Introduction

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> On Friday the 29th of this month January [1712], at ten o'clock in the morning, the Congres or assembly of the plenipotentiaries was opened, with the sound of trumpets.[1]

Thus the peace congress in Utrecht that would end twelve years of global warfare and would alter the map of Europe for the foreseeable future was ceremoniously opened. Spectators witnessed the ostentatious arrival of the ambassadors, such as the bishop of Bristol and the earl of Strafford for the queen of England, and the abbot of Polignac and marshall d'Huxelles for the king of France, who arrived by coach and were led into the building by a chamberlain of the congress. The performance was witnessed by 'the confluence of countless people' who had gathered on the square in front of city hall and observed the arrival of the bishop of Bristol and his equipage, who was 'very splendourous', with a long magnificent robe carried by two pages.[2] These were 'dressed in white linen, with light green velvet covers, with silver embroideries and with red plumes on their hats; the footmen in purple linen, with light green covers and with golden collars'.[3]

The theatrical setting of the congress underscores its performative nature, a play in several acts in which the actors, the diplomats, had set roles. The performances of peace are the subject of this volume which focuses in particular on the Peace of Utrecht of 1713, a milestone in European history. It concluded the

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1 *Europische Mercurius, behelzende de voornaamste zaken van staat en oorlog, voorgevallen in alle de koningryken en heerschappyen van Europe* 23 (1712), I, 84.

2 *Europische Mercurius* 23 (1712), I, 84, 85.

3 E. Harskamp, 'Journael of daegelijxe annotatie vant gene ontrend de vredehandel tot Utrecht de heeren, daer toe den 16 december 1711 van stadswege gecommitteert, is voorgekomen,' *Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* 3:2 (1851): 213–220, appendix.

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extensive wars that had swept through Europe as well as the overseas colonies and heralded an exceptionally long period of peace for early modern times in Western Europe that lasted until the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740.

The Peace of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713), pitching the Grand Alliance against France in a struggle for domination of the continent. The prize was the throne of Spain, vacant since the death in 1700 of the childless last Habsburg king Carlos II. When plans for partition came to naught, France and Habsburg became embroiled in a major struggle for the inheritance, in which England and the Dutch Republic allied with the Emperor but Spain supported the French claimant. Battlefields were scattered over several locations in Western Europe: on the Iberian peninsula, the Spanish Netherlands, Northern Italy and on the German side of the Rhine. On a far smaller scale, fighting took place in the American colonies and on the world's oceans. Despite Allied victories near Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), Turin (1706), Oudenaarde (1708) and Malplaquet (1709), France remained undefeated. A series of peace negotiations led by the Dutch and the French, which commenced in 1705, ultimately failed in 1710. Renewed secret negotiations between France and the English Tory ministry which came into power in 1710, eventually led to the Peace of Utrecht which was settled in April 1713. The Peace of Utrecht acknowledged the French claimant, now Philip V, as king of Spain, but also allotted dispensation to the Habsburg claimant in Italy (Naples, Sardinia and Milan) and the Spanish Netherlands. The French lost possessions in Canada to the English, who also took Gibraltar and Minorca and wrested the *asiento* (the monopoly on slave trade to the Spanish Empire) from the French. The Dutch received a military Barrier in the Southern Netherlands. The peace treaties continued in Baden, Rastatt and Madrid in 1714 and 1715 completed the process.

The wars between France and the Grand Alliance changed the nature and scale of European warfare. Armies grew dramatically in a process described as a military revolution. The Dutch had an army of over 100,000 men, but the French army peaked at 420,000 troops in its heyday.[4] Battles were also fought on a larger scale. In the Battle of Blenheim, for instance, some 120,000 troops were involved and the casualties numbered tens of thousands.[5] According to

4 John A. Lynn, *Giant of the grand siècle the French Army, 1610–1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 32; David Onnekink and Renger de Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 34.

5 J.W. Wijn, *Het Staatsche Leger. Deel VIII: Het tijdperk van de Spaanse Successieoorlog, 1702–1715*. Volume 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), 471–479.

Jeremy Black, the period between 1660 and 1710 witnessed an important step in this process, in which scale and organization were tied up with the growth of state administration.[6] This inevitably also changed the impact on society, most notably through heavier taxation.[7]

The Peace of Utrecht embodies several intriguing contradictions. While it brought about a prolonged period of peace in Europe, it also inaugurated the age of aggressive 'balance of power' politics. Although the Peace was maintained for several years, conflict resulting from disputed articles arose as early as 1716 when Spain went to war over Sicily and Sardinia. However the great powers intervened in order to restore the Utrecht settlement. That settlement collapsed with the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740. Moreover, the Peace of Utrecht restructured overseas commerce and arguably accelerated Anglo-French rivalry in the colonies, that reached a climax in 1756 with the start of the Seven Years War.

The long years of conflict paradoxically forged a growing sense of 'Europe' as an international society, and artistic depictions of the Treaty of Utrecht highlighted both the European character of the Peace as well as the proto-patriotic sentiments that it stirred. At the same time, as the conclusion of a period in which international religious rivalry once again flared up, the Peace of Utrecht itself witnessed a striking lack of attention to religious matters. Although Protestant plenipotentiaries submitted a declaration of support for suppressed religious minorities on 11 April 1713, the day of the conclusion of Peace, the actual treaties all but ignored religious matters.[8]

While the public was generally averse to war, it did not neglect to celebrate its war heroes. Prince Eugene of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough became celebrities. The impact of war also interacted with the growing news industry. In the Dutch Republic, for instance, political pamphlets already circulated during the Dutch Revolt, but the genre really took off in the early seventeenth century, peaking in 1672 with a total of at least one million copies.[9] In England,

6 Jeremy Black, *A military revolution? Military change and European society, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1991).

7 E.g. Wantje Fritschy, 'The Poor, the Rich, and the Taxes in Heinsius' Times,' in *Anthonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic 1688–1720. Politics, War, and Finance*, ed. J.A.F. de Jongste and A.J. Veenendaal (The Hague: Institute of Netherlands History, 2002), 242–258.

8 James W. Gerard, *The peace of Utrecht a historical review of the great treaty of 1713–14, and of the principal events of the war of the Spanish succession* (New York/London: G.P. Putnam, 1885), 299.

9 Roeland Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 25; Michel Reinders, *Gedrukte chaos. Populisme en moord in het Rampjaar 1672* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2010), 14.

the newspaper really took off on the eve of the Civil War in 1641 and reached a steady plateau around the time of the War of the Spanish Succession. The first daily newspaper appeared during the War of the Spanish Succession, and the early eighteenth century heralded a time in which 'the newspaper became an established factor in British politics'.[10]

Although decision-making about war and peace was almost exclusively the domain of princes and ministers, the people's insatiable hunger for military news stimulated governments to publicly justify war policy. The booming media informed the general public about the peace negotiations and facilitated public reflection on the diplomatic process.[11] The public performance of peace became more important even though, at the same time, many forms of diplomatic communication and rituals remained invisible to the people at large. This also stimulated public debate, which famously peaked in England in 1711 with the influential *The conduct of the allies* by Jonathan Swift, sponsored by Tory politician Robert Harley. It was a scathing criticism of the war which facilitated the ministerial shuffle that ultimately led to peace negotiations. In this debate female authors also played their role, for instance Delarivier Manley, whose satirical anti-Whig 1709 *The New Atalantis* was likewise supported by Harley. In general, women's publication's in England really took off on the eve of the Civil War and reached a peak around the time of the start of the War of the Spanish Succession.[12]

In short, the Peace of Utrecht confronts us with changing concepts of international relations as well as with new public practices of 'performing' diplomacy in eighteenth-century Europe. This volume rethinks the Peace of Utrecht by exploring the nexus between culture and politics. For too long, cultural and political historians have studied early modern international relations in isolation. By studying the political as well as the cultural aspects of this peace (and its concomitant paradoxes) from a broader perspective, this volume aims to shed new light on the relation between diplomacy and performative culture in the public sphere.[13] Peace-making was a core business of early modern

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10 Joad Raymond, *The invention of the newspaper. English newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 15.

11 Cf. Jeremy D. Popkin, 'New perspectives on the early modern European press,' in *News and politics in early modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Joop W. Koopmans ed. (Leuven/Paris/Dudley: Peeters, 2005).

12 Joad Raymond, 'Development of the book trade in Britain,' in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture Vol. 1*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 64.

13 Cf. J. Watkins, 'Toward a new diplomatic history of medieval and early modern Europe,' *Journal of Medieval and early Modern Studies* 38.1 (2008), 1–14; Maurits Ebben & Louis Siciking, 'Nieuwe diplomatieke geschiedenis van de premoderne tijd. Een inleiding,' *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 127 (2014): 541–552.

diplomatic activity. It was a performative act, both in a cultural (the performance of peace celebrations) as well as diplomatic sense (the ceremonial nature of negotiations). Moreover, as Berber Bevernage has pointed out, peace treaties utilize 'highly performative language of peace treaties' in an 'attempt to create a rupture between the "then" and the "now".'[14] The conclusion of peace itself is a significant performative act.

This volume looks at the wider aspects of performativity connected to the Peace of Utrecht in an attempt not only to rethink the nature and significance of events of 1713 themselves but also to establish how diplomatic historians, cultural historians and literary scholars can benefit from each other's insights. It also builds on a long tradition of interpretations of the Peace of Utrecht itself, a settlement that was regarded as important as well as politically controversial from its inception. For the historians who chronicled the Peace of Utrecht around 1713, it became a crucible of ideological strife until deep into the eighteenth century.[15] Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the historiographers fell rather silent on the peace, although it figured in most historical overviews (often in a negative light). Full coverage of the peace by modern scholarship had to wait until the late nineteenth century, the golden age of the historiography of foreign policy, with monographs on the peace by Ottocar von Weber (1881) and James W. Gerard (1885).[16] Another important milestone was the 1995 encyclopedic *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession—An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, edited by Linda and

14 Berber Bevernage, *History, Memory, and State-Sponsored Violence: Time and Justice* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 82.

15 Jonathan Swift started working on his history of the peace in 1712, but the work was never published because of its perceived partisan bias. Partisan bias was also obvious in Henry St John's *Defense of the Treaty of Utrecht*, and Robert Walpole's 1712 as *A Short History of the Parliament which Approved of the infamous Peace of Utrecht*, a book that was republished in 1763 at the time of the Peace of Paris. The Huguenot Casimir Freschot published his extensive *The compleat history of the Treaty of Utrecht and also that of . . . the Treaties of Baden and Rastatt* in 1716, mainly consisting of the publication of treaties and resolutions. Likewise, the magisterial *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du XVIII siècle by the Swiss Guillaume de Lamberty, a fourteen-volume series on the War of the Spanish Succession published from the 1720s onward contained a massive collection of primary sources*.

16 Ottocar von Weber, *Der Friede von Utrecht* (Gotha: Perthes 1891); W.J. Gerard, *The Peace of Utrecht. Historical review of the great treaty of 1713–1714, and of the principal events of the War of the Spanish Succession* (New York/Londen: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1885). A small study in Dutch was written by the Utrecht schoolmaster Willem Bannier in 1913, *De vrede van Utrecht, 11 april 1713: rede, uitgesproken voor de leerlingen van het Stedelijk Gymnasium te Utrecht op 11 april 1913* (Utrecht: Utrechtsch Stedelijk Gymnasium, 1914).

Marsha Frey.[17] Except for such scattered publications, the peace itself has been all but neglected in modern historiography despite the landmark status that is given to the Peace of Utrecht in some overviews of the history of international relations. Some historians argue that where the Peace of Westphalia failed to achieve stability in Europe, the Peace of Utrecht 'superseded Westphalia' in creating a functional alliance system.[18] At the same time, whereas Westphalia has received iconic status amongst international relations scholars, Utrecht is all but ignored in international relations textbooks or downgraded as only one of many early modern treaties.[19] War has always been more attractive to scholars than peace, but according to John Gittings the study of peace deserves more attention.[20] Recently, peace studies have been flourishing, including those directed at the early modern age, witness for instance the research project 'Europäische Friedensverträge der Vormoderne online', hosted by the Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG).[21]

In most of the studies mentioned above the emphasis is on high politics. The most recent volume of essays, edited by Heinz Duchhardt, is more inclusive of the visual and literary responses to the Peaces of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden but is at heart a study of diplomacy and international relations.[22] From another angle, art historians have studied the artistic representation of peace in the early modern age.[23] This volume aspires to approach the Peace of Utrecht from an interdiscplinary (literary cultural, and diplomatic) perspective, by considering it as a performative event.

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17 *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession—An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, ed. Linda Frey and Marsha Frey (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1995).

18 D.J, Sturdy, *Fractured Europe 1600–1721* (Oxford/Malden: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2002), 75.

19 Typical is *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches* by Robert Jackson and Georg Sørensen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013 (fifth edition)). There is a lengthy discussion on Westphalia, but Utrecht is not mentioned in the book at all.

20 John Gittings, *The Glorious Art of Peace: From the Iliad to Iraq* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

21 'Europäische Friedensverträge der Vormoderne online,' Leibnitz Institut für Europäische Geschichte, http://www.ieg-friedensvertraege.de, accessed 26 June 2014.

22 *Utrecht Rastatt Baden 1712–1714: Ein europäisches Friedenswerk am Ende des Zeitalters Ludwigs XIV*, ed. Heinz Duchhardt and Martin Espenhorst (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Cf. *Pax Perpetua. Neuere Forschungen zum Frieden in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Inken Schmidt-Voges *et al.* (Berlin: Oldenburg Verlag, 2010).

23 E.g. Liesbeth M. Helmus, 'Allegories of peace: Nijmegen, Ryswick and Utrecht-Rastatt,' in *Peace Was Made Here. The Treaties of Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden 1713–1714*, ed. Renger de Bruin and Maarten Brinkman (Michael Imhof Verlag: Petersberg, 2013), 87–97.

Performance

The concept of 'performance' covers a wide range of scholarly fields, from philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, theatre studies, to political discourses and international relations. It certainly is a challenging concept since its borders are so porous that the phenomenon is difficult to describe.[24] For the present volume, both the political interpretations of this paradigm as well as its definition in the field of theatre studies seem to be particularly relevant. It has, however, been linguistic speech-act theory which laid the foundation for current approaches to performative acts, not only in the field of 'performance studies' as such, but also in relation to various other fields, like political science, literary studies, anthropology and theatre history. The work of J.L. Austin had a large influence on scholars who study the performativity of language, based on the idea that saying something is already a form of acting, which means that pronouncing words in public can be seen as the performance of an action.[25]

The official announcement of a peace treaty, one of the core elements of early modern peace celebrations, could be seen very well as a 'speech act' in Austin's terms. Recently signed treaties were 'performed' in different ways and before they were seen as a 'peace', these treaties had to be officially announced in a public space (read out loud). Only when a peace was thus proclaimed could one say that it was 'performed', which means: publicly considered as 'real' and existing. Both its public character as well as its timeliness are central to the idea of a 'peace performance', confirming *in time* and by way of public speech what has just been written down and signed. These official announcements were made in front of the public, often from the steps or balcony of official buildings, like town halls.[26] The treaty between France and the Dutch Republic for instance was announced in The Hague on 13 April 1713 by a special messenger, the secretary of the States General, who handed over an official copy of the treaty to the official representatives of that political body, after which the peace was made public in the streets by shouts and sounds of trumpets.[27]

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24 Marvin Carlson, *Performance: a critical introduction* (New York, London: Routledge, 2004), 205–206; *Performing memory in art and popular culture*, ed. Liedeke Plate and Anne Margriet Smelik (New York, London: Routledge, 2013), 6–7.

25 Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Ästhetik des Performativen* (Frankfurt a/Main: Suhrkamp, 2004), 31ff; *Performing memory*, ed. Plate and Smelik, 7–8.

26 E.M.L. van der Maas, 'De Vrede verbeeld. Zeventiende-eeuwse vredes in de prentkunst,' in: *1648. Vrede van Munster. Feit en verbeelding*, ed. Jacques Dane (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 192–193.

27 See the report in: *Europische Mercurius* (1713), I, 219.

The verb 'to perform' has of course much wider connotations and refers more generally to *how* acts are carried out and become meaningful in practice. Performance is a popular term in modern handbooks on management and governance as was the instructive vocabulary of '*manière*' or '*l'art de*' in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century professional handbooks, like instructions for diplomats. The performance of a peace then refers to diplomatic practice, the daily business of the negotiations and the *work* that had to be done behind the scenes in order to 'perform' a peace, i.e. to mediate between representatives of powers in order to solve an armed conflict. This conceptualized diplomatic 'work' of early modern diplomats refers to a broad range of ways to perform a peace. For the diplomats who gathered in Utrecht, all aspects of their performance as diplomats became important during the negotiations. As Linda and Marsha Frey write in the first chapter, the performative repertoire of eighteenth-century diplomats was extensive, and 'intrigues, manoeuvres, negotiations, quarrels and social activities, sometimes including sexual liaisons' were all part of their role in the performative culture of international diplomacy.

The concept of performance is strongly connected with the public relevance of the performed act and the public attention caught by its 'showy' character. Acts are performances as soon as they are carried out before the eye of an audience. Jon Mckenzie highlights the interactional nature of performances and their 'challenge of efficacy', i.e. their ambition to address and affect an audience.[28] Here the 'theatrical' aspect of performances (including their political appearance) is becoming important. The bodily co-presence of actors and an audience is the essence of theatrical praxis, which constitutes a performance. The idea that a performance always is an event that occurs between actors and their audience is central to the concept of performance in modern theatre studies. A public act is seen as a performance as soon as there is an audience that is expected to act like a group of co-performers, who contribute to the performance by their physical presence, their observation and their responses.[29]

Thus, the notion of performance is inherently linked to 'agency', as the performance is acted out by different groups of people.[30] In the case of 'Utrecht', different professional agencies—like publicists, theatre makers, diplomats, poets and courtiers—were involved in the performance of ideas, concepts

28 Jon Mckenzie, *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance* (London, New York: Routledge, 2001), 30–31.

29 See Fischer-Lichte, *Ästhetik des Performativen*, 47, who refers to the work of Max Hermann from the 1920s.

30 Cf. *Performing Memory*, ed. Plate and Smelik, 3–4.

and memories in front of an audience. When we consider the peace performances of early modern diplomats, the most striking thing seems to be, however, that the negotiations itself were not public at all. The most successful negotiations were conducted informally and behind closed doors, but at the same time the performance of peace remained a highly formalized and ritualized event. Increasingly, diplomats themselves realized the potential of public performances, whereas princes celebrated peace with feasts and imagery. They realized the representative potential of this public attention and initiated big (semi)public theatrical events as the public frame of their negotiations (like fireworks, masquerades and theatre performances). 'Utrecht' therefore confronts us with intriguing tensions between public manifestations of peace and performances that remained invisible to the public, as, for example, the chapter by Lucien Bély shows. Both visible and invisible performances, however, could be seen as acts of identity formation as well. In this volume we will be confronted with the performances of identities in different fields: ranging from European and local identities, gendered identities, cultural identities as well as professional identities (diplomats, courtiers).

The mediated peace performances of the early eighteenth century not only made visible and 'experienceable' what otherwise would remain hidden behind closed doors (the negotiations), they opened up a much wider field of topics and issues for public reflection. It is for this reason that this book will deal with the ways in which theatrical and textual reflections on war and peace transformed issues of distanced international politics and negotiations into topics of public discussion and critical reflection. The performance of 'Utrecht' therefore widely exceeds the borders of the Dutch town. The peace performances discussed in this book cover a wide range of reflections related to the peace: its appearances in different mediated forms within the public sphere, the 'performance' of diplomats, as well as theatrical performance itself as an instrument to imagine and perform peace.

The notion that diplomats 'performed' peace in front of a larger audience is obvious in the arrival of the British ambassador the Earl of Lexington in Madrid in September 1712 for consultation. He entered the city in a royal coach; 'uncountable was the confluence of the general public' to see the magnificent spectacle, which was repeated the next day when he rode to the Buen Retiro Park to speak with King Philip V.[31] In Utrecht tourist guides circulated in which the names of the ambassadors, their residences as well as the colours of the costumes of their retinue were described, and the Utrecht residents

31 *Europische Mercurius* 23 (1712), II, 247.

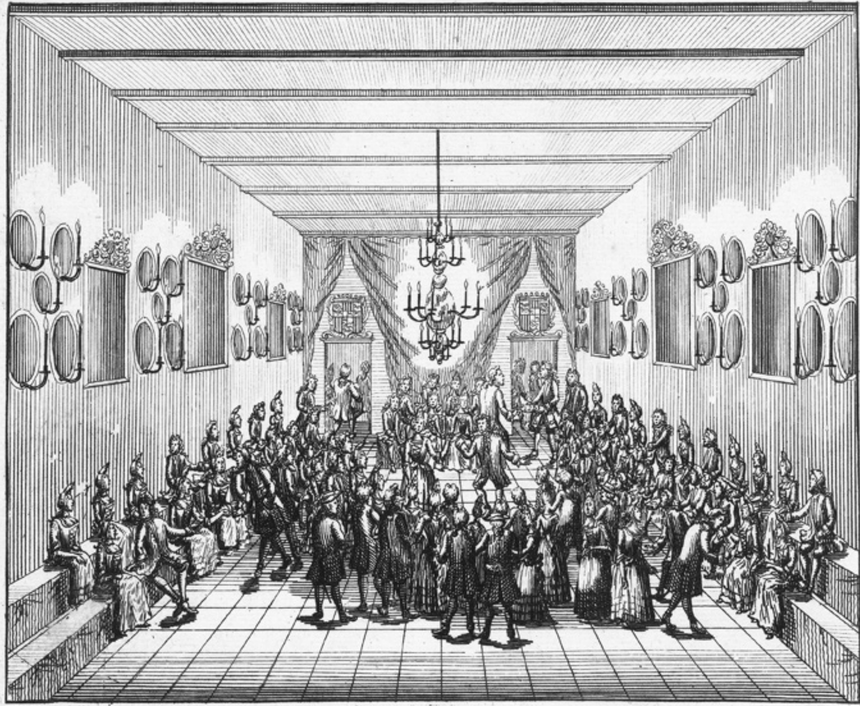

FIGURE 0.1 *A ball in honour of the birth of the crown prince of Portgual (19 October 1712), organized by the count of Tarouca on 27 February 1713 in Utrecht. Engraving by Nicolas Chevalier from* Relation des fêtes, que le Comte de Tarouca a données (*Utrecht: N. Chevalier, 1714*).
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could witness these diplomatic parties touring the city in an almost theatrical outfit.[32] The most successful ambassador in showing off to the local population was undoubtedly the Portuguese ambassador Tarouca, who threw a magnificent ball in honour of the birth of the crown prince,[33] but also treated the locals to a rare sight by organizing a sleigh-ride party in winter on one of the Utrecht canals, an engraving of which in the Utrecht archives still

