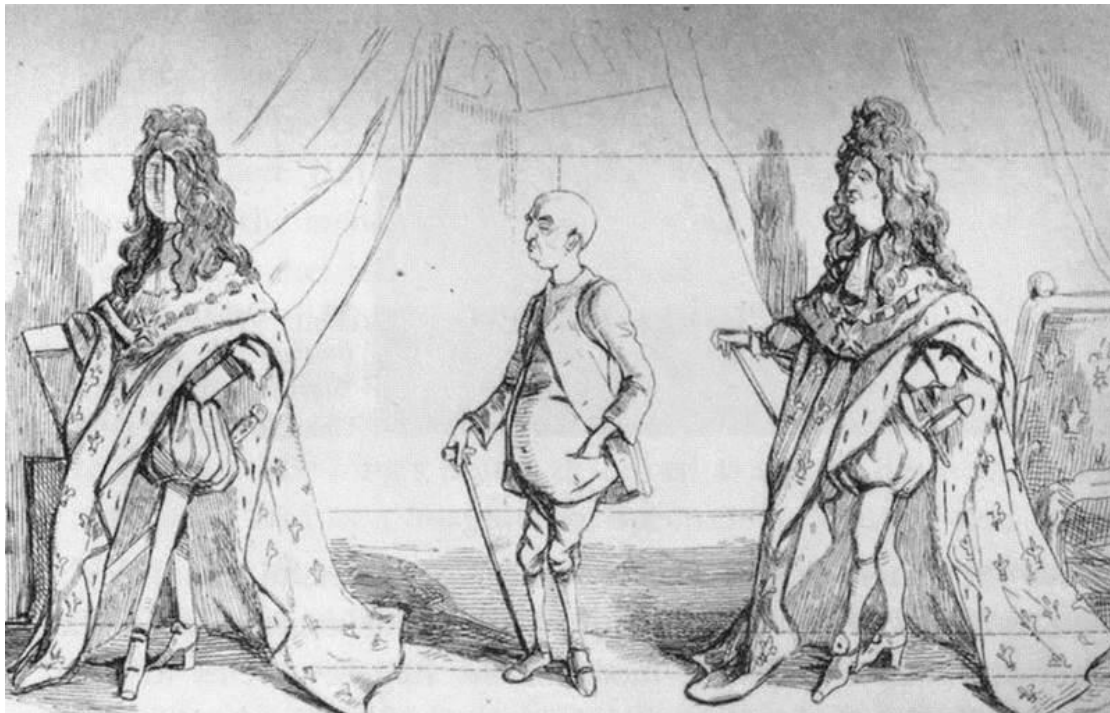

Figure 1. "What Makes a King?", W. M. Thackeray, *The Paris Sketchbook* (1840) (frontispiece) (Wikimedia Commons).

As in the Dutch example, princes who reigned over smaller states on the margins of the great powers had by necessity to employ similar strategies, but with greater stakes involved. In the age of the expansion of great powers such as France and Austria, second- and third-tier states were losing their independence, as seen in relatively small but strategically important duchies like Guelders in the sixteenth century, Cleves in the seventeenth, or Mantua in the eighteenth, all states weakened through dynastic crisis. A

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[2] Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

[3] Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2000). That ceremonial and festive extravagance was employed specifically to mask political fragility is shown clearly in a book written by a student of Burke, Gabriel Guarino, *Representing the King's Splendour: Communication and Reception of Symbolic Forms of Power in Viceregal Naples* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

[4] Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2008); Alexander Dencher, "The Politics of Spectacle: Imaging the Prince of Orange during the First Stadtholderless Era," *The Court Historian*, 19/2 (2014): 163–168.

solution to this problem was for states nominally subject to another power (usually the already decentralised Holy Roman Emperor), that is, what might be defined as "semi-sovereign," to elevate their status to a fully sovereign position, thus enabling them to play a more active part in international treaty negotiations and settlements. "Semi-sovereign" in the case of small states like Lorraine or Savoy refers to the fact that despite being *de jure* component parts of the Holy Roman Empire, in practice both ducal families managed their own internal affairs, minted their own coins, and by the late sixteenth century manifestly plotted their own independent foreign policy.[5] But these smaller states could not compete militarily or economically. They could, however, employ visual elements in their strategies of aggrandizement. Printed books, pamphlets, and portraits, and even a grand palace and gardens loaded with political symbolism, were still considerably cheaper than a standing army, and were effective weapons of "cultural capital" in this effort. If foreign princes, ambassadors, courtiers or even the wider public *believed* they were truly powerful and independent, then they were more likely to be treated as if that were truly so. Seeing is believing.

In 1997 Robert Oresko published a lengthy essay entitled "The House of Savoy in Search for a Royal Crown in the Seventeenth Century," which set a new standard for the interpretation of interwoven political and cultural history. One of the main contentions of this piece was that the central purpose for the promotion of visual propaganda employed by the dukes of Savoy was to fulfil a long-term goal of recognition of the semi-sovereign ducal house of Savoy-Piedmont as fully royal.[6] Oresko's other major point was that these strategies pertained to dynasticism, and not to nationalism or state-building as nineteenth-century *étatiste* historians had asserted. Aspirations were linked to a family, not to a place.[7] That family's transformation to fully sovereign rank began with a self-proclaimed right to the *trattamento reale* in diplomatic protocols in 1632, and culminated in full recognition of this, and the title of king, by the great powers in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Oresko's study was based on the careful scrutiny of both written and visual sources, and the chapter includes dozens of images—painted portraits, minted coins, and printed texts—in an effort to display the shift in visual propaganda from proclaimed truth to *de facto* reality. Specific cues now familiar to scholars working in the field of court studies include the use of the

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[5] On the blurred lines of sovereignty and semi-sovereignty, and in particular Lorraine's place within this discussion, see Charles Lipp, *Noble Strategies in an Early Modern Small State: The Mahuet of Lorraine* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2011), 9–11; Jotham Parsons, "Money and Sovereignty in Early Modern France," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 62 (1) (2001): 59–79; and more generally, Daniel Lee, *The Right of Sovereignty: Jean Bodin on the Sovereign State and the Law of Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021).

[6] Robert Oresko, "The House of Savoy in Search for a Royal Crown in the Seventeenth Century," in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs, and H. M. Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 272–350. This pursuit of genuine sovereignty has been examined more recently by Toby Osborne, "The House of Savoy and the Theatre of the World: Performances of Sovereignty in Early Modern Rome," *Sabaudian Studies: Political Culture, Dynasty, and Territory (1400–1700)*, ed. Matthew Vester (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2021), 167–190.

[7] This idea was developed in the various case studies included in Liesbeth Geevers and Mirella Marini, eds., *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Geevers' article, "Dynasty and State Building in the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy: The Career of Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy (1588-1624)," *Journal of Early Modern History*, 20, 3 (2016): 267–292; and most recently in the forthcoming volume, Liesbeth Geevers, and Harald Gustafsson, eds., *Dynasty and State Formation in Early Modern Europe* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming).

formal address *Son Altesse Royale* ("His Royal Highness") on official documents (especially those written by foreign diplomats), and the image of a closed or imperial crown, signifying unlimited sovereignty (nothing is above it but the heavens), rather than one that is open, as used by dukes and other high-ranking but not sovereign aristocrats.[8]

Savoy was a useful case study as its efforts were clearly "successful" and the dynasty transformed itself into a fully royal (thus full sovereign) dynasty, as kings of Sardinia then Italy, until its demise in the mid-twentieth century.[9] This article will focus on a less obviously successful case, and will examine similar pathways taken in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by the dukes of Lorraine. Like Savoy, the Duchy of Lorraine was a small state, *de jure* a part of the Holy Roman Empire, and *de facto* wedged in between two much grander competing dynastic powers, the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. Also like the House of Savoy, the Lorraine princes employed visual strategies to enable their dynasty to be recognized as fully sovereign, fully royal. Their goal was nothing short of the securing of their very survival as a dynasty under near continual threat from France, their neighbour to the west. As in the Oresko study, it is clear that this "house strategy" was primarily dynastic, that is, pertaining to the needs of the ruling family, not "nationalistic." This can be seen in the ease with which the last duke, François III (1708-1765), agreed to "trade" the patrimonial lands, which had come to him after 800 years of his family's rule, in exchange for a more secure possession, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, in 1737,[10] and the even greater security for the dynasty of a "house merger" with the House of Habsburg via marriage to the Archduchess Maria Theresa. Nevertheless, there is a counter-argument for at least one of the dukes examined here: Duke Léopold (1679-1729), François III's father, whose dynastic goals were clearly intertwined with a more "nationalistic" goal of building a modern state strong enough to survive on its own, and echoed in the sentiments of the departing François' former subjects, and even his own mother, who urged him not to go.[11]

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[8] See Dale Hoak, "The Iconography of the Crown Imperial," in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 54–103.

[9] Its visual marks of sovereignty have been recently analyzed from a different perspective, performative: Andrea Merlotti, "Oath-taking and Hand-kissing: Ceremonies of Sovereignty in a 'Monarchia Composita', the States of the House of Savoy from the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries," in *Power and Ceremony in European History: Rituals, Practices and Representative Bodies since the Late Medieval Ages*, eds. Anna Kalinowska and Jonathan Spangler (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), 157–168.

[10] Strictly speaking, the Grand Duchy was also semi-sovereign, with (admittedly vague) ties to both the Emperor and the Pope. There is some irony here too, as, in terms of dynastic "ancientness," the sixteenth-century Tuscan state in no way could compare to the Duchy of Lorraine, with origins in the ninth century, though in terms of wealth (a much more tangible factor then as now) Tuscany far outweighed Lorraine. See Hubert Collin, "Cas de conscience dynastique, ambition personelle et raison d'état," in *Il Granducato di Toscana e i Lorena nel secolo XVIII. Tradizioni politiche e culturali della dinastia: ministri, funzionari, intellettuali e artisti lorenesi*, eds. Alessandra Contini and Maria Grazia Parri (Florence: Olschki, 1994), 35–69.

[11] There is more irony here, given that François III's mother, Dowager-Duchess Elisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans, was born a princess of the royal house of France; yet it was she who developed into one of the greatest supporters of Lorraine's independence in the face of French annexation in 1737. See Francine Roze, "Les Relations entre Elisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans, régente de Lorraine, et son fils le duc François III, entre 1729 et 1737," in *Franz Stephan von Lothringen und sein Kreis / L'Empereur François I*[er] *et le réseau lorrain / L'imperatore Francesco I e il circolo lorenese*, eds. Renate Zedinger and Wolfgang Schmale (Bochum: Winkler Verlag, 2009), 61–76. Duke Leopold's state building activities have been scrutinized from different angles in two recent publications, one stressing the creation of a meritocratic élite loyal to the state rather than feudal ties, the other examining efforts to build more efficient military and diplomatic structures: see, respectively, Lipp, *Noble Strategies in an Early Modern Small State*; and Phil McCluskey, "Louis XIV, Duke Leopold I and the Neutrality of Lorraine, 1702-1714," *European History Quarterly*, 45/1 (2015): 34–56.

This points to an un-evenness of the Lorraine house strategy, and the shifting sands of diplomatic recognition in the games of thrones played by the Great Powers in the early years of the eighteenth century. Indeed, there were several second-tier semi-sovereign dynasties jockeying for royal status in this period: the Wettins in Poland, the Hohenzollerns in Prussia, the Guelphs in Great Britain, and both the houses of Hesse and Holstein in Sweden. These too employed visual symbols, from printed genealogies to the engraving of medallions, to show off their "royal-ness" or their readiness for a sovereign throne.[12] Unlike the House of Savoy, the House of Lorraine did *not* achieve recognition of its claims to royal status at Utrecht in 1713, and its agents were mostly kept away from the peace talks there, which underlines the importance of diplomatic recognition of sovereignty in order to make it a reality. Savoy and Lorraine of course had different sets of geo-political circumstances, possession of strategic Alpine passes making Savoy a much more sought after ally for the Great Powers in comparison with the much less defensible frontiers of Lorraine. Still, diplomatic precedence at such events, or at dynastic ceremonies such as weddings or funerals, was a remarkably powerful force in securing dynastic power on the European stage.[13] More research is therefore needed on the diplomatic efforts of the dukes of Lorraine in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[14] This article, instead, will focus on the visual side of this process. I will argue that the reputation established by the family based on the ancientness of its lineage and its diligent defence of the Catholic Church, reinforced by representative visual tools, planted the seeds for dynastic survival and advancement. This article offers a survey of these seeds, by means of heraldry, genealogy, and in particular a striking dynastic publication from 1701, that not only aimed to preserve the independence of the Lorraine dynasty, but re-positioned it to take on the mantle of becoming a fully royal dynasty. The seeds planted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, nourished in particular by Duke Léopold, eventually bore fruit in an even greater prize in the next generation: union with the House of Habsburg and an imperial crown.

Parallels

There are numerous parallels to be made between Oresko's study of the House of Savoy and my own of the House of Lorraine. One noteworthy similarity is the importance of

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[12] Charlotte Backerra, "Legitimacy through Family Traditions? The Hanoverians represented as successors to the throne of Great Britain," in *Dynastic Change: Legitimacy and Gender in Medieval and Early Modern Monarchy*, eds. Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues, Manuela Santos Silva, and Jonathan Spangler (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 123–140; Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Höfische Öffentlichkeit. Zur zeremoniellen Selbstdarstellung des brandenburgischen Hofes vor dem europäischen Publikum," in *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte* 7 (1997), 145–176; *The Cultivation of Monarchy and the Rise of Berlin: Brandenburg-Prussia, 1700*, eds. Karin Friedrich and Sara Smart (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[13] Toby Osborne, "The Surrogate War between the Savoys and the Medici: Sovereignty and Precedence in Early Modern Italy," *The International History Review* 29.1 (2007): 1–21; Liesbeth Geevers, "The Conquistador and the Phoenix: the Franco-Spanish Precedence Dispute (1564-1610) as a Battle of Kingship," *International History Review* 35:1 (2013): 23–41; Luc Duerloo, "The Utility of an Empty Title. The Habsburgs as Dukes of Burgundy," *Dutch Crossing* 43:1 (2019): 63–77; and Thomas Pert, "Pride and Precedence: The Rivalry of the House of Orange-Nassau and the Palatine Family at the Anglo-Dutch Wedding of 1641," *The Seventeenth Century* 36:4 (2021): 561–578.

[14] Exciting new research is being conducted in this area by Stephen Griffin. See "Duke Leopold of Lorraine, Small State Diplomacy, and the Stuart Court in Exile, 1716-1729," *The Historical Journal* (2022): 1–18. For the later period, it would be useful to examine to what degree other ruling sovereigns went into formal mourning for Emperor Francis I in 1765, or better still (since they could have been mourning for the position of emperor, not the man) for his brother, Duke Charles-Alexandre de Lorraine in 1780.

royal women in the development of the *trattamento reale*. Savoy had its "Madama Reale": Christine de France (1606-1663), sister of Louis XIII, wife of Duke Victor Amadeus I, who demanded that she be referred to by this title, as daughter of a king, with the full *Altesse Royale*, even if her husband was simply *Altesse*, or "Highness."[15] Later in the century Lorraine had its own "Madame Royale": Elisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans (1676-1744), wife of Duke Léopold from 1698, who was given (this time on French insistence) this more exalted styling for the same reasons, as niece of Louis XIV. In official correspondence of French officials we see her referred to as *Altesse Royale* while her husband remained *Altesse*.[16] In both cases the woman's status eventually proved to be of greater significance to the status of her son than of her husband, underlining the importance of blood and lineage in the formation of early modern diplomatic policy.[17] But Bourbon blood was not the only royal raising ingredient; there was also Habsburg blood, and in both cases, Savoy and Lorraine, Habsburg mothers preceded Bourbon brides. Victor Amadeus's mother was the Infanta Catalina of Spain; Léopold's mother was the Archduchess Eleonora Maria of Austria. Moreover, both dynasties had a long history of contracting marriages with both the French and Imperial families, so this was not a new policy. But as the standards of royal protocol and etiquette were heightened in both court cultures (France and Austria), the need for formal recognition became greater.[18] Of course in the end it was also Maria Theresa's status as Habsburg heiress that raised the House of Lorraine to imperial heights—by marriage to her husband, but more so by transmission of blood to her children.

The other key similarity in this search for a royal crown by the ducal houses of Savoy and Lorraine is in their employment of heraldry, and specifically the heraldic imagery of phantom kingdoms. Savoy based its claims to royal status on its dynastic position as heirs to the Kingdom of Cyprus, and incorporated the arms of that kingdom into its arms from the early seventeenth century.[19] The heraldry of the House of Lorraine, on the other hand, had incorporated the arms of the Kingdom of Jerusalem much earlier, since the fifteenth century, but also included visual claims to the kingdoms of Naples–Sicily and even Aragon and Hungary.[20] The coat of arms of the House of Lorraine (Figure 2) is

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[15] Oresko, "House of Savoy in Search for a Royal Crown," 280–285, 306–310.

[16] In April 1707 the Bishop of Toul (a French prelate with spiritual jurisdiction over Lorraine) wrote to the Foreign Minister, Torcy, saying that he would conform to royal orders in ordering public prayers in Lorraine, and that he avoided giving the style *Altesse Royale* to the Duke, though it was given to the Duchess. Archives des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique [AAECP], Lorraine, LXVI, fol. 201. A decade later, in February 1717, the French envoy to Lorraine, d'Audiffret, wrote to the Regent Orléans that a visit to Lorraine was desired ardently by "Son Altesse Royale Madame votre sœur" and by "M. le duc de Lorraine." AAECP, Lorraine, XCIII, fol. 317. The same imbalanced relationship is found in the marriage of Marguerite-Louise d'Orléans (first cousin of Louis XIV) and the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1661: see Jean-Claude Waquet, "L'Échec d'un mariage: Marguerite-Louise d'Orléans et Côme de Médicis," in *Femmes et pouvoir politique: Les Princesses d'Europe, XVe–XVIIIe siècle*, eds. Isabelle Poutrin and Marie-Karine Schaub (Paris: Bréal, 2007), 120–132.

[17] David Warren Sabean, "Descent and Alliance: Cultural Meanings of Blood in the Baroque," in *Blood and Kinship: Matter for Metaphor from Ancient Rome to the Present*, eds. Christopher H. Johnson, Bernhard Jussen, David Warren Sabean, and Simon Teuscher (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 144–174.

[18] On the raising of the status of the princes of the blood in France to separate them from the nobility, see Richard A. Jackson, "Peers of France and Princes of the Blood," *French Historical Studies* 7/1 (1971): 27–46.

[19] Oresko, "House of Savoy in Search for a Royal Crown," 272–273.

[20] The symbolism of heraldic display for the revived House of Lorraine in the late fifteenth century has been examined in detail by the art historian Christian de Mérindol: "La Politique du duc de Lorraine René

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sometimes referred to as "four kings atop four dukes," the latter referring to the duchies of Anjou, Gueldres, Jülich, and Barrois. Only the last of these four (Barrois) was actually governed by the dukes of Lorraine.[21] This underscores the importance of fantasy or belief in the representation of dynastic sovereignty: the princes of the House of Lorraine were not kings of Hungary or Naples in any real sense, but they maintained the potential to be so by blood, should they ever be called upon, as discussed below. The era of the Crusades was long over by the early eighteenth century, but should Christendom's ultimate goal of delivering the holy city of Jerusalem from Islamic rule come to pass, the House of Lorraine was ready to rule. So, this article must start in Jerusalem.

Figure 2. Coat of arms of the House of Lorraine, as it appears on the walls of the Munich Residenz (built while Renata of Lorraine was Duchess of Bavaria, late 16th century) (photo by the author).

II, 1473–1508, à l'égard de la seconde Maison d'Anjou, de la France et de la Bourgogne, d'après le témoignage de l'emblématique et de la thématique," in *Les Pays de l'entre-deux au Moyen Age: questions d'histoire des territoires d'Empire entre Meuse, Rhône et Rhin* (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1990), 61–114. For a more recent examination of the uses of heraldry in terms of dynastic power, see Géza Pálffy, "Jagiellonians and Habsburgs: Heraldic Dynastic Representation in Central Europe from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century," in *Power and Ceremony*, eds. Kalinowska and Spangler, 171–191; and chapters in the recent volume, *Heraldic Hierarchies: Identity, Status and State Intervention in Early Modern Heraldry*, eds. Steven Thiry and Luc Duerloo (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021).

[21] The Duchy of Bar, or the Barrois, had been ruled by its own semi-sovereign native dynasty, like its larger neighbour Lorraine, since the break-up of the Carolingian Empire. These died out in the early fifteenth century and their estates passed to the House of Lorraine, thus forming a "dual monarchy" of sorts, with two capitals, Nancy and Bar-le-Duc. For an excellent overview, see William Monter, *A Bewitched Duchy: Lorraine and its Dukes, 1477-1736* (Geneva: Droz, 2007).

A Conveniently Convoluted Descent

The claim to be heirs to the Kingdom of Jerusalem forms a central pillar in the dynastic history of Lorraine. It is necessary to provide a quick run-down of the chronology to explain how this claim was made. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was founded by Crusaders after the taking of that city in 1099 by Godfrey de Bouillon. The city itself was retaken by Islamic forces in 1187, but the "Kingdom" continued in Acre until 1291. In the confused royal succession that followed the final loss of Crusader territory, two different potential heiresses married, respectively, into the House of Lusignan, kings of Cyprus, and the House of Hohenstaufen, kings of Sicily (and German emperors). In the 1450s the House of Lusignan in Cyprus died out and its heiress married into the House of Savoy, making them claimants to the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well.[22] From the late thirteenth century, the Hohenstaufen claim was passed through marriage (and purchase) to the Angevins, that is, the dukes of Anjou, cadets of the French royal house, who also acquired the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily at this time (and at their height, ruled Hungary as well).[23] But a different Hohenstaufen heiress had married a prince from Aragon, who conquered Sicily in the famous "Sicilian Vespers" of 1282. Anjou and Aragon battled for control of Naples and Sicily for the next two centuries, with the Angevins eventually being chased from the Italian peninsula by 1442. Ironically, the last to make the attempt of re-conquest, René I d'Anjou (1409-1480), was the son of an heiress of the House of Aragon, perhaps attempting to unite both claims. He always used the title "King René," despite rarely controlling much of his kingdom.[24] When he died, *both* claims, Jerusalem and Naples-Sicily, were passed by testament to his daughter, Yolande, and then to her son, René II, Duke of Lorraine (1451-1508), who took the title "King of Sicily" alongside a re-assertion of claims to Jerusalem. But René I's nearest male heir was the King of France (Louis XI), thus by some reckoning the claims to Naples-Sicily and the titular kingdom of Jerusalem passed to the Valois, and the Italian Wars (1494-1559) were launched as a result.

By 1500 most of the former Angevin empire was united with the royal house of France (Anjou, Maine, Provence), while Naples and Sicily were in the hands of Aragon. Nevertheless, Duke René II of Lorraine and Bar continued to use the title "King of Sicily," and his heir was known as the "Duke of Calabria," the traditional title given to the heir to the Neapolitan throne. The claim to Jerusalem was not pressed, though its distinctive Jerusalem Cross would continue to feature prominently in the iconography of heraldic display, to which we can now turn.

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[22] A parallel (illegitimate) Lusignan branch sold its rights to Cyprus to the Republic of Venice in 1489, making it (ironically) a monarchy too. The island itself was lost to the Turks in 1571.

[23] *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Somogy, 2001).

[24] Margaret L. Kekewich, *The Good King: René of Anjou and Fifteenth-Century Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008). On his mother and her claims, Zita Eva Rohr, *Yolande of Aragon (1381-1442), Family and Power: The Reverse of the Tapestry* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2016).

Left: Figure 3. Godfrey de Bouillon, fresco by an unknown artist, c. 1420 (Wikimedia Commons/Castello della Manta, Cuneo).

Right: Figure 4. Giovanna of Anjou, Queen of Naples, miniature on vellum from Giovanni Boccaccio, *Des Cleres et nobles femmes* (15th c.) (Wikimedia Commons /Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscrits Français 599, fol. 93 vº).

Iconography

There were thus two strands of potential royal iconography to be employed by the House of Lorraine: Jerusalem and Naples-Sicily. As we shall see, deployment of these shifted in emphasis, from Naples in the sixteenth century to Jerusalem by the later seventeenth century. These two sets of interlocked iconographies recalled dynastic claims to royal status as bequeathed to them from two different ancestors: Godfrey de Bouillon, the first Crusader conqueror of Jerusalem, and René d'Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily.[25] The symbol of the former was potent and can be seen in artwork in subsequent centuries: the "Cross of Jerusalem" is a square Greek cross (that is, with arms of equal length) with each arm ending in a transverse bar, and with four smaller square crosses in between the branches. What is more distinctive, however, is that in the formal "laws" of heraldry the colours gold and silver (that is, the "metals") are never meant to be used together. The fact that they are here indicates that Jerusalem was considered to be extraordinary, something divinely separated from the normal laws of men.[26] Late medieval examples of images of royal figures wearing the Jerusalem Cross include a fresco portrait of Godfrey de Bouillon

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[25] Eleventh-century genealogical data is extraordinarily vague, and claimed lines of descent from the (childless) Godfrey de Bouillon to the early House of Lorraine are tenuous. On more solid footing, René d'Anjou was Duke of Lorraine in virtue of his wife, Isabelle de Lorraine. Their elder daughter, Yolande, took the Duchy back to its original dynasty by marriage to her cousin from the cadet branch, Ferry de Lorraine, Comte de Vaudémont. Duke René II was their son.

[26] Jiří Louda and Michael Maclagan, *Lines of Succession: Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe* (London: Orbis, 1981), 10.

in the Castello della Manta in the Piedmont, and a portrait of Queen Giovanna I of Naples (an Angevin) from a manuscript of Boccaccio's *Des cleres et nobles femmes* illustrated by Robinet Testard (late fifteenth century) (Figures 3 and 4). A coloured drawing of King René from a funeral monument (now lost) in the Franciscan church in Nancy in Lorraine features prominently the full coat of arms boasting the royal arms of Hungary, Naples and Jerusalem in the top row, and the ducal arms of Anjou and Barrois below (Figure 5).

Figure 5. René I d'Anjou, King of Sicily, aquarelle by Louis Boudan after a glass window at the Eglise des Cordeliers, Angers (1699) (Wikimedia Commons/BNF, Collection Gaignières 5445).

Figure 6. "Duke René II of Lorraine retakes the city of Nancy from the Burgundians", engraving from the *Liber Nanceidos* (the *Nancéide*) by Pierre de Blarru (St-Nicolas-de-Port, 1518). (Wikimedia Commons).

Another symbol transmitted by René I d'Anjou to his heirs in Lorraine has come to symbolize Lorraine itself, and in modern times to symbolize more generally the struggle against foreign oppression in France: the double cross. It is unclear whether this double cross was actually original to the House of Anjou (René's family), or acquired by them via links to eastern Europe (Angevin Hungary) and the Cross of Saint Stephen.[27] This potent symbol joined another symbol already associated with the House of Lorraine, the *alérions*: three white eagles with no beak and no talons which represented the link with Godfrey de Bouillon, who supposedly shot three eaglets with one arrow as a sign of divine favour during the siege of Jerusalem. René's inheritance also added another "bestial" image to the heraldic iconography of the House of Lorraine: the *bar* (a fish) of Barrois. The double cross can be seen prominently in an engraved image of René II in battle gear (Figure 6); and the full panoply of armorial devises can still be admired—in brilliant colour—on the tomb of Duke René II, miraculously preserved in the Franciscan church (the Cordeliers) in Nancy (Figure 7). The funeral monument leaves no doubt of the Duke of Lorraine's royal pretensions to Jerusalem and Naples, and even the kingdoms of Hungary and Aragon.[28] A medallion crafted for his son, Duke Antoine (1489-1544), prominently displays the double cross and the title "Duke of Calabria" (Figure 8). Antoine would later augment the full arms of the House of Lorraine even further, to include two more duchies, Gueldres and Jülich, claimed in the name of his mother, but in fact never ruled by the House of Lorraine.

Figure 7. Tomb of René II, Duke of Lorraine and Bar, attributed to Mansuy Gauvain, 1511, Eglise des Cordeliers, Nancy (photo by the author).

[27] Mérindol, "La Politique du duc de Lorraine." More generally, a useful guide is Jean-Christophe Blanchard, *D'Alérions en Alérions. Dix siècles d'images héraldiques Lorraines* (Haroué: Gérard Louis, 2012).

[28] It is interesting to note that there was no heraldic claim to the other major Angevin territory claimed by the dukes of Lorraine: the County of Provence, the heart of René I's domains—though it is possible to claim that this heraldic representation *is* representing Provence, since the arms of Aragon are visually the same (nine vertical gold and red stripes).

Figure 8. Seal of Antoine, Duke of Lorraine and Bar, illustrated in Dom Augustin Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine* (new edition, Nancy, 1748), vol. II, plate 4.

How much did such things really matter? In the decades following the re-establishment in 1477 of Lorraine as a separate princely state—following its brief incorporation into the domains of the Duke of Burgundy—René II was not recognized as royal by any king of France, partly because to do so would clash with the Valois dynasty's own claims to the Angevin succession and thus to the Kingdom of Naples (an obsession of Charles VIII and his successors). Yet René's wife was so honoured by King François I (1494-1547), who addressed her as "Royne de Cicile," but only when she was safely a widow.[29] Much of this had to do with the King's respect for kinship, as the Dowager Duchess was his mother's cousin, and with personal affection, as he was close to her sons, particularly his childhood friend, Claude de Lorraine. This royal affection was displayed publicly when Claude was married to another of the King's cousins (Antoinette de Bourbon), then raised to one of the first non-royal duchy-peerages in France (Guise, 1528). But if we look at this from a different angle, we can consider that this very public honour was less an elevation to semi-royal status—previously only princes of the blood were given duchy-peerages—than a recognition that Claude de Lorraine was already of royal, or at least "princely," status.[30] François I certainly considered Claude's eldest daughter, Marie, worthy of representing the Valois dynasty in the royal marriage market, since he arranged her marriage to James V, King of the Scots, in 1538, replacing his own daughter, Madeleine,

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[29] This address appears in a royal grant of delay of homage due by the underage princes of Lorraine after the death of René II in 1508, quoted in Emile Humblot and Roger Luzu, *Les Seigneurs de Joinville* (Saint-Dizier: Brulliard, 1964), 130. See Ghislain Tranié, *Philippe de Gueldre (1467-1547). "Royne de Sicile" et "povre ver de terre"* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019).

[30] See Jonathan Spangler, *"Les Princes étrangers*: Truly Princes? Truly Foreign? Typologies of Princely Status, Trans-Nationalism and Identity in Early Modern France," in *Adel und Nation in der Neuzeit: Hierarchie, Egalität und Loyalität 16-20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Martin Wrede and Laurent Bourquin (Ostfildern: Thorbeke Verlag, 2017), 117–141; and Spangler, "Sons and Daughters Sent Abroad: Successes and Failures of Foreign Princes at the French Court in the Sixteenth Century," *Proslogion*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2017): 48–89 [online at http://proslogion.ru/en/archiveissue-proslogion-13/issue-proslogion-31/].

who had died in Edinburgh the year before.[31] In later years Claude's widow, Antoinette de Bourbon, celebrated the dual linkages to royal Crusaders in her children's ancestry: Godfrey de Bouillon for the Lorraine side, and Saint-Louis for her own Bourbon side.[32]

Meanwhile, Claude de Guise's older brother, Duke Antoine of Lorraine, who had initially demonstrated his blood affinity with King François I by marrying another Bourbon cousin and naming his eldest son François, later realigned his foreign policy and negotiated a deal with the Emperor Charles V in 1542 by which he married his heir to the Emperor's niece (Christina of Denmark), thus strengthening his dynastic links with the House of Habsburg in exchange for a more formal delineation of the relationship between his state and the Empire. The Treaty of Nuremberg effectively proclaimed Lorraine's sovereignty in all but the most formal matters.[33] Lorraine was thereafter a *de facto* sovereign state, a "protectorate" of the Empire, and, in line with other second-tier dynasties trying to delineate their semi-sovereign or semi-royal status, its dynasty went out of its way to display this status through prominent dynastic festivals and ceremonies. While the Medici, for example, became renowned for their sumptuous weddings,[34] the House of Lorraine came to be known across Europe for its spectacular funerals.[35] The most prominent of these, that of Duke Charles III in 1608, was elaborately staged across several weeks, and, more significantly for the discussion here, was followed by a magnificently illustrated series of engravings published in 1610, detailing each step of the funereal procedure, down to the individuals who marched in the final grand procession through the streets of Nancy.[36] One engraving in particular shows a wax effigy of the Duke reclining on a bed, in a "costume de souverain," complete with a "royal" canopy and balustrade, behind which he was served a ceremonial meal each day. All the images are thoroughly invested with Lorraine crosses, Jerusalem crosses, *alérions*, *bars* and so on, making it very clear who had died, and with what rank (Figure 9).

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[31] See Spangler, "Mary of Guise as a Dynastic Entity: Re-asserting the Auld Alliance or Something Bigger?" *Annales de l'Est*, no. 1 (2017): 161–181.

[32] See Robert Sturges, "The Guise and the Two Jerusalems: Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* and an Early Modern Family's Medievalism," in *Aspiration, Representation and Memory: The Guise in Europe, 1506–1688*, eds. Jessica Munns, Penny Richards, and Jonathan Spangler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 25–46.

[33] Monter, *Bewitched Duchy*, 46–47.

[34] Most famously, in the 1589 celebrations for Grand Duke Ferdinand and Christine of Lorraine. J. R. Mulryne, "Dynastic Weddings in Personal and Political Context: Two Instances," in *Dynastic Marriages 1612/1615: A Celebration of the Habsburg and Bourbon Unions*, ed. Margaret M. McGowan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 227–241.

[35] According to a regional adage, Lorraine funerals were one of the three great ceremonies any European traveller should see, along with an Imperial coronation in Frankfurt, and a French *sacre* in Reims: Jean-Jacques Lionnois, *Histoire des villes vieille et neuve de Nancy, depuis leur fondation, jusqu'en 1788* (3 vols, Nancy: Haener, 1805-1811), vol. I, p. 183.

[36] These have been reprinted and analyzed in an edited volume by Philippe Martin, *La Pompe funèbre de Charles III, 1608* (Metz: Éditions Serpénoise, 2008). For more on the printed representations of ducal authority in sixteenth-century Lorraine, see Alain Cullière, *Les Écrivains et le pouvoir en Lorraine au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999) and Paulette Choné, "Présence, présentation et représentation dans les planches de la Pompe funèbre de Charles III (1608) et leurs legends," *Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, eds. Jörg Jochen Berns and Thomas Rahn (Berlin: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2012), 174–182.

Figure 9. Funeral effigy of Duke Charles III of Lorraine, in Claude de la Ruelle, *Discours des cérémonies, honneurs et pompe funèbre faicts à l'enterrement du Très Hault, Très Puissant & Serenissime Prince Charles 3. du nom, par la grace de Dieu duc de Calabre, Lorraine, Bar, Gueldres, marchis &c. de glorieuse & perpetuelle mémoire* (Clairlieu, 1609), plate 8. (© The Trustees of the British Museum, Y.9.36.2).

Seventeenth-Century Warrior-Heroes: A Misdirection

Charles III represents the apex of Lorraine dynastic prestige: a grandson of a Habsburg, husband to a Valois, and father-in-law to a Bourbon, by 1600 his dynasty sat at the very nexus of the greatest European royal houses. This would change with the death of his son, Duke Henri II, in 1624 and a succession crisis that split the dynasty and led to foreign occupation.[37] The Thirty Years War caused chaos across Europe and particularly in the borderlands between France and the Empire. Lying directly in the path of French armies, the Duchy of Lorraine was strategically too important to be left in the hands of a pro-Imperial sovereign family and an unpredictable young duke, Charles IV (1604-1675).[38] From 1634, therefore, French troops occupied the Duchy. This not only removed ducal authority in the region, but also undermined the legitimacy of the dynasty's sovereign status that was central to the identity not just to the princes of Lorraine's senior branch, but also to the dynasty's cadet branch resident in France, the Guise, whose power and prestige were

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[37] This is analyzed in detail in Jonathan Spangler, "Court Faction Overwhelmed by Circumstance: The Duchy of Lorraine Torn between Bourbon and Habsburg, 1624–1737," in *A Europe of Courts, a Europe of Factions: Political Groups at Early Modern Centres of Power (1550-1700)*, eds. Rubén González Cuerva and Alexander Koller (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 197–218.

[38] For French considerations about Lorraine before launching into the Thirty Years War, see Marie-Catherine Vignal Souleyreau, *Richelieu et la Lorraine* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004).

founded on their status as *princes étrangers*.[39] This loss of the basis of princely (as opposed to merely noble) status provided the motive for one of the last members of that notorious family, Henri, fifth Duc de Guise (1614-1664), who took advantage of simultaneous rebellions by the Portuguese, Catalans, and Neapolitans against the Spanish crown, to press for a royal throne of his own, in Naples, 1647-1648. In this scenario, Guise was being used by his French backers for his distant claims to the Angevin succession.[40] He was not the only one to use political turmoil in Naples to advance dynastic royal claims, or to be manipulated by the French government to destabilize its Spanish opponents. A prince of the House of Savoy, Thomas (1596-1656) pressed his claims to royal status by pursuing a similar policy in Naples, also with (lukewarm) French support. The Bourbons, of course, wanted to keep their options open, as they had their own claims to the Kingdom of Naples, as heirs to the House of Anjou. Making use of the other dynastic claim to Naples, that of Aragon, Henri-Charles de La Trémoïlle (1620-1672) proclaimed his royal status by a different means: bearing the title "Prince de Tarente" ("Taranto," another traditional title of the heir to the throne of Naples), he took his claim to the peace conference in Westphalia in 1648.[41] All three of these men, the Duc de Guise, Prince Thomas of Savoy, and the Prince de Tarente, employed the finest painters—notably Dutch portraitists Antony Van Dyck and Jan de Baen—to create a heroic image to further their designs on elevated status, not just aristocratic, but royal. Visually, they were ready to play the part.[42]

If nothing else, the actions of the Duc de Guise (and his loss of prestige when he failed) certainly encouraged the leaders of the senior branch of his family to reformulate their strategies of visual representation, seeking a more stable and enduring foundation for their status, that is, a royal throne. The dispossessed Duke of Lorraine, Charles IV, was painfully aware of this lack of status—not only had he been deprived of his duchies since 1634, his attempts to send delegates to the peace talks in Westphalia were rebuffed, and in 1654 he was arrested by the Archduke Leopold of Austria (governor of the Low Countries) in the name of the King of Spain. This generated a number of pamphlets asking how one sovereign could imprison another, and thereby prompted the all-important question: was the Duke of Lorraine genuinely a sovereign at all?[43] In desperation, Charles first attempted to sell his duchy to the French in 1662, then changed tack to re-assert his military connections with his cousin the Habsburg emperor. The French reacted by occupying

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[39] This need for status derived from outside the French kingdom forms one of the main themes of Jonathan Spangler, *The Society of Princes: The Lorraine-Guise and the Conservation of Power and Wealth in the Seventeenth Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[40] See Sylvana d'Alessio, *"Dreaming of the Crown. Political Discourses and Other Testimonies about the Duke of Guise in Naples (1647-'48)*," in *Aspiration, Representation and Memory*, eds. Munns, Richards and Spangler, 99–124. For the Revolt of Naples more generally, see Aurelio Musi, *La rivolta di Masaniello nella scena politica barocca* (Naples: Guida, 1989; 2nd edn, 2002); and, from a French perspective, Alain Hugon, *Naples insurgée, 1647-1648: De l'événement à la Mémoire* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011).

[41] Sonja Kmec, *Across the Channel: Noblewomen in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (Trier: Kliomedia, 2010), 210–216; Martin Wrede, *Ohne Furcht und Tadel: Für König und Vaterland; Frühneuzeitlicher Hochadel zwischen Familienehre, Ritterideal und Fürstendienst* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2012), 39–81.

[42] David A. H. B. Taylor, "'Magnificence Reigned': Anthony Van Dyck's Portrait of Henri II of Lorraine, Duke of Guise," in Munns, Richards, and Spangler, eds., *Aspiration, Representation and Memory*, 85–98.

[43] "Response au Manifeste de l'Archiduc Leopold qui pretend iustifier l'emprisonnement du Duc de Lorraine" (Paris, 1654). Spangler, "Court Faction Overwhelmed," in González Cuerva and Koller, eds., *A Europe of Courts, a Europe of Factions*, 209.

Lorraine once more in 1670, and Charles IV was again exiled and died as a prince with no principality in 1675.[44]

A Reanimated Strategy: Coins, Crowns, and Sovereignty

Duke Charles IV was rarely an effective employer of visual symbols of sovereignty. A coin minted in his reign is typical of the dependent princes of the Empire, not monarchs, employing an open crown (not closed), and using the title "Duke of Lorraine" and that of "Marchio," a unique (and very ancient) title referring to the original reason for the family's rise to power in the early Middle Ages, as defenders of the Imperial western frontier, or "march" (Figure 10). These numismatic representations do allude to further claims to sovereignty, but hardly with overt visual boldness: coins are marked with the initials DG ("Dei Gratia," an accepted mark of sovereignty that was divinely granted), and "DCBG," or "Duke of Calabria, Bar, and Guelders." Charles's printed portraits only rarely include other dynastic symbols, either the double cross of Lorraine or the Jerusalem Cross; instead they emphasize his own personal image as a warrior, not his dynasty or its sovereign status. The noble warrior was indeed a potent visual representation and at times served him well—as a victorious captain, for example at the battle of Nördlingen of 1634, or a sought-after commander by both sides in the ongoing Franco-Spanish conflict of the 1640s-1650s.[45] Like Guise, Charles IV was painted in the style of a warrior-hero, but not necessarily as a monarch. This image was effective for his personal reputation for a time, but it was not a good long-term strategy, either for him or for the dynasty.[46] In contrast, his great-nephew and successor, Duke Léopold, understood that something much more visually striking was required if the family's sovereignty was to be respected in future by the Great Powers.

Figure 10. Teston from the reign of Duke Charles IV, 1638 (Wikimedia Commons, author Defranoux).

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[44] The Duke's only modern biography is not very complimentary: Charles Leestmans, *Charles IV, duc de Lorraine (1604–1675): Une errance baroque* (Lasne: Quatre Chemins, 2003). For a wider view, see Anna Motta, *Noblesse et pouvoir princier dans la Lorraine ducale (1624-1737)* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015).

[45] Jean-Charles Fulaine, *Le Duc Charles IV de Lorraine et son armée (1624-1675)* (Metz: Septentrion, 1997).

[46] It is conceivable that Charles IV's actions were motivated by his personal dislike of his nephew and heir, and his passionate desire to secure a future for his illegitimate son, who he knew could never inherit the sovereign duchy of Lorraine or its dynastic claims. On Charles's concerns for his illegitimate son, see Jonathan Spangler, "A Lesson in Diplomacy for Louis XIV: The Treaty of Montmartre, 1662, and the Princes of the House of Lorraine," *French History,* vol. 17, no. 3 (2003): 225–250.

Léopold's father, Duke Charles V (1643-1690), had spent his entire reign in exile, commanding Imperial armies and working to recover the reputation of the family.[47] In a further effort to solidify his royal connections he married Archduchess Eleonora Maria, half-sister of Emperor Leopold and a former Queen of Poland. Together they raised their son, Léopold, named for his imperial uncle, with this goal of dynastic augmentation.[48] Léopold (r.1690-1729) was restored to his ducal domains in 1698, thanks in part to the diplomatic efforts (and high status) of his mother.[49] In sharp contrast to Charles IV's coinage, those issued in the reign of Léopold included the title "King of Jerusalem" and a distinctly closed crown (Figure 11).[50] Naples was now in the past—the young Duke was keenly aware of his place in the orbit of the Habsburg monarchy and its own dynastic policy of domination in the Italian peninsula, which included Naples. Of course, the Bourbons now claimed Naples as well, as named heirs to the Spanish Succession from 1700—so it was not wise to clash with either of these interests. The shift to Jerusalem was thus realistic and idealistic, a claim to fully royal status that was genuine but non-threatening.

Figure 11. Teston from the reign of Duke Léopold, 1720 (Wikimedia Commons, author Defranoux).

This iconographical re-positioning was thus aspirational, not actual. Much of his reputation had to rely on memory, so Léopold worked to revive his dynasty's image in Europe. To reaffirm the position of his dynasty among the Catholic houses of Europe, and to solidify his connection with his heroic warrior father, at the start of his reign Duke Léopold commissioned a series of huge paintings commemorating Duke Charles V's victories in Austria and Hungary against the Turks: the siege of Vienna (1683), the capture of Buda (1686), and so on. These were later transformed into large-scale tapestries, in which the symbolic use of the closed crown and the Cross of Jerusalem are impossible to miss (Figure 12). Léopold also revived the Lorraine tradition of magnificence in "royal" funerals, bringing his father's body back for burial in Nancy, and displaying it for a month in spring 1700 accompanied by temporary public monuments and a series of fireworks and carnivals celebrating the life of a hero.[51] Several celebratory biographies were published at

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[47] See Laurent Jalabert, *Charles V de Lorraine ou la quête de l'État (1643-1690)* (Metz: Éditions des Paraiges, 2017).

[48] On the childhood of Duke Léopold, see his most perceptive modern biographer, Zoltan Harsany, *La Cour de Léopold, duc de Lorraine et de Bar (1698-1729)* (Nancy: Imprimerie V. Idoux, 1939), 25–30.

[49] This royal status, as Dowager Queen of Poland, was important: Louis XIV's willingness to negotiate for a restoration derived at least in part from his recognition of her status. Harsany, *Cour de Léopold*, 7–8, 41.

[50] Compare this with a Savoyard coin issued as early as 1633 which includes the title King of Cyprus and a closed crown. Oresko, "House of Savoy in Search for a Royal Crown," 281.

[51] Five of the paintings survive in the Hofburg in Innsbruck, while many of the tapestries are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna or the Musée Lorrain in Nancy. See Chantal Humbert, "Les

this time, though it is difficult to know if they were commissioned by the young Duke or for him by well-wishing supporters.

Figure 12. Detail from a tapestry in the Charles V series, "Le Sac de Bude", Manufacture de Charles Mitté, Nancy (1703/04) (Marc Baronnet, Wikimedia Commons / Musée Lorraine.

One of these, titled *Abrégé historique et iconographique de la vie de Charles V* and published anonymously in 1701, not only praises the father, but also proposes a rather astonishing future for Léopold as well.[52] This almost entirely visual work—filled with images of battles and sieges, and traditional decorative elements associated with military glory—is marked by a frontispiece that makes a dramatic claim for the destiny of the House of Lorraine, and for the young Duke himself, who is noted as the dedicatee, and given the quite clear honorific *Altesse Royale*, not just *Altesse* (Figure 13).

Tapisseries ducales, parures glorieuses de la Maison de Lorraine," and "Des décorations éphémères instituent l'art de Cour du duc Léopold Ier de Lorraine," both in *Lunéville: Fastes du Versailles lorrain*, ed. J. Charles-Gaffiot (Paris: Carpentier, 2003), 98–105; 106–113.

[52] Anonymous, *Abrégé historique et iconographique de la vie de Charles V dédié à Son Altesse Royale Léopold I son digne successeur* (Nancy: Chez René Charlot & Pierre Deschamps, imprimeurs ordinaires de Son Altesse Royale, 1701).

Figure 13. *Abrégé historique et iconographique de la vie de Charles V* (Nancy, chez René Charlot, 1701), frontispiece (Austrian National Library, Vienna).

Léopold features in the centre of this image as a warrior and a sovereign. But the iconography employed is more specific than that: he is to be the leader of a new crusade for the faith, and rewarded with honours, riches, and a crown. We see "Asia" kneeling before Léopold with a map of the Holy Land; the young Duke (in Roman dress) is led by Mars, while Victory and Renown hover above him, bearing a trumpet, crowns, and a laurel wreath. At the Duke's feet lie the spoils of war and defeated Turks (and a man in a wig, representing enemies in Europe: Louis XIV himself?). Above him, among the clouds, is a temple in which the gods watch over an altar displaying the *alérion* and the double cross of Lorraine. Of more peculiar significance, however, is the fact that Athena, herself wearing a Lorraine Cross pendant, offers the prince a sceptre and a crown—but it is not just any crown, rather it is the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, unmistakably "Charlemagne's Crown."[53] Is this a bold claim to Imperial power in spite of the fact that in 1701 the Habsburgs had two healthy sons, Léopold's cousins, the archdukes Joseph (b. 1678) and Charles (b. 1685)? The text of the dedication clarifies the intent of this publication, stating

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[53] This crown is today in the Imperial treasury in the Hofburg in Vienna. Although it is traditionally referred to as "Charlemagne's Crown," it was actually made for Emperor Otto I in the tenth (not ninth) century.

that the Imperial crown is "shown" to Léopold to remind him that his father's victories made that crown more secure for the August House of Austria, ensuring the succession by means of the coronation of Archduke Joseph as King of the Romans (that is, Imperial heir), which took place in Pressburg (Poszony, today's Bratislava) in 1687. Nevertheless, the image leads us to question the positioning of the House of Lorraine and its royal aspirations with regards to the House of Habsburg as early as 1701. The *Abrégé historique* may even have been a joint Lorraine and Habsburg project: while the author of the work is unknown (the dedication is "signed" DMGP), and is undoubtedly printed in Nancy, the artists of the various engravings are German, notably "Andr. Thelot," most likely Johann Andreas Thelott of the well-known Augsburg family of copper-plate engravers, who frequently worked for the Habsburg court. Thelott previously illustrated a work dedicated to the Archduke Joseph, similarly calling him to Crusade.[54]

Genealogical Warfare

Duke Léopold had been born in Innsbruck and raised at the Habsburg court. This image of him as a young Crusader, rather than challenging the rights of his cousins to the Imperial crown, instead positions the young Lorraine prince as part of the Habsburg dynasty itself, in tune with the imperial dynasty's renewed image (since the 1660s) as defenders of Christendom against the Ottoman threat to the east. This reflects visually a shift in dynastic ambitions that is paralleled in a shift in focus textually, as seen in published genealogical treatises ranging from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. As with the heraldic imagery discussed above, one of the earliest Lorraine genealogies in print (1510) stressed the connections between Lorraine, Jerusalem, and Naples–Sicily, and the claimed descent from the Crusader champion, Godfrey de Bouillon.[55] By the end of the sixteenth century, Duke Charles III of Lorraine was heavily involved in French politics (his Duchess was a daughter of King Henri II), and, as the Valois dynasty teetered towards extinction in the 1580s, he sponsored a publication that demonstrated that his family held the superior dynastic position, as the true heirs of Charlemagne, to the throne of France itself, in opposition to the "usurping" descendants of Hugh Capet.[56] Labelling such claims "genealogical warfare" is not mere hyperbole, but serious business: the author, François de Rosières, Archdeacon of Toul, was arrested on the orders of the King of France and held until he apologized and retracted his claims.[57] In 1589, with the death of Henri III, the last of the Valois monarchs, Charles III did put forward his and his son's claims to the French throne, though these were pushed aside by the more successful candidate, Henri de Navarre.[58]

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[54] Anton Wilhelm Ertl, *Austriana Regina Arabiae* (Augsburg, 1688).

[55] Symphorien Champier, *Le Recueil ou cronique des hystoires des royaulmes d'Austrasie ou France orientale dite à present Lorrayne, de Hierusalem, de Sicile et de la duché de Bar* (Nancy: 1510).

[56] François de Rosières, *Stemmatum Lotharingiae ac Barri ducum tomi septem. Ab Antenore, Trojanarum reliquiarum ad paludes Maeotidas Rege, ad haec usque illustrissimi, potentissimi, et serenissimi Caroli Tertii, Ducis Lotharingiae tempora* (Paris: G. Chaudière, 1580). In addition to stressing the descent from the Carolingians, this work went further, giving as original ancestors the Trojan kings, exiles living along the "Maeotian marches" (today's Azov region in southern Russia).

[57] Guy Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine: Les temps modernes – 1. De la Renaissance à la guerre de Trente ans* (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1991), 116. The use of genealogies in sixteenth-century Lorraine has been closely examined by Cullière, *Les Écrivains et le pouvoir en Lorraine*, 241–288.

[58] Louis Davillé, *Les prétentions de Charles III duc de Lorraine à la couronne de France* (Paris: Alcan, 1909).

The shift in the strategy of this "genealogical warfare" is seen in the middle of the following century. Père Jérôme Vignier (of the Oratoire in Paris) proposed a radical new idea, that the princes of the House of Lorraine were not, in fact, the true heirs of Charlemagne, but were instead an offshoot of the House of Alsace, an important early medieval Frankish dynasty whose origins predated those of the House of Capet, and from whom also had sprung (it was claimed) the progenitors of the House of Austria.[59] By the 1640s it was clear that France would no longer support the Duchy's independence in the long term; emphasis therefore shifted eastwards, towards the Habsburgs. This shift was made even clearer shortly after the restoration of Duke Léopold in 1698 with a publication by his official historian, Père Charles-Louis Hugo, who clarified that not only were the houses of Austria and Lorraine two branches of the same tree, but that, in fact, Lorraine was the senior branch, and thus worthy to succeed the House of Habsburg in the Austrian monarchy should the latter fail.[60] The date of 1711 is significant, as Europe was engulfed in war over the failure of one Habsburg branch, and the death of Joseph in April of that year left only one male in the other. The seriousness of these publications is again seen in the reaction of the King of France, who issued an *arrêt* via the Parlement of Paris which formally condemned the book's publication, in spite of its having a false author's name, a false publication location, and even a fake (and frankly unflattering) dedication to the King of Prussia! The idea of having a surrogate Habsburg dynast ruling in Lorraine was unacceptable to France.

The larger point of publications like this is that the House of Lorraine was represented as *already* royal, and ready to take over in the Habsburg domains if necessary. Perhaps this was to come about by means of another Habsburg bride in the family: by August 1701 Archduke Joseph had lost a son, named Leopold, the first Habsburg of the next generation, but had a daughter, Maria Josepha, born in 1699. Could the *Abrégé historique* of 1701 have been published in response to that death? Léopold himself had only just married a princess from the rival dynasty, a Bourbon, as part of the treaty settlements of 1697, but he had a younger brother, Joseph (b. 1685). It is impossible to say for certain; dynastic strategies were built around possibilities. It is easily conceivable that Léopold was prepared to cover every angle with his links to both France and Austria. Indeed, an important aspect of analyzing expressions of identity of the House of Lorraine in this period is to examine this balance: Léopold demonstrated it everywhere, in his architecture, his taste in music, and the court etiquette he employed. We consistently see a mix of styles being deployed, so as not to "appear" too much in one camp or the other: for example, in Léopold's new palace at Lunéville, which emulated aspects of both Versailles and Vienna in design and layout.[61] As with everything we have seen so far, these policies were

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[59] Jérôme Vignier, *Le Véritable origine des maisons d'Alsace, de Lorraine, d'Autreche, de Bade* (Paris, 1649).

[60] Sieur Baleicourt (Père Charles-Louis Hugo), *Traité historique et critique sur l'origine et la généalogie de la maison de Lorraine* (Berlin [Nancy], 1711). The false attribution was known: see Jacques Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France* (Paris, 1769), vol. II, no. 25913. Imperial historians published similar theories themselves, for example: Johann Georg von Eckhart, *Origines Serenissimae ac Potentissimae familiae Habsburgo-Austriacae* (Leipzig, 1721).

[61] See Eric Hassler, "'Mes estats estant situés entre l'Allemagne et la France il faudra prendre de l'un et de l'autre.' Vienne, Versailles, Lunéville: réflexions sur les 'modèles' de cour au début du XVIIIe siècle;" and Thierry Franz, "L'art de cour lorrain face au jeu des modèles européens: l'exemple des résidences ducales sous le règne de Léopold," both in *Échanges, passages et transferts à la cour du duc Léopold (1698-1729)*, ed. Anne Motta (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2017), 151–165; 209–232.

demonstrated to the world visually; one instance is in the engraved illustration circulated to celebrate his marriage to Elisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans, niece of Louis XIV, on 13 October 1698: clearly displayed are the words *Altesse Royale*, a closed crown, and both Lorraine and Jerusalem crosses (Figure 14).[62]

Figure 14. Marriage of Duke Léopold of Lorraine (represented in proxy by Henri de Lorraine, duc d'Elbeuf) and Princess Elisabeth-Charlotte d'Orléans, Fontainebleau, 13 October 1698, engraving (Paris, chez F. Gerard Jollain, 1699) (Gallica / Bibliothèque nationale de France).

By looking at this mixing of messages in visual and printed output—a dynastic alliance with France to the west, but political affinity in aid of the Habsburg "crusader" agenda to the east—we begin to see that dynastic identity was malleable and could be displayed differently to varying audiences. Leading on from this idea, we can also begin to

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[62] Guy Cabourdin, *Encyclopédie illustrée de la Lorraine: Les temps modernes – 2. De la paix de Westphalie à la fin de l'Ancien régime* (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1991), 77. Another image printed in Cabourdin (108) demonstrates the ubiquity of this "image campaign": a faïence bottle from Léopold's new factory (established towards the end of the reign), imprinted with a closed crown and both Jerusalem and Lorraine crosses.

explore how dynastic identity was not necessarily attached to a physical place, or completely fixed in its relationship between ruler and ruled. In other words, the House of Lorraine saw itself and represented itself to others as a "European" princely dynasty (or more appropriately, a "Christian" dynasty), one that was capable of exercising sovereign rule anywhere, not specifically over the territory and people it had governed since the eleventh century. "Nationalism" or "nation building" is therefore not something to be read into dynastic strategy in this period; contemporary French sources report that Léopold was only too eager to exchange his ancestral lands for more secure sovereign territories elsewhere.[63] Indeed, even before the restoration of 1698 and during the lead-up to the War of Spanish Succession, various plans were already being suggested to secure for the dynasty a more assured position in the society of princes (regardless of the desires of the people of Lorraine), a position that would avoid perennial conflict with French strategic interests and would also avoid straining the prestigious alliance with the House of Austria.

As far back as the negotiations for the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1679, Louis XIV suggested that the Duchy of Lorraine could be exchanged for a kingdom to be erected in the Spanish Netherlands. In the decade that followed—Duke Charles V's heyday as commander of Imperial troops in the war against the Turks—it was suggested by the Pope that the Duke be made king of the "liberated" Turkish provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia; and after Charles V's death, during negotiations for the Treaty of Rijswijk in 1697 (and assuming an imminent partition of the Spanish monarchy), Louis XIV's agents suggested an exchange of Lorraine for Spanish Milan, with the resurrected ancient title "King of Lombardy."[64] But war broke out with no firm resolutions for these projects, and, still threatening to the security of France's north-eastern border, Lorraine was occupied again during the ensuing War of Spanish Succession (from 1703). Despite his officially "neutral" position, Léopold was seen by the French as obviously pro-Habsburg, and therefore a potential liability.[65] As the war wound down, Léopold knew that during the peace talks at Utrecht, he would need better credentials—royal credentials—in order to raise the status of his diplomats to be fully recognized participants. His request to be recognized formally as *Altesse Royale* by one uncle, the Emperor, was granted in 1700, but his other uncle (in-law), the King of France, refused, despite the urgings of the Duke and Duchess of Orléans, the parents of the new Duchess of Lorraine.[66]

[63] Monter, *Bewitched Duchy*, 149–150, summarizes reports from Louis XIV's agent in Lorraine, Jean-Baptiste d'Audiffret. However, this should not be overstressed. At least with Léopold there was genuine concern for the wellbeing of his people, not just for the wellbeing of his dynasty: during the War of Spanish Succession the Duke persistently attempted to maintain a position of neutrality, ardently wishing to avoid further stress on the lives of his subjects. McCluskey, "Louis XIV, Duke Leopold I and the Neutrality of Lorraine,".

[64] This latter suggestion was possibly just a diplomatic ruse to frighten France's "fair-weather" ally, the Duke of Savoy (who craved Lombardy for himself), into remaining within France's diplomatic orbit. Stéphane Gaber, *Et Charles V arrêta la marche des Turcs… un Lorrain sauveur de l'Occident chrétien* (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1986), 97; Hubert Collin, "Les Royaumes qui se dérobent: Gloires et chimères du Sud chez le roi René 1er d'Anjou et ses descendants, les ducs de Lorraine, de 1435 au XVIIIe siècle," *Le Pays Lorrain* 90/4 (2009), 291–302; Phil McCluskey, *Absolute Monarchy on the Frontiers: Louis XIV's Military Occupations of Lorraine and Savoy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 40.

[65] McCluskey, *Absolute Monarchy*, 42.

[66] Archives Départementales, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Fonds de Vienne, 3 F 1 Mi 1291, grant of royal prerogatives to Duke Léopold by Emperor Leopold, 2 October 1700; Henri Baumont, *Études sur le règne de Léopold, duc de Lorraine et de Bar* (Paris and Nancy, 1894), 303; Harsany, *Cour de Léopold*, 518.

Nevertheless, during the war it was the French who made veiled plans to transplant the Lorraine dynasty. In 1708, upon the extinction of House of Gonzaga, rulers of the northern Italian duchies of Mantua and Monferrato, and with Léopold as one of the principal heirs, Louis XIV proposed again the formation of a Kingdom of Lombardy (centred on Monferrato) in exchange for Lorraine. But due to his previous treaty agreements and war commitments, the Emperor (Joseph I, Léopold's cousin) was forced to reject this plan, and Monferrato was given to Savoy (and the Emperor took Mantua for himself). At the peace negotiations at Utrecht in 1713, the Duke of Savoy's active military participation on the side of the Allied Powers won him the fully royal title he had been craving: he was now King of Sicily.[67] The Duke of Lorraine was once again not even allowed to send diplomats to the negotiating table.[68] Nevertheless, he celebrated the peace as if it had been a victory, albeit delayed, throwing a large party on 15 November 1717, a date which also marked the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rijswijk and the restoration of Duke Léopold to his Duchy as sovereign. Léopold hosted a major *fête* at his new palace at Lunéville, complete with fireworks and a newly composed *Divertissement* by the well-known composer Henry Desmarest, a former court composer for Philip V of Spain. A short booklet commemorating this "royal" spectacle was published for consumption by the wider public, complete with the by now standard royal symbols of Lorraine on the title page.[69] It is interesting to note in the context of the power of visuals that there was a precedent for throwing such a party to give an impression of victory in the face of defeat: none other than Louis XIV himself had done so following the humiliating Treaty of Rijswijk in August 1697.[70]

Public Documents and "Royal" Portraits

In documents such as these celebrating the ducal family, royal symbols are thus prominently displayed. This is also true for all sorts of printed official edicts and proclamations, even stamps on tax receipts, all of which display the full heraldic arms of the House of Lorraine, topped by a closed crown, and use full titles in the introductory sentence, including "King of Jerusalem" and the now standard style indicating sovereignty, "par la grace de Dieu" (Figure 15).

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[67] Later exchanged for Sardinia, in 1720; Sicily was then given to the Emperor, though reconquered by the Spanish along with Naples in 1734.

[68] Details for Léopold's fruitless efforts at Utrecht (for example, sending extravagant gifts to the diplomats from the great powers), are given in Baumont, *Études sur le règne*, 231–244.

[69] "Divertissment pour la feste de Son Altesse Royale, Mis en Musique par M. Desmaretz, Sur-intendant de la Musique de S.A.R., Représenté à Lunéville, en presence de Leurs Altesses Royales, le 15. Novembre 1717" (Nancy, 1717), reproduced in *Henry Desmarest (1661–1741): Exils d'un musicien dans l'Europe du Grand Siècle*, eds. J. Duron and Y. Ferraton (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), 146. See also the printed libretto for the opera by Desmarest, *Venus et Adonis*, originally produced in Paris in 1697, but revived and presented in Lunéville in 1707, accompanied by a publication which again clearly demonstrated visually its ducal patronage.

[70] Louis XIV ordered Te Deums and a *feu d'artifice* honouring himself as "bringer of peace" not just to France, but to Europe. John Wolf, *Louis XIV* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1968), 487.

Figure 15. Edict issued by Duke Léopold of Lorraine (1724) (Gallica / Bibliothèque nationale de France).

The other royal title, "King of Sicily," was dropped in this period, as it was clear that this battle had finally been lost to Lorraine's Savoyard rivals. This particular aspiration did not disappear entirely, however, since Léopold still included among his titles "Duc de Calabre." Such claims to a Neapolitan throne were thus "softened," if not dropped entirely, in deference to the goals of the Habsburg dynasty, whose main foreign policy area was now the Italian peninsula. This is reflected in a celebrated "Political Testament" of Duke Charles V of Lorraine, printed posthumously, which advised the Emperor to make peace with the Turks and to stop hoping to regain Spain for his branch of the dynasty, but to focus instead on securing Italy, where true Imperial (or "Roman") glory was to be found.[71] Other formerly sovereign duchies were still claimed, as from the mid-sixteenth century: Jülich and Guelders. New titles were added as well, notably "Duc de Montferrat" and "Prince Souverain d'Arches & Charleville," the titles the Duke claimed as heir to the Gonzagas in 1708.[72] Duke Léopold thus considered and represented himself as fully royal, even if the Great Powers (besides Austria) did not. While Great Britain did not formally recognise Léopold's royal pretensions, Queen Anne nevertheless formally decreed on 6 September 1708 that she would contribute her share to indemnify Léopold for his loss of Montferrat. Archduke Charles ("Charles III of Spain") promised the same in January 1709,

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[71] *Testament Politique de Charles, duc de Lorraine et de Bar* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1697). The probable author is the late Duke's secretary, Abbé Jean-Baptiste de Chèvremont, whose hatred of the Bourbons and of the Jesuits is evident throughout. Pierre Marteau is a well-known false imprint, and not located in Cologne.

[72] Arches and Charleville were two small sovereign territories on the frontier between France and Luxembourg.

as did the Dutch Estates General in August.[73] To position himself as "King of Jerusalem" rather than "King of Sicily" was a safer assertion, as it did not clash directly with Habsburg ambitions in Italy, but did reinforce once again the House of Lorraine's image as descendants of Crusaders, both ancient ones like Godfrey de Bouillon and more recent ones like Duke Charles V of Lorraine, and as defenders of the Church more generally.[74] The French began to reconsider their position regarding recognition of Léopold's status once rumours began to spread that his son had been proposed as groom for an Austrian Archduchess after Emperor Charles VI's only son died in November 1716, and that the Emperor was considering giving the Duke himself the position either of governor-general of the Austrian Netherlands or hereditary "Imperial Vicar in Italy," ruling as a semi-sovereign from Milan. In 1717 the French countered with the idea of an Italian exchange of their own, this time suggesting Tuscany (as it was now becoming apparent that the Medici family would soon become extinct). Finally, in 1718, a treaty between Lorraine and France was drawn up regulating the indemnities owed by young Louis XV from the war, and a "secret clause" was inserted by the Regent Orléans saying that the King "would not object" if the Duke added *Altesse Royale* before his name in official correspondence.[75]

Figure 16. Engraved portrait of Victor Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy, c.1684 (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, bildarchiv, PORT_00056692_01).

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[73] Jean Dumont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gens; contenant un recueil des traitez d'alliance, de paix… de toutes les conventions… & autres contrats, qui ont été faits en Europe, depuis le regne de l'empereur Charlemagne jusques à present*, 8 vols (Amsterdam and La Haye: P. Brunel & Co., 1726–31), vol. VIII, part 1, 209, 237, 242.

[74] Charles V had been called "shield of the Church" by Pope Innocent XI after the defence of Vienna in 1683. Jalabert, *Charles V de Lorraine*, 424–425.

[75] Baumont, *Études de la règne*, 298; Othenin, Comte d'Haussonville, *Histoire de la réunion de la Lorraine à la France*, 4 vols, 2nd edn (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1860), vol. IV, 265–266 (reporting these rumors from the French envoy d'Audiffret to the Regent Orléans in 1715 and 1717).

Of all the forms of visual royal status representation, one of the most significant is the formal state portrait.[76] We can thus conclude by returning to the original comparison of the aspirations of the House of Lorraine and the House of Savoy, as seen through official portraits, both printed and painted. An engraved portrait print of Duke Victor Amadeus II of Savoy from the mid-1680s notes that he is "King of Cyprus" and, significantly, also displays prominently the collar of the young Duke's own order of knighthood, the Most Holy Annunciation (Figure 16).[77] Léopold's printed portrait from about 1720 indicates the title "King of Jerusalem" clearly, and the cloth behind him features Lorraine double crosses and *alérions*; however, he lacks his own "house order," so wears instead the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the Habsburg order (Figure 17). Not only does this continue to display his loyalty to the dynasty of his first cousin and chief diplomatic patron, Emperor Charles VI, it could also be interpreted as a statement that he did not fully accept the succession of the Bourbon dynasty on the throne of Spain, which also claimed mastership over the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Figure 17. Engraved portrait of Léopold, Duke of Lorraine & Bar, H. Rigaud [?], c. 1720, reproduced (with a modified *imperial* crown?) in Pierre-Charles, Comte de Foucault, *Histoire de Léopold I, duc de Lorraine et de Bar, père de l'Empereur François I, tige de l'auguste maison de Lorraine-Autriche* (Brussels, 1791).

[76] These have been extensively studied for various dynasties, ever since the ground-breaking study for the Tudors (another dynasty in need of legitimization, especially in the eyes of foreign ruling houses) by Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977).

[77] The Order of the Santissima Annunziata was founded in the fourteenth century, and re-founded in 1518 by the Duke of Savoy. The main visual element of the Order is the Annunciation scene surrounded by three "Savoyard knots," the heraldic badge of the dynasty.

In a similar comparison, looking at painted portraits of the two sovereigns provides nearly the same information (Figures 18 and 19, next page). Both Victor Amadeus and Léopold are depicted in typically "royal" poses, with a dramatic curtain backdrop, a closed crown, a sceptre, and a mantle trimmed with ermine, the fur that denotes royal status in portrait iconography. More specifically, the mantle of Victor Amadeus as King of Sardinia sports white crosses representing the House of Savoy, and he again wears the Order of the Annunciation. Léopold's portrait similarly depicts *alérions* on his cloak, and he again wears the Order of the Golden Fleece. His portrait is also a good deal more pacific (he is seated, with a pastoral scene in the background), in contrast to the King of Sardinia's more overtly martial stance. This is surely a deliberate distinction on both parts: the Crown of Sardinia was won through military effort in the War of Spanish Succession, whereas Léopold's throne was maintained (precariously) by a steadfast commitment to neutrality and peace. The continuity of Léopold's devotion to the Habsburg family order (which he demonstrated, for example, by not creating or reviving his own order of chivalry[78]) assures us—as with the portrait of young Léopold in the *Abrégé historique*, the changing focus of printed genealogies, and, indeed, in the opinion of Louis XIV's envoy to Lorraine—that in spite of the Duke's marriage to a Bourbon to secure his dynasty's present situation, he already viewed his family's future as lying in amalgamation within the Habsburg dynasty.

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[78] The Order of the Crescent was founded in the thirteenth century in Naples by the House of Anjou, and revived by René I of Anjou in 1448, but it vanished on the latter's death in 1480. It was considered for revival several times, including by Léopold, but never was. See Laurent Bourquin, "Les chevaliers de l'ordre du Croissant: Les Sources d'une faveur, les limites d'une fidélité," in *Le Second ordre: L'Idéal nobiliare*, eds. C. Grell and A. Ramière de Fortanier (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 21–29.

Left: Figure 18. Painted portrait of Victor Amadeus I, King of Sardinia, by Maria Giovanna Clementi, c. 1728 (Wikimedia Commons / Castello di Racconigi, Turin)

Right: Figure 19. Painted portrait of Léopold, Duke of Lorraine & Bar, by Nicolas Dupuy, c.1703 (Wikimedia Commons / Musée Lorrain, Nancy).

Indeed, in the end, Duke Léopold of Lorraine failed in his goals of creating a secure independent state for his people, and a genuinely sovereign kingdom for his dynasty. But by "playing the part" of sovereign effectively and consistently through the use of visual display in coinage, portraits, printed material, and public festivals (complete with music by a "royal" composer, Desmarest), he presented himself as worthy of a royal throne, regardless of where its location might be. This "transferrable dynastic credit" was then cashed in by his son, Duke François III, who succeeded his father in 1729. As a young man, Prince François-Etienne of Lorraine (b. 1708) had been sent to Vienna to be educated as early as 1723, and a marriage to the Emperor's eldest daughter and heiress, Archduchess Maria Theresa (b. 1717) was secured (albeit secretly) just as early.[79] They were in fact married in 1736, and four years later Maria Theresa succeeded her father as ruler of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and all their associated domains. Her husband first acted as co-ruler in the Habsburg Monarchy, until he himself was elected Holy Roman Emperor, as Francis I, in 1745.[80]

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[79] Renate Zedinger, *Lorraine et Pays-Bas autrichiens au XVIIIe siècle* (Bochum: Winkler Verlag, 2010), 183.

[80] Derek Beales, "Francis Stephen of Lorraine (Emperor Francis I, 1745-1765), Consort of Maria Theresa, Ruler of the Austrian Monarchy from 1740," in *The Man Behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History*, eds. Charles Beem and Miles Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 125–143.

Conclusion

We can see by the "peripatetic sovereignty" of the House of Lorraine that immediately followed the loss of the sovereignty of the Duchy of Lorraine itself (annexed by France in 1737 as part of the treaty agreement for Duke François III's marriage to the Habsburg heiress) that royal aspirations in the early eighteenth century were dynastic, not nationalistic. They did not necessarily apply to one particular place or people. We also see that the dynasty was deemed "worthy" of Habsburg succession as a result of the visual campaign waged since the fifteenth century, and after an initial hesitation in 1740 (when the Duke of Bavaria was elected as emperor), a Lorraine prince was acceptable as Holy Roman Emperor as well. The Imperial electors, the Habsburg aristocracy, and representatives of the foreign powers had seen and now *believed* in the royal status of the House of Lorraine.

Robert Oresko's thesis for the House of Savoy challenged the deeply held academic opinion that the early modern usage of royal display was mostly empty symbolism, and that the employment of visuals was anything but a pre-meditated "house strategy." He argued instead that it was a strategy of diplomacy, carefully planned, and a response to other sovereignties competing for political space. This was clearly underlined by the fact that the only powers to withhold recognition of Victor Amadeus II's full *trattamento reale* by France in 1696 were the other states of Italy whose own sovereignty could be challenged by a fully royal power in their neighbourhood: the Papacy, Venice, Tuscany. The same is certainly true for Lorraine: it was France that was most affected by Lorraine's sovereignty, so while Emperor Leopold happily agreed to support his kinsman's royal title, and was supported by the Pope, France delayed until 1718, and only then in a secret clause. Other border dynasties pursued similar aims at the same time, notably the House of Holstein, which ultimately succeeded in the eighteenth century, also by being "transferred"—first to Sweden and then Russia; and, quite successfully, the House of Brandenburg-Prussia. The coronation at Königsberg in 1701, as with that for Savoy at Palermo in 1713, was publicized widely across Europe in books, pamphlets, and broadsheets.[81]

By examining their public documents, we can see that the dukes of Lorraine did indeed have a dynastic strategy and made use of visual means for its implementation. These visual manifestations of dynastic aspiration were not just driven by chance, and they were not just decoration. But neither was this strategy pursued in a strictly linear course: as we have seen, it was changeable, adaptable to the situation, from the assertion of kinship with the Valois monarchy of France at the start of the sixteenth century (and a potential claim to succeed it in 1589), to the more aggressive stance of the Bourbon monarchy in the early seventeenth century and the consequentially closer connection established with the House of Habsburg. The focus of the genealogical treatises changed as well, from a descent from Charlemagne to a common ancestry with the House of Austria. The claims to Sicily and Naples came and went, Jerusalem was de-stressed then stressed again, alongside the use of heraldic imagery such as the Jerusalem Cross and the Lorraine Double Cross. An

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[81] See the depiction of Victor Amadeus's coronation in Palermo reproduced in Christopher Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the Rise of Savoy, 1690-1720* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), frontispiece. For Frederick I of Prussia in Königsberg, see Karin Friedrich, "The Power of Crowns: The Prussian Coronation of 1701 in Context," in *Cultivation of Monarchy and the Rise of Berlin*, eds. Friedrich and Smart, 1–51.

amalgamation with the House of Habsburg seems to have been suggested as early as 1701, and solidified after 1711. When time came to shift its physical base in order to gain a fully sovereign throne, the House of Lorraine did not hesitate: shortly after his marriage to the Habsburg heiress Maria Theresa, François III, Duke of Lorraine, changed his name to Francesco II, Grand Duke of Tuscany (the territory he was given by the Great Powers in exchange for Lorraine), and then to Franz (Francis) I, Holy Roman Emperor. His heraldic display shifted accordingly, notably with additions of the Medici *palle* (or balls), and then the double-headed Imperial eagle. In a coloured print from the 1740s Francis I proudly displays his Imperial crown, as well as that of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (Figure 20). His titles used in this and other portraits still include "Duke of Lorraine and Bar."[82] They rarely include the title "King of Jerusalem" —it was no longer necessary—and never "King of Naples" (which would have been awkward for Francis since his wife continued to claim it after its loss to the Bourbons in 1734), though a whisper of this dynastic link nevertheless lingered in the almost forgotten title, "Duke of Calabria." Fulfilling Duke Léopold's ambitions, his dynasty was rebranded as the "House of Habsburg-Lorraine." By the nineteenth century, the descendants of this prince who had worked so hard through visual means to display his right to a royal crown would bear no fewer than eight: Hungary, Bohemia, Lombardy-Venetia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Galicia & Lodomeria, Illyria … and even Jerusalem.

Figure 20. Coloured Print of Emperor Franz I Stephan of Lorraine, Martin Engelbrecht, c.1745 (Alamy).

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[82] In accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Vienna (1735), Francis Stephen and his descendants were permitted to use the title "Duke of Lorraine and Bar," which they did until the end of the monarchy in 1918. The arms of the House of Lorraine (the three silver *alérions* on a red band) can still be seen all over public buildings in Florence, Vienna, Budapest and Prague.