

bile dictu, binnen enkele weken zat Willem IV in alle gewesten op de zo felbegeerde stadhoudelijke zetel, op het geborduurde kussen waar de familie bijna een halve eeuw uitzichtloos voor gevochten had. Het is merkwaardige ironie dat de arrogante weigering het volk en de burgerij in de politiek te betrekken, zo beloond werd. Dat juist het geminachte volk de Oranje-Nassaus uit hun langdurige en ondertussen oneervolle patstelling redde. Het was de omgekeerde wereld waarin een vorst, ondanks een pak aan constitutionele kleren, de legitimatie van zijn bestaan vond in de 'blote' goedkeuring van het volk.

Wie na lezing van Bruggemans studie het boek van Gabriëls er nog eens op naslaat, kan lezen hoe het nieuwe stadhoudelijk regime van start ging. De Friese entourage in Den Haag liet niet na zich voor de verwerving van invloed goed te laten betalen. Het waren gouden tijden voor de uitvoering van politiek volgens de normen van de 'Oude Corruptie'. Het persoonlijk 'financieel beheer' was bij deze heren in goede handen. Men kan zich moeilijk aan de indruk onttrekken dat voor veel orangisten zelfverrijking een belangrijk doel was achter de verheffing van Willem IV tot stadhouder in alle gewesten.

Jean Streng

- ¹ L. Stone en J.C. Fawtier Stone, *An open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford 1984) i.h.b. 289.
- ² C. Schmidt, *Om de eer van de familie. Het geslacht Teding van Berkhout 1500-1900: een sociologische benadering* (Amsterdam, 1986).
- ³ A.J.C.M. Gabriëls, *De heren als dienaren en de diena- ren als heer. Het stadhoudelijk stelsel in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage, 1990).
- ⁴ J.C. Bierens de Haan, *Rosendaal, Groen Hemeltjen*

op Aerd. Kasteel, tuinen en bewoners sedert 1579 (Zutphen, 1994) 91.

- ⁵ M.A.M. Franken, 'Een contract van correspondentie van de Veluwe ridderschap (1727-1750): een voorbeeld van schandelijk ambtsbejag of van verdelende rechtvaardigheid?', *Bijdragen en mededelingen Gelre*, LXXXIX (1998) 79-112.

PALACES OF THE PRIVILEGED

D.R. Coffin (ed. V. Bezemer Seller), *Magnificent buildings, splendid gardens* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); J. Dunne, P. Janssens, ed., *Living in the city; elites and their residences, 1500-1900*. Studies in European urban history (1100-1900), XII (Turnhout, 2008).

2008 saw the publication of two key works on the subject of elite residential practices in Europe in the early modern period. *Magnificent buildings, splendid gardens*, contains twenty articles on Italian, French (Parisian) and English (garden) architecture from the late fifteenth up to the nineteenth century, composed by the American art historian David Coffin (1918-2003), who is perhaps best known for his 1979 *The villa in the life of Renaissance Rome* and 1960 *The Villa d'Este in Tivoli*.¹ Convincingly concluding in the latter book that the meaning of this garden of the Villa d'Este lay in its symbolisation of the mythical garden of Hesperides, David Coffin was one of the first to use his mentor's Erwin Panofsky's iconographical approach for the purpose of the study of historical gardens.

Early modern Italy, France and England also form the backdrop for the nine articles published in *Living in the city; elites and their residences, 1500-1900*, the thir-

teenth volume in the Studies in European urban history (1100-1800) series published by Brepols. Whilst *Magnificent buildings*, a 'variation on the theme of the scholarly festschrift', shows all the characteristics of a celebration of a successful career – Coffin himself selected the excellently illustrated articles, complemented by commentaries on his work written by former students – *Living in the city; elites and their residences* bears the hallmarks of a conference paper publication. The papers were presented in Athens in 2004 at the Seventh International Conference on Urban History and form an interesting assemblage of 'works in progress' in the best sense of the word, by mostly well-established scholars teasing out new subject matters and perspectives. The editors John Dunne (head of the Department of History, Philosophy and Politics at the University of Greenwich) and Paul Janssens (professor of History at the Europese Hogeschool Brussel, affiliated with the Catholic University of Brussels), explicate in the introduction that the need for the present volume lies in the general neglect in the field of urban history of urban elites and elite residences. Dunne and Janssens state in advance that their volume, conspicuously lacking in illustrations but with convenient and substantial abstracts in both French and English, 'is not the much-needed synthesis on elites and their residences', but that they aim for 'an unusually wide-ranging and inclusive treatment of the subject'.

This neglect of elites in urban history stands, of course, in stark contrast to the situation in art history with its traditional 'elitist bias', a bias that is also evident in *Magnificent buildings*. Still, David Coffin moves beyond mere art history, frequently venturing into the do-

main of cultural history – John Evelyn, Thorstein Veblen, Michel de Montaigne, Jane Austen, to name but a few, all play their part in the articles presented – with a keen eye for those on the fringes of the architectural cream of the crop. Perhaps this was to some extent the influence of one of his other mentors (like Panofsky celebrated with an 'In Memoriam' reprinted in *Magnificent buildings*), the late Earl Baldwin Smith, professor in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton, whose 'extraordinary breadth' of research, caused him to read 'widely in anthropology (he sent Coffin for a course in cultural anthropology), psychology, philosophy, and religion', and who was foremost interested in 'the meaning of architecture'.

The title of the collection refers to one such discussion about the meaning of architecture. The humanist Giovanni Pontano, cited by Coffin, pronounced that great architecture will bring the owner magnificence, a great garden will beget splendour. 'It is not unjustified to relate splendour closely to magnificence', Pontano states, 'since the former also involves great expense and has money in common with it as its material', however, 'magnificence is more involved in public works and those things of more permanence, while splendour is concerned rather with private things'. Touching on the premises that architecture forms an expression of power and status, yet also of private life, Pontano foreshadows, as will be shown, two recurring themes in both volumes here discussed.

Dunne and Janssens, in the introduction to *Living in the city; elites and their residences* maintain that the historiography of elite residential practices neither benefited greatly from the traditional art his-

torical focus and artistic perspective on individual buildings, nor from a narrowly positivistic urban historical geography. Social sciences, however, did have a great impact, which is evident for one of the 'continual points of reference' in urban history: the 'centrifugal model'. This model describes a diachronic progression from elite housing in the city or town centres to a suburban 'bourgeois utopia' relocation, with elites increasingly deserting the heart of the cities as a result of the continuing growth and industrialisation of these areas. The centrifugal model merges two American, sociological models into one, namely the Chicago school model of the differentiated, or segregated, urban zones, and Gideon Sjoberg's famous pre-industrial city model locating the elite in town and city centres in inward facing residences, heralding 'a reflection of the demand for privacy'.² Dunne and Janssens observe a recent decline in studies on social topography and residential segregation and a growing interest in present-day urban history in 'more cultural and political concerns – among them sociability, "politeness" and governance', a development they welcome. 'No longer is it possible to pursue any of its [urban history's] constituent themes or topics in such blinkered fashion, as was once the case, for example, with research into residential segregation'. In lieu of the well-trodden debate on 'social topography and residential segregation' that dominated the field of urban history for so long, the editors of *Living in the city* intend to place their volume within a different debate and explore new routes. By paraphrasing one of the contributing authors, François-Joseph Ruggiu, who claims in his article on elite residential practices in French provincial towns from the late

seventeenth until the late eighteenth century that a move away into suburbia was not a reflection of a 'desire to separate themselves', but of a wish to 'reflect and project their status and self-image', the editors underline this intention. This begs the question as to what extent the present volume is able to stand up to what is, besides an assessment of an academic discipline, a promise. The answer is that they succeed quite well even though the new approach that is being preached does not warrant that old ways are entirely nipped in the bud. 'A debate over residential segregation', they themselves note, 'continues in somewhat muted tones to this day'. This is also true for most of the articles in the present volume. That is, most contributions bear witness to a move away from what the editors call past 'narrowly positivistic' approaches, towards a more reflexive perspective – concepts and expressions such as 'gendered space', 'identity', 'body politic', 'habitus', and 'agency' hint in this direction. However, many of the articles continue to discuss, and perhaps justifiably so, the old issues of segregation and privacy.

In the introduction to the various articles, Joseph Sharples and Louise Miskell are introduced as authors who will discuss 'the movement of elites from central areas to new suburbs in nineteenth century Liverpool and Cardiff respectively', whilst Jane Longmore's conclusion that the elite did not abscond the city centre of Liverpool in the period between 1660 and 1800, is evaluated as remarkable given the fact that 'one might have expected (...) centrifugal forces'. In the same vein, the editors state that Sharples's article 'lends qualified support to the widely accepted notion of the increasing residential segregation of elites

in Georgian and early Victorian British towns'. Miskell, in her contribution tests the old hypothesis, nuancing it by claiming that it does not portray the Welsh experience; Claude-Isabelle Brelot's article on elite buildings in nineteenth and early twentieth century France teases out the twin-concepts privacy and segregation vis-à-vis the age-old chateau, the development of *beaux quartiers* in formerly unoccupied areas, and in the development of the rural villa. About the innovation in garden architecture of a screen of foliage in the chateau park, she raises the question: 'Est-ce ségrégation sociale, au village comme dans les beaux quartiers de la ville?' The villa, explained foremost as a luxurious and comfortable, technologically improved residence, is portrayed as an intimate dwelling for the new nuclear family: 'C'est dans l'espace privé que la ségrégation sociale est la plus marquée.'

Public and private space are also contemplated by David Coffin, as well as something in between: the room of the parrot – *Camera del Pappagallo* – which formed a part of the papal apartments since the medieval period, and which served as a room 'between the inner, private apartment of the pope and the public, ceremonial rooms'. In various articles in *Magnificent buildings* the phenomenon recognised from the 1470s onwards of the 'Lex Hortorum', or public park, as opposed to the more common private garden, is discussed. Coffin cites Alberti who stated in a treatise on the villa that: 'you will buy the villa to nourish your family, not to give pleasure to others.' Notwithstanding Alberti's definition of the private villa, public access of the parks became widespread in sixteenth century Latium. According to Coffin this development is related to the then wide-

spread accumulation of ancient sculptures (re)placed in gardens since the construction of the Villa Belvedere, as well as with a humanistic awareness that ancient parks used to be public. This does not mean, however, that private gardens disappeared; the two existed side by side, in tandem with a 'public versus private morality'. In the *Treatise of Pirro Ligorio, Neapolitan Patrician, Roman Citizen, on Some Things Pertaining to the Nobility of the Ancient Arts*, written between 1570 and 1580, Pirro Ligorio, the protagonist in much of Coffin's work and appearing in various of the here presented articles, dismissed the designs for a particular fountain – a nude Venus, two designs with Galatea, and one with Leda shown in an embrace with a swan – as inappropriate. Ligorio explains that they were 'contrary to the examples which should be worthy of decorum in public judgment', and goes on to pronounce that 'lascivious things should be used or placed in locations which were not always seen, since they are not worthy of being permitted in every location'. In the same vein copies of the famous Medici Venus (now housed in the Uffizi, Florence), generally regarded at that time as a statue with erotic overtones – curved somewhat, with one hand in front of her left breast, the other before her sex – could be found under the dome of the more private Rotondo of the eighteenth century English garden at Stowe, but not in the so-called Elysian Fields in the same gardens 'which proclaimed loudly [the commissioner] Cobham's concern for public and private morality'. Here, Venus was less overtly present and differed in appearance from the erotic Medici Venus.

David Coffin also touches on matters of public and private space when discussing

the sixteenth century phenomenon of the depictions of villas on the walls of these same villas. In 1518, in the Villa Farnesina at Rome, Baldassare Peruzzi decorated the walls of the room called the 'Sala della Prospettive' with frescos consisting of a (freely interpreted) view on Rome, including the Villa Farnesina itself. Coffin asserts that in the course of the sixteenth century, these highly interesting 'self-images' are transferred from public to private spaces. This means that this phenomenon cannot be explained only in terms of a wish to exhibit ones wealth or splendour, but also as an expression of the owner's love of rustic country life, as well as a form of private amusement.

It might be argued that a strong focus on political concerns is inherent to a study of elite groups, however, it does not necessarily corroborate with a tipping of the balance in favour of power and status in preference to cultural foci, to the extent that is the case in *Living in the city*. Jean-François Chauvard, in his article on the multiple residences that some members of the early-modern Venetian elite possess, typically one in the city and one in the country – an interesting topic that, with reason, also receives attention from several of the other authors – argues that 'l'architecture palatiale illustrent l'osmose entre le corps urbain et le corps politique'. Ruggiu states that in eighteenth century France, 'les nobles, les officiers et même les negociants étaient sans doute amenés davantage à raisonner en termes d'apparence – des rues, des places, des bâtiments – que d'entre soi', 'lorsqu'ils pensaient à leur residence'. According to Sharples, houses could boost self-images and communicated notable messages about status: 'Just as the

phased development of an English country house over the centuries reflect the political, dynastic and financial fortunes of its aristocratic owners, so, on a more modest scale (...) Liverpool's mercantile elite can be related to the pattern of their lives.' Do political, dynastic and financial fortunes, however, sufficiently capture a life, either historical or present? And is Ruggiu's conclusion that residence choices are not so much related to a wish to socialise with one's own, but rather to status and self-image – albeit a 'frankly revisionist' conclusion according to the editors – not equally too persistently political in nature? Occasionally, the announced 'cultural concerns' receive attention. Jean Boutier in his article on elite residences in early modern Florence, explicates that 'le palais doit exprimer la stabilité du système sociopolitique florentin', yet goes on to say that a palace and the history attached to it, also amounted to symbolic capital of the Florentine nobility; a point that is also made by Chauvard for the early modern Venetian elite. Victoria E. Thompson's 'cultural geographical' contribution on elites and their residences in revolutionary Paris (like Sharples she uses the memoir as a source material), describes pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary 'mental maps', which consist of sites that are of importance to individuals and hence mentally mapped by them. As regards these mental maps – 'mindscapes', the sociological concept coined by Eviatar Zerubavel, and defined as remembrance environments or mnemonic communities, might perhaps have been the more appropriate term here³ – Thompson notes that in the post-revolutionary period 'instead of the abstract network of relationships that marked pre-revolutionary visions of Paris, we see



Place des Vosges, the construction of which, together with the renovation of the Louvre, attracted a section of the Parisian nobility to the Marais (postcard, 1950; private collection)

differentiated elite identities rooted in specific locations within the city'. Where before the Revolution the Parisian nobility lived geographically diffused, with for instance one cluster residing in the Marais following the renovation of the Louvre and the construction of the Place Royale (present-day Place des Vosges), in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, 'after the Revolution, the aristocracy became more exclusively identified with the Faubourg Saint-Germain, which came to symbolize both a social group and a political position'.

It is noteworthy that the authors of both volumes do not explicitly define what exactly constitutes 'the elite'. Given the aim of *Living in the city* to redress the unequal balance in urban history in terms of research interest between the poor and the affluent, the 'elites' from the title are

treated by the editors and the contributing authors foremost as the flipside of the better-known lower echelons of society. The 'Notes on Contributors' state that two authors have a special research interest in the history of elites (in one case 'particularly nobles'), and most of the other authors have previously researched and published on the topic. It is a pity that despite this interest and expertise a more nuanced picture of the elites that are portrayed does not emerge. Various seemingly self-explanatory terms are used to denote the elite, such as: 'aristocracy', 'patricians', 'bourgeois elites', 'new elites', 'mercantile elite' and 'civic elite'. Noble practices are similarly rarely specified, with phrases such as 'aristocratic lifestyle', 'full ennoblement', 'em-bourgeoisement', if not used uncritically, then at least applied enigmatically. Although David Coffin neither elucidates



Exterior view of the castle at Ferrara (*private collection*)

his devotion to the elite, nor problematises the nature of this elite, it is interesting to note that apart from the thriving popes, cardinals, sovereigns, architects, and artists who left an imprint on Coffin's oeuvre, just as many dismal and disenchanted characters surface in his work. *Magnificent buildings* starts with a fatal fall from a scaffolding in 1577, which occurred after the completion of the decoration of the four courtyard walls of the Ferrara castle with two hundred frescos of notable members of the Este family. In their competition with the Medici family over the antiquity of the respective families, over whose family rose to their dukedoms sooner, and over the possible links to ancient figures such as a Trojan prince, Hercules and Caius

Atius, pictorial propaganda played its part. It was the Este duke Alfonso II who did not want his own portrait to be included in the two hundred frescos at Ferrara; consequently Bartolomeo Faccini, the painter, had it removed, only to realise afterwards that he had forgotten to also erase the duke's name and arms below the portrait. A temporary scaffolding put up to remove name and arms, caused Bartolomeo Faccini's plunge to death. It was the already mentioned Pirro Ligorio, entering the service of Alfonso II d'Este in 1568, who designed the genealogical portraits depicted on the castle by Faccini. Ligorio's fall from (artistic) power in Rome that preceded his move to Ferrara, his antagonism with the Vasari and Michaelangelo

section and his more general disappointment with life, all receive ample attention from Coffin. Guarino Guarini's work in Paris, finally, of which nothing now remains, is presented by Coffin in the shadow of that more successful Italian architect active in Paris at the time, Gian Lorenzo Bernini. From the seventeenth until well into the late-nineteenth-century, Guarino Guarini's was known for his 'bizarre' architecture. In Paris it was not a palace that he built but a church, the church of the Theatine order, of which order Guarini himself was a member. The inspiration for the church was evidently Boromini's San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Rome, but never received the same acclaim. 'The history of the construction and preservation of Sainte Anne-la-Royale is one of difficulties and disasters, as is true for all of Guarini's work.' It is only in the Piedmont, in the North of Italy, that the work by Guarini survives, most notably Palazzo Carignano in Turin built for the Savoy-Carignanos. Coffin, however, in this instance chose not to write about elite residences and gardens but, stretching his thematic range, stayed for a moment with the church, the fate of which does not come as a surprise; it became first a theatre or playhouse, subsequently a location for ball and feasts, and a cafe called 'Café des Muses', before being demolished between 1821 and 1823.

The elitist bias notwithstanding, Coffin luminously juxtaposes magnificence and splendour with disenchantment and cataclysm. Dunne and Janssens, as well as the contributing authors, deserve praise for momentarily stepping away from the long-established focus in urban studies on dwellings of the masses and to contemplate, by means of a broad range of

themes and perspectives, urban elite living instead.

Hanneke Ronnes

- ¹ David R. Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* (Princeton 1960); idem, *The villa in the life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton 1979).
- ² E.W. Burgess, 'The growth of the city', in: R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, ed., *The city* (Chicago, 1925); G. Sjöberg, *The preindustrial city: past and present* (Glencoe, 1960).
- ³ E. Zerubavel, *Social mindscapes: an invitation to cognitive sociology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1997)

BRONNEN EN BEELDEN VAN ADELS- EN ELITEGESCHIEDENIS

A. Gevers, e.a., ed., *Mensen van adel. Beelden, manifestaties, representaties. Opstellen aangeboden ter gelegenheid van het afscheid van Albert Mensema als archivaris bij het Historisch Centrum Overijssel te Zwolle, 14 september 2007*. Adelsgeschiedenis, IV (Hilversum: Verloren 2007, 230 p., ill.); E. Dijkhof en M. van Gent, ed., *Uit diverse bronnen gelicht. Opstellen aangeboden aan Hans Smit ter gelegenheid van zijn vijftenzestigste verjaardag* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2007, 382 p., ill.)

Sommige gelegenheidsbundels vragen om meer dan een gelegenheidsrecensie – bijvoorbeeld wanneer ze een scherpe momentopname vormen van lopende ontwikkelingen binnen een vakgebied zoals de elitegeschiedenis. Het doorgaans feestelijke karakter van zulke bundels strookt niet altijd met een strakke thematisering. Daar staat tegenover dat de betere feestbundels niet alleen inzicht bieden in de meer persoonlijke belangstel-