32 Nicolaas Chevalier, *Lyste der Namen ende Qualiteiten van hare excellentien de heeren pleniptotentiarissen envoyees, ende publique ministers, dewelke sig bevinden op het congres, over de Generale Vrede, t'Utrecht. Beneffens haare Edelens Wapens, Woonplaatsen, ende Livryen ...* (Utrecht, 1712).

33 Kornee van der Haven, Eveline Koolhaas-Grosfeld, 'Maskerade en Ontmaskering,' *De Achttiende Eeuw* 41:1 (2009): 5–7.

captures the moment.[34] The conclusion of the peace and the celebrations also led to a spectacular performance. When on 14 June 1713 the States General organized fireworks in the Hofvijver in The Hague, the general populace enjoyed the spectacle from the shore, together with 'all the foreign ministers', invited by the States General 'to be treated and see the artful fireworks from the House of Prince Maurice'.[35]

The theatrical setting in which peace was performed was also of great interest to spectators. John Leake, a traveler who witnessed one of the meetings of the ambassadors in February 1712, wrote: 'The 23rd there was to be a general assembly at the stadthouse of the ministers of the several Allies, as well as of those of France. We could not slip this opportunity of gratifying our curiosity, and therefore, about ten in the morning, we placed ourselves as conveniently as we could to observe the cavalcade'. He realized the historical value of the occasion and was thrilled to 'view the politic faces of these arbitrators of the fate of Europe'. The location itself, however, was less than impressive. The rooms in city hall 'have nothing of the fineness of magnificence about them, but are as dark and melancholy as the transactions within them have hitherto been.'[36]

Commemoration

As such, the Peace of Utrecht staged a number of performative events, but it is also interesting to briefly analyse its afterlife. Soon after 1713 interesting discrepancies arose between the different national framings of remembering 'Utrecht'. In Great Britain for instance, the Treaty of Utrecht was considered as the starting point of a period of political and cultural prosperity, whereas in the Dutch Republic the treaty was seen as a turning point in the process of political and moral decline. Also in the German countries people thought of the peace as the bringer of both exuberant wealth along with general passivity, spoil and 'French effeminacy'. Such vices were associated in art and literature with French court culture, placed in opposition to 'native' simplicity, diligence and bravery. The fear of political hegemony of Louis XIV went hand in hand with the fear of cultural supremacy of France in Europe.

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34 Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, cat. 32384.

35 *Europische Mercurius* 24 (1713), I, 309. See also the contribution by Willem Frijhoff in this volume.

36 John Leake, quoted in Kees van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries: accounts of British travelers, 1660–1720* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

There were few commemorations. In 1738 the twenty-fifth anniversary of the peace was celebrated in the Dutch Republic with the issuing of a remarkable Game of the Goose, with the Silver Jubilee of the Peace of Utrecht ('Het Jubeljaar van de Vrede') as the final square to win the stake. The other sixty-nine squares symbolized events in Dutch history from the Revolt against Spain in the sixteenth century onwards.[37] After 1738 silence reigned around the Treaty of Utrecht. Performances of Handel's *Utrecht Te Deum*, mainly in Britain, were the exceptions. The year of the first centennial, 1813, was not exactly the right time for peace memorials. Even after Napoleon's catastrophic march to Russia, prospects for a near end to his rule did not look good in the spring of 1813. In 1886 the Peace of Utrecht was performed by students in Utrecht in a 'maskerade', a popular event apparently as it was repeated in 1890 and 1923.[38] 1913 did not inspire any national commemorations either, but in 1964 the 250th anniversary of the Peace of Rastatt of 1714 was modestly remembered with an exhibition, a publication and a medal.[39]

All this changed dramatically with the tercentenary, the occasion of a grand scale commemoration in three peace cities: Utrecht, Rastatt and Baden, an initiative comparable to the commemoration of the Peace of Westphalia in Münster and Osnabrück in 1998. However, the Utrecht initiative was, from the start, more focused on political issues like slavery and racism. In the activities, both in the plans for the commemoration year and in the long period before, the emphasis was strongly on contemporary art, theatre, film and music.[40] On the other hand, a yearly concert around the *Utrecht Te Deum* by Handel in Utrecht Cathedral paid attention to the music from the times of the peace treaty. In the four peace cities in Europe (Utrecht, Baden, Rastatt and Madrid) the treaties were commemorated in celebrations which were each distinctive in their mix of historical and current concerns, national and international focus and cultural and political issues, either tightly or loosely connected to the events in 1713–1715. One might wonder at this spectacular rediscovery, or rather, reinvention, of the Peace of Utrecht in recent years. As Jane O. Newman writes in chapter 13 to this volume, it remains to be seen how the peace celebrations of 2013 will be remembered in the future.

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37 *Peace Was Made Here*, ed. De Bruin and Brinkman, 184–185.

38 David Onnekink and Renger de Bruin, *De vrede van Utrecht* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2013), 102–103.

39 *1714. Friede von Rastatt, Ausstellung im Schloss Rastatt vom 11. Juli bis 18. August 1964* (Rastatt: Stadtverwaltung, 1964).

40 For an overview of the activities see: *9 jaar Stichting Vrede van Utrecht 2005–2013*, ed. Lieke Hoitink and Petra Orthel (Utrecht: Stichting Vrede van Utrecht, 2014).

Stages of Performance

Performances of Peace investigates how peace was mediated, represented and 'made' in the build-up to the negotiations, during the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession and during the Utrecht negotiations (1711–13). By studying these peace performances, it aims to shed new light on the relationship between diplomacy and performative culture in the public sphere. It will do so by focusing on four different 'stages' where the Utrecht peace performances took place: the 'diplomatic' (I), 'publicity' (II), 'theatrical' (III) and 'commemorative' (IV) stage. The 'diplomatic stage' looks into relationship between diplomacy and cultural practices and discourse. The 'publicity stage' deals with the public debate, as it emerged in newspapers, periodicals, historiographical works, occasional poetry and plays. The 'theatrical stage' discusses different kinds of theatrical performances during the Spanish Succession War and the 1713 peace celebrations, such as fireworks, theatre plays, musical performances and peepshows. Entertaining spectacles like these made the world and experiences of diplomats and militaries accessible to larger groups of people. The 'commemorative stage' discusses the manner in which later generations reflected on and historically constructed the peace. In all parts special attention is paid to issues of 'agency' and 'identity': who were performing these acts, and which (local, national or European) identities were constructed in this way?

The first part of this volume is dedicated to the 'diplomatic stage'. European-wide coalitions necessitated the formulation or revision of 'grand strategies', which now increasingly came to span the continent as well as overseas territories. But the concepts related to the conduct of foreign policy also changed, for instance with the emergence of the 'balance of power' principle.[41] The increasing sophistication of diplomatic interaction is exhibited in the handbooks of Abraham de Wicquefort in the 1673 and François de Callières in 1716 as well as in the diplomatic academy established by Torcy in 1712. The process of transforming dynastic conglomerates into nation-states,[42] albeit capricious and far from straightforward, changed the nature of foreign politics and diplomacy. Increasing public pressure (itself the result of a coming of age of 'public opinion')[43] on governments to justify or even alter the direction of

41 Evan Luard, *The Balance of Power: the System of International Relations, 1648–1815* (St. Martin's Press: Basingstoke, 1992).

42 But see Lucien Bély, *La societé des princes: xvie–xviiie siecle* (Fayard: Paris, 1999).

43 The lapse of the 1694 Licensing Act in England was considered a landmark by Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Polity, 1989), 58.

FIGURE 0.2 *The Peace of Utrecht. Engraving by Anna Folkema. From: Roeland van Leuve,* Mengelwerken (*Amsterdam: J. Verheyden, 1723*).
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foreign policy, partly the result of the steep rise of the cost of war due to rapidly expanding armies,[44] added a new layer to the complex system of international relations. Increasingly also nationalist sentiments, national stereotypes and the depiction of foreign enemies in the evolution of a national culture challenged the dynastic princes' claim to the people's loyalty, partly as a result of the long wars between states.[45] At the same time, the steep rise of colonial imports and commercial wars heightened the awareness of the global dimension of conflict and fostered cosmopolitism. International relations in the eighteenth century differed from those in the seventeenth century.[46] With new concepts there also emerged new languages of international relations to come to terms with changes, such as the emergence of the term 'balance of power', a term that could be seen as a description of the situation but also shaped the social reality itself. The power of language in international relations, especially with regard to peace treaties such as that of Utrecht, was important.

Frey and Frey (chapter 1) present a panoramic overview of eighteenth-century diplomats acting on their stage. The diplomats' 'intrigues, maneuvers, negotiations, quarrels and social activities, sometimes including sexual liaisons, were part of the public performance of peace.' They show how diplomats were trained to perform on the 'theatre of the world' and how they interacted successfully by being part of a community with a shared language and practices. Minute attention was paid to the rules of conversation as well as dress and ceremony. The era of the Peace of Utrecht is pertinent, since it saw the emergence of the notion of the professional diplomat in which training was taken to a higher level and practices were encoded in handbooks.

The chapter by Lucien Bély shows how the performance of diplomats did not always take place on a 'stage' but often behind it, invisible to the spectators. This was the case with the Peace of Utrecht, in which the most material aspects of the treaty were negotiated in secret between French and English negotiators rather than in Utrecht between the plenipotentiaries in official meetings. Bély focuses in particular on the role played by the commercial interests, merchants lobbying for trade advantages in the West Indies in a process largely hidden

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44 According to Jeremy Black, a military revolution took place between 1660 and 1710 driven by the expansion of armies: *A Military Revolution: Military Change and European Society, 1550–1800* (Basingstoke: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

45 Cf. Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

46 Cf. Heinz Duchhardt, *Balance of Power und Pentarchie: Internationale Beziehungen 1700–1785* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1992).

from the eyes of the general public. The diplomats integrated such demands, often secret projects proposed by merchants or companies in the negotiations. The article also makes clear the significance of the global scale of the ramifications of the Utrecht negotiations.

The theme of identity is explored by Phil McCluskey (chapter 3), who analyses the shifts in identity and loyalty of the subjects of the duke of Savoy in the duchies of Savoy and Piedmont on the eve of the Peace of Utrecht. These territories were divided by the Alps, and the loyalty of the Savoyard people in particular was tested when French troops occupied Savoy during the War of the Spanish Succession. Did the change of a dynastic ruler lead to large-scale resistance or did the population remain indifferent? To what extent did shared culture and language between the occupied people and conqueror affect the sense of loyalty to the new regime? And how did Victor Amadeus appeal to the Savoyards in order to retain their loyalty? McCluskey disentangles the complex and multilevel patterns of identities and loyalties of the Savoyard people, concluding that the duke's strategy, a combination of threat and appeal to 'national sentiment', proved extremely successful.

Identity is also the subject of chapter 4 by David Onnekink, focusing on the abortive negotiations for peace between the Dutch and the French in 1709 and 1710, on the eve of the Peace of Utrecht. The focus is on identities and how they tie in with foreign policy discourses. More specifically, Onnekink analyses Universal Monarchy discourse in popular sources in which France is portrayed as warlike, arrogant and unreliable. The article shows how this discourse also pervaded official policy sources and diplomatic correspondence, thus suggesting that identity discourses rather than rational argument influenced the outcome of the negotiations in 1710.

The public reflection on the Peace of Utrecht in literary, historiographical and journalistic texts is the topic of the second part of this book, highlighting 'the publicity stage'. The general public's craving for news during the War of the Spanish Succession and the negotiations in Utrecht was met by a large stream of publications, including newspapers, periodicals, treatises, poems and plays. By means of these media all sorts of political and moral ideals were propagated, but informing and entertaining the audience was just as important. This is illustrated by Suzan van Dijk and Henriette Goldwyn in their analysis of Madame du Noyer's coverage of the peace negotiations in her periodical *Quintessence des nouvellle historiques, critiques, politiques, morales et galantes* (chapter 5). In this periodical, which has been largely overlooked in the historiography of the Utrecht celebrations, informing the public was just as important as offering entertainment. The mixture of facts and fictional epistolary elements, which were embedded in a literary tradition, typify Du Noyer's

writing. Her reporting techniques differed from the more traditional accounts in the sense that she emphasized a female perspective, albeit ironically.

Du Noyer's entertaining writing style is rather different from that found in the *Histoire du Congrès et de la Paix d'Utrecht* [...], the authoritative history of the Utrecht peace congress, which in appeared anonymously in 1716. Heinz Duchhardt (chapter 6) argues that this influential book was written by an eyewitness of the Utrecht negotiations and that the French historian Casimir Freschot, who lived in Utrecht, is the most likely candidate. His account is far from objective but filled with animosity against the French, the English and the Pope. The author for instance fulminates against the British strategies conducted in the years before the actual signing of the Peace Treaty, especially the monarchical pursuits of Queen Anne and the games played behind the back of the allies, which would disadvantage the Dutch Republic.

While in the above mentioned publications attention was paid to all participants in the negotiations, many other contemporary texts focused exclusively on the national impact of the peace celebrations. The internal debates on the British 'stage' are the topic of chapters 7 (Samia Al-Shayban) and 8 (Clare Jackson) while chapter 9 focuses on the Dutch Republic (Lotte Jensen). The British nation was deeply divided over the peace negotiations: Queen Anne and her adherents were in favour of the conclusion of the peace while the Whig Cabinet preferred a continuation of the fight. The political struggle between the Tories and the Whigs was visualized in Joseph Addison's tragedy *Cato*. This play, which tells the story of Cato's struggle for liberty against Caesar's tyranny, was written in 1712 and first performed on 14 April 1713. It has been subject to many- often contradictory- interpretations. Al-Shabayn argues that reading the play against the background of the Treaty of Utrecht offers new insights: it is not Cato but Caesar who, as a proponent of peace, offers a role model for contemporary politics. Although Addison had earlier sided with the Whigs, it is in fact Queen Anne's policy that is supported on stage.

This is also the case in Jonathan Swift's contribution to the debate, *The Conduct of Allies* (1711) and his lesser-known *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen* (written in 1712–13, first published in 1745). Swift took a firm stand in the internal political struggles and whole-heartedly supported Queen Anne. His motives, however, seem to have been influenced by personal circumstances as well: he was trying to secure an appointment as Historiographer-Royal, but his attempts hopelessly failed. Addison's and Swift's publications show that the performance of peace was filled with internal political struggles, but the Swift case also calls attention to questions related to the mediation of knowledge about the negotiations for a more general reading public As Jackson shows in her chapter, Swift's claim to possess particular knowledge of the political

negotiations and maneuvering that underpinned the Treaty of Utrecht was asserted in his capacity as a polemical propagandist who remained in London whilst the diplomatic negotiations took place abroad. The fact that he was *not* involved in the negotiations or the diplomatic world itself thus enabled him to frame his own position as an independent journalist and opinion-maker.

Jensen focuses on the popular reactions to the peace treaty in relation to the rise of national and European thought. Jensen's chapter shows that it is in the field of literature that identities are first and most effectively formulated because literature often works with discursive patterns of self-identification, convincing images and commonplaces. Mainly focused on national arena, like the internal political struggles of republicanism versus Orangism, these reactions explore different concepts of Dutchness as well as different roles of the Dutch Republic on the international stage. Only a few writers, such as the Mennonite Adriaan Spinniker, however, propagated true European peace. More often, the national perspective was shaped in dialogue with the regional and European levels. Some singled out the Dutch Republic as the best part of Europe and emphasized the laudable contribution of their nation to the peace negotiations whilst others highlighted the benefits of the peace for Europe as a whole. Both regional and national as well as European 'imagined communities' take shape in the sources discussed by Jensen, based on national feelings, but also on religious or cultural identities.

Part three, the theatrical stage, deals with peace celebrations and other public events related to the War of the Spanish Succession. Fireworks and public festivities were mainly used as an instrument of top-down communication, while travelling peepshows and theatre plays at fairs or in public theatre houses were commercial initiatives with a more popular character. In both cases, the audience got the opportunity to participate in the distant worlds of war and diplomacy. Although the most successful peace negotiations were conducted informally and behind closed doors, rulers and politicians recognized the representative potential of public attention and arranged large-scale (semi-)public ceremonial and theatrical events to create a public framework for their negotiations. As scholars like Jeroen Duindam have shown, 'diplomatic ceremony' was of crucial importance in the nexus between court life and diplomacy.[47]

In chapter 10, Cornelis van der Haven investigates the role of war plays and military peepshows during the War of the Spanish Succession and the Utrecht peace negotiations. In the Amsterdam theatre house several plays were

47 Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles. The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 181–184.

performed, which depicted battlefield scenes, whereas a highly allegorical piece by Enoch Krook, entitled *Staatkunde* ('Politics'), performed in 1713, made the 'theatre of diplomacy' accessible to a larger audience. It enabled the audience to reflect on the political and tactical skills that were important in the world of diplomats as well as on the political principles of balance of power and the rules of international diplomacy. Travelling peepshows were another medium which enabled a larger audience to get an impression of the military world. By looking through a glass they got a private, nearly intimate impression of the military scenery. Media like these were paradoxical in nature: on the one hand, they brought the experience of war and diplomacy closer to the public; on the other hand, they kept the realities of war and diplomacy at a greater distance in order for the viewer to enjoy that distanced reality and the spectacles related to it.

While the above-mentioned performances were primarily popular, there was also a wide range of celebrations with a more top-down character. The institutional political use of public ceremonies is central to the chapters by Aaron Olivas and Julie Farguson, who respectively describe public celebrations connected to Philip V of Spain and Queen Anne of Great Britain. In chapter 11, Olivas shows how the Spanish king availed himself of political propaganda in the colonies. During the Spanish Succession War, many public performances were organized to celebrate important events in the personal life of the king, such as his marriage to María Luisa of Savoy, her pregnancies, and the birth of their sons. These spectacles served both political and diplomatic goals: the public's moral and financial support was crucial for the king's ability to wage war, and people were urged to donate to the crown. Furthermore, the trans-imperial bonds with the French crown were reinforced by the use of these ceremonies.

A similar, instrumental use can be witnessed in the public thanksgiving held at St Paul's Cathedral in London on 7 July 1713, as shown by Farguson (chapter 12). The festivities consisted of a grand procession, a musical performance, and fireworks. Farguson demonstrates how this celebration fits in the history of public thanksgivings and argues that Queen Anne used this ceremonial form as a political instrument. She was promoted as a symbol of national and religious unity to counteract the political factionalism of the era. Music played an important role in proclaiming the benefits of peace in national terms: Handel's *Te Deum* enforced the message of peaceful and religious harmony. Farguson's account of these monarchical celebrations demonstrate that performances of peace were mainly framed in national terms: just as in the case of the Dutch fireworks and Spanish celebrations overseas, the performances were utilized by the political rulers to propagate their own political agenda.

This instrumental use of ceremonies, however, was not restricted to court life. In the case of the Dutch Republic, where court life was almost absent in the first half of the eighteenth century, ceremonial celebrations served as vehicles to pass on political and moral messages as we can see in the chapter by Willem Frijhoff, who discusses the fireworks held in The Hague from anthropological, social and political perspectives. He points to the richness of this medium in terms of conveying clear moral and political messages in support of the diplomatic negotiations of the States General and the States of Holland; these messages reached a wider audience through engravings and broadsheets, which were reproduced many times. The most striking observation is that the patriotic and moral symbolism remained totally inward-turned and concentrated on a celebration of the Dutch Republic itself and the structures of the state. There were no references to European alliances or cosmopolitan ideals. According to Frijhoff, this suggests that the Dutch authorities realized that their leading European role belonged to the past.

In all cases, these public performances—ranging from fireworks to military peepshows—reveal the growing public interest in war and peace-making. Rulers and politicians recognized the importance of creating a public framework, while playwrights and entertainers reacted to the need of the general public to be informed about what happened in the rather distant diplomatic and military spheres.

In the final part on 'the commemorative stage', the focus is on contemporary reflections upon the Peace of Utrecht through the metaphor of a 'memory theatre'. As Jane O. Newman explains, this is a mental exercise in which one can summon images and memories of the past as if they were performed on stage. The question this final part tries to answer specifically is how such a memory theatre was constructed in the commemorations of the Peace of Utrecht in 2013.

In chapter 14 Jane O. Newman reflects on the articles and central concern of this volume by musing on the connection between diplomacy, performativity and commemoration. She does so by using her own research on the commemoration of the Peace of Westphalia in 1948 as an example. As she points out, this book is a performance itself—a memory theatre providing insight into the ways the Peace of Utrecht was remembered by historical scholars in the year 2013.

In the closing chapter Renger de Bruin explores the various ways in which museums in Germany, Spain, Switzerland and The Netherlands recreated a peace which, contrary to the Peace of Westphalia, was all but forgotten. In a way, the peace had to be reinvented for a modern audience, in which specific national and local concerns also played their part. In Utrecht, for instance,

the local museum focused on a historical recreation of the Peace, but most celebrations had a more cultural character and celebrated 'peace' as a notion rather than a historical event. In Baden commemoration had a similar contemporary flavour, whereas Rastatt focused on the historical context. As De Bruin shows, in these four cities, like four different 'stages', the Peace of Utrecht was performed as a European event, echoing both the historical peace of 1713 as well as the practical organization sponsored by the European Union.

Together these chapters thus form a four-pronged structure in which the four separate stages are presented to the reader, who becomes a spectator indirectly of these performances of the Peace of Utrecht. Accordingly, this volume not only sheds new light on the peace itself but also on our own early twenty-first-century conditions and concerns in relation to the performance of peace and to what 'Utrecht' means to us today.