

Convulsionary miracles and women in print culture in France, 1737-1747

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Marie Sophie Giraud

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Department of Art History, Film and Visual Culture

School of Languages, Culture, Art History and Music

The University of Birmingham



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Abstract

This thesis addresses the print culture of Jansenist Convulsionaries from 1737 to 1747. This radical Catholic group emerged as one of various factions during the religious quarrels first provoked by the Papal Bull *Unigenitus* issued by Clement XI in 1713. Taking a reception-focused approach, I investigate how representations of Convulsionaries were understood by their sophisticated viewers and attempt to shed light on an aspect of previously neglected eighteenth-century visual culture.

Chapter One examines the expensive prints from pro-Jansenist Carré de Montgeron's publication *La Vérité des Miracles*. My research uncovers new and diverse interpretations of images by the academician and religious painter, Jean Restout (1692-1768), with particular reference to their medical, theological and political significance. These prints were employed as legitimate documentation for miraculous cures previously refuted by the authorities. By drawing on related medical and theological material, I will show that these prints served as prompts to varied discussion for informed viewers who called-upon vast bodies of knowledge.

Chapter Two focuses on three prints and examines the representation of Convulsionary women and their unsettling religious practices. Each case study discusses the image's context of production, its possible viewership and thus contemporary perceptions about the movement's female members, exposing problematic readings of Convulsionary women.

Throughout, this thesis also touches on the risks and challenges encountered by artists when depicting such a controversial religious group.

Acknowledgements

If we surrendered
to Earth's intelligence
we could rise up rooted, like trees.

Instead we entangle ourselves
in knots of our own making
and struggle, lonely and confused.

(How surely gravity's law by Rainer Rilke)

Taking on this research has been no small or easy task, and I would like to use this opportunity to offer my thanks for academic assistance. Firstly I would like to thank my family, on both sides of the Channel, who have continually witnessed my passion for a subject that I love. I am particularly grateful to my mother, who has been the guiding voice in this testing year, to my cousin, Matthieu Bailly, for keeping me grounded in times of despair and finally to my grandfather, Professor Alan Pearson. By patiently reading my work and discussing lines of enquiry with me in a field that could not be further removed from his area of academic expertise, it is my grandfather who has kept me intellectually motivated. He retired from academia long ago, and yet, it has been inspiring to witness his mind still so engaged with research and to the importance of academic enquiry.

I am in debt to my Classical Civilisation teacher, Julia Welsby, who introduced me to Greek art and architecture in sixth form and suggested I study History of Art at University for the first time. Without this gentle nudge I would not be completing a Masters in the subject that has been so generously funded by the George Henry Marshall scholarship kindly awarded to me by the University of Birmingham. It is not without the guidance and support of all my friends in Manchester, colleagues

and friends at the department of Art History, Film and Visual Studies at the University of Birmingham that I have completed this thesis. I am grateful to the helpful staff at all the library institutions that I have used to carry out my research, namely, the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, the British Library and the John Rylands Library in Manchester.

Finally, it is with great earnestness that I thank my supervisor Dr Richard Clay for introducing me to my native country's rich visual culture. It has been an honour to receive his support and criticism as both an undergraduate and postgraduate. An undergraduate research trip to Paris, and, in particular a vivid encounter with a baptismal font in Saint-Sulpice by the sculptor Pigalle sparked my interest in the collision of secular and religious worlds of eighteenth-century France. I thank Richard for continually encouraging me to pursue my research and giving me the courage to trust my insight.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores a body of early eighteenth-century prints that depict the Convulsionary movement in Paris. The images were produced between 1737 and 1747, a period of France's history that was strained with religious and political controversy, when the relationship between Crown and *parlement* was particularly fragile. The images depict Convulsionary miracles whose legitimacy was questioned by medical and ecclesiastical authorities. By analysing the visual language used by the prints' makers to illustrate such contested subject matter, this thesis explores the roles that images played in the tightly entwined, complex, contemporary disputes in which their sophisticated eighteenth-century audiences were engaged.

By 1730, there were nearly a thousand publications in circulation on the streets of Paris in response to the Papal Bull *Unigenitus* becoming a law of state.¹ This Bull, first issued by Pope Clement XI in 1713, condemned Jansenist propositions and aggravated disputes within the Gallican Church. These disputes concerned many Catholic factions, such as the Jesuits and Molinists. However, this thesis focuses solely on the Jansenists, and in particular, a sub-group of the movement known as Convulsionaries. Jansenists upheld the belief that ecclesiastical authority should reside with representatives who formed the Church councils and who had been specially elected by the congregation (a model known as conciliarism), rather than having supreme authority lying with the papacy and filtering down (known as Papism) – a model of ecclesiastical government that echoed that of temporal government in absolutist France. John Blunt commented that 'it was only in an atmosphere which had been highly charged with elements of political and religious discord [...] that the appearance of

¹ Jean Sgard, *Lumières et ténèbres du XVIII^e siècle 1715-1789*, Paris, A L'enseigne de l'arbre verdoyant, 1986, 99

such a body as the Convulsionaries was a possible phenomenon'.² A cemetery in the parish of Saint-Médard played host to the movement's miraculous events and convulsions (hence the movement's name), following the death of its deacon François de Pâris in 1727. The Convulsionary movement broke away from mainstream Jansenism, receiving criticism from the Crown, *philosophes* and the movement's arch-enemies, the Jesuits.³ These religious tensions overflowed into the political realm and, provoked by the King's law of silence on the matters, caused a *lit de justice* to be held in 1730, and, subsequently a judicial crisis that lasted for the next three years.⁴ Joseph Bergin views this as a lasting legacy of the Port-Royal abbey, a Jansenist stronghold, which was razed to the ground in 1710 after resistance and disobedience to monarchical authority.⁵ It was these bitter conflicts, exacerbated by theological discontent across society's diverse religious and social groups, that Dale Van Kley argues, led to the French Revolution.⁶

Van Kley's work on the Jansenist controversies remains important; however, little scholarship has been conducted on religious art that relates to such research. In addition, publications on religious art of the period have been overshadowed by studies in favour of secular commissions that catered to the tastes of the Crown, nobility and affluent members of the Third Estate.⁷ Philip Conisbee proposes that as religious works of art were rarely exhibited in the Salons, usually being sent directly to convents, churches and monasteries

² John Henry Blunt, *Dictionary of sects, heresies and ecclesiastical parties, and schools of religious thought*, London, Rivingtons, 1874, 113

³ A *philosophe* can be defined as an intellectual of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment who applied reason to many areas of learning including science and the arts.

⁴ The law of silence decreed that any matters causing discord between the judicial bodies and the Crown could not be discussed in the *parlement*. A *lit de justice* can be defined as the moment the King lay on his royal sofa during the debates taking place in the *parlement* which would put a hold on further discussions. See Robert B. Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 105 for more on the judicial crisis.

⁵ See Joseph Bergin, *Church, society and religious change in France 1580-1730*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009

⁶ See Dale Van Kley, *The religious origins of the French Revolution: from Calvin to the Civil Constitution 1560-1791*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996

⁷ The Third Estate can be defined as the populace of French eighteenth-century society, those without aristocratic titles (Second Estate) or clerical responsibilities (First Estate).

across the country, religious art has escaped scholars' attention.⁸ His own work frequently only points out the religious paintings of the canonical names of the eighteenth century, such as François Boucher, Jean-Honoré Fragonard and Antoine Watteau.⁹ For her part, Monique de Savignac has argued that the dispersal of archives, the relocation or, in some cases, the total destruction of religious art works was a consequence of the French revolution in 1789 and has impoverished research into religious visual culture in eighteenth-century France.¹⁰ Savignac offers a much fuller compendium of paintings than Conisbee, meticulously tracing their provenance, and suggesting that it is wrong to assume that the age of Enlightenment was a low point in the production of Christian art. But, there is a disparity between the paucity of scholarship on the period's devotional and religious imagery and the many treatises surveying official and illegal literature concerning politico-religious debates. This thesis addresses these issues by not only redirecting our focus onto lesser known religious works on paper that were neither exhibited in the Salons nor sent to convents, but by also bridging the gap between surviving records concerning the religious quarrels and the accompanying visual culture.

Unlike art historical scholarship that considers the first half of the eighteenth century in France, the work of other historians focused on the period has tended to be weighted towards contemporary religious quarrels.¹¹ In preparing this thesis, the work of John

⁸ Philip Conisbee, *Painting in eighteenth-century France*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1981, 41

⁹ *Ibid*, 8

¹⁰ Monique de Savignac, *Peintures d'églises à Paris au XVIIIe siècle*, France, Somogy, 2006, 15

¹¹ Since Robert Palmer, *Catholics and unbelievers in eighteenth-century France*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1939, only a handful of publications have discussed France's ecclesiastical quarrels. These have been listed in chronological order, with the oldest publication first: Philippe Boutry, *Histoire de la France religieuse Vol. 2 and 3*, Paris, Seuil, 1991, John McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France Vol. 1 and 2*, New York, Clarendon Press, 1998, Pierre Chanu, Madeleine Foisil and Françoise de Noirfontaine, *Le basculement religieux de Paris au XVIIIe siècle: essai d'histoire politique et religieuse*, Paris, Fayard, 1998, Dale Van Kley, *The religious origins of the French revolution: from Calvin to the civil constitution (1560-1791)*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999, William Doyle, *Jansenism: catholic resistance to authority from the Reformation to the French revolution*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2000, Dale Van Kley, *Religion and politics in enlightenment Europe*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 2001, James E. Bradley and Darrin McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: the French counter-Enlightenment and the making of modernity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, S.J. Barnett, *The Enlightenment and religion: the myths of*

McManners, Joseph Bergin and Van Kley have proved particularly valuable in coming to grips with the distinctions between Catholic denominations and their factions. Scholarship on the ‘counter-Enlightenment’ has grown in recent years and has also been helpful; notably, Darrin McMahon’s discussions of the pamphlet wars of the period.¹² Police reports at the time were dominated by observations of public opinions regarding the Jansenist-Jesuit controversies. The King’s informers, strategically placed in markets across the city witnessed ‘the simplest folk boldly taking sides’ and expressing theological discontent.¹³ Yet, Arlette Farge and Jacques Revel ‘remind us that the century which heralded the triumph of reason also nurtured the Saint-Médard Convulsionaries, the search for the philosopher’s stone and the spread of mesmerism’.¹⁴

Bergin has emphasised that religious quarrels influenced French culture well beyond the narrow spheres of theology and religious activity.¹⁵ Pasquier Quesnel’s *Réflexions morales* was one of the most widely read devotional books of the age, and, around 37,200 literary works were Jansenism’s creative outcomes during the period.¹⁶ As 26 out of 200 Parisian printing establishments were operated by Jansenists, Jansenist literature might have been more influential than scholars assumed.¹⁷ Cyril O’Keefe and René Taveneaux have exposed the sophisticated lengths that the Convulsionary community went to, to disseminate

modernity, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003 and Joseph Bergin, *Church, society and religious change in France, 1580-1730*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009.

¹² See Darrin McMahon, *Enemies of the enlightenment: the French counter-enlightenment and the making of modernity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001

¹³ Arlette Farge’s publication *Subversive words: public opinion in eighteenth-century France*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994 scrutinises *gazetins* between 1725 and 1740 held in the Bastille Archives of the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal. According to her findings, people appear in three different kinds of situations: expressing either joy or sorrow at royal ceremonies, when the criminality in Paris ‘plunges the whole place into cut-throat insecurity’ or when are rumours of popular discontent in the city.

¹⁴ Jacques Revel and Arlette Farge, *The vanishing children of Paris*, Harvard, Harvard University Press, 1993, 3

¹⁵ Joseph Bergin, *Church, society and religious change in France 1580-1730*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009, 25

¹⁶ Brian E. Strayer, *Suffering saints: Jansenists and convulsionaries in France 1640-1799*, Brighton, Sussex Academy Press, 2008, 248

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 236

their illegal literature.¹⁸ Yet, little academic attention has been given to the relationship between the disputes conducted in vibrant pamphlet and verbal traditions, and the visual material relating to Jansenists and Convulsionaries that was circulating simultaneously in Paris. By 1743, the images of Pasquier Quesnel, regarded as a leading Jansenist theologian, and François de Pâris, Saint-Médard's late parish deacon had been re-engraved no less than eleven and seven times respectively.¹⁹ In visual as well as literary terms, Jansenist material filtered through the upper and lower echelons of Parisian society (and was even available elsewhere in Europe).²⁰ Daniel Roche claims that sixty-five percent of prints owned by wage earners, and thus, those accounted for in inventories, were religious.²¹ Importantly, it is this type of audience that my thesis will be considering. Although between 1730 and 1780 the percentage of religious books did decline from a third to a tenth,²² this does not account for prints handed out gratis by the religious authorities or circulated in clandestine publications such as the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques*. Yet, as noted above, little scholarship to date has explored printed images' roles in controversial contemporary debates.

There have been some endeavours to redress the balance of exhibiting less common French eighteenth-century art in museums. In fact, the images discussed in Chapter One recently took centre stage in an exhibition at the Musée National de Port-Royal des Granges, led by Christine Gouzi, which was devoted to the preliminary drawings and plates of the Convulsionary miracles executed Jean Restout (1692-1768).²³ Imprisoned Convulsionaries

¹⁸ Cyril B. O'Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the Secular Journal des Savants*, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974 and René Taveneaux, *La vie quotidienne des jansénistes aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, Hachette, 1973

¹⁹ Linda Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes à la culture (1598-1715)*, Paris, H. Champion Editeur, 1993, 424

²⁰ Editions of the pro-Jansenist literature I discuss in Chapter One were published in Germany and Holland.

²¹ Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, London, Harvard University Press, 1998

²² Nigel Aston, *Art and religion in eighteenth-century Europe*, London, Reaktion Books, 2009, 45

²³ Christine Gouzi and Philippe Luez, *Jean Restout et les miracles de Saint-Médard*, exhibition catalogue, Musée National de Port-Royal des Champs, Magny-les-Hameaux, April-July 2013

also made a brief appearance in a 2010 exhibition at the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal.²⁴ Research has also been carried out on the frontispieces that adorned the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*,²⁵ and the engravings illustrating the life of François de Pâris.²⁶ My thesis, however, will provide the first in-depth analysis of depictions of Convulsionary miracles. Even less reading is available on the visual cultures of popular devotion of which prints formed a part. Compiling information from a limited selection of resources such as José Lothe and Agnè Virole’s publication on confraternity prints and Bernard Cousin’s work on ex-votos,²⁷ has enabled me to make comparisons between expensive prints, like those discussed in Chapter One, and, the images handed out gratis by parochial schools.

In conducting my research, I have taken inspiration from Robert Palmer’s comparison of the ways in which Jansenist and Jesuit literature made subtly different uses of the terms natural and supernatural.²⁸ Hence, my thesis analyses the physical and metaphysical dichotomies apparent in depictions of miracles in pro-Jansenist visual culture. Palmer regarded the Jansenists as the least enlightened of the Catholic factions.²⁹ But, my work shows how, in fact, pro-Jansenist artists made very sophisticated use of imagery that often referenced logocentric discourses that might be readily considered to be ‘enlightened’.

²⁴ *La Bastille ou « l’Enfer des vivants »* exhibition at the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Paris, 9 November 2010 until 13 February 2011

²⁵ Also known as the *Gazette ecclésiastiques*, this illegal newspaper was published weekly between 1728 and 1803. It reflected the opinions of the most dedicated members of the French Jansenist party and was an ardent supporter of the Convulsionaries.

²⁶ Christine Gouzi, *L’art et le jansénisme au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, Nolin, 2007. Gouzi’s heavy focus on stylistic and formal elements, such as the density of cross-hatching visible in the prints, allows her to make attributions to individual engravers and printers. Without dates or signatures, it is clear that countless hours have been spent on her rigorous detection process which allows her to identify which prints were produced in Paris or Holland, and thus her work has made a useful contribution to mapping out Jansenist networks across Europe.

²⁷ See José Lothe and Agnès Virole, *Images de confréries parisiennes, exposition du 18 décembre 1991 au 7 mars 1992 : catalogue des images de confréries (Paris et île de France) de la collection de M. Louis Ferrand*, exhibition catalogue, Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, France, 1991-1992 and Bernard Cousin, *Le miracle et le quotidien : les ex-votos provençaux, images d’une société*, Sociétés, mentalités, cultures, Aix-en-Provence, 1983

²⁸ Robert R. Palmer, *Catholics and unbelievers in eighteenth-century France*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1939, 4

²⁹ Dale Van Kley, ‘Robert R. Palmer’s *Catholics and unbelievers*: an overdue tribute’, *Historical reflections*, Vol. 37, No. 3, Winter 2011, 26

Similarly to McMahon, who engages with little known or anonymous pamphlet authors, this thesis considers anonymous print makers and touches briefly on the risks involved for artists engaging in contentious areas of debate. As Robert Kreiser shows, utilising police reports, interrogations of Convulsionaries, correspondence of lower clerical orders and letters of parliamentary figures too, Convulsionaries' actions are not dissimilar to forms of protest.³⁰ My own work takes this further by focussing specifically on the female membership of the movement, exploring the avenues for theological and social disruption such women had available to them, and the complex manner in which these protesting women were depicted.

While the Convulsionary movement's high percentage of female devotees has been noted by scholars,³¹ Catherine Maire goes further and highlights that not only was there a greater presence of young and single women than any other social group, but there was also a notable number of male attendants from the upper Third Estate.³² However, no scholars have dwelled on these women's marginal social status and how their strong presence in religious spaces might have been particularly destabilising in eighteenth-century society. Although Natalie Zemon-Davis' essay "Women on Top" suggests that topsy-turvy images of medieval women would allow its female viewers to temporarily overcome their status inferiority and thus subvert patriarchal order, it has informed my own visual examinations in the images concerning Convulsionary women.³³

Chapter One explores one of the few named artists to have represented the alleged miracles of one of the most contentious religious groups of the period. Jean Restout primarily

³⁰ Robert Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century France*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 274

³¹ Scholars such as Joseph Bergin, Robert Kreiser, Catherine-Laurence Maire, Brian Strayer and Daniel Vidal have all concluded that the movement was largely made up women, in some accounts, up to 75 percent.

³² Catherine-Laurence Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la nation: le jansénisme au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, Gallimard, 1998 266

³³ Natalie Zemon-Davis' article "Women on Top" can be found in *Society and culture in early modern France*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1975, 124-151

a history painter working for the Academy, executed a series of prints in the Convulsionary publication entitled *La Verité des Miracles opérés à l'intercession de M. de Pâris et autres Appelans, Démontrée contre M. l'Archevêque de Sens* dated 1737, 1741 and 1747. Outlining the audiences who were most likely to have encountered the prints in question allows me to elucidate on the possible interpretations such images may have motivated in the minds of their viewers. There has already been some preliminary analysis of these prints by Christine Gouzi. Her scholarship deals with Restout's style and schooling, whilst my inquiry examines the subtle ways in which the artist represented the miracles by unpicking established visual rhetorics. By looking at the visual material on which an artist like Restout might have been drawing to inform his work, such as medical treatises, or even popular Catholic visual culture, like confraternity prints, this Chapter probes the extent to which these images became supporting documents for legitimising the alleged miracles. I analyse the broad semiotic ground on which Restout's images rested,³⁴ and the types of artistic devices he employed to theologically and/or scientifically bolster questionable miraculous events, as well as the truth claims that are being made by the movement's supporters. The images' conceivable audience has been gleaned from the prints' expensive nature. Only the higher social echelons of eighteenth-century France would have had the purchasing power to buy Carré de Montgeron's leather-bound publication. An awareness of the audiences that were likely to have engaged with this kind of visual culture allows me to draw upon the various epistemologies they drew on to decode these images.

³⁴ I am using Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson's description of semiotics. See Mieke Bal, *Essays in semiotics*, and Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, 'Semiotics and art history', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 73, No. 2, June 1991, 174-208. Essentially, all signs within images are polysemic (i.e: they can be endlessly (re)interpreted) according to the state of a reader's individual system of knowledge. Each reader brings their own practices, intellectual insight and so on when interpreting an image hence the boundless connotations that signifiers can have. Signs within images are fixed, but the discourse that is generated by viewing an image is always in flux.

Chapter Two deals with the representation of Convulsionary women in three specific prints. As noted above, historians working on the Convulsionary movement have acknowledged that its membership was largely composed of women; however, none have delved into the field of art history in a bid to strengthen their evidence by way of examining the accompanying visual culture on the subject. By adopting Wilson's description of gender, this chapter allows me to explore the extent to which women of the Convulsionary movement were able to maintain social order and/or promote change.³⁵ It examines potential audiences for these images and how they might have been informed by, and were informing, these areas of discourse. My work uncovers each image's context of production, the artist's convictions and sheds light on the market for images of Convulsionaries. I will argue that the significant presence of women in the Convulsionary movement was particularly destabilising for the Church and monarchical authorities. This Chapter builds on Mary Sheriff's assertion that the Convulsionary movement 'offered women a religious standing more elevated than the position they could find in mainstream Roman Catholicism or Jansenism'.³⁶ Sheriff also argues that erotic connotations are legible in a visual example that I have also chosen to study, *Secours donnés à Gabrielle Moler* (fig. 14) and I will build on such scholarship suggesting that the erotic is essential to my discussion in Chapter Two. However, I will consider this in relation to political and medical discourse and offer a more nuanced understanding of the erotic and how it works in relation to these different fields of discourse. I will also dwell on how gatherings in the cemetery or in underground séances acted as sites where varying Estates, ages and sexes would convene, practice religious observances or simply congregate by way of an extension to their social calendar. Given the above, this Chapter also explores the extent to which these women were able to exercise power to

³⁵ Lindsay Wilson, *Women and medicine in the French enlightenment: the debate over 'maladies des femmes'*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1993, 14

³⁶ Mary Sheriff, *Moved by love: inspired artists and deviant women in eighteenth-century France*, Chicago, University Chicago Press, 2004

subvert patriarchal authority or whether their religious episodes perpetuated sexual norms and invited voyeurism in social spaces. Ultimately, this thesis examines a selection of overlooked images and the important value that certain eighteenth-century audiences placed on them. By examining the potential viewers of these images primarily through a reception-focussed approach, this thesis explores how these viewers might have contributed to either ecclesiastical or humanist debates, or both, which adds to the scholarship on the conflation of religious and scientific debate during the eighteenth-century.

CHAPTER ONE: Depicting Convulsionary Miracles In *La Verite Des Miracles*

Introduction

Images of miraculous healings are the focus of this chapter and, specifically, the high quality prints that can be found in Louis-Basile Carré de Montgeron's three volume publication, *La Verité des Miracles opérés à l'intercession de M. de Pâris et autres Appelans, Démontrée contre M. l'Archevêque de Sens* dated 1737, 1741 and 1747.³⁷ These consist of before-and-after engravings of the thaumaturgical cures experienced by members of Parisian society after visiting the tomb of François de Pâris, the late deacon of the parish of Saint-Médard. These images cannot be straightforwardly understood as reportage. Neither genre prints nor history images, the ambiguous ground these images rest on will become evident later in this chapter. By unpacking the symbolism, which I argue was drawn from both spiritual and medical sources from the first half of the eighteenth century, this chapter will point out how these images served as discursive prompts for sophisticated audiences familiar with a wide range of metaphysical and scientific discourses. Christine Gouzi's meticulous archival work on this print material in her publication *L'Art et le jansenisme*, has informed my analysis of the images' functions, which have not otherwise been explored previously. But, my focus is on the diverse potential interpretations that these images might have had for audiences interested in both reason *and* religion.

Carré de Montgeron was an educated member of the French *parlement* turned devout Jansenist propagator. His controversial standing required a respected artist familiar with religious commissions and academic conventions to produce the images in question. A careful use of artistic devices was employed by the artist to give the miraculous cures

³⁷ According to Christine Gouzi in *L'Art et le jansenisme*, Paris, Nolin, 2007, the text first appeared in Paris and Utrecht in 1737 and in Cologne in 1745.

connotations of legitimacy and aesthetic decisions needed to be made by someone aware of the necessary visual rhetoric to capture the audience's attention.³⁸ I will argue that these images were executed in response to the State's medical and clerical investigations of the Saint-Médard miracles, a notion which will become clear as the political and medical dimensions of these images are explored. With growing scientific debates in the 1720s, medical and secular opinions were certainly coming into conflict with the opinions presented by the religious factions. An understanding of the status of miraculous images, according to the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, has allowed me to assess the doctrinal implications for audiences viewing images that they invested with spiritual significance. That said, examining the relationship between viewer and images will not only underline the Jansenist position on saintly objects,³⁹ but also the contested nature of certain religious practices and, thus, highlight the visual material's theological connotations. The concluding section of this chapter will discuss the extent to which these particular images were appreciated, whether it was primarily in religious, political, medical and/or aesthetic terms in relation to the viewing audiences' own convictions.

At least three key people were involved in the printmaking process. As the patron, Carré de Montgeron commissioned the prints to be drawn up by Jean Restout and, perhaps after some deliberations over sketches, the designs were then sent to a printing press for engraving. It is rare to find the same person working as both the artist and engraver in

³⁸ I owe this argument to Michèle Bokobza Kahan's article 'Ethos in testimony: the case of Carré de Montgeron, a Jansenist and convulsionary in the century of enlightenment', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, Vol. 43, Issue 4, Summer 2010, 419-433, although this has not been explored with relation to the text's images before.

³⁹ It is important at this stage to clarify the terms saintly, holy and sacred. A person is made saintly when they have been perfected by God, through receiving His divine grace, because of their achievements and actions during their lifetime. Relics for example, relating to that person are also saintly and thus set apart by humans (and the profane world) in ceremony and rituals. Sacred can be defined as an image or object that has been made inviolable by ceremonies and consecrated through blessing, for example the chalice used during the Eucharist. Holy and saintly are synonymous in the English language but the French and English terminologies do differ slightly and have become a contested linguistic space. For more on this issue see Marc Lods, 'Le saint et le sacré: enquête sur le vocabulaire biblique', *Positions luthériennes*, Vol. 34, 1986, 185-199

eighteenth-century France and in this instance Restout followed the common practice for academic painters to call upon academic engravers to reproduce his images.⁴⁰ The engraver for these images is believed to have been Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715 – 1790).⁴¹ Cochin would have incised the image with a burin onto plates that were most commonly made of copper. The plates would then be brushed with ink before wiping away any excess until only the ink in the incisions remained. Finally, the metal plates would be pressed with immense pressure so that the paper was forced into the grooves. The plates usually wore down, and thus prints could no longer be extracted, after approximately 2000 impressions.⁴² The prints in question are highly finished, and outside of being appreciated in private collections (which I will touch upon later in this chapter) they were likely to have been framed and hung on the walls of the elite or displayed freely in print shop windows for anyone passing by to encounter. In this instance, it is unclear whether Restout's prints were ever sold as single sheets.

Carré de Montgeron's story is unparalleled. A parliamentary councillor immediately converted following a visit to François de Pâris' tomb in 1731,⁴³ Carré de Montgeron actively assumed duties that defended the Convulsionary movement as a 'great propagator of the new faith'.⁴⁴ Commissioning *La Vérité des Miracles*, accompanied with high quality engravings, was one result of his commitment to the movement. According to Gouzi, Carré de Montgeron endeavoured to present the book as convincing documentation in support of the Saint-Médard

⁴⁰ Anthony Griffiths, *Prints and printmaking: an introduction to the history and techniques*, London, British Museum Press, 1996, 54

⁴¹ Although no signatures are present, by a process of deduction, Gouzi has traced stylistic techniques which point back to Cochin and Restout. See Christine Gouzi, *Jean Restout 1692-1768 : peintre d'histoire à Paris*, Paris, Arthema, 2000, 32

⁴² Anthony Griffiths, *Prints and printmaking: an introduction to the history and techniques*, London, British Museum Press, 1996, 39

⁴³ Thanks to Mahonri Sharp Young's article, 'Convulsions and conversions' which can be found in *Apollo*, Vol. CXXII, No. 288, Fall 1986, 123-126, we know that Carré de Montgeron's father, a high magistrate, was 'so struck by the change in his son's character and behaviour that he also visited the tomb and was converted.'

⁴⁴ Mahonri Sharp Young, 'Convulsions and conversions', *Apollo*, Vol. CXXII, No. 288, Fall 1986, 123

miracles.⁴⁵ Not only were the cures confirmed with numerous testimonies that were provided by a range of witnesses but, I argue, such evidence was further reinforced with the insertion of images.⁴⁶ The chief recipient of *La Verité des Miracles* was King Louis XV and Carré de Montgeron presented his work to him in person on the 20 July 1737 (fig. 1). Hence, the work needed to display a certain aesthetic quality which the King, himself a patron of art of the highest calibre, would expect. In academic artistic terms, however, these particular images occupy an ambiguous space. They document contemporary religious occurrences whilst naming ordinary Parisian people and referencing Pâris who (and this is particularly problematic) had not yet been canonised.⁴⁷ Despite the councillor's efforts, a *lettre de cachet* was issued for Montgeron's arrest and he was imprisoned in the Bastille the following day,⁴⁸ before his permanent exile to the citadel in Valence in June 1739.⁴⁹

As the only scholar to have attempted to trace the complicated provenance of these images, Gouzi demonstrates that the examples from volumes one and two of *La Verité des Miracles* were by Jean Restout (1692-1768) (fig. 2).⁵⁰ Gouzi's monograph on the artist, the only one in existence, has already ascertained the influence of his master's training. His uncle Jean Jouvenet was also an artist of the Academy who had worked principally on religious subjects.⁵¹ Her familiarity with the development of Restout's artistic and representational choices, in both drawings and paintings, has proved valuable for this chapter. However, the extent of Restout's artistic freedom, with regards to the production of these images, is

⁴⁵ Christine Gouzi, *L'art et le jansenisme*, Paris, Nolin, 2007, 71-72

⁴⁶ Christine Gouzi, *Jean Restout 1692-1768 : peintre d'histoire à Paris*, Paris, Arthéna, 2000, 69

⁴⁷ The new archbishop of Paris, Vintimille put a stop to the beatification process after the death of Cardinal Noailles in 1729. There is also evidence of this in the few existing biographies of Pâris which take a hagiographic approach, see Christine Gouzi, *L'art et le jansenisme*, Paris, Nolin, 2007, 147

⁴⁸ A *lettre de cachet* can be defined as a royal order that can warrant the imprisonment or even execution of a person without the need for a trial.

⁴⁹ Christine Gouzi, *L'art et le jansenisme*, Paris, Nolin, 2007, 147

⁵⁰ The artist is not to be confused with his father also named Jean Restout (1666 – 1702) or his son, Jean-Bernard Restout (1732 – 1797) who were both artists.

⁵¹ Christine Gouzi, *Jean Restout 1692-1768 : peintre d'histoire à Paris*, Paris, Arthéna, 2000, 32

unknown. I can only suggest that having selected Restout to compose the artworks, a respected and well established artist who already boasted an ever expanding dossier of religious commissions,⁵² it would have been sufficient for him to run sketches by Carré de Montgeron and, subsequently, proof copies of the prints produced by the engraver's print shop. With no surviving records of communication between the artist and patron, we might assume that Restout was able to work on these commissions with little interference. Although preliminary drawings for the foci prints were found at Carré de Montgeron's printing press by the authorities in 1740 (now held at the Musée de Port-Royal des Granges), there is little evidence to suggest that Restout would have witnessed each miraculous event and recorded his findings first hand.⁵³ I would be inclined to agree with Gouzi's argument, therefore, that these specific images were produced from the artist's imagination. With the large number of printed testimonies and the texts recording medical examinations of the miracles that were in circulation, Restout's images might well have been shaped by broader discourses as well as by Carré de Montgeron's own text.⁵⁴ However, witnesses' recollections were documented in letters months after the events had taken place allowing for discrepancies in narratives.⁵⁵ Therefore, there was a challenge for the artist, to produce images that made convincing truth claims for a diverse audience with the ability to formulate their knowledge of the events from a wide range of sources.

The miraculous and the medical

⁵² See Christine Gouzi, *Jean Restout 1692-1768 : peintre d'histoire à Paris*, Paris, Arthena, 2000, 75 for a full breakdown of religious and secular commissions, including Salon criticism, completed by Restout.

⁵³ The drawings also formed part of an exhibition in summer 2013 at the Musée de Port-Royal des Granges.

⁵⁴ Another source that Restout may have referred to is Philippe Nicolas Lottin's *Receuil de miracles*, a series of illegal pamphlets dated 1732-5 which included accounts from the neighbouring community, signatures of parents/relatives, acquaintances or doctors, notaries and detailed diagnoses. See Catherine-Laurence Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la nation: le jansénisme au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Gallimard, 1998, 259

⁵⁵ Michèle Bokobza Kahan, 'Ethos in testimony: the case of Carré de Montgeron, a Jansenist and a Convulsionary in the century of enlightenment', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, Summer 2010, Vol. 43, Issue 4, 419 and Catherine-Laurence Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la nation: le jansénisme au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Gallimard, 1998, 271. Around 50 people proclaimed their healing a year after a visit some even up to 5 years after their first visit to the tomb.

If indeed Restout was the artist responsible for these images' design, their didactic purpose must not be overlooked. Accepted into the Academy in 1717, Restout would have been well versed in translating complex moral lessons into visual representations.⁵⁶ Each miraculous cure was depicted in two vignettes, illness first and healing second, allowing the viewer, I would argue, to distinguish between socially accepted notions of an abnormal, and thus afflicted body, and a healthier and, therefore, divinely healed body. The healed body acts as a signifier for the soul's restitution, a tangible demonstration of God's omnipotence.⁵⁷ Displaying the images alongside one another highlights the dichotomy between diseased and healed, malevolent and good, sinful and redeemed, before the subject has been granted a healing through the intercession of Pâris, and, after.⁵⁸ In Catholic doctrine, praying to a particular saint to intercede on their behalf can be more effective than praying directly to God.⁵⁹ The working of a miracle was thus a visible sign of God's continuing presence which He revealed to the faithful.⁶⁰ As Joan Carroll has noted, Catholics do not pray 'to the crucifix or to the images of Christ and of the Saints, but to the persons of whom they remind us'.⁶¹

Restout's image of Marie Carteri's healing (fig. 3) best illustrates this point. Carteri's illness is presented in three quarter length in the first image, with a supplementary insert of

⁵⁶ The study of didactic art of the Academy has been best explored in Thomas Crow, *Painters and public life in eighteenth-century Paris*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1985

⁵⁷ I owe this point to Catherine-Laurence Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la nation: le jansénisme au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Gallimard, 1998 266-7. According to Maire, the miracle of healing acts as proof that the soul has undergone a conversion.

⁵⁸ See François Lebrun, *Se soigner autrefois: médecins, saints et sorciers aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, Medisor/Temps actuels, 1983, 13. Eighteenth-century medicine considered sin to be the main source of illness, and this would in turn affect the health of the body by unbalancing the humours.

⁵⁹ According to the seventh ecumenical council (Nicaea II) Catholics are encouraged to invoke those already in heaven and that saints, those closest to God can, and do, offer our prayers to Him on our behalf. See the entries on the 'Veneration of Images', 'Invocation' and 'Intercession' in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* edited by Charles Herbermann, London, Encyclopedia Press Special Edition, 1914 which is now available online at www.newadvent.org

⁶⁰ Robert Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early-eighteenth century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 122

⁶¹ Joan Carroll, *Miraculous images of Our Lady: 100 famous Catholic portraits and statues*, Tan books and publishers, Illinois, 1993, 6. Carroll is a widely published Catholic author whose publications have all received the imprimatur, an official licence issued by the Roman Catholic Church to print religious books.

her face and eyes, the area causing the young girl the greatest discomfort, in the top right hand corner. Providing an amplification of the affected areas is a device that draws us in to examine her symptoms more closely. In some ways, this acts as a substitute for not witnessing the event ourselves and invites the viewer to establish a diagnosis of her condition. The viewer is asked to become involved affectively by what they see. In a second image, Carteri is bedridden, with eyes wide-open, looking heavenwards and she is supported physically by her mother. There is another insert which reveals that the young woman will soon recover and return to her work in the fields. The composition allows the viewer to build a coherent narrative and follow the stages of Carteri's healing process. The artist has summarised the event in only two images. This, I would argue, serves to deliver the essential overview of the event at a glance, by including the vital information required to encourage empathetic responses, especially among those members of the viewing audience who had not been to observe the miracles at Saint-Médard themselves. This point is reinforced by the image's accompanying text which states that Carteri visited the tomb on 4 September 1731 and was able to remove her bandages the following day. However, cures would often occur months after an initial visit to the cemetery or, indeed, after several separate visits. Here, any trace of doubt that the cure may not have occurred at once has been removed for the readers, which is one criterion a miracle must depend on if it is to be recognised and legitimised by the ecclesiastical authorities.

In *Miraculous images of Our Lady*, Joan Carroll states that in the event of a miracle it must occur there and then.⁶² This also correlates with the medical regulations of the period. The general inspector of the Convulsionary miracles, Nigon de Berty, 'established well-defined conditions that the healings would have to meet if they were to be accepted by the

⁶² See the introduction in Joan Carroll, *Miraculous images of Our Lady: 100 famous Catholic portraits and statues*, Tan books and publishers, Illinois, 1993

archbishop', amongst other criteria, 'the healing had to be sudden, perfect and without relapse'.⁶³ The supporting text does indeed reinforce the instantaneous nature of the cures. On returning to the fields a mere eight days after visiting the tomb, it is written that Carteri laboured with more vigour and strength than ever before (i.e. no relapse). In addition, one image in the publication's second volume, includes an impeccable witness to Madeleine Durand's cure, the parliamentary councillor Fournier de Montagni who, like Carré de Montgeron, was converted on the spot.⁶⁴ This coincides with the belief that miracles were transparent, requiring no further interpretation and had been fully vouched for by reliable witnesses of social standing and with respectable intellectual and moral capacities. In these instances the Convulsionaries seemed to have fulfilled all the requirements for credibility.

In the image of Durand (fig. 4), a supporting female figure is holding out a basin to capture any bodily fluids as she begins to make an incision on Durand's cancerous ulcer with large, probably domestic, scissors. The presence of medical paraphernalia harks back to seventeenth-century paintings of a doctor's visit, the study of which has been the focus of Laurinda Dixon's research.⁶⁵ Doctors would often question the patient with their entourage, inspect the tongue, the eyes, record a pulse, scrutinise urine and blood.⁶⁶ Restout is deliberately creating a sense of familiarity for the viewers with the insertion of medical iconography, objects that they would have recognised. The convergence of a medical approach with artistic representation allows the images to act more as scientific documents than devotional or aesthetic objects. We should remember that the chief recipient of *La Verité des Miracles* was Louis XV, a man accompanied by advisors and courtiers who were

⁶³ Lindsay Wilson, *Women and medicine in the French enlightenment: the debate over 'maladies des femmes'*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1993, 23

⁶⁴ Mahonri Sharp Young, 'Convulsions and conversions', *Apollo*, Vol. CXXII, No. 288, Fall 1986, 124

⁶⁵ See Laurinda Dixon, *Perilous chastity: women and illness in pre-enlightenment art and medicine*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1995

⁶⁶ François Lebrun, *Se soigner autrefois: médecins, saints et sorciers aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, Medisor/Temps actuels, 1983, 60

members of medical and philosophical circles. This was the very same man who had closed the cemetery of Saint-Médard five years previously and denied the Convulsionaries access to their sacred place of veneration. Did Carré de Montgeron really believe that the recorded testimonies in *La Verité des Miracles* and its high quality images would have been enough to revoke the King's decision? By exhibiting these images as though accredited by the medical profession (and adhering to Nigon de Berty's standards) perhaps Carré de Montgeron was hoping to make them legible, in legal terms at least, as proof, backed up with scientific evidence. The ecclesiastical and civil authorities carried out innumerable investigations in which 'many of the miracles were immediately proved on the spot before judges of unquestioned integrity, attested by witnesses of credit and distinction'.⁶⁷ As Michèle Bobkza Kahan has neatly summarised 'as a professional judge, he (Carré de Montgeron) [...] knew well the conditions under which material thus presented became credible and recognised as empiric facts'.⁶⁸

Inserting a close up of the subject's ailments is a recurring tool employed in these prints. The plates for Pierre Gautier (fig. 5) included a pair of eyes in the top corners of each image,⁶⁹ and the first plate for Madeleine Durand (fig. 4) includes an inset of the woman's face afflicted with a cancerous tumour of the mouth. These particular examples form a body of images where faculties are restored: sight (fig. 5), mobility (fig. 6), speech (fig. 4) and hearing (fig. 7). According to Arlette Farge in *Subversive words*, displaying the dismembered body underlines 'the state of imagination connected with medical obsession, with dissection, or it could be viewed symbolically, the body of the people exist either *en masse* or in

⁶⁷ Mahonri Sharp Young, 'Convulsions and conversions', *Apollo*, Vol. CXXII, No. 288, Fall 1986, 125

⁶⁸ Michèle Bokobza Kahan's article 'Ethos in testimony: the case of Carré de Montgeron, a Jansenist and convulsionary in the century of enlightenment', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, Vol. 43, Issue 4, Summer 2010, 420

⁶⁹ It is interesting to note that the original chalk drawing for this image (fig. 11) did not include magnified and isolated inserts of the devotee's afflicted eyes. Therefore this would suggest to be a later addition in the print making process.

pieces'.⁷⁰ I suggest that this type of representation draws from medical treatises circulating at the same time and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two with relation to images of female Convulsionaries. What is important to note here is that the medical visual material also available during the period magnified, labelled and anatomised parts of the body in isolation (fig. 8).⁷¹ Barbara Stafford has argued that in the age of Enlightenment, 'the human body represented the ultimate visual compendium, the comprehensive method of methods, the organising structure of structures'.⁷² The insert offers an alternative viewpoint into the composition and magnification provided the means to see problems intensely and analytically.⁷³

Viewed in these circumstances, these images could have served as prompts that incited conversation among audiences articulate and curious enough regarding the state of the body, mind and soul. It was not only the *philosophes* who concerned themselves with the questions that medicine was asking and, as Lindsay Wilson has noted, there was 'increasing, public scepticism over the opinions of medical experts, [that] the debates become open forums in which any interested party might air his or her views'.⁷⁴ If encountered as single sheet prints, these prints would have been removed from portfolios and spread across a large table to encourage observation and appreciation, inviting comments amongst small audiences made up of the social elite. It is important to note that 'these cures, which took place *en plein* Paris were among the best-attested miracles in history', encouraging debate among viewers.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Arlette Farge, *Subversive words: public opinion in eighteenth-century France*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994, 15

⁷¹ For more on this and the scale of medical treatises/readership see Barbara Maria Stafford, *Body criticism: imaging the unseen in Enlightenment art and medicine*, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1991

⁷² *Ibid*, 1991, 12

⁷³ *Ibid*, 1991, 346

⁷⁴ Lindsay Wilson, *Women and medicine in the French enlightenment: the debate over 'maladies des femmes'*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1993, 13

⁷⁵ Mahonri Sharp Young, 'Convulsions and conversions', *Apollo*, Vol. CXXII, No. 288, Fall 1986, 123

A document containing text alone was much cheaper to produce than images.⁷⁶ Clearly, Carré de Montgeron recognised the impact that a powerful medium like an image could have on influential viewers, especially when it was engaging with discourses that sought to validate miracles - he spared no expense. According to Gouzi, Restout was paid approximately 240 *livres* for the drawings found in volume one.⁷⁷ These images would have formed part of a collection most likely to have been encountered by members of the affluent second and third Estates, nobility, financiers, notaries and collectors, those with a disposable income and with ready access to printed material pertaining to theological and medical debates. Coincidentally, it is members of this very audience that had also attended Pâris' funeral in May 1727.⁷⁸

Darrin McMahon has surveyed the period's pamphlet literature and has highlighted how *cause célèbres* featured heavily in eighteenth-century history. Broadsheets, newspapers, placards and notices expressing views were in constant distribution. According to Daniel Roche, 'religious debate in this period reached an unusually wide audience thanks to the distribution of tracts by hawkers, broadsheets, booksellers and to the indefatigable efforts of agents who favoured one party or the other'.⁷⁹ Thus, the images sit on broader ground that is worth exploring in more detail. Lebrun tells us that sick people from all levels of eighteenth-century society, from the King to the print makers, called upon what he has termed 'empirical' medicine *and* therapeutic pilgrimages.⁸⁰ Even parish priests were known to give

⁷⁶ See Richard Clay, 'Riotous images : representations of Joseph Priestley in British prints during the French Revolution, *History of Education*, Vol 37, Issue 4, 2008, 585-604. Although Clay discusses British visual culture his analysis on the prices of prints is useful for this point.

⁷⁷ Christine Gouzi, *Jean Restout 1692-1768: peintre d'histoire à Paris*, Paris, Arthéna, 2000, 179, footnote 202

⁷⁸ Robert Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early-eighteenth century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 91

⁷⁹ Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, London, Harvard University Press, 1998, 368

⁸⁰ François Lebrun, *Se soigner autrefois: médecins, saints et sorciers aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, Medisor/Temps actuels, 1983, 8

medicinal advice alongside prayers or novenas.⁸¹ Therefore, the idea that popular and rational medicines were distinct from each other was anachronistic during the eighteenth century. Maire takes this further by stating that those cured miraculously would simultaneously theologise medical discourse and use religious materials and practices as medicinal care, and that the King was no exception to this.⁸²

Theological connotations

As I have already discussed, images of miracles had the power to circumvent authority. By recording the miraculous happenings onto paper, compiling them into a book elaborate and expensive enough to collect, or storing them in portfolios, the images gave the cures longevity and acted as a means of ratification. It is important to note here that in Catholic doctrine there is no adoration of devotional images, only representations of what is considered holy. The Council of Trent in 1563 clarified that images were to be used ‘as aids to awaken devotion and reverence’.⁸³ In Catholicism, devotees pray through the image towards the celestial. As Olivier Christin has put it, the image itself receives no adoration it is the model example that the image represents that receives veneration.⁸⁴ In the instance of Saint-Médard, therefore, it is God who performs the miracles at the request of François de Pâris. It is saints who plead the faithful’s cause to God and as Pâris had not been officially canonised the images highlight some causes for concern for ecclesiastical authorities. The canons and decrees of the Council of Trent remind devotees that ‘to pray to individual saints

⁸¹ François Lebrun, *Se soigner autrefois: médecins, saints et sorciers aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, Medisor/Temps actuels, 1983, 29

⁸² Catherine-Laurence Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la nation: le jansénisme au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Gallimard, 1998, 279. One example of this is the soil from the tomb was often used in potions and ointments.

⁸³ Joan Carroll, *Miraculous images of Our Lady: 100 famous Catholic portraits and statues*, Tan books and publishers, Illinois, 1993, 7

⁸⁴ Olivier Christin and Dario Gamboni, *Crises de l’image religieuse : Krisen religiöser Kunst*, Fondation maisons des sciences de l’homme, Paris, 1999, 95

is idolatry'.⁸⁵ I would suggest that elevating Pâris to the status of a saint without complete ecclesiastical sanction is a transgression of theological decree. It is not, however a sacrilegious act (the punishments for which were severe).⁸⁶ In the event of abusing the holy observances, the Council of Trent advises the complete removal of objects that cause the representation of false doctrines and, in this instance, veneration at Pâris' tomb and the unofficial sale of his relics could be considered a misuse of what was regarded as sacred.⁸⁷ Pâris' relics had been set apart by the parish and before Vintimille's accession the cardinal Noailles had instigated the deacon's process of beatification. Both the Crown and the archbishop Vintimille, however, had ordered the closure of Saint-Médard and thus prevented the tomb's contact with the faithful in the hope of eliminating religious perversion.

These images were part of complex theological debates involving the subversion of Catholic doctrine by Convulsionaries. As Lorrain Daston has stated, 'if the doctrine was disputed, miracles could no longer settle the issue, for they then became signs without clear signification'.⁸⁸ Whilst religious images were useful for 'instructing or confirming believers in the articles of faith, people might misguidedly worship them rather than the holy doctrines they represented'.⁸⁹ That said, the status of religious images was, indeed, open to doubt and the particular examples of Restout's prints straddled precariously on the boundaries of superstition and devotion. Yet, it was the ecclesiastical authorities who 'stiffened the

⁸⁵ O. P. Schroeder, *The canons and decrees of the Council of Trent*, Tan books and publishers, 1978, 215

⁸⁶ See Richard Clay, 'Violating the sacred: theft and 'iconoclasm' in late eighteenth-century Paris', *Oxford Art J Journal*, 26 (2), 2003, 1-22

⁸⁷ According to Robert Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 90, large crowds turned up at Pâris' deathbed and 'craved relics of his clothing, armoire, hair or made contact with his body to sanctify objects'. In the case of Pâris it was theologically unsound to transfer saintliness through touch as he had not yet been official canonised by the Church. See Kathryn Sykes, 'Sanctity as a form of capital' in *Sainthood and Sanctity*, ed. Peter D. Clarke and Tony Claydon, *Studies in Church History* 47, 2011

⁸⁸ Lorraine Daston, 'Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Events in Early Modern Europe', *Critical Inquiry*, Volume 18, No. 1, Autumn 1991, 120

⁸⁹ See Cissie Fairchild's chapter in Christine Adams, Jack Censer and Lisa Graham Jane, *Visions and revisions of eighteenth-century France*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997

evidentiary requirements for miracles'.⁹⁰ Even the Scottish philosopher David Hume noted that the Saint-Médard miracles were better supported than those of Christ and his disciples.⁹¹ If we are to look back at the confraternity prints frequently handed out in catechism classes for good behaviour, then the Restout prints are clearly referencing the period's popular Catholic visual imagery that was most commonly encountered by lay society.⁹² The inserts are not dissimilar to the snapshots of a saint's life, for example, found on this type of visual culture (fig. 9). In this example (fig. 9), the round inserts capture key events of the brother saints Créspin (or Crépin) and Crésplinien (or Crépinien) that surround the figures of the Virgin and baby Jesus. The events refer to incidents in the saints' martyrdom and act as essential visual reference points for a Catholic audience to decode which saint is being depicted. Not only does this type of visual illustration build a coherent narrative for the faithful, but it exposes key events of a saint's hagiography and, hence, can be very instructive for less literate sections of society and emphasises the devotional use of images. This also allows a breakdown and simplification of what can sometimes be a complicated history of a confraternity's origins or mission.⁹³ I would argue that Restout employed similar methods to showcase his adherence to the key elements of the events in the same way that a Jansenist would adhere scrupulously to the sacred text.⁹⁴ As Bernard Dorival has noted, the Port-Royal nuns' first conviction was that art had to serve religion.⁹⁵ Of course, both Jansenists and

⁹⁰ Lorraine Daston, 'Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Events in Early Modern Europe', *Critical Inquiry*, Volume 18, No. 1, Autumn 1991, 121

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 122. Daston cites David Hume, 'On Miracles', *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, 1742; London, 1963

⁹² See Richard Clay, 'Violating the sacred: theft and 'iconoclasm' in late eighteenth-century Paris', *Oxford Art Journal*, 26 (2), 2003, 1-22

⁹³ For more on confraternity prints see José Lothe and Agnès Virole, *Images de confréries parisiennes, exposition du 18 décembre 1991 au 7 mars 1992 : catalogue des images de confréries (Paris et île de France) de la collection de M. Louis Ferrand*, exhibition catalogue, Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, France, 1991-1992

⁹⁴ Bernard Dorival, *Le jansénisme et l'art français*, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1952, 10. Port-Royal-des-Champs was familiar to most Parisians as an important Jansenist stronghold that had been razed to the ground in 1710 following a Papal Bull for its abolishment in 1708.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 1952, 8

Jesuits agreed that people might misguidedly worship images rather than the holy doctrines they represented. But, whilst Jesuits emphasised the usefulness of images, Jansenists emphasised their dangers.⁹⁶

This chapter has emphasised the fact that medicine and religion were not always seen as two distinct spheres in this period. In fact, images of this nature could have been read in a variety of ways depending on the spiritual and scientific convictions and competencies of their viewing audiences. Bodies that are healed by intercession are still largely unknown terrain for doctors today. Graduating doctors in the early eighteenth century were ‘required to swear an oath to defend the precepts of religion’.⁹⁷ Therefore, physicians who were carrying out investigations into the miracles on behalf of the religious authorities and the King, operated on a reconciliation of two opposing grounds, the physical and the metaphysical, a materialist versus a religious approach. By analysing the complicated nature of these images, I have shown how, hand in hand with increasing public scepticism over the opinions of the medical establishment, they were able to motivate and contribute to the ‘open debates in which any interested party might air his or her views’.⁹⁸ Both Carré de Montgeron and Jean Restout moved in elite circles and were aware of the *philosophes*’ debates over ‘divine providence, the hierarchy of nature, the immortality of the soul and original sin’, but also on modern medicine.⁹⁹ Let us not forget that 30% of all books reviewed in the *Journal des sçavans*, a widely published academic journal, dealt with medical subjects.¹⁰⁰ In addition, many of the Convulsionary accounts came from Charles de la Condamine, a leading scientist

⁹⁶ Cissie Fairchild’s chapter in Christine Adams, Jack Censer and Lisa Graham Jane, *Visions and revisions of eighteenth-century France*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997, 39

⁹⁷ Lindsay Wilson, *Women and medicine in the French enlightenment: the debate over ‘maladies des femmes’*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1993, 21

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 13

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 3

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 7

and explorer.¹⁰¹ This shows that there were definitely enough conversational triggers in circulation that encompassed medicine and radical religion for the elite to act up on, and access to wider Enlightenment discussions were readily available to this class of society.¹⁰² As I have shown, the rhetorical visual strategies employed by Restout and Carré de Montgeron placed the radical Convulsionary movement within the field of the rational, placing the images within the contested domain of natural science and the metaphysical. These images would also have been discussed in political and theological contexts, as they were completed in a time of political and religious turmoil. Cyril O’Keefe has even suggested that Carré de Montgeron was perhaps imploring the philosophical elite through the use of these images to defeat their common enemy, the Jesuits.¹⁰³

Political connotations

Although at first glance Retout’s images do not seem to demonstrate political connotations, they did contribute to the ‘stormy arena of contemporary religious politics’.¹⁰⁴ In order to understand how and why Carré de Montgeron’s publication might have incited royal discontent, we must first consider some of the key events in the years leading up to his arrest. The archbishop of Paris, Charles de Vintimille had suppressed the Convulsionary movement in 1731 and ‘in the eyes of the civil and ecclesiastical establishment, the unauthorised Pâris cult had become too great a public nuisance and too vexing a religious scandal to permit its adherents to continue their observances undisturbed’.¹⁰⁵ Simultaneously,

¹⁰¹ Mahonri Sharp Young, ‘Convulsions and conversions’, *Apollo*, Vol. CXXII, No. 288, Fall 1986, 124

¹⁰² For underground literature available to eighteenth-century audiences see Robert Darnton, *The great cat massacre and other episodes in French cultural history*, London, Penguin, 1991 and *The forbidden best-sellers of pre-revolutionary France*, London, Fontana, 1997.

¹⁰³ Cyril B. O’Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the Secular Journal des Savants*, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974, 27

¹⁰⁴ Robert Kreiser, ‘Religious enthusiasm in early eighteenth-century Paris: the convulsionaries of Saint-Médard’, *The Catholic historical review*, Vol. LXI, No. 3, 1975, 355

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 355 and according to Cyril B. O’Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the*

the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, an illegal newspaper defending the Jansenist and Convulsionary cause was readily available by way of sophisticated printing and disseminating measures.¹⁰⁶ This allowed information to be published in more than one underground printing establishment relatively undetected and to be distributed by *colporteurs* already attached to the Jansenist party.¹⁰⁷ Its exact readership is unknown but, following a legal order from Vintimille that anybody involved with it was to be excommunicated from the Church, we can only conclude that Convulsionary material posed a very real threat to lay society. If no longer a member of the Church, a person could not be administered the last rites and, thus, his or her access to eternal life in heaven was impeded. This period saw the authorities issue numerous *lettres de cachet* for the imprisonment of many *appellants* priests and confessors.¹⁰⁸ Only five years before, the King had banished his *parlement* following a *lit de justice* on 3 April 1730 on the matters concerning the Papal Bull *Unigenitus*. This publication would only serve to ignite those controversies and exacerbate the fragile relationship between *parlement* and Crown.

Robert Kreiser claims that the movement's members 'never thought of themselves anything other than as faithful subjects of their King' and that 'their political criticisms [...] rarely encompassed a direct or very harsh attack [...] on monarchical authority'.¹⁰⁹ But, I would argue that in presenting *La Vérité des Miracles* to the King, Carré de Montgeron was

Secular Journal des Savants, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974, 21, all issues between 1730-35 referenced the cures of Saint-Médard.

¹⁰⁶ See Cyril B. O'Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the Secular Journal des Savants*, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974. This was also known as the *Gazette ecclésiastiques*, a weekly newspaper published between 1728 and 1803. It was outlawed by government officials and although it was a criminal offence to read or publish it, it regularly appeared on streets of Paris. It was the 'propaganda organ for the Jansenist party and reflected the opinions of the most devout and dedicated members of the party'.

¹⁰⁷ A *colporteur* can be defined as person who peddles books and religious tracts.

¹⁰⁸ Robert Kreiser, 'Religious enthusiasm in early eighteenth-century Paris: the convulsionaries of Saint-Médard', *The Catholic historical review*, Vol. LXI, No. 3, 1975, 356. An *appellant* can be defined as a person who petitions against the decisions made by royal court.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Kreiser, 'Religious enthusiasm in early eighteenth-century Paris: the convulsionaries of Saint-Médard', *The Catholic historical review*, Vol. LXI, No. 3, 1975, 383

transgressing the sacred, given that the King himself had been made sacred during his coronation ceremony.¹¹⁰ In the context of this period, this offensive move could be verging on sacrilege, as ‘the magistrate transformed his words into a physical act that involved intrusion into the royal residence and irrelevant interjection’.¹¹¹ The risks involved were not slight.¹¹² Carré de Montgeron’s fortune and social status were compromised for the good of the Jansenist cause as he ‘openly stood up to defend the miracles in the public arena’.¹¹³ As a result, he ‘(laid) claim to being God’s direct spokesperson, which implicitly place(d) him even above the King’.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the fact that these images were not signed nor dated highlights the very real dangers involved for artists producing this type of print. To add to this point, Gouzi has uncovered that engravers working for Carré de Montgeron demanded unusually higher prices for their works.¹¹⁵

Ultimately, Carré de Montgeron, a militant *anticonstitutionnaire*,¹¹⁶ was part of a minority that ‘represented the most active, persuasive, and perhaps best disciplined group of judges within the court’.¹¹⁷ We know that in some parishes, for example, Saint Germain des Prés and Saint-Jean de Haut de Pas, ecclesiastic figures translated the events of the Convulsionary movement into political terms for their devotees, like Saint Vincent de Paul at

¹¹⁰ Michèle Bokobza Kahan, ‘Ethos in testimony: the case of Carré de Montgeron, a Jansenist and a convulsionary in the century of enlightenment’, *Eighteenth-century Studies*, Summer 2010, Vol. 43, Issue 4, 422

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 422. Also Richard Clay in ‘Bouchardon’s statue of Louis XV; iconoclasm and the transformation of signs’, in Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay (eds), *Iconoclasm: contested objects, contested terms*, Ashgate, 2007, 93 – 122 explores the embedded cultural connotations of the King in spaces and statues and their transformation during the old regime and French revolution which has contributed to my argument.

¹¹² Richard Clay discusses the punishments for sacrilege in ‘Violating the sacred: theft and ‘iconoclasm’ in late eighteenth-century Paris’, *Oxford Art Journal*, 26 (2), 2003, 1-22. Robert Palmer in *Catholics and Unbelievers in eighteenth century France*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1986, 16 tells us that a man called La Barre was executed for desecrating a wayside cross.

¹¹³ Michèle Bokobza Kahan, ‘Ethos in testimony: the case of Carré de Montgeron, a Jansenist and a convulsionary in the century of enlightenment’, *Eighteenth-century Studies*, Summer 2010, Vol. 43, Issue 4, 420

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, 424

¹¹⁵ Christine Gouzi, *Jean Restout 1692-1768 : peintre d'histoire à Paris*, Paris, Arthéna, 2000, 69

¹¹⁶ An *anticonstitutionnaire* can be defined as a person who opposes the constitution of the Papal Bull *Unigenitus*.

¹¹⁷ Robert Kreiser, ‘Religious enthusiasm in early eighteenth-century Paris: the convulsionaries of Saint-Médard’, *The Catholic historical review*, Vol. LXI, No. 3, 1975, 105

Saint Etienne du Mont (fig. 10).¹¹⁸ And so, because the Jansenist movement comprised ‘connections and social relations with magistrates, lower court officials and the people’, through a small clerical elite, it was able to wield considerable influence.¹¹⁹ These images, therefore, added to the heated discussions already taking place about the organisation of clerical authority in France or the King’s management of these affairs, reaching a particularly privileged audience and seeking the attention of the monarch. The King stood as the great link ‘between the terrestrial and heavenly cities, binding them together into what was still conceived as one grand hierarchy’.¹²⁰ Politics and religion were tightly bound together in eighteenth-century France.¹²¹ Carré de Montgeron was well aware of this, and through his presentation of the book, was not imploring the King’s guidance, but instead, by remaining steadfast, he indirectly contested the King’s decision to close the cemetery.

Conclusion

La Verité des Miracles served to exacerbate the tense climate between judicial and monarchical institutions and provoked further upheavals in their administration of social order. Daniel Roche has already noted the volume of titles in circulation that were produced by authors using ‘exegetical scholarship, theological rationalism, and stories of conversion to exhort and persuade’.¹²² In the case of Carré de Montgeron, he saw it as his judicial responsibility, representing both the court of appeal and the people to uphold the people’s wishes and defend the Jansenists from persecution resulting from the Papal Bull. Both artist

¹¹⁸ Robert Kreiser, ‘Religious enthusiasm in early eighteenth-century Paris: the convulsionaries of Saint-Médard’, *The Catholic historical review*, Vol. LXI, No. 3, 1975, 170. Interestingly Saint-Etienne-du-Mont is located very close to the top of the rue Mouffetard, at the bottom of which is Saint-Médard.

¹¹⁹ Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, London, Harvard University Press, 1998, 370

¹²⁰ David Bell, *The cult of the nation in France: inventing nationalism, 1680-1800*, Harvard, Harvard University Press, 2001, 31

¹²¹ Amongst many examples, the most unequivocal was that of the King, who was not only located at the head of the State but he had also been anointed at his coronation with blessed oil supposedly brought down from heaven by a dove.

¹²² Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, London, Harvard University Press, 1998, 388

and commissioner displayed their talents with an acute understanding of the ‘power of visual and verbal tools on the mind of the addressees and its impact on public opinion’.¹²³ As I have shown, these images cover many domains: topographical, popular devotional, medical/rational, and had the potential to represent miraculous events in more than one way. These could only have been encoded by someone aware of all such debates – an artist with Restout’s talent.

Throughout my analysis, I have alluded to the legal and theological implications of miracles. Saints were only mediators but, as I have shown, venerating Pâris as though he could enact saintly duties on the Convulsionaries’ behalf could be seen as a violation of Catholic doctrine. These images were essentially inviting the viewers to bring different models of knowledge with them and perhaps adopt new ones in the process. It is difficult to speculate on the specific responses that *La Verité des Miracles* might have received from its viewing audiences but, we do know that the Convulsionary movement as a whole was not favourably thought of by sophisticated members of Parisian society. Baron von Grimm published a newsletter for royal subscribers in which the Convulsionaries provided entertaining material.¹²⁴ The focus of my next chapter will explore strong sexual overtones that often clouded the religious enthusiasm that devotees were manifesting and which, according to Mahonri Sharp Young, provided engaging literary material for Grimm’s select audience. As for the Jesuits, a play was published by Guillaume-Hyacinthe Bougeant, a priest who contributed to the Jesuit journal *Mémoires de Trévoux*, in 1732 entitled *Le saint déniché, ou La banqueroute des marchands de miracle* that mocked the Saint-Médard miracles.¹²⁵

¹²³ Michèle Bokobza Kahan, ‘Ethos in testimony: the case of Carré de Montgeron, a Jansenist and a convulsionary in the century of enlightenment’, *Eighteenth-century Studies*, Summer 2010, Vol. 43, Issue 4, 424

¹²⁴ Mahonri Sharp Young, ‘Convulsions and conversions’, *Apollo*, Vol. CXXII, No. 288, Fall 1986, 124

¹²⁵ Angela Haas, ‘Miracles on trial: wonders and their witnesses in eighteenth-century France’, *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, Vol. 38, 2010, 118

Following the closing of the cemetery, several hundred people were overcome by seizures and the majority were women.¹²⁶ Kresier has noted that ‘the Convulsionaries began to believe that they had been specifically chosen [...] with the responsibility of restoring the Church to the pure faith and simple virtue of the apostolic age’.¹²⁷ Hence, the study of unorthodox Convulsionary practices carrying erotic connotations, especially those of its dominant female congregation and how their presence posed a threat to different authorities will be the focus of my second chapter, in the light of which it becomes clear why Resout’s images needed to draw on so many legitimising discourses.

¹²⁶ Robert Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early-eighteenth century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 259

¹²⁷ Robert Kreiser, ‘Religious enthusiasm in early eighteenth-century Paris: the convulsionaries of Saint-Médard’, *The Catholic historical review*, Vol. LXI, No. 3, 1975, 361

CHAPTER TWO: Depicting Convulsionary women in three case studies

Introduction

This chapter examines the wide-ranging representations of Convulsionary women undergoing allegedly miraculous cures and spiritual convulsions at Saint-Médard. The period's visual culture provides valuable evidence of the problematic nature of a considerable female congregation in eighteenth-century society; one that was based on patriarchal foundations, and established on, and adherent to, Catholic doctrine. A thorough visual analysis of such material and of audiences' possible responses is the main focus of this chapter. Scholars such as Robert Kresier, Catherine Maire, Daniel Vidal and Brian Strayer have all concluded that the Convulsionary movement's devotees were predominantly female.¹²⁸ Although participation in the Convulsionary movement involved both sexes, of all ages and Estates, it is single women particularly who are the focus of my attention.¹²⁹ Never before have historians examined whether the visual material upholds what can be found on the subject of Convulsionary women in archival studies. By considering each image's context of production, dissemination and reception in a series of three case studies, this chapter provides insights into the contemporary attitudes towards these particular women. Furthermore, unpacking the theological and medical discourses of the period relating to women, and making comparisons across these, will equip me with the means of deciphering society's issues with female devotees and religious enthusiasm more generally as well as the conflation between religious and scientific debate in the eighteenth century.

¹²⁸ Kreiser, Maire, Strayer and Vidal have all agreed that approximately three quarters of the movement's membership was female.

¹²⁹ See Brian Strayer, *Suffering saints: Jansenists and convulsionnaires in France 1640-1799*, Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 2008 for a breakdown of single women's presence in the convulsionary movement. Strayer has concluded that within the largely female presence in the movement, the majority were also termed single.

This chapter's foci images are by three artist-engravers. All were produced between 1737 and 1747, a period which, as has been noted above, was most troubled by religious upheaval and disputes. The illegal Jansenist newspaper *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* began to be published in 1728 and its first edition dedicated two whole pages to the miracles of Saint-Médard.¹³⁰ Following the appointment of René Herault as chief of the Paris police in 1729, the authorities began clamping down on the city's illegal printing presses, they also took action to close the Saint Médard cemetery and, in 1732, summoned 24 doctors to examine Convulsionary prisoners in the Bastille to discredit the miracles.¹³¹ Following the Papal Bull *Unigenitus* becoming law on 24 March 1730, a judicial crisis ensued for the next three years. In response to the cult's suppression by the archbishop Vintimille in 1733, Convulsionary activity was driven underground and became for the most part 'brutal rather than spiritual'.¹³² With this in mind, the circumstances of production vary greatly across this chapter's foci images, depending on their date and location of conception and dissemination, as well as, the artists' and audiences' motivations and convictions.

Having already considered the risks entailed for artists working for an ostracised *parlementaire* councillor in Chapter One, it would be foolish to expect a signature on this chapter's foci prints. Previously, the police had sent engravers to the Bastille for producing

¹³⁰ Cyril B. O'Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the Secular Journal des Savants*, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974. Also according to René Taveneaux, *La vie quotidienne des jansénistes aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, Hachette, 1973, 240, 6000 copies of the illegal newspaper were distributed but it was quite probable that issues were passed round amongst its readers therefore accounting for an even greater readership. Dale Van Kley tells us that each issue was sold for 6 sols, *Religious origins of the French Revolution: from Calvin to the Civil Constitution 1560-1791*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996, 96

¹³¹ Jean-Robert Armogathe, 'A propos des miracles de Saint-Médard : les preuves de Carré de Montgeron et le positivisme des Lumières', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 180, 1971, 151

¹³² Brian Strayer, *Suffering saints: Jansenists and convulsionnaires in France 1640-1799*, Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 2008 tells us that in 1736 80 Convulsionaries were arrested for beating and cutting each other in *secours*. A *secour* can be defined as a method of aiding those undergoing convulsions by holding them down with force or with alternative, and often more brutal, measures.

religious images that were troubling to the authorities.¹³³ I can only maintain that, based on stylistic technique, the source of printing and chronology that Gouzi has already explored, that the first image to be examined, *Le tombeau du B. François de Pâris diacre de l'Eglise de Paris, mort le 17 mars 1727. Illustré par les miracles sans nombre et des conversions éclatantes* (fig. 12), found in *La Vérité des Miracles*' first volume, was designed by Jean Restout. Whereas the second image, *Différentes agitations des convulsionnaires* (fig. 13) has been attributed to the students of Bernard Picart (1673-1733) and can be found in the nine volume publication *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (1723-1743) written by Jean Frédéric Bernard (1684-1744). It is also worth noting that this particular image (fig. 13) is located in the sixth volume, and above all, in the 'Sects' category, a point to which I will return at a later stage. The authorship of the final image *Secours donnés à Gabrielle Moler* (fig. 14) is unknown. Although it is located in the third volume in a chronological series of Montgeron's *La Vérité des Miracles*, unlike figure 12, the image's date suggests that Restout was no longer involved in producing images for the publication during this time.¹³⁴

The inclusion of women in these selected prints covers a range of representations, from the ambiguous to the contentious and problematic. For the most part the foci images all manifest a complexity in artistic vocabulary that makes their discernment particularly unusual. As these prints were not only found in bound volumes that formed part of a collected set, but also display a tasteful aesthetic quality, it is safe to say that they would have been expensive to produce and purchase and were mainly reserved for audiences with a

¹³³ Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe: Bernard and Picart's religious ceremonies of the world*, Harvard, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, 140. In fact, in the 1720s, Picart had produced three pro-Jansenist and anti-Jesuit engravings but had escaped imprisonment. In 1721 four engravers had already been imprisoned for troubling prints.

¹³⁴ Christine Gouzi has outlined that Restout had no involvement in the third volume of the publication. Certainly there is no surviving documentation but she has also traced the images back to a different engraver and printing press. Furthermore the stylistic features in the image are very dissimilar to the examples found in volume 1 and 2.

significant disposable income to hand.¹³⁵ The timescale in which these images were produced give us an insight into the contemporaneous attitudes towards religious women and the changing role women played in Convulsionary rituals. As the following sub-chapters will highlight, the production and reception of these individual examples vary as political developments and ecclesiastical conflicts became more strained towards the end of the 1740s.

Jean Restout, *Le Tombeau du B. François de Paris, Diacre de l'église de Paris, mort le 1er may 1727, illustré par des miracles sans nombre et des conversions éclatantes*, 1737

Le Tombeau du B. François de Paris (fig. 12) is believed to be by the academician Jean Restout, and can be found in the first volume of Carré de Montgeron's publication, *La Verité des Miracles*.¹³⁶ Having already explored the intended audience for this particular publication in Chapter One, notably the King and the social and cultural elite, I will now examine the ways in which the movement's devotees have been depicted. In this image the Convulsionary movement's more controversial practices have been avoided.¹³⁷ The convulsions themselves have not been depicted in the scene. Instead, the composition has been executed with an overriding sense of a shared and calm devotional space. There is no explicit reference to debauched behaviour or illicit acts which I will explore at a later stage in this chapter. This image is particularly engaging because classes from diverse socio-economic backgrounds and genders are interacting in one place, much like the biennial Salons occurring later in the period. This is supported by the inclusion of innumerable

¹³⁵ Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe: Bernard and Picart's religious ceremonies of the world*, Harvard, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, 18. English translations were particularly expensive, and unbound sheets were priced at five guineas each in April 1731. Clearly the religious quarrels abound with commercial opportunities.

¹³⁶ The artist is not to be confused with his father who was also named Jean Restout, Jean-Baptiste Restout.

¹³⁷ Brian E. Strayer, *Suffering saints: Jansenists and convulsionaries in France 1640-1799*, Brighton, Sussex Academy Press, 2008, 258. Strayer notes that 'the movement degenerated from miracle working to masochism from spiritual entertainment to social eroticism and that 'spiritual torture became a substitute for actual sexual experience'.

spectators and devotees, and the cultural and professional backgrounds from which they might derive as connoted through their clothing.¹³⁸ From lavishly dressed and tricorne-wearing *honnêtes hommes* to members of the royal guard bearing pikes, from pious cripples to clerics, a large breadth of social orders are present in the scene. Thus, it is likely that a contemporaneous viewer might find his or her counterpart in the image.

As I have explored in Chapter One, the Convulsionaries were the subject of heated debate that implicated members from the lower echelons of society, encompassing lay and religious social groups, monarchical and judicial representatives, as well as the King himself. We know that the Convulsionary movement enjoyed a wide set of patrons. Several indispensable treatises have to date considered the varying Estates, ages and sexes from which Convulsionary devotees would have been drawn, using evidence from police records and compiling the findings into graphs, tables etc.¹³⁹ Although employing *class*, a post-hoc label, might be misleading, we know that social rank was important to people's sense of identity and status in the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁰ These implicit and explicit social codes, either through clothing, rhetoric and/or other cultural practices were very much in existence and the eighteenth-century person was aware of the Estate to which he or she belonged.¹⁴¹ Keeping this in mind, I would argue that the Convulsionary movement, and in particular its female members, were capable of attracting large crowds across Paris' socio-economic spectrum. Although positioned at the left hand side of the composition, all eyes are on the devout women. The female bodies have been displayed, almost propped up on Pâris' tomb. In the

¹³⁸ For more on the connotations of eighteenth-century dress see Daniel Roche, *The culture of clothing: dress and fashion in the Ancien Régime*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996

¹³⁹ These are scholars who have dealt with the Convulsionary movement. I have already mentioned their work in the introduction to this thesis, notably, Catherine-Laurence Maire, Daniel Vidal and Brian Strayer.

¹⁴⁰ Daniel Roche, *The culture of clothing: dress and fashion in the Ancien Régime*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996. Audiences from varying Estates in the eighteenth century were able to mark their social distinctions via cultural means.

¹⁴¹ Daniel Roche, *The culture of clothing: dress and fashion in the Ancien Régime*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996 and David Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and community in Paris 1740-1790*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002

upper levels of the cemetery incidentally recalling theatre or operating stalls; people clamber over archways and balconies to get a closer look. It is also worth noting at this point that the debilitated male figure in the foreground (who seems to have lost his sight) guides his way with a stick and is hardly being acknowledged by the crowd. Men of strong religious convictions, like the blind devotee for example, have been side-lined. This raises the question, if this had been a movement of men, learned or otherwise, might there have been such scrutiny, interest and controversy. As the focus of the composition are the women venerating at Pâris' tomb, I suggest that this image constitutes a particularly compelling example of the influence that pious women could exert in a religious space and, more significantly, in a setting usually dominated by patriarchal and ecclesiastical standards in which women were often undervalued.

Women were present in, and contributed to, every aspect of eighteenth-century life such as market trading, religious processions and Salon conversation to give a few examples, and, therefore, existing research into this broader history is not to be neglected. The considerable archival research of Judith Bennett and Amy Froide into single women in Europe between 1250 and 1800 has provided the foundations for this study. Single women made up between ten and twenty percent of all adult women and were most commonly encountered in urban areas.¹⁴² They were also prevalent in the squalid parts of towns and Saint-Médard was notorious for its poverty-stricken environment. The eighteenth-century chronicler Louis-Sébastien Mercier noted that 'there (was) more money in a single household

¹⁴² Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, 'A singular past' from *Singlewomen in the European past 1250-1800*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999, 5. In fact this publication has revealed this was the case due to single women having a rather poor economic status, rarely with descendants and thus less likely to be offered up for marriage. Female migrants to cities were likely to delay marriage because of apprenticeships, service etc, and finally, the sex ratios were more balanced in rural areas so peasant women also found husbands with greater ease.

in the Saint-Honoré suburb than in the whole agglomeration of Saint-Marceau'.¹⁴³ Widows, or young unmarried women having never been under the servitude of men come under the collective term of single women.¹⁴⁴ Problematic, and largely misunderstood because of their marginal societal situation,¹⁴⁵ I will return to how this influential group from the Third Estate posed a threat to ecclesiastical and secular authorities by confronting and subverting patriarchal dominance.

Given the recent discussion on single women, it would also be worth considering the type of education that they might have received. All children had access to free Catholic primary schooling and in the beginning of the eighteenth century we begin to see the birth of charitable institutions dedicated to the education of the poor.¹⁴⁶ Principally, young girls' education consisted of knowing and serving God and this was usually administered by lay teachers, the same faction of women that could be found in confraternities.¹⁴⁷ So, throughout the educational cycle of a girl's life, she was taught the foundations of prayer, pious behaviour, preparation and reception of communion, the basics in sacred texts and attendance at mass.¹⁴⁸ Religious purpose permeated through every aspect of a girl's schooling which she would carry forward into her adult life. Interestingly, some simple, yet fundamental, changes were included in their education which was inspired by the pedagogic system at Port-Royal and adopted around 1650.¹⁴⁹ After this date, all literature was taught in French and not in Latin, allowing for what Joseph Bergin has termed a greater 'democratisation' of biblical

¹⁴³ Brian Strayer, *Suffering saints: Jansenists and convulsionnaires in France 1640-1799*, Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 2008, 237

¹⁴⁴ See the introduction in Alison Levy, *Widowhood and visual culture in early modern Europe*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003

¹⁴⁵ Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, "A singular past" from *Singlewomen in the European past 1250-1800*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999

¹⁴⁶ Arlette Farge and Natalie Zemon Davis, *A history of women in the west*, Cambridge, Belknap, 1993, 128

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 133

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 134

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 135

scriptures.¹⁵⁰ This is important as we begin to see Convulsionary women accessing ecclesiastical texts and taking ownership of their own religious education. Finally, when a girl left the *petite école* she was expected to take up work and we see a great proportion of women working in the sewing industries during the period e.g. tapestry, knitting, lace work and embroidery.¹⁵¹ These were functions that women could take up that were socially accepted in the period. Interestingly, the confraternity of Saint-Médard was set up by professionals working in the hosiery and knitting industries, another reason which could account for a significant female presence at Convulsionary events.¹⁵²

Bergin has noted that, particularly in the early eighteenth century, it was pious women, specifically, who ‘unbidden, came together of their own accord to pray, visit the sick and engage in other charitable activities but who were reluctant and also at the same time too poor to exchange the informality that made them resemble conventional ‘third’ orders or confraternities for a formally regulated religious life behind convent walls’.¹⁵³ I would argue that, Convulsionary women, those most likely to have occupied the marginal social status of single women, sought comfort in each other by forming close bonds and carrying out the Church’s healing, caring and teaching ministries. This is evident in the image as groups of women young and old are gathered together in the foreground. The Convulsionary movement gave single women some sense of purpose and of acceptance at a time where they might have been vilified for being unmarried or were not financially able to become an officially sanctioned religious organisation. The congregation of Saint-Médard brought its social

¹⁵⁰ Joseph Bergin, *Church, society and religious change in France, 1580-1730*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009, 32

¹⁵¹ A *petit école* can be defined as elementary or perhaps the only official schooling a child would receive in eighteenth-century France. Arlette Farge and Natalie Zemon Davis, *A history of women in the west*, Cambridge, Belknap, 1993, 136. Also, it is worth noting that the Gobelins tapestry workshop was located in Saint-Marcel and during the eighteenth century its production and trade dominated the European market.

¹⁵² Alfred Franklin, *Dictionnaire historique et critique des arts et métiers et professions exercédans Paris depuis le treizième siècle*, Leipzig, H Welter, 1905, Vol. 1, 90

¹⁵³ Joseph Bergin, *Church, society and religious change in France, 1580-1730*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009, 140

hierarchy, feuds, worldly concerns and yearnings for companionship into the nave when it came to worship.¹⁵⁴ Women brought with them their displeasure with their inferior status. I agree with McManners who notes that it is because of women that ‘mystical experiences were afforded to ordinary people who had never dreamed of trying to join the spiritual elite’.¹⁵⁵ This image highlights the power and influence that groups of women could negotiate and solicit in social spaces. For women the events at Saint-Médard provided a means of temporarily reshaping the gender/class hierarchies so embedded in society, by empowering them to take up intense forms of devotion, attracting large crowds, opposing Catholic doctrine and subverting state authority via access to religious texts which ultimately left men side-lined and excluded. This print represents a phenomenon in a manner palatable to elite audiences.

Women’s ability to exercise any type of influence ‘made them targets for liberal critics of absolutism as well as for conservative critics of the *philosophes*’.¹⁵⁶ Affairs in the cemetery made for popular entertainment alongside fairs, the carnival and street theatre. The community came to gawp, be seen, gossip and above all, to be entertained. It is well known that chairs at Saint-Médard, as they were in all parish churches, were rented for the sum of six *sous*.¹⁵⁷ It is remarkable that such a small and once insignificant parish was able to attract spectators from all over the French capital, and, in this image its cemetery seems to be bursting with bystanders. The female devotional bodies, although in varying states of religious observances, became the source of popular entertainment.¹⁵⁸ Kreiser has argued that

¹⁵⁴ John McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, Volume 2, New York, Clarendon Press, 1998, 101

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 445

¹⁵⁶ Lindsay Wilson, *Women and medicine in the French enlightenment: the debate over ‘maladies des femmes’*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1993, 92

¹⁵⁷ Robert B. Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 160

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 72, another reason why the cures operated in public arenas was that it gave the movement access to large crowds for witnessing the miracles.

the operation of such cures in large public arenas not only gave them unprecedented access to witnesses but also to potential converts.¹⁵⁹ Ultimately, two dichotomous notions are at play here. Women have been able to exert some influence over their male counterparts by securing the spotlight, and potentially converting future Convulsionaries, and, yet, as Elisabeth Bronfen has argued, the ‘surveyed’ feminine body only serves to confirm the power of the masculine gaze.¹⁶⁰ Hence, the religious episodes were at risk of inviting voyeurism on church grounds. Men at Saint-Médard were in a convenient position, under the pretence of carrying out devotional duties, to freely gaze at women in the cemetery.

We know that women’s behaviour in church was supervised during the period. Officials were appointed to turn those women away who were dressed provocatively and those who had inherited good looks were often chastised for attending mass in vanity.¹⁶¹ Before its closure in 1732, Saint-Médard was policed throughout the day and admissions into the cemetery were recorded carefully. There is a telling reference to this in the image. A figure holding a pike in the left hand corner connotes the authorities’ presence during the tomb’s greatest period of veneration which finally led to a police barricade the following year. Correspondingly, from O’Keefe’s research, we find that according to Barbier, the illegal Jansenist publication the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* ‘received protection from Jansenist police officers and that (the newspaper’s) helpers were often saved from arrest by means of substantial bribes paid to the police by the Jansenist party’.¹⁶² In this image it is not clear whether this particular member of the authorities is a Jansenist supporter and, thus, openly

¹⁵⁹ Robert B. Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 72

¹⁶⁰ Elisabeth Bronfen, *Over her Dead Body: Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic*, New York, Routledge, 1992, 102

¹⁶¹ John McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, Volume 2, New York, Clarendon Press, 1998, 101

¹⁶² Cyril B. O’Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the Secular Journal des Savants*, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974, 10

violating the King's orders by keeping the movement's activities in operation or, simply overseeing a disquieting crowd. It is difficult to say who was licensed to carry a pike in such a public space and this image does not fully convey whose authority this man really represented.

Enthusiasm was difficult to detect, it could pose a silent threat to society, and thus, somewhat conveniently, 'necessitated the surveillance and control of all women'.¹⁶³ This could account for the need for the authorities to be present or certainly justify the high number of male clerics present in the image. Both women and religious enthusiasm lay on precarious ground. Philippe Hecquet, an eighteenth-century physician and a Jansenist, published *Le naturalisme des convulsions* in 1733. His work regarded the convulsions as a disorder pertaining to women.¹⁶⁴ Vapours were the cause of these types of nervous disorders and according to Lindsay Wilson, Hecquet insisted these had erotic foundations.¹⁶⁵ The lines between religious enthusiasm and nervous disorders were becoming blurred, and as in the case of the Convulsionaries, it was becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between the two. Enthusiasm could result in an overheated imagination,¹⁶⁶ and certain activities were thought to induce the condition, such as encountering erotic images or literature.¹⁶⁷ Anything that stimulated the mind would have disastrous effects on the nerves and neighbouring organs, conditions to which women were supposedly most prone. According to Wilson, 'women represented the passion and the potential for disorder in society'.¹⁶⁸ Certainly, in the medical community, there was a feeling that 'associated as they were with the life-style, sexuality or emotional intensity of women, (convulsions) did not constitute a serious or even

¹⁶³ Mary D. Sheriff, 'Passionate spectators: on enthusiasm, nymphomania, and the imagined tableau', *Huntington library quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 1/2, 1997, 73

¹⁶⁴ Philippe Hecquet, *Le naturalisme des convulsions dans les maladies de l'épidémie convulsionnaire*, 1733

¹⁶⁵ Lindsay Wilson, *Women and medicine in the French enlightenment: the debate over 'maladies des femmes'*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1993, 28

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 36

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 37

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 15

a real medical problem'.¹⁶⁹ Except for Carré de Montgeron and a handful of other Jansenist sympathisers, the majority of materialists remained unconvinced by the alleged miracles and by the end of the century the movement was to have a particular association with women's health and sexuality.¹⁷⁰ Wilson has argued that women's suppressed, sexual desires led to 'convulsions, nymphomania, religious hysteria, transgressive sexuality and social disorder'.¹⁷¹ It is also worth noting here that those most susceptible to nymphomaniacal tendencies were young girls, widows and spinsters, all single women, and those who had made up the majority of the Convulsionary movement.¹⁷²

The spectacular nature of devotional demonstrations which have been depicted in later examples was condemned by materialists as forms of self-seeking duplicity.¹⁷³ Certainly, the events would have done no harm to the parish profits as increasing numbers of relics were sold and chairs were rented,¹⁷⁴ but the excess of sexuality, not even hinted at in this image, was prevalent in the testimonies from the ecclesiastical and medical authorities at Saint-Médard and would have been the subject of contention.¹⁷⁵ On the ecclesiastical side, miracles were being contested, innumerable witnesses provided testimonies and were re-questioned before the ecclesiastical authorities finally concluded that the affairs were a hoax.¹⁷⁶ Scribes towards the background of the image, strategically placed above the

¹⁶⁹ Lindsay Wilson, *Women and medicine in the French enlightenment: the debate over 'maladies des femmes'*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1993, 133

¹⁷⁰ Mary D. Sheriff, 'Passionate spectators: on enthusiasm, nymphomania, and the imagined tableau', *Huntington library quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 1/2, 1997, 56

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, 68

¹⁷² *Ibid*, 58

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, 58. Women were said to be contorting their bodies and emphasising female contours in a bid to satisfy their vanity.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 58

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 51. The medical profession was drawn into the controversy and were asked to witness the miracles, diagnose devotees and record their investigations before concluding that the convulsions were likely to be the effects a premeditated deception, an over active imagination or even the devil's malice.

¹⁷⁶ Angela Haas, 'Miracles on trial: wonders and their witnesses in eighteenth-century France', *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, Vol. 38, 2010, 117. When the miracle of Anne Lefranc had been contested, 40 out of 120 witnesses were re-questioned until the bishop's commission finally concluded the miracle was a hoax.

devotional crowd, appear to be frantically consulting texts and each other, fascinated by, and recording the dubious or spectacular nature of these miraculous cures. Another striking feature in this image are the three judicial figures standing in the middle ground directly confronting the viewer's gaze as though inviting us to form our own distanced judgment on the situation with which we are being presented.

According to Kreiser, the Convulsionary movement 'corresponded to the spiritual aspirations and psychological needs of a people who did not always gain full emotional satisfaction from the formal services of the Church and the prescribed forms of liturgy they were authorized to practice'.¹⁷⁷ The volume of attendants at Saint-Médard also attests to the cemetery's status as a quasi-pilgrimage site.¹⁷⁸ This goes hand in hand with Bergin's point that the type of religious activity depicted in this image testified 'to the enduring force of lay religiosity which the official church could never ignore even when it did not quite know how to best deal with it'.¹⁷⁹ In addition, a mother and baby are present in the right hand side of the image, hinting at the stableness of the movement amongst its faithful lay community. Capable of transcending generations, the mother and child symbolises Convulsionary women's ability to bear offspring and to keep the movement unassailable for years to come, posing an intractable threat to those against the movement, predominantly the authorities. Certainly in this image, Convulsionary women are only implied to be dangerous, or with the potential to destabilise social norms. The next example to be explored sheds light into other ways of depicting Convulsionary female bodies.

Students of Bernard Picart, *Différentes agitations des convulsionnaires*, post-1733

¹⁷⁷ Robert B. Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 147

¹⁷⁸ Neither the cemetery at Saint-Médard, nor its supporters or late parish deacon ever received full religious sanction, which is why the term quasi has been adopted.

¹⁷⁹ Joseph Bergin, *Church, society and religious change in France, 1580-1730*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009, 25

All engravings pre-1733, the year of Picart's death, were executed by the artist-engraver himself. The image in question was completed after this date and 'alas we know little of [the makers'] religious convictions or reading habits'.¹⁸⁰ As the title of Bernard's publication *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tout les people du monde* suggests, this work 'sought to capture the ritual and ceremonial life of all the known religions of the world'.¹⁸¹ There are even complete volumes dedicated to Judaism, Islam (known as Mahometism at the time) and New World religions that had not yet reached Western countries. There was certainly a market for literature on the belief systems from abroad. Voltaire's early writings included travels to China along with the Protestants in his *Letter concerning the English Nation*. The antagonists of the Jansenists, the Jesuits, advocated the globalisation of their religion and had sent missionaries to China in a bid to convert its people, moreover, reports from their efforts reached wide audiences in France.¹⁸²

As is evident in the Bernard engraving of *Différentes agitations des convulsionnaires*, women in the congregation, connoted by their bonnets and long flowing gowns, are those with access to spiritual knowledge.¹⁸³ One woman, standing in the left foreground and two more in the right hand corner of the scene are holding texts and open mouthed, as though uttering words of religious profundity to the faithful. They are inciting, and providing impetus for, religious fervour. In addition, they are in close proximity to clerics and magistrates; this too, is connoted by their attire. The clerical figures don mid-length uncured

¹⁸⁰ What Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt in *The book that changed Europe: Bernard and Picart's religious ceremonies of the world*, Harvard, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, 274 simply tells us is that the artist(s) were Protestant in background.

¹⁸¹ See introduction tab 'The early Enlightenment, religious toleration and the origins of comparative religion: Bernard and Picart's *Religious ceremonies and customs of the all the peoples of the world*' from the UCLA's digital library project website in collaboration with the Getty Research Institute, Utrecht University and Huntington Library: <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/picart/introduction.html>, 17.02.14. Bernard was a French language bookseller in Amsterdam, which outside of France, might have also been circulated in Holland's underground print trade.

¹⁸² Catherine Pagni, 'Clockwork and the Jesuit mission in China' in *The Jesuits II: cultures, sciences and the arts 1540-1773*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2006, 658-678

¹⁸³ See Daniel Roche, *The culture of clothing: dress and fashion in the Ancien Régime*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

and un-powdered hair, covered by a skull cap and clothed in simple black robes, whilst the magistrate wears a large curled wig with a distinct middle parting. On this basis, convulsionary women are connoting a ‘corruption of the natural order of things upon which social order was thought to be based’.¹⁸⁴ Priests, deacons and archbishops, through the strict composition of ecclesiastical authority, were those habitually expected to read religious sermons aloud to its congregation. Remarkably, and somewhat radically, Jansenism differed from the prescribed Catholic rituals of mass. Not only did the proceedings occur in the vernacular, the ‘language of women and the unlearned’,¹⁸⁵ and, opposing the Roman Church’s adoption of Latin for its services, it also gave its lay worshippers the opportunity to contribute to communion.¹⁸⁶ What is significant in this image is the power that women particularly possess through their access to religious texts, the very same ones, we might assume, were held up by male clerics and judicial figures. Women here are not rendered as subservient to male authority, both religious and secular, but rather as equal amongst the rest of the congregation. Upon closer inspection, no central overseer, male or female is evident. Not only is there a breakdown of gender hierarchy at play in this particular image, there is also levelling out of ecclesiastical standing, hinting at the Jansenist conciliar position on ecclesiastical authority.

In the supporting literature on the matter we find reports of Jansenist priests ‘ministering to Jansenist people without official sanction’,¹⁸⁷ an act which can be legible as undermining both monarchical and ecclesiastical authority. The archbishop Vintimille had

¹⁸⁴ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the politics of history*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999, 9

¹⁸⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and culture in early modern France*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1975, 86

¹⁸⁶ Brian Strayer, *Suffering saints: Jansenists and convulsionnaires in France 1640-1799*, Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 2008, 247. Strayer tells us that certain Convulsionary women celebrated the mass, baptised and ordained new believers, heard confessions and granted penitence.

¹⁸⁷ Cyril B. O’Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the Secular Journal des Savants*, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974, 59

previously stated that any person refusing to accept *Unigenitus* would be denied a Christian burial through the prohibition of sacraments.¹⁸⁸ With this in mind, the Convulsionaries in particular were demonstrating rebellious tendencies. From O’Keefe’s work, we find that the Church’s clamping down on Jansenist dissenters incited demonstrations at the latter’s funerals.¹⁸⁹ It must be said that Bernard’s publication, first printed in Holland, a place often described as a Protestant refuge, ‘supported those voices arguing for religious toleration’.¹⁹⁰ Both Bernard and Picart had fled to Holland from persecution themselves and I suggest that the author and apprentices from the master’s studio would have been aware of the delicate situation faced by the Convulsionaries that had once been a plight of their own. However, going as far to suggest that the publication’s makers’ consciously portrayed the Convulsionaries in a favourable light would be unwise. After all, the image in question can be found in the publication’s volume on sects and its preface included an anonymous letter that was ultimately defamatory towards the Convulsionaries. Furthermore, in accordance with Aristotelian theories of physiognomy, ‘the outward appearance of the body was presumed to be a mirror of its interior workings [...] and the condition of the soul’.¹⁹¹ An elderly woman, sitting on a throne-like chair situated in the bottom right hand corner, a position carefully chosen for its advantageous viewpoint over the scene, is covered from head to toe in an oversized hooded gown. From the rosary beads she holds in her left hand, the viewer can see her religious affinity to the movement. The way her face has been rendered, however, is not

¹⁸⁸ Dale Van Kley, *Religious origins of the French Revolution: from Calvin to the Civil Constitution 1560-1791*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996, 133

¹⁸⁹ Cyril B. O’Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the Secular Journal des Savants*, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974, 59

¹⁹⁰ Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe: Bernard and Picart’s Religious ceremonies of the world*, Harvard, Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1997, 7

¹⁹¹ Laurinda Dixon, *Perilous chastity: women and illness in pre-enlightenment art and medicine*, London, Cornell University Press, 1995, 13

altogether favourable. Her pronounced nose, chin and hunched posture hark back to Charles Lebrun's studies on malevolent facial expressions.¹⁹²

As this image is present in a book marketed to those interested in comparing religions and denominations, I would argue that its educated viewers might also have been aware of Jansenist historiography and have recognised the Convulsionaries as destabilising theological and monarchical order. Using gender as a form of resistance was not unknown in a Jansenist context. The narrative of the Port-Royal nuns and their struggle for ecclesiastical autonomy in the face of the Roman Church and King was already well established. Claiming that their subordinate position in the Church's ecclesiastical and gender hierarchy, as *religieuses*, this rendered them 'incapable of passing judgement on Jansen's text'.¹⁹³ By their very biological nature, therefore, the nuns claimed to be too theologically inept to comment on doctrine. In Daniella Kostroun's words, 'the nuns used gender – that is, assumptions about the "natural" quality of female inferiority – paradoxically, to uphold their right of conscience and, by extension, their right to oppose what the Jansenists considered to be an illegitimate use of authority on Louis XIV's part'.¹⁹⁴ Such use of a gender-based paradox to assert the nuns' rights in a patriarchal system, a system that denied women all political authority, coincides with Joan Scott's description of feminism as a history of women with 'only paradoxes to offer'.¹⁹⁵ Embedded in Jansenist conscience then, Convulsionary women might have been drawing upon, and been influenced by, recent historical events at Port-Royal and have taken advantage of an opportunity to resist monarchical authority.

¹⁹² Georges Didi-Huberman, *The invention of hysteria: Charcot and the photographic iconography of the Salpêtrière*, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2004, 35. In 1668 Charles Lebrun sketched a series of facial expressions to highlight the spectrum of human emotion.

¹⁹³ Daniella Kostroun, 'A formula for disobedience: Jansenism, gender, and the feminist paradox', *The journal of modern history*, Vol. 73, No. 3, September 2003, 485

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 485-6

¹⁹⁵ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the politics of history*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999

Mary Sherriff has explored the negative representations of literate women during the period. If women were to stimulate cognitive activity, through the act of reading for example, then this was thought to ‘exacerbate their mobility and thus have deleterious effects not just on the brain, but also on the nerves and neighbouring organs’.¹⁹⁶ Women have been represented reading confidently from books in the image. The congregation’s state of devotion ranges from falling down, to beating and crushing one another and so, the artist(s) is making the claim that these are some of the alarming and disastrous consequences that result from women exercising uncommon and particularly destabilising capabilities. The image makers are implying that educated women had the power to allow their new-found knowledge to seep into the wider sphere and persuade those unsuspecting enough to listen to them. As we know from Kreiser, ecclesiastics too, were actively informing and educating the *menu peuple* of the movement’s political stance in the religious debates and, thus, raising their level of political consciousness.¹⁹⁷ The Saint-Marceau area was already a well-known *anticonstitutionnaire* stronghold, full of education and printing establishments and ‘many of them of Jansenist inspiration’.¹⁹⁸ More momentous still, the faction depicted in the image might well have witnessed the numerous Jansenists sent to the Bastille as the authorities ‘closed down the Jansenist Seminary of the Thirty Three, the last remaining [Jansenist] theological establishment in Paris in 1732’.¹⁹⁹ The congregation’s involvement in political affairs was not to be taken lightly. How can scholars suggest that this movement was dominated by devotees of simple political and theological awareness? It is Van Kley who has argued that the Revolution of 1789 might never have occurred had it not been for earlier

¹⁹⁶ Mary Sherriff, *Moved by love: inspired artists and deviant women in eighteenth-century France*, Chicago, University Chicago Press, 37

¹⁹⁷ Robert B. Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 170

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 85

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 204

religious quarrels and in particular the Jansenists' belief in concialirism.²⁰⁰ Viewed in this way, I would suggest this image to be particularly damaging to the authorities of eighteenth-century France. Women have been represented at the forefront of the politico-religious debates, inciting others to religious enthusiasm in the name of the uncanonised Pâris and in an area of Paris that was already heavily patrolled. As both Picart and Bernard were Protestant, and had fled unhappy from the state of affairs in France, I can speculate that their students too would have followed in their religious steps, to use Lynn Hunt's term, Bernard knew 'fanatics', in Holland, England and France.²⁰¹ With this in mind, the image can be viewed as a critique of Catholic practices and more specifically the Convulsionaries' impulse to endorse its female spiritual leaders and venerate a tomb that was theologically unsound.

According to Jansenist views on ecclesiastical administration, all religious authority should lie with the people (*vox populi vox dei*)²⁰² at the bottom and emanate upwards through the religious orders, unlike papism, where all authority is held by one person and filters down. The Papal Bull had limited the French Church's autonomy in its own affairs.²⁰³ The Jansenists' 'democratisation of religion' (a term coined by Bergin) its freedom and ease of access of liturgical lessons by way of vernacular usage in mass, for example, gave the lower echelons of society, especially women, the opportunity to elevate their theological, social and educational status. Of all the factions participating in the convulsions, wealthy and educated male figures, or even modest and ascetic priests, it is women who were singled out as easy targets in the politico-religious quarrels. Narrations of the biblical past, such as the corruption of original sin by Eve, and medieval notions of women's humoral imbalances have been

²⁰⁰ See Dale Van Kley, *The religious origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the civil constitution 1560-1791*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996

²⁰¹ Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe: Bernard and Picart's religious ceremonies of the world*, Harvard, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, 271

²⁰² This translates literally as voice of the people is the voice of God.

²⁰³ Cyril B. O'Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the Secular Journal des Savants*, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974, 15

employed as an excuse for the movement's enthusiastic demonstrations, a type of religiosity that has been argued to be particularly invested in female activities.²⁰⁴

Containing a complete volume on Roman Catholic practices, Bernard's publication was banned by the Catholic Church in 1738 and again in 1757, but was later 'ranked in the top ninety books owned by prosperous Parisians in the 1750s'.²⁰⁵ We can safely say that it was primarily conceived for a non-Jansenist audience, most likely for those with humanist views including sympathisers of the *philosophes*, deists or even atheists. As advocates of free thinking, religious toleration, and as the architects of a global view of religion which had been visually and textually scaled down for ease of comparison on equal terms, producing such a book was a difficult task to achieve for both author and artist. As Hunt has remarked on the image's comical potential, describing it as a scene where the faithful are 'hurling themselves' in 'hysterical collapse', it is clear that the image makers have failed to remain neutral and might even have been informed by the written accounts that derided the Convulsionary movement.²⁰⁶ There were accounts of people not only speaking in tongues but 'grown-up persons at Saint-Médard playing with dolls or wheeling toy carts about'.²⁰⁷ The faithful, including those of a high standing in the image, can be viewed as objects of entertainment and mockery.

²⁰⁴ See Lindsay Wilson, *Women and medicine in the French enlightenment: the debate over 'maladies des femmes'*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1993

²⁰⁵ Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe: Bernard and Picart's religious ceremonies of the world*, Harvard, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, 19

²⁰⁶ Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe: Bernard and Picart's religious ceremonies of the world*, Harvard, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, 274

²⁰⁷ R. A. Knox, *Enthusiasm: a chapter in the history of religion with special reference to XVII and XVIII centuries*, London, Oxford University Press, 1950, 380. People of high standing were said to succumb to the Convulsionaries 'show'. M. Pinault, a lawyer, was reported to be seen barking for two hours a day and M. Fontaine, who held an important position in court, fell into ecstasies as he whirled incessantly on one foot.

Women and medicine in the French enlightenment has laid the majority of the groundwork for my own approach on the subject of Convulsionaries.²⁰⁸ Although I have touched briefly on the medical dimensions of Convulsionary visual culture earlier, it is necessary to expand on the subject by way of providing greater means for my visual interpretations. The medical authorities monitoring the alleged miracles at Saint-Médard had generally regarded Convulsionary behaviour as symptoms of the vapours or hysterical affections, disorders that were attributed most exclusively to women.²⁰⁹ Before the advent of systematic and conclusive research into the sexual organs, hormones and mental illness, convulsions were thought to be caused by an overly sensitive nervous system of persons with easily deranged imaginations, characteristics of a feminine bodily constitution. Medieval theories of female disorderliness, which persisted well into the eighteenth century, were founded in physiology. An accepted view of women was that all their mental states were reduced to biology and that their demeanour was ruled by the activities of their reproductive organs.²¹⁰ Composed of wet and cold humours, women manifested a personality that was ‘changeable, deceptive and tricky’, in other words, not to be entirely trusted.²¹¹ The womb was understood to be a disembodied and independent organ and, ‘when not amply fed by sexual intercourse [...] it was likely to wander about [a woman’s] body, overpowering her speech and senses’.²¹² Therefore, in comparison to men’s constitutions, women were not only postulated to be less stable by the medical profession but they were reported as such in

²⁰⁸ Lindsay Wilson, *Women and medicine in the French enlightenment: the debate over ‘maladies des femmes’*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1993

²⁰⁹ According to medieval and early modern definitions, the four humours theory of medicine stated that meloncholic feelings would rise up in vapours and overcome the mind, which in turn led to hysteria. Christopher A. Faraone, ‘Magical and medical approached of the wandering womb in the ancient Greek world’, *Classical Antiquity*, Vol. 30, No. 1, April 2011, 1-32. Also consult Philippe Hecquet, *Le naturalisme des convulsions dans les maladies de l’épidémie convulsionnaire*, 1733

²¹⁰ Elizabeth Stephens, *Anatomy as Spectacle: Public Exhibitions of the Body from 1700 to the Present*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2011, 45

²¹¹ Natalie Zemon Davis, “Women on top” from *Society and culture in early modern France*, Stanford, Stanford University Press and Polity Press, 1975, 398

²¹² Natalie Zemon Davis, “Women on top” from *Society and culture in early modern France*, Stanford, Stanford University Press and Polity Press, 1975, 398

medical and religious treatises. The extent of this being the case in Convulsionary visual culture will be fully explored in the case studies below.

Upon closer inspection, various figures are labelled with letters from A to E in *Différentes agitations des convulsionnaires*. I would argue that this particular employment of classification refers to medical diagrams also in circulation at the time. Note how Jean-Jacques Scheuchzer's *The human eye as the work of God* (fig. 15) also applies easy to read motifs beside significant parts of a dissected eye. The image depicts sections of a dissected eye highlighting the innermost significant parts of what we call the retina, optic fibres and nerves in today's terms. It also includes a drawing of a magnifying glass to highlight the mechanism of the eye whereby light is refracted. In some ways this helps to break down the narrative placed before the viewer, highlighting key persons and scenarios that can be later explained in more detail in the accompanying footnotes. This goes hand in hand with the humanists' tendency to categorise and quantify information, by observing the world, collating empirical information and assigning rational modes of arrangement. Picart himself used microscopes as useful tools in his artistic work, and certainly his students would have been *au fait* with their master's techniques and would also have employed labels to create a sense of visual continuity in the images produced after death.²¹³ In some ways, this establishes a distancing effect between the viewer and scene. I would argue, therefore, that this was a conscious decision on the maker's part, employed to encourage the viewer to observe each detail carefully, perhaps to compare across other labelled images, and to make his or her own judgments on the types of devotional practices that are being presented.

Barbara Stafford has noted that it is precisely this wish to 'get close to things that had always been intellectually and spiritually remote' that lets scientific rhetorics, such as

²¹³ Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe: Bernard and Picart's religious ceremonies of the world*, Harvard, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010, 4

dissection and penetration to be continually employed throughout the eighteenth century as systems to better understand the ‘unseizable other’.²¹⁴ She also notes that these ‘innovative visual paradigms’, such as clear labelling, were ‘evident in prints and illustrated books more even than in painting and sculpture’.²¹⁵ It is worth re-iterating at this point that thirty percent of all books reviewed in the *Journal des savants*, and twenty one percent in the *Memoires de Trevoux* dealt with medical subjects.²¹⁶ I would suggest that this particular image would have invited engagement from audiences derived from a broad spectrum of scientific disciplines and religious backgrounds. Interestingly, the best known commentator for this period, Barbier, claimed that as the miracles’ legitimacy were being disputed, contested and debated, educated members of society began to question the miracles of ancient times, even those recorded in the Bible.²¹⁷ Bernard’s book had appeared at the perfect time. The current environment had meant a gap in the market for literature such as his, where traditional customs, religious stories and the evolution of doctrines could be traced, unpicked and discussed while raising important questions about the evolution of religion itself in a global sense.

The most obvious female figures in the image are all labelled with a letter E, the two younger, standing on the left hand side, and the elder sitting in the forefront. McManners has noted that the Convulsionaries were ‘making a feminist and egalitarian protest against the *Unigenitus* which lay power in the Church and [that] condemned favouring women’²¹⁸, and I

²¹⁴ Barbara Maria Stafford, *Body criticism: imaging the unseen in Enlightenment art and medicine*, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1991, 1

²¹⁵ Barbara Maria Stafford, *Body criticism: imaging the unseen in Enlightenment art and medicine*, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1991, 24

²¹⁶ Lindsay Wilson, *Women and medicine in the French enlightenment: the debate over ‘maladies des femmes’*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1993, 7

²¹⁷ Cyril B. O’Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the Secular Journal des Savants*, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974, 29

²¹⁸ John McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, Volume 2, New York, Clarendon Press, 1998, 444

would argue this to be the case in this image. The inferior standing of women in religious terms was reinforced in the Catholic Church's conventions. Reading or teaching theology was forbidden for women, who were deemed incapable of understanding holy texts.²¹⁹ Here it seems that not only do the women in question have full ecclesiastical backing for their actions (note they are rendered alongside, and supported by, the clergy) but also, that their influential presence has been acknowledged by the artist(s). Through the insertion of labels, the artist(s) has singled them out as significant individuals worth exploring in greater detail.

With their bodies contorting and writhing with unrelenting muscular spasm, depicting Convulsionaries naturalistically would have posed a challenge for any artist. Especially with relation to the human body, a fluid and chaotic entity composed of layers and viscera it was not always so easy to simplify its structure and distribution. The Convulsionaries' disturbing and oscillating movements could not be fully rendered in a print, and so, the maker's choice of additional identification by use of letters would have provided the viewer with a more complete understanding of what he or she is indeed being presented with. Those already well informed about Convulsionary practices, such as sympathisers, curious spectators or even members of the cult themselves, would not have needed a breakdown of the figures in the scene. Importantly, this provides us with another clue for the type of audience we are dealing with here. The publication in which this print can be found would have been intended for a viewership beyond Paris and France, and, in circles where Convulsionary activity might not had been so heavily publicised.²²⁰

²¹⁹ It is worth reiterating at this point that the Convulsionary movement, with its disproportionately high number of female members was already on the limits of unsettling doctrine. John McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, Volume 2, New York, Clarendon Press, 1998, 444

²²⁰ In fact we know that Bernard's publication had been translated into German, French and Dutch and that there was wide interest from 'latter-day Jansenists' outside of Paris. From Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The book that changed Europe: Bernard and Picart's religious ceremonies of the world*, Harvard, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010

There is already scholarship in existence on the European trade route of prints, principally covering London, Paris, Berlin and Amsterdam.²²¹ Kreiser has informed us that knowledge of the miracles occurring in 1725 at the church of Saint-Geneviève, still rather early in the Jansenist-monarchy disputes, became ‘widespread all over France but also in Rome and Holland’.²²² Bernard’s publication in its various editions and translations sold a remarkable 4000 copies and evidently, there is still much work to be done with regards to the Convulsionaries’ presence within the rest of eighteenth-century Europe. By producing an image that was informed by current negative discourses on the Convulsionaries and with the use of analytical devices, such as labelling, which aimed to make the composition more sequential and legible, the image makers, were deliberately keeping the appeal for their images broad for an educated audience on the open market.

Anonymous, *Secours donnés à Gabrielle Moler*, 1747

In *Secours donnés à Gabrielle Moler* (fig. 14), the central figure, a Convulsionary woman, is lying down in the second and third vignettes of the series. The upper half of her body is slightly off the ground and her arms are either rigid, in extension or bent towards her body. She is not to be confused with a dead or sleeping figure. It is clear that her muscles are tense, in the third vignette her head is arching backwards, exposing her neck, and the shape of her leg can be seen under the folds of drapery. Having already raised the question of how one might illustrate a body undergoing a seizure in *Différentes agitations des convulsionnaires* (fig. 13) this artist has adopted a very different approach. As mentioned earlier, this image can be located in the third volume of Montgeron’s *La Vérité des Miracles* but the date of the publication suggests that the well-known artist Restout was no longer involved in producing

²²¹ See Philippe Kaenel and Rolf Reichardt, *The European print and cultural transfer in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 2007

²²² Robert B. Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 78

images for it during this time.²²³ Through the display of several scenarios, the female figure appears continually in each vignette, allowing the reader to unravel and comprehend the various positions her body might undergo during an episode. If the images are to be read from left to right, top row first, then we can witness a narrative unfolding. Gabrielle Moler is the woman in question and she is depicted kneeling, then face down, lying on her back and subsequently standing again. And yet, the figures surrounding her differ in each scene, as well as the setting which can be seen through the change in backdrop, most noticeably in the second and third vignettes. The sheer variety of audience members present would coincide with reports of the period.²²⁴ All individuals were free to attend séances and no form of initiation or pledges were enforced on the lay community.²²⁵

The séances were occurring in domestic dwellings outside of church mediation. Aside from this, hotspots of devotion such as shrines appeared on street corners. A little chapel was set up in the house where Pâris had once lived before his death on the rue des Bourguignons and the well towards the back of the house was sought after for health giving properties.²²⁶ Not only was the movement filtering into the streets of Paris beyond the parish but, by 1737, the movement had retired underground. Kresier has noted that the *menu peuple* who had joined the Convulsionary movement ‘comprised a relatively settled population’, most were ‘long-time residents of Paris with fixed abodes’.²²⁷ The movement was undeniably reaching audiences well beyond its original place of conception, not least through texts and prints, but it was said that at one point, 800 houses across Paris and the provinces were holding

²²³ Christine Gouzi has outlined that Restout had no involvement in the third volume of the publication. Certainly there is no surviving documentation but she has also traced the images back to a different engraver and printing press. Furthermore the stylistic features in the image are very dissimilar to the examples found in volume 1 and 2.

²²⁴ See Brian Strayer, *Suffering saints: Jansenists and convulsionnaires in France 1640-1799*, Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 2008, 243, for a breakdown of members in the Convulsionary movement.

²²⁵ Robert B. Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 254

²²⁶ *Ibid*, 202

²²⁷ *Ibid*, 252

‘séances’.²²⁸ The changing background and figures in the vignettes, along with the black doorways which connote the idea of limited access and infiltration, could testify to the vast secret network the movement had at their disposal and again, like in the second case study, this shows the capabilities of Convulsionary women to bring the faithful together.

All the figures in this image appear to belong to the upper Third Estate or aristocracy, note that the paintings hanging in the backdrop of the second and the *boiserie* detail in the fourth vignette were expensive interior features only available to those with a disposable income.²²⁹ In fact, it was this fervent section of the movement, nobles of the robe and sword, who ‘provided much of the patronage and protection which helped to sustain the movement, even in the worst of times’.²³⁰ Contrary to this however, archival evidence from Jean-Robert Armogathe has shown that Convulsionaries were not immune from taunts and rumours from that same section of French eighteenth-century society.²³¹ This continues well into the period as Baron Grimm’s *Correspondance littéraire*, first published in 1753 and intended for royal subscriber, that featured female Convulsionary members and the interest they generated as features in the discussions of sophisticated audiences. According to one scholar, ‘there were strong sexual overtones which were not overlooked by Grimm’s select subscribers.’²³² These erotic connotations are more than evident in the image depicting the *secours* to Gabrielle

²²⁸ R. A. Knox, *Enthusiasm: a chapter in the history of religion, with special reference to the XVII and XVIII centuries*, London, Oxford University Press, 1950, 383

²²⁹ Katie Scott, *The rococo interior: decoration and social spaces in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Yale, Yale University Press, 1995.

²³⁰ Robert B. Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 252

²³¹ Jean-Robert Armogathe, ‘A propos des miracles de Saint-Médard : les preuves de Carré de Montgeron et le positivisme des Lumières’, *Revue de l’histoire des religions*, 180, 1971, 144. There are reports of one incredulous spectator in an act of jest/mockery pouring sand collected from a neighbouring garden onto a faithful, another buys a magistrate known to be a Jansenist, a wig in the style of Pascale Quesnel. The miracles were also heavily criticised for being published three days before they even took place.

²³² Mahonri Sharp Young, ‘Convulsions and conversions’, *Apollo*, Vol. CXXII, No. 288, 1986, 124

Moler.²³³ Assuming the date is accurate, Moler had been imprisoned in the Bastille since in 1738, nearly ten years preceding the image's production, before she finally passed away in the Salpêtrière, an infamous female mental hospital in 1748.²³⁴ Didi-Huberman described the institute as 'another Bastille [...] with its courtyard of massacres, debauched women, Convulsionaries of Saint-Médard and women of abnormal constitution'.²³⁵ By 1690s there were already 3000 women interned there.²³⁶ If eighteenth-century Parisians were likely to have been aware of this establishment and the types of female subjects it had received, then this particular image is not altogether favourable for the Convulsionary movement and its female membership.

Both sexes are in full participation of the movement's spiritual commitments in the image, as though in communal partnership. However, the central figure, Moler, acts in what McManners has described as a 'sophisticated spiritual director'.²³⁷ As leaders in the movement, women did not shy away from taking up various roles, such as 'priestesses specialising in celebrating the mass, baptising and ordaining new believers, hearing confessions, granting penitence, washing their disciples' feet, and speaking in unknown tongues'.²³⁸ Moler is exercising this new-found role independently, free of any priestly sanction or mediation. I suggest, therefore, that the Convulsionary movement provided women with the opportunity to temporarily overcome their inferior social and ecclesiastical status by enacting duties exclusively practiced by those in the clerical profession. In this way,

²³³ A *secour* can be defined as giving assistance to a Convulsionary when he/she is undergoing a violent episode. Usually this was done by holding down the devotee however, much more violent and controversial measures such as dragging, piercing and crucifying the body were implemented later in the period.

²³⁴ Mary D. Sheriff, 'Passionate spectators: on enthusiasm, nymphomania, and the imagined tableau', *Huntington library quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 1/2, 1997, 58 – incidentally the whole female Moler family was involved in the movement

²³⁵ Georges Didi-Huberman, *The invention of hysteria: Charcot and the photographic iconography of the Salpêtrière*, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2004, 13

²³⁶ *Ibid*, 13

²³⁷ John McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, Volume 2, New York, Clarendon Press, 1998, 445

²³⁸ Brian E. Strayer, *Suffering saints: Jansenists and convulsionnaires in France 1640-1799*, Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 2008, 255

women were able to subvert the dominant patriarchal order by opposing prescribed gender roles as established by the Church and State. The archbishop Vintimille had already denounced the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, the principal publication that Convulsionary supporters were reading as ‘one of the most serious threats to all spiritual and temporal authority in France’.²³⁹ Consequently, I propose that the Convulsionary women who adopted priestly duties posed an even greater threat to spiritual and temporal authority. This harks back to the Jansenist nuns’ struggle for autonomy at Port-Royal at the beginning of the century and as Bergin has rightly noted that ‘for centuries male and female religious orders were often paired together, with the male order usually exercising extensive control over their female branches’.²⁴⁰ Here we begin to see lay women also adopting the Port-Royal mind-set by exercising roles not usually administered to them.

It is important to understand how gender, sex and sexuality were widely perceived, employed and contested in the early eighteenth century. For some time now scholars have probed the links between religious enthusiasm, hysteria and the origins of female morality embedded in the Christian tradition.²⁴¹ According to early theologians, such as Saint Jerome (347-420 AD), the source of mankind’s perversion had stemmed from Eve; and as ‘daughters’ of Eve, all women were thought of as congenitally weak and thus most susceptible to moral corruption.²⁴² It is well documented that, for the most part, art and

²³⁹ Cyril B. O’Keefe, *Contemporary Reactions to the Enlightenment (1728-1762): A Study of Three Critical Journals, the Jesuit Journal de Trévoux, the Jansenist Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, and the Secular Journal des Savants*, Geneva, Stalkine, 1974, 21 claims it taught heresy defended scandalous doctrines and attacked the Holy See and the hierarchy of the Church in France

²⁴⁰ Joseph Bergin, *Church, society and religious change in France, 1580-1730*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009, 129

²⁴¹ For the burgeoning historical literature on hysteria, consult Mark S. Micale ‘Hysteria and its historiography a review of past and present writings’, *History of science*, Vol. 27, Dec 1989, 223-61

²⁴² Consult Alcuin Blamires, *Woman defamed and woman defended: an anthology of medieval texts*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, 63. Blamires includes primary sources from early church fathers and old/new testament extracts. Also see, Christa Grossinger, ‘The evil woman’ in *Picturing women in late medieval – renaissance art*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1997

literature have depicted the allegories of deadly sins and religious enthusiasm as female.²⁴³ The popular engravings of Jacques Callot (1592-1635) are just some examples illustrating all seven sins, except for anger, as female (fig. 16) suggesting that sins and transgressive behaviour was a predominantly female phenomenon and that having female allegories for these in visual culture only served to reinforce negative historical perceptions of women.

As noted above, from a young age, women had access to free Catholic primary education in which schooling covered the importance of religious spaces, practices and well-known biblical figures.²⁴⁴ Outside of this, lay women and certainly those from the poorer sections of society, were likely to have encountered female saints and martyrs in the literature disseminated through the *livres bleus*.²⁴⁵ This paved the way for women to be imagining their own devotional potential through stories of the past. Exemplary models for women to emulate included virgins, pious mothers like Saint Anne or female martyrs, like Saint Barbara and Saint Catherine, for example, who had suffered spectacular deaths in the name of Christianity.²⁴⁶ Hence, in this image, Moler and other leading female Convulsionaries were drawing on the suffering endured by previous female saints by way of purging their sins for salvation. Through a Jansenist lens, Restout's painting *The death of Saint Scholastica* (1730) (fig. 17), commissioned for a monastery at Bourgueil, depicts the female protagonist collapsing to the ground as her soul ascends to heaven. In this painting we see the importance

²⁴³ Larry Silver and Susan Smith, 'Carnal knowledge: the late engravings of Lucas van Leyden' in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 29, Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers, 1978, 239-298

²⁴⁴ Richard Clay, *Iconoclasm in revolutionary Paris: the transformation of signs*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2012, 59

²⁴⁵ See Robert Mandrou, *De la culture populaire aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, la bibliothèