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Calling for Peace, Preparing for War: The Revolutionary Voice of Saint Genevieve during the Fronde

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Calling for Peace, Preparing for War:

The Revolutionary Voice of Saint Genevieve during the Fronde

In the wee hours of the morning on Tuesday, 11 June 1652, after prayers, confessions, communions, fasting, and four full days of processions by all of the parishes and religious houses in and around Paris, the massive golden chasse of Saint Genevieve,¹ the city's patron saint, was lifted from its perch atop high columns in the Church of Sainte Geneviève du Mont and set carefully down on a table prepared for it, as a kneeling choir sang the *Beata Virgo Genovesa*.² The Abbot of Saint Genevieve³ celebrated a solemn mass, and, at the break of dawn, the king's lieutenants and lawyers arrived, followed by red-robed members of the Parlement of Paris and other city leaders, all in

¹ This reliquary had been crafted in the thirteenth century and restored in the early seventeenth. In the late eighteenth century, French revolutionaries stripped the chasse of its gems, melted the gold down into coins, and burned the bodily remains of the saint and then threw them into the Seine. See "Sainte Geneviève et l'abbaye éponyme" and "Le Panthéon et Saint-Étienne-du-Mont" in the summary of the exhibition *Sainte-Geneviève (423-512): Image d'une légende* held at the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève in Paris, curated by Jocelyn Bouquillard, 15 September 2012 – 28 January 2013, accessed 15 December 2017, <http://www.bsg.univ-paris3.fr/sainte-genevieve-et-labbaye-eponyme> and <http://www.bsg.univ-paris3.fr/le-pantheon-et-saint-etienne-du-mont>.

² Details of the procession come from an account published three days later, *Les Ceremonies Observees en la descente de la Chasse de Ste Geneviève Patrone de Paris* (Paris: Bureau d'Adresse, aux Galleries du Louvre, devant la ruë S. Thomas, 14 June 1652) [variant of Moreau 2626]. Numbers in brackets refer to entries in Célestin Moreau *Bibliographie des Mazarinades*, 3 vols. (Paris: Renouard, 1850-51).

³ Antoine Sconin (1608-89), Abbot of Saint Genevieve from 1650 to 1653 and uncle of playwright Jean Racine (1639-99).

ceremonial attire. Representatives of Parisian religious houses, some bearing relics of their own, joined the group next. Many were barefoot, wore garments of white and crowns of flowers, and held lighted candles. The ailing Archbishop of Paris,⁴ carried in a seat of red and gold, reached the church at ten o'clock. In accordance with the proverb "that Saint Genevieve would not go out if Saint Marcel did not go to seek her,"⁵ the reliquary of the latter saint was brought in to greet that of the former. The cantor, choirboys, and archbishop chanted antiphons, the abbot offered another prayer, the whole choir sang again, and then the two reliquaries and full procession exited the church, forty men carrying the chasse of Saint Genevieve. As the procession passed through the streets of Paris, the abbot and archbishop blessed members of the thronging crowd, and the sacristan and city sergeants held them back with sticks. The Prince de Condé and Duc de Beaufort joined the procession at the Petit Pont.⁶ The group paused at the entrance to the Cathedral of Notre Dame, a priest and his assistants waved incense, and the music of the King's Twenty-Four Violins⁷ swelled. The bearers of the reliquary of Saint Genevieve carried the chasse into the cathedral and placed it on the great altar next to that of Notre Dame herself, as all who were gathered there knelt and sang the *Gaude Maria*. The chief penitentiary celebrated another high mass on the archbishop's behalf, and the archbishop

⁴ Jean-François de Gondi (1584-1654), uncle of Jean-François-Paul de Gondi (1613-79) who became Cardinal de Retz in 1652.

⁵ "Que Sainte Geneviève ne sort point si S. Marcel ne la va querir." *Les Ceremonies Observees*, 573. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

⁶ Louis II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé (1621-86) and François de Vendôme, Duc de Beaufort (1616-69).

⁷ This elite string ensemble, composed of instruments of various sizes, played at royal festivals and state events in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France. Its participation in the Procession of Saint Genevieve would have been expected: "On religious holidays they set up outdoor bandstands and played as processions filed by." John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 74.

and abbot offered more prayers. Finally, the procession left Notre Dame and returned to Sainte Geneviève du Mont. The bearers of the reliquaries of Saint Marcel and Saint Genevieve bent them toward each other in farewell at the entrance to the church. The chasse of Saint Genevieve was carried inside and lifted back up to its usual resting place as bells rang out. After one last prayer, the great procession ended.

An engraving attributed to Nicholas Cochin depicts *The Magnificent Procession of the Chasse of Saint Genevieve Patron of Paris on 11 June 1652 for Peace*.⁸ In addition to the immense pageant shown in the engraving, one must imagine the crowd that gathered in the streets of Paris to watch it pass. According to the author of one contemporary account, the multitude that day was

so prodigious, that in addition to the profusion found in the streets, where it did not leave four feet of space for passage, the large squares and shops were all full of ten- and fifteen-row amphitheatres packed with people, and every house had up to three scaffoldings, on which yet another infinity could be seen, which did not prevent others from being everywhere in windows and on rooftops.⁹

⁸ *La Magnifique Procession de la Chasse de Ste Geneviefve Patronne de Paris faite l'XIe Juin 1652 pour la paix* (Paris: Boissevin, 1652). Accessed 18 December 2017, <http://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/collection/item/25835>. Samuel Rocheblave makes the attribution to Cochin in *Les Cochin* (Paris: Pierson, 1893), 28. His attribution is apparently based on similarities to an engraving bearing Cochin's name that depicts another procession a few days later: *La devote Procession de la chasse de St. Germain, Evesque et Patron de Paris, faite le 16. juin 1652 pour la paix et pour l'heureux retour du Roy* (Paris: Boissevin, 1652).

⁹ "si prodigieux, qu'outre l'affluance qui s'en trouva par les ruës, où elle ne laissoit pas quatre pieds d'espace pour le passage, les grandes places & les boutiques estoient toutes pleines d'amphithéatres à dix & quinze rangs chargez de monde, & chaque maison avoit jusques à trois échaffauds, sur lesquels il s'en voyoit encor une infinité: ce qui n'empeschoit pas qu'il n'y en eust par tout aux fenestres & sur les toits." *Les Ceremonies Observees*, 576.

The importance of public events is still measured today by the number of spectators, and crowd-size claims can vary widely. Whether or not the “magnificent procession” of the chase of Saint Genevieve in June 1652 broke any attendance records in Paris, it is safe to say that it was a significant moment in the turbulent years of the Fronde, the civil wars that shook France from 1648 to 1653.

What is less certain is that the procession actually represented a call for peace. Ostensibly, the event was an attempt to persuade the patron saint of Paris to use her influence with the Almighty to put an end to the violence that had plagued the city and kingdom for four years, as the Parlement of Paris and the upper nobility sought to check the expanding reach of power wielded by Queen Anne d’Autriche, regent for her young son King Louis XIV, and her chief minister, Cardinal Jules Mazarin. The conflicts had spread beyond Paris to cities like Rouen, Angers, Dijon, Bordeaux, and Aix-en-Provence. The spring of 1652 had seen both defeats and victories for the rebel armies and renewed agitation in Paris.¹⁰ No clear end was in sight. For most French men and women, the wars had surely dragged on far too long. Orest Ranum describes “a peace-at-any-price mood in 1652.”¹¹ This mood, however, was not shared by all.

The leaders of the Fronde and their impassioned propagandists had no interest in peace until they had achieved a victory first. Moshe Sluhovsky has pointed out that *frondeurs* tried to use the procession of Saint Genevieve to cultivate support for their

¹⁰ On the specific context of spring 1652, see Christian Jouhaud, *Mazarinades: La Fronde des mots* (Paris: Aubier, 1985), 248-49; Orest Ranum, *The Fronde: A French Revolution 1648-1652* (New York: Norton, 1993), 322-36; Michel Pernot, *La Fronde* (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1994), 289-308; and Moshe Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris: Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 130.

¹¹ *The Fronde*, 304.

ongoing revolt.¹² Conspicuous in the account of the event cited above is the remark that “the Procession having arrived at the Petit Pont by way of the Rue Saint Jacques, the Prince de Condé and Duc de Beaufort gave signs of their devotion through their respect for Saint Genevieve whose chasse they kissed and followed all the way to Notre Dame.”¹³ The dramatic and well-timed arrival of Louis II de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, and François de Vendôme, Duc de Beaufort, great military leaders of the Fronde, was a provocative attempt to co-opt the power of the procession. Françoise de Bertaud, Madame de Motteville,¹⁴ describes the actions of the prince and duke in her memoirs. “The people having asked the Hôtel de Ville to have the chasse of Saint Genevieve brought down and carried in a procession to drive out Mazarin and have peace,” she recalls, “the procession was made with the usual ceremony.” She continues,

During this pious action, Monsieur le Prince, in order to win over the people and make himself King of Les Halles, along with the Duc de Beaufort, stood in the streets and amid the throng, while the Duc d’Orléans¹⁵ and everyone were at the windows watching the procession go by. As the chasses [of other saints] went by, Monsieur le Prince ran up to all of them with humble and visible devotion, presenting his rosary to be kissed and contorting his face like common women do, but when the chasse of Saint Genevieve went by, then, like a fanatic, after

¹² *Patroness of Paris*, 133-35.

¹³ “La Procession estant arrivée à Petit-pont par la ruë Saint Jacques, le Prince de Condé & le Duc de Beaufort, y donnèrent des marques de leur dévotion par leurs respects envers Sainte Gèneviève dont ils baisèrent la Chasse, & la suivirent jusqu’à Nostre-Dame.” *Les Ceremonies Observees*, 574.

¹⁴ (1621-89).

¹⁵ Gaston de France, Duc d’Orléans (1608-60), the only surviving brother of Louis XIII and the uncle of Louis XIV, was a key figure during the Fronde due to his power and shifting alliances. He had initially supported Mazarin but joined forces with the rebelling princes in 1651.

kneeling in the street, he ran and threw himself between the priests, and, kissing this holy chaise a hundred times, he presented his rosary to be kissed again and stepped back to the applause of the people. They all shouted after him, saying, “*Ah! The good prince! And how devoted he is!*” The Duc de Beaufort, whom Monsieur le Prince had associated with this feigned devotion, did the same thing [. . .] This action seemed strange to all who saw it. It was easy to guess the intention, which was not favorable to the King, but it didn’t do him much harm.¹⁶

The fact that Motteville names peace as only the second desired outcome of the procession, after the expulsion of Mazarin, suggests that motivations for the event were mixed from the beginning. Motteville clearly finds Condé’s behavior ridiculous. She highlights his exaggerated and false piety and how he seeks applause and approval. Although Motteville judges that Condé’s actions were ultimately futile, her description demonstrates that a desire for peace was not universal.

¹⁶ “Le peuple ayant demandé à l’hôtel-de-ville que la châsse de sainte Geneviève fût descendue et portée en procession pour chasser le Mazarin et avoir la paix, la procession se fit avec la cérémonie ordinaire. Pendant cette pieuse action, M. le prince, pour gagner le peuple et se faire roi des halles aussi bien que le duc de Beaufort, se tint dans les rues et parmi la populace, lorsque le duc d’Orléans et tout le monde étaient aux fenêtres pour voir passer la procession. Quand les châsses vinrent à passer, M. le prince courut à toutes avec une humble et apparente dévotion, faisant baiser son chapelet, et faisant toutes les grimaces que les bonnes femmes ont accoutumé de faire; mais quand celle de sainte Geneviève vint à passer, alors comme un forcené, après s’être mis à genoux dans la rue, il courut se jeter entre les prêtres: et baisant cent fois cette sainte châsse, il y fit baiser encore son chapelet, et se retira avec l’applaudissement du peuple. Ils criaient tous après lui, disant: ‘*Ah! le bon prince! et qu’il est dévot!*’ Le duc de Beaufort, que M. le prince avait associé à cette feinte dévotion, en fit de même [. . .] Cette action parut étrange à tous ceux qui la virent. Il fut aisé d’en deviner le motif, qui n’était pas obligeant pour le Roi; mais il ne lui fit pas grand mal.” Madame de Motteville, *Chronique de la Fronde*, ed. Jean-Michel Delacomptée (Paris: Mercure de France, 2003), 478.

In line with Condé, authors of Mazarinades, the political pamphlets of the Fronde,¹⁷ summoned up the voice of Saint Genevieve herself in the weeks and months following the procession not to call for peace, but rather, as calls to arms, urging rebels to keep fighting the good fight and warning the queen regent that a revolution was imminent. Sluhovsky observes that, although theology and doctrine were not at stake during the Fronde as they had been in the wars of the previous century, religious zeal remained as strong as ever in seventeenth-century France, and writers of Mazarinades drew heavily upon religious symbolism, particularly that associated with the cult of saints, in order to mobilize support for political causes. Reports of saints' interventions at key moments of the Fronde allowed writers of Mazarinades "to integrate political events into a spiritual or even divine framework."¹⁸ Saint Genevieve¹⁹ plays a major role in legends of the rise to prominence of the city of Paris and the establishment of France as a Christian nation. In 452, she is said to have foretold that the army of Attila the Hun, then engaged in an invasion of Gaul, would not lay siege to Paris. Shortly after her prophesy, the attacking Huns withdrew and left Gaul entirely. In 496, near the end of her life, she helped to convince Clovis, the Frankish king, to convert to Christianity. She was invoked on behalf of the city of Paris as early as the ninth century and was firmly established as its

¹⁷ Current estimates place the number of political pamphlets published during the Fronde at 5000-6000 separate titles. These pamphlets are called collectively Mazarinades after the satirical *La Mazarinade* (Paris, 1651) attributed to Paul Scarron [Moreau 2436]. In addition to Moreau and Jouhaud, see Hubert Carrier, *La Presse de la Fronde (1648-1653): Les Mazarinades*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1989-91) and *Les Muses guerrières: Les Mazarinades et la vie littéraire au milieu du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1996).

¹⁸ "intégrer les événements politiques dans un cadre spirituel voire divin." "La Mobilisation des saints dans la Fronde parisienne d'après les mazarinades," *Annales Histoire Sciences Sociales* 54.2 (1999): 373.

¹⁹ (after 420-after 500).

patron saint by the fourteenth.²⁰ Processions of Saint Genevieve were held frequently in Paris over the years, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²¹ In the political propaganda of the seventeenth-century Fronde, Saint Genevieve's voice joins those of many other women, real and imagined (present and past queens, the wives of members of Parlement, printers, prostitutes, fishmongers, fruitsellers, even one Parisian pumphouse²²), who speak in Mazarinades to galvanize partisans and press for action.

In her analysis of the roles available to living women who sought to legitimate their involvement in the Fronde, Sophie Vergnes discusses the contrasting, but symmetrical, identifications of female figures as militaristic Amazons and as devoted mothers—the former exemplified, *inter alia*, by Anne-Marie-Louise d'Orléans, Duchesse de Montpensier,²³ who commanded that the cannons of the Bastille be fired upon royal troops at the Battle of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in July 1652,²⁴ and the latter by Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, Dowager Princess of Condé,²⁵ whose unexpected death in December 1650 during her sons' long imprisonment helped their partisans advocate successfully for their release. "Both of these references," Vergnes observes,

²⁰ For details of the life of Saint Genevieve and the development of her cult, see Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris*, 11-25.

²¹ Sluhovsky includes a list of processions of Saint Genevieve from 885 to 1725. *Patroness of Paris*, 217-19.

²² The pumphouse known as La Samaritaine, then located on the Left Bank of the Seine at the end of the Pont Neuf, discusses current events with the statue of King Henri IV standing on the middle of the bridge, in a series of dialogues, beginning with the *Dialogue entre le Roy de Bronze et la Samaritaine* (Paris: Arnould Cotinet, 1649) [Moreau 1090]. On the importance of the Pont Neuf for early modern Paris and of these public structures in particular, see Joan DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 25-26.

²³ (1627-1693).

²⁴ DeJean describes this memorable moment in her introduction to Montpensier, *Against Marriage: The Correspondance of the Grande Mademoiselle*, ed. and trans. DeJean (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 6-7.

²⁵ (1594-1650).

“impose on women who wish to benefit from them a strict framework, absolutely transgressive in one case, absolutely respectful of norms in the other.”²⁶ Apparitions of Saint Genevieve in Mazarinades published after the procession for peace in June 1652 make use of both maternal and militaristic elements, a royalist pamphlet depicting the patron saint listening like a mother to Parisians’ prayers, and three *frondeur* pamphlets representing her support of a continued armed rebellion and threats of outright revolution if rebels’ demands are not met. These pamphlets demonstrate not only Saint Genevieve’s continuing presence in seventeenth-century French mentalities, but also, and more importantly, the symbolic power of gendered voices in a time of political crisis.

That the procession of Saint Genevieve did not lead to peace was probably a surprise to no one. Two weeks before the procession, in a pamphlet dated 29 May 1652, French Academy member and bishop Antoine Godeau, casting himself as a humble Parisian parish priest, had warned that few in Paris were actively seeking peace: “Not many people have come [to the churches] to pray to the God of the Armies, who is also the God of Peace, to look with pity upon the vessel in which they have embarked, which is on the verge of shipwreck.”²⁷ Godeau describes, using the future tense, the religious hypocrisy he expects to see at the procession:

²⁶ Sophie Vergnes, *Les Frondeuses: Une révolte au féminin (1643-1661)* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 2013), 295.

²⁷ “Peu de personnes y sont venuës prier le Dieu des armées, qui est aussi le Dieu de la Paix, de regarder en pitié le vaisseau où elles sont embarquées, lequel est sur le point de faire naufrage.” *Advis aux Parisiens sur la descente de la Chasse de sainte Geneviefve, & la Procession qui se doit faire pour demander la Paix. Par un Curé de la ville de Paris* (Paris: 1652), 5 [Moreau 492]. This text is also included in the second volume of Godeau’s collected works published in 1658. *Oeuvres chrestiennes et morales en prose, de Mr^e Antoine Godeau, Evesque de Vence* (Paris: Pierre le Petit, 1658) 2: 99-126. Godeau published a related verse text in 1652, the *Hymne de Ste Geneviefve, patronne de la ville de Paris, par A. G. E. D. G.* (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, 1652) [Moreau 1671]. A

How many people will come [to the procession] with minds either full of dissension, sedition, & revolt, disguised beneath the pretext of public good, or torn apart by hatred, consumed by envy, burning with greed, or slaves to wicked loves! How many hypocrites walking there with downcast faces will have aspirations raised above the clouds! How many falsely devout will beat their breasts, without dreaming that they should subjugate their hearts instead of striking their stomachs, in order to appease the anger of God, the enemy of those who use pious actions to conceal their desires!²⁸

Until Parisians truly change their ways, Godeau writes, Saint Genevieve will block her ears to their pleas and will call for their punishment rather than an end to their suffering. The Prince de Condé and Duc de Beaufort, of course, acted just as Godeau had predicted.

In four Mazarinades published anonymously after the procession of her reliquary, Saint Genevieve speaks directly to explain why peace has not yet ensued. In the first of these pamphlets, the *Revelation de Sainte Geneviève [sic] a un Religieux de son Ordre, sur les Miseres du Temps, Où elle luy declare la raison pour laquelle elle n'a pas fait*

habitué of Parisian literary salons, particularly that of Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet (1588-1665), Godeau (1605-72) was one of the founding members of the Académie française, elected in 1634. He became Bishop of Grasse in 1636 and of Vence in 1638. See Yves Giraud, ed., *Antoine Godeau (1605-1672): De la galanterie à la sainteté* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975).

²⁸ “Que de gens y viendront avec des esprits ou pleins de faction, de sedition, & de revolte, deguisées sous le pretexte du bien public, ou deschirez de haine, ou rongez d’envie, ou bruslans d’avarice, ou esclaves de mauvaises amours! Que d’hypocrites y marcheront avec le visage abbatu, qui auront des pretentions eslevées par dessus les nuës! Que de faux devots y fraperont leur poitrine, sans songer qu’il faut froisser son coeur, & non pas battre son estomach, pour flechir la colere de Dieu, ennemi de ceux qui se servent des actions de pieté pour couvrir leurs convoitises!” *Advis aux Parisiens*, 11.

Miracle cette Année,²⁹ she takes a royalist stance. The saint says she has heard Parisians' supplications "with the tenderness of a mother."³⁰ Sounding much like Godeau, she says she has not yet responded because these prayers have not been offered with humility and submission. God, she observes, holds the king's heart in his hand. Any preference for other leaders—i.e., for rebelling princes—thus amounts to idolatry. Addressing Paris, Saint Genevieve describes these idolatrous, and aggressive, acts:

you open your gates to Foreign & enemy troops, & you close them to [those] of your King, you provide them with munitions & sustenance, & you refuse these things to your Compatriots who are following their King, you take up arms & use your artillery against your King, under false pretexts, & you favor those who are declared sworn enemies of the Crown.³¹

The allusion to mercenary soldiers in *frondeur* armies allows this propagandist to identify the rebels as a foreigners, even though they are led by Condé, first prince of the blood.³² The patron saint's motherly sentiments do not extend to the children of other nations.

As a complement to her own maternal attitude, Saint Genevieve insists here that the king has "nothing but a father's feelings"³³ for the city of Paris. The author of this

²⁹ Paris, 1652 [Moreau 3540]. This Mazarinade makes reference to the event known as the "Massacre de l'Hôtel de Ville" on 4 July 1652, so this pamphlet must have been published after that date. It makes no mention to later events to which the pamphlets discussed below allude. See Pernot, *La Fronde*, 304-07 and Robert Descimon, "Autopsie du massacre de l'Hôtel de Ville (4 juillet 1652): Paris et la 'Fronde des Princes,'" *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 54.2 (1999): 319-51.

³⁰ "avec tendresse de mere." *Revelation de Sainte Geneviève* [sic], 7 [misprinted as 3].

³¹ "tu ouvres tes portes à des troupes Estrangeres & ennemies, & tu les fermes à celle de ton Roy, tu leur fournis des munitions & des vivres, & tu en refuses à tes Compatriotes qui suivent leur Roy, tu prens les armes & employe ton artillerie contre ton Roy, sous de faux pretextes, & tu favorises ceux qui sont declarez ennemis jurez de la Couronne." *Revelation de Sainte Geneviève* [sic], 8-9.

³² Foreign mercenaries actually fought on both sides of the Fronde. See Perez Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 2:214.

pamphlet goes on to describe the whole of France as a generous mother destroyed by selfish *frondeurs*: “you thought you were avoiding a few small contributions necessary for war efforts, & look at your ruined villages, your dried-up breasts, your devastated countrysides, your nursing mothers smothered, the whole flatland lost, & even uncultivated, & hopeless for the next few years.”³⁴ The rebels have prevented their mother from nourishing her children, both metaphorically (France’s dried-up breasts) and literally (her uncultivated fields).

All hope is not lost, though, for Saint Genevieve says that she has, in fact, begun to bring about the miracle asked of her: “Your wishes however & your prayers have not been futile nor my efforts superfluous.”³⁵ She has been working behind the scenes to soften the hearts of the king and queen even though both, by rights, should seek to punish their rebellious subjects. She has persuaded the king to show affection and benevolence, and she has torn from the queen’s heart and hands any desire for vengeance. All that remains is for Paris to submit. The path to peace is simple: just stop rebelling.

This simple solution does not appeal to the authors of three other Mazarinades published after the procession, in which Saint Genevieve steps in to justify the continuing wars. By contrast to her tone in the royalist pamphlet just discussed, the saint in these *frondeur* pamphlets speaks with a voice that is far from maternal. Saint Genevieve appears twice to Anne d’Autriche. *L’Apparition de Sainte Geneviefve a la Reyne, le jour*

³³ “que des sentimens de pere.” *Revelation de Sainte Geneviève*, 10.

³⁴ “tu as pensé deviter quelques legeres contributions necessaires pour les affaires de la guerre, & regarde tes villages ruinez, tes mamelles desseichées, tes campagnes desolées, tes meres nourices estouffées, tout le plat pays perdu, & mesme sans labour, & sans esperance pour les années prochaines.” *Revelation de Sainte Geneviève* [sic], 11.

³⁵ “Tes voeux pourtant & tes prieres n’ont pas esté inutiles ny mes soins superflus.” *Revelation de Sainte Geneviève* [sic], 15.

*de l'Arrivée en Cour de Messieurs les Deputez*³⁶ begins with an assertion of the saint's vengeful nature, as shown by the punishment of a prosecutor who failed to show due respect at the descent of her reliquary:

the whole City of Paris knows [what] happened to a Prosecutor of the Court in the Rue de la Huchette, who for having scorned the Ceremonies of the Descent of the Chasse was burned with his children, & his Master Clerk, his wife's leg broken; such that his whole house was consumed without any remedy the very night of his blasphemes.³⁷

Bibliographer Célestin Moreau notes that in the margin of one copy of this Mazarinade, an anonymous annotator has written "*Calomnie*."³⁸ Calumny or not, the anecdote conveys the urgency of full compliance with the saint's wishes.

The author of this Mazarinade indicates that the procession of Saint Genevieve has, in fact, already led to improved conditions in France: "The advancing Troops have halted, the deputies have been called for, they are at Court, & are already promising Peace overall."³⁹ In this pamphlet, the obstacle to peace is not the rebellion of Parisians but the presence of Mazarin. Saint Genevieve visits Anne d'Autriche and commands her

³⁶ Paris, Antoine le Bon, 1652. This pamphlet is item 6 in Moreau, "Supplément à la Bibliographie des mazarinades," *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire* (Paris: Henri Leclerc, 1862): 789. The Parlement de Paris met with Louis XIV at Saint-Denis on 11 July 1652, and the king indicated his willingness to distance himself from Mazarin. Pernot, *La Fronde*, 310.

³⁷ "toute la Ville de Paris sçait [ce qui est] arrivé à un Procureur de la Cour dans la ruë de la Huchette, lequel pour avoir méprisé les Ceremonies de la Descente de la Chasse a esté bruslé avec ses enfans, & son Maistre Clerc, sa femme ayant eu la jambe rompuë; de sorte que toute sa maison a esté consommée sans aucun remede la mesme nuict de ses blasphemes." *Apparition de Sainte Geneviefve*, 3.

³⁸ Moreau, "Supplément," 789.

³⁹ "Les Troupes qui avançoient se sont arrestées, on a mandé les Deputez, ils sont en Cour, & se promettent desja une Paix generale." *Apparition de Sainte Geneviefve*, 4.

to banish the cardinal. The propagandist reports having heard about this visit from the queen herself. Saint Genevieve has told the queen “that she had to do it [send Mazarin away] if she loved her subjects, & her son.”⁴⁰ Anne d’Autriche plays a maternal role, although Saint Genevieve does not. The militaristic saint states that peace in France will allow French armies to redirect their efforts to their rightful object: conquering the Holy Land. Saint Genevieve has told the queen that it is time “to teach the English what the people of God can do when united, & go tear from the hands of Turks & Barbarians the Holy Land.”⁴¹ An unapologetic Amazon, this version of Saint Genevieve expresses no desire for an end to violence. Peace in France will simply allow French troops to set their sights on a higher cause. Rendered speechless by the saint’s admonitions, the queen weeps. She feels such regret and compassion for her subjects that she resolves to expel Mazarin immediately and restore peace to France. The author of this pamphlet urges the queen to heed Saint Genevieve’s words: “Do not refuse it [peace], MADAME, to your Subjects who have nothing free but thought, who possess for all goods only their heart, which they offer to you if you act as their Queen.”⁴² The ability to end the wars in this propagandist’s view lies not with *frondeurs*, but with the queen regent, who will receive her subjects’ devotion if she acts in their best interest as a queen, or mother, should.

⁴⁰ “Qu’elle le devoit faire si elle avoit de l’amour pour ses sujets, & pour son fils.”

Apparition de Sainte Genevieve, 4.

⁴¹ “Qu’il falloit apprendre aux Anglois ce que peut le peuple de Dieu estant bien uny, & aller arracher des mains des Turcs & des Barbares la Terre Sainte.” *Apparition de Sainte Genevieve*, 4.

⁴² “Ne la reffusés pas, MADAME, à vos Sujets qui n’ont rien de libre que la pensée, qui ne possèdent pour tous biens que leur coeur, lequel ils vous offrent si vous leur servés de Reyne.” *Apparition de Sainte Genevieve*, 6.

In *Les Convulsions de la Reyne la nuit de devant le depart de Mazarin*,⁴³ Saint Genevieve again appears to Anne d'Autriche. Drawing upon rampant, and misogynist, speculations of a love affair between the queen regent and cardinal, this pamphlet relates the tormented sleep of Anne d'Autriche on the eve of Mazarin's departure from court. Visited by nightmares, the queen cries out in grief and remorse. She claims to have been enchanted into loving Mazarin:

Is it not in some way justification of the suspicions of many in Paris, that that beautiful singer Leonora, who stayed for a long time at the Tuileries, where I often went to visit her, & whom I showered with gifts upon her departure, had through some kind of love potion filled my imagination with the idea of this Italian [Mazarin], who had I believe brought her here from his own country, fertile in such plagues, to make me lose my senses.⁴⁴

The reference in this passage is to Leonora Baroni, an Italian singer who had spent time at the court of Anne d'Autriche in 1644, not to Leonora Galigäi, also Italian, who had been hired by Marie de Médicis to perform exorcisms but was then convicted of having

⁴³ *Les Convulsions de la Reyne la nuit de devant le depart de Mazarin. Avec la consolation qu'elle receut par l'apparition d'une bonne Sainte, cause de la resolution qu'elle a prise de ne plus souhaiter le retour du Mazarin, de peur de mettre son Royaume en combustion pour la troisième fois* (Paris, 1652) [Moreau 791]. On 12 August 1652, in a declaration to the Parlement in Pontoise, Louis XIV promised to dismiss Mazarin in order to restore peace to the kingdom. On 19 August, Mazarin submitted his resignation and traveled to the Château de Bouillon, in the bishopric of Liège. He returned to Paris on 3 February 1653. Jean-Baptiste Mailly provides historical context for this pamphlet in *L'Esprit de la Fronde, ou Histoire politique et militaire des troubles de France pendant la minorité de Louis XIV* (The Hague, 1773), 5.518-19. See also Pernot, *La Fronde*, 312.

⁴⁴ "N'est-ce pas en quelque façon justifier les soupçons que beaucoup de personnes dans Paris ont conçus, que cette belle chanteuse de Leonora, qui logea longtemps dans les Tuileries, où j'allay souvent visiter, & que je comblay de presens à son depart, m'avoit par quelque phyltre amoureux preoccupé la phantaisie de l'idée de cét Italien, qui l'avoit je croy fait venir de son pays, focond en de pareilles pestes, pour achever de m'oster du tout la raison." *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 5.

bewitched her and burned at the stake in 1617.⁴⁵ Contemporary readers, though, would surely have made the connection between the two women. This sorcery has caused Anne d'Autriche to nurture vice and oppress her innocent subjects. She has become "their cruelest enemy, & their most inhumane scourge."⁴⁶

Whatever the cause of her unfortunate love for Mazarin, this propagandist states that the queen regent is now disenchanted. She has no desire to punish the rebellious *frondeurs*, for they have acted rightly and, indeed, have treated her with more grace than she deserves. "Have they not carried through the streets all the Relics of the Saints who are in Paris," she asks, "[and] brought down the Chasse of Saint Genevieve to bend my will?"⁴⁷ She notes the participation of women in these dangerous and unpleasant efforts: "Even the most beautiful ladies followed the Processions on foot among the people, & risked a thousand falls on the slippery and dung-filled pavement."⁴⁸ The queen says she would have to have the blood of Medea, the spirit of Persephone, and the soul of Pasiphae to remain unmoved by these exertions.⁴⁹ Amid fervent self-recriminations, but

⁴⁵ Leonora Galigai is the subject of another Mazarinade, the *Observations pieuses sur la mort de la Mareschale d'Ancre: Faisant voir qu'elles sont les causes de la guerre: & les voyes qu'il faut tenir pour bien-tost arriver à une bonne & solide Paix* (Paris: 1652) [Moreau 2569], which attributes the ongoing wars to God's punishment for her wrongful execution.

⁴⁶ "leur plus cruelle ennemie, & leur fleau le plus inhumain." *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 6.

⁴⁷ "N'ont ils pas porté par les ruës toutes les Reliques des Saints qui sont dans Paris, descendu la Chasse de Sainte Geneveifve pour me flechir?" *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 8.

⁴⁸ "Il n'a pas esté jusqu'aux plus belles Dames qui n'ayent suivi les Processions à pié parmy la populace, & couru risque de mille cheutes sur le pavé glissant & plein de crottes." *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 8.

⁴⁹ In Greek mythology, Medea took vengeance on Jason because of his love for Creusa, killing Creusa, Creusa's father Creon, and Medea's own sons by Jason. Persephone (or Proserpine), spent four months of each year with her husband Hades, god of the underworld. The god Poseidon caused Pasiphae to fall in love with a bull, with whom

also recognition that she still feels passion for Mazarin, her tears mixing with her make-up from the previous day and flowing down her neck and chest, Anne d’Autriche sees a great light, and a heavenly fragrance fills the room. Saint Genevieve has arrived.

In this appearance, Saint Genevieve casts blame both on *frondeurs*, for their insincere petitions for peace (another indication that the real reason for the procession was widely recognized), and on the queen regent, for her refusal to listen. “If I have seemed until now to turn a deaf ear to the wishes of those who prayed to me,” she says, “it is because they had armed intentions [. . .] & you were not in the position or the mood to listen to their proposal.”⁵⁰ Now that she has heard Anne d’Autriche express her desire to repent and to renounce Mazarin, Saint Genevieve is ready to intervene. Although she condemns the hypocrisy of the procession, she urges the queen to end the fighting in France. The saint states clearly what the queen’s passion has caused her to do, namely, to impose unfair and excessive taxes and to disregard the authority of the Parlement of Paris and the orders of the previous king, her deceased husband Louis XIII. Alluding to notorious powerful women of past centuries, this propagandist has Saint Genevieve tell the queen that if she continues to be led by passion rather than reason, she will suffer eternal punishment like Fredegund and Brunhild, Agrippina, Cleopatra, and Jezebel.⁵¹

she conceived the Minotaur. All three of these women had been the subjects of tragedies published in France in the 1630s: Pierre Corneille, *Médée* (Paris: François Targa, 1639); Jean Claveret, *Le ravissement de Proserpine* (Paris: Antoine de Sommerville, 1639); Théophile de Viau, *La Tragedie de Pasiphaé* (Troyes: Nicolas Oudot, 1631).

⁵⁰ “Si j’ay semblé faire jusqu’icy la sourde oreille aux voeux de ceux qui me prioient, c’est qu’ils avoient les intentions armées [. . .] & que vous n’estiez pas en estat ny en humeur d’en écouter la proposition.” *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 18.

⁵¹ Fredegund, consort of Merovingian King Chilperic I, and Brunhild, wife of Sigebert I, both born around 545 CE, were known for their longstanding hostilities toward each other and for having ordered multiple murders. Julia Agrippina, suspected of poisoning her husband Claudius so that her son Nero could succeed him as Roman Emperor (54-68

With the wars she has provoked in France, Saint Genevieve remarks, Anne d'Autriche is responsible for millions of murders. These wars are wrong because, she says, "there is no truly just war except against infidels."⁵² Although she advocates for peace in France, her support of holy wars is as militaristic as the previous pamphlet's call to fight "Turks and Barbarians."

Displaying a remarkable awareness of gendered power relationships, this propagandist has Saint Genevieve compare Anne d'Autriche, in the abuse of her subjects, to common men who take their resentment for their lowly status out on their wives and children:

I find those who use [their power] like you, comparable to those husbands among the common people, who trembling before Magistrates, Gentlemen, and all those who have even the least position in their country, take revenge for their hatred of this subjection on their wives & their children, because they see no one else in the whole world by whom they can make themselves feared and over whom they have some sort of jurisdiction.⁵³

CE), acted as regent in the first years of Nero's reign but was later executed by him. Cleopatra, who ruled over Egypt with her brothers and son in the first century BCE, has been the subject of many varied legends. As for the Biblical Jezebel, Saint Genevieve reports here that, for having ordered a single murder (by contrast to the many deaths for which she says Anne d'Autriche is responsible), she was thrown out a window and into the street, where she was devoured by dogs.

⁵² "il n'y a de guerre veritablement juste que contre les infideles." *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 24.

⁵³ "je trouve ceux qui en usent comme vous, comparables à ces maris d'entre le vulgaire, lesquels tremblans à l'aspect des Magistrats, des Gentils-hommes, & de toutes les personnes qui ont quelque petit relief dans leur païs, se vangent de la haine de cette sujettion sur leurs femmes & leurs enfans, parce qu'ils ne trouvent qu'eux dans tout le monde ausquels ils puissent se faire craindre, & sur lesquels ils ayent quelque sorte de jurisdiction." *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 25.

With this harsh assessment, Saint Genevieve prepares Anne d'Autriche to hear the central message of this pamphlet: that the civil wars will turn to revolution if she does not relent.

In her last moments with Anne d'Autriche, Saint Genevieve speaks plainly about the threat of revolution. "Madame, I repeat," she says, "the leading cause of subversion in States, is the oppression of Innocents. [. . .] This is what threatens the reign of the King your Son, with a fateful revolution."⁵⁴ Saint Genevieve is not a mother, but Anne d'Autriche is, and she should take seriously her responsibility to maintain and protect her son's kingdom until he is old enough to do so himself. The saint reminds the queen regent of Philippe Auguste, the celebrated Capetian king who, when naming his mother and uncle as regents before he left for the Holy Land, ordered them explicitly to listen to the pleas of their people.⁵⁵ This is what Anne d'Autriche has failed to do. The saint continues, "Madame, again, the French Monarchy is threatened with a fateful revolution under the reign of the King your Son: beware of being the cause."⁵⁶ Although Saint Genevieve has not brought peace to France, she has so far managed to hold back God's anger, which is now inclined toward the destruction of the kingdom. If Anne d'Autriche does not change her behavior, Saint Genevieve will consent to this destruction. If the queen regent mends her ways, on the other hand, the saint will plead her case before God. It is up to her.

⁵⁴ "Madame, je vous le repete encor, la plus grande cause de la subversion des Estats, est l'oppression des Innocens. [. . .] C'est ce qui menace le regne du Roy vostre Fils, d'une funeste revolution." *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 26.

⁵⁵ Along with her brother Guillaume de Champagne, Adèle (or Alix) de Champagne served as regent for her son Philippe Auguste during the Third Crusade in 1190-91.

⁵⁶ "Madame, encore une fois, la Monarchie Française est menassée d'une funeste revolution sous le regne du Roy vostre Fils: craignez d'en estre la cause." *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 28.

Before Anne d'Autriche can answer, or thank her, Saint Genevieve has disappeared. Ashamed that she has not been as good a regent as Adèle de Champagne or Blanche de Castille,⁵⁷ the queen vows to make amends. When Mazarin arrives in the morning to bid her farewell, she tells him she is taking her heart back from him.⁵⁸ "Good-bye, leave, live," Anne d'Autriche tells Mazarin, "& remember me, so that you will repent of the errors that ambition made us commit, setting all of France on fire."⁵⁹ The queen announces her intention to retire and reflect upon the evils she has brought to the kingdom. And yet, after this seemingly hopeful ending, the author of this pamphlet adds one more paragraph, questioning the queen's and cardinal's commitments to change, despite a temporary break in hostilities, and telling readers to prepare for war. "Since that time, all seems to lean toward peace," the propagandist writes,

but whatever signs of it we see, & and whatever hopes of it we are given, I cannot believe that it is better than war, if the Queen & Mazarin do not enter into the sentiments I have just described, & continue their practices as in the past.

Whatever the case may be, after having experienced the evils of one, it will be nice for us to taste a bit of the other, which in this interval between troubles, will

⁵⁷ Blanche de Castille served as regent for her son Louis IX during the first eight years of his reign (1226-34) and again during his absence on the Seventh Crusade in 1248-1252.

⁵⁸ The propagandist here compares Anne d'Autriche to the legendary Aglae (or Aglaida) of Rome, said to have sent her lover Boniface off to bring back relics of Christian martyrs after her conversion in the third century.

⁵⁹ "Adieu, partez, vivez, & vous souvenez de moy, pour vous obliger au repentir des fautes que l'ambition nous a fait commettre, mettant toute la France en combustion." *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 30.

show us at least, that in poorly governed States, as ours is currently, peace is a renewal of war, for which we must already prepare.”⁶⁰

Intervening at the end of this Mazarinade with the first-person plural pronoun, the author calls readers’ attention to the difference between the ideal resolution imagined in the text and the political realities in the kingdom. The pamphlet ends with the acknowledgment that Anne d’Autriche is unlikely to yield to *frondeurs*’ demands and that the people should, therefore, be ready to keep on fighting. The fateful revolution that Saint Genevieve has foretold is drawing near.

In *Les Bons Avis Par Revelation de Ste Geneviefve a L’Hermitte Solitaire*,⁶¹ the most overtly militant of the apparitions of Saint Genevieve published after the procession, the solitary hermit of the pamphlet’s title explains that Saint Genevieve visited him after he prayed for a revelation because he was so disappointed that the recent procession had not led to peace.⁶² The hermit reports that the “adorable Saint” appeared to him with “a face full of sweetness and light” and that she spoke to him “in a very modest fashion.”⁶³ The saint’s message, however, is in stark contrast to her appearance. In her address to the

⁶⁰ “Depuis ce temps-là, tout semble incliner à la paix, mais quelques apparences qu’on en voye, & quelques esperances qu’on nous en donne, je ne puis croire qu’elle vaille mieux que la guerre, si la Reine & le Mazarin n’entrent dans les sentimens que je viens de témoigner, & continuent leurs pratiques comme par le passé. Quoy qu’il en soit, apres avoir fait une mauvaise épreuve de l’une, il nous sera doux de gouter un peu de l’autre, qui dans cet intervalle de troubles, nous fera voir du moins que dans les Estats mal regis, comme le nostre est à present, la paix est un renouvellement de guerre, à laquelle il nous faut déjà preparer.” *Les Convulsions de la Reyne*, 31.

⁶¹ (N.p., 1652) [Moreau 593]. This Mazarinade may have appeared in mid-August, when controversial elections for city officials were held and the activity of militias was increasing. Ranum, *Fronde*, 337-41. See also Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris*, 131.

⁶² “The addressee of this revelation, an anonymous hermit, had become a familiar source of political advice during the Fronde.” Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris*, 131.

⁶³ “Sainte adorable,” “une face lumineuse & pleine de douceur,” “d’une façon tres modeste.” *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 3.

hermit, Saint Genevieve calls for the formation of militias throughout the kingdom to defeat Mazarin's armies, and she lays out clear instructions for recruitment and financing as well as for the election of civic and military leaders. She is careful to explain that this armed resistance is by no means seditious, but is actually in support of the underlying law and order of the kingdom, which are currently obscured by tyrannical ministers. The people have no desire for a new form of government or a new king, she insists—her protestation carrying with it the implicit reminder that such a change is not out of the question. “It has never entered their minds to shake off the yoke of Royalty, or even to change kings,” she says, “although it would be easy for them if they wanted to do it.”⁶⁴ She recalls in passing that Charles de Lorraine was found unfit to rule France in 987. The more recent execution of King Charles I of England in 1649 was, of course, also etched sharply in French minds.⁶⁵

Saint Genevieve announces her support for leaders of the Fronde, mentioning the Prince de Condé and the Duc d'Orléans by name,⁶⁶ and she says it is time for citizens of lower rank to get involved, too, calling upon “Bourgeois [. . .] to set up great public warehouses with munitions of war & grains, & other necessary items, & individuals as

⁶⁴ “Il ne leur est jamais entré dans la pensée de secouer le joug de la Royauté, non pas mesme de changer de Roy, quoy qu'il leur fust facile s'ils en avoient la volonté.” *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 11.

⁶⁵ In the warning quoted above, Godeau expresses his astonishment and dismay that placards posted in Paris “parleroient hardiment de se delivrer de Roy, de Parlement, & de Princes, pour introduire la Republique d'Angleterre.” *Advis aux Parisiens*, 4-5.

⁶⁶ Later in the pamphlet, Saint Genevieve offers words designed to rally the Duc d'Orléans and secure his support for the Fronde. She asks the hermit to remind him “qu'il estoit en tres mauvaise odeur à la Cour, parce qu'il avoit chassé le Cardinal & procuré la sortie des Princes du Havre contre la volonté de la Reyne, & qu'il n'avoit rien d'asseuré pour se maintenir que sa qualité, *son courage*, l'amitié du Peuple de Paris avec l'Union des autres Princes, toutes lesquelles choses il devoit mettre en usage: que tant de bons moyens luy estoient offerts pour conserver son bien & sa fortune, & qu'à faute de mieux agir il estoit sur le point de tout perdre.” *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 24.

many supplies as they can comfortably contribute.”⁶⁷ Reminding the hermit of Mazarin’s Italian origins, Saint Genevieve expresses her conviction that the French will freely take up arms to defend their king against foreign taunts. The hermit recalls,

I think the Saint told me, that there would be many more in the militias, if necessary; that she knew directly from God, protector of French people, that there were very few of this name [French] who lacked the courage & generosity to take up arms & silence the infamous accusation of Foreigners, THAT THE KING OF THE FRENCH NATION IS THE KING OF BEASTS.⁶⁸

Drawing upon nationalist sentiment, this propagandist tells readers repeatedly that rebellion is not disloyal, but rather, patriotic.

Saint Genevieve’s tone remains forceful as she issues commands to cities and parishes throughout the realm to build fortifications. “It is necessary,” she insists, “& God orders every City, Town, & Village, to defend & fortify itself as much as possible, & not to leave a single hamlet unable to resist the thieves and plunderers.”⁶⁹ Again, she insists that these acts are signs of fidelity to the king. The troops against which they will fight do not represent France, but only Mazarin. “O my very good friend,” she exclaims when the hermit expresses some doubt, “do not think that this army is a Royal army! Do

⁶⁷ “Bourgeois [. . .] tenir de grands magazins publics de munitions de guerre & de bleds, & d’autres choses necessaires, & les particuliers autant de provisions qu’ils en pourront commodément faire.” *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 16.

⁶⁸ “Je croy que la Sainte me disoit, qu’il se trouveroit un bien plus grand nombre dans les milices, s’il eust esté necessaire; qu’elle sçavoit de la part de Dieu, protecteur des François, qu’il y en avoit bien peu de ce nom qui n’eussent assez de coeur & de generosité pour prendre les armes & faire cesser le reproche infamant des Estrangers, QUE LE ROY DE LA NATION FRANÇOISE EST LE ROY DES BESTES.” *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 17.

⁶⁹ “Il est necessaire, & Dieu ordonne à chacune Ville, Bourg & Bourgade, de se remparer & fortifier autant qu’il leur sera possible, & ne laisser un seul hameau dans lequel on ne puisse resister aux voleurs & pillards.” *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 18.

you not know that the king is a thirteen-year-old child, who is under the power of the Queen, of Cardinal Mazarin, & of all their accomplices & followers?”⁷⁰ She continues, “Assure my good City of Paris, & and all French people, that Turenne’s army⁷¹ is not a Royal army, that it is truly an army of Mazarin & of Spain, & that it should be a horror & abomination to all of France.”⁷² She observes again near the end of the pamphlet that the evil gripping France is of foreign origin, that “two Foreigners afflict it, & will never stop until they have reduced it to the grave.”⁷³ The Spanish birth of Anne d’Autriche is apparently just as suspect as the Italian origins of Cardinal Mazarin.⁷⁴

The imperious Saint Genevieve becomes briefly coy when the hermit suggests that the leaders of the rebellion might not wish to relinquish their power when the time comes. The implication here, of course, is that once Condé defeats Mazarin, he might not be eager to step aside. At this comment, the hermit reports that he thought he saw “the

⁷⁰ “O mon tres bon amy, ne croy pas que cette armée soit une armee Royale! ne sçais-tu pas que le Roy est un enfant de treize ans, qui est en la puissance de la Reyne, du Cardinal Mazarin, & de tous leurs supposts & adherans?” *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 19.

⁷¹ Henri de La Tour d’Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne (1611-75), commanded the royal army during this stage of the Fronde. This army included Spanish troops.

⁷² “Asseurez donc ma bonne Ville de Paris, & tous les François, que l’armée de Turenne n’est pas une armee Royalele, qu’elle est une veritable armee Mazarine & Espagnole, & qui doibt estre en horreur & abomination à toute la France.” *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 19-20.

⁷³ “deux Estrangers l’affligent, & ne cesseront jamais qu’ils ne l’ayent reduite au tombeau.” *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 28.

⁷⁴ Recalling problems during the regency of Marie de Médicis, this pamphlet’s author goes so far as to argue later in the text that French kings should be forbidden from marrying Italian or Spanish women: “Cher Hermite, vous ne me demandez pas un secret le plus important, & duquel personne ne parle, de ne jamais souffrir que les Rois espousent des Italiennes ny des Espagnoles, le naturel de ces nations est trop differend de la bonne humeur Française, afin que la nature de vos Rois ne reçoive d’alteration, par un meslange si dangereux. L’animal qui de sa naissance est loup, quoy que l’on puisse faire pour l’appriivoiser & l’adoucir, ne change point de naturel & demeure tousjours loup.” *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 30.

good Saint smile a little and move her head, telling me, That changing Kings was not at all likely, that it was not the princes' intention."⁷⁵ The saint's slight smile and the movement of her head suggest that the hermit's comment is not far from the mark. Saint Genevieve's last words to the hermit are simultaneously reassuring and intimidating. She tells him that those who follow her instructions will be preserved, that both God and she will stand by them; those who fail to heed, however, will be "engulfed in injustices and disorders."⁷⁶ It is time to form militias, build walls, and rally behind *frondeurs*.⁷⁷

Why did the Fronde's propagandists choose to deliver these messages in the voice of Saint Genevieve in the summer of 1652? There was undoubtedly a need to account for the failed procession in June. More importantly, the figure of Saint Genevieve gave these writers access to both maternal and militaristic representations of powerful women, both of which Vergnes has shown to be productive during the Fronde, the saint's role as the steadfast and affectionate protector of Paris standing alongside her celebrated rescue of the city from invading Huns. In addition, calling upon the patron saint of Paris to speak on behalf of the suffering city and, by extension, the whole kingdom, allowed *frondeurs* to cast the queen regent and her chief minister as foreign usurpers of French royal authority. Saint Genevieve's deployment as an oppositional voice during the Fronde may have been new, as Sluhovsky has argued,⁷⁸ but the use of female saints to justify warfare and military conquest is well established. Amy G. Remensnyder has recently analyzed

⁷⁵ "la bonne Sainte faire un petit souris et remuement de teste, en me disant, Qu'il n'y avoit aucune apparence de changer de Roy, que ce n'estoit pas le dessein des princes." *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 27.

⁷⁶ "engloutis dans les injustices & desordres." *Les Bons Avis par Revelation*, 33.

⁷⁷ According to Sluhovsky, the rebels had already adopted the practices Saint Genevieve advises in this pamphlet, and the text was designed to give legitimacy to their actions. *Patroness of Paris*, 131.

⁷⁸ *Patroness of Paris*, 128.

the Virgin Mary's central role in narratives of conquest and conversion in medieval Spain and the colonial Caribbean and Mexico, as well as indigenous peoples' appropriation of the Virgin as a military icon in the Pueblo Revolt in 1680.⁷⁹ The Virgin Mary figures in the press of the Fronde as well, appearing to Anne d'Autriche in a Mazarinade published during the blockade of Paris in 1649 to urge her to bring the king out of his refuge in Saint-Germain-en-Laye and back to the city under siege.⁸⁰ In the end, the Fronde failed. The rebellion did not lead to a revolution, and a woman wielding not only symbolic but also real political power, Queen Regent Anne d'Autriche, prevailed over the imagined voice of Saint Genevieve, in a decisive victory that set the stage for the triumph of absolutism in France. In the summer of 1652, however, this ending was not yet clear. Things could have turned out differently. During these tempestuous months, the voice of Paris' patron saint rose loud and clear above the throng, calling upon French Christians to save their kingdom and themselves.

⁷⁹ *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014).

⁸⁰ *Apparition de la Vierge à la Reyne Regente Mere du Roy dans sa Chappelle de Saint Germain en Laye* (Paris: Claude Morlot, 1649), 5 [Moreau 140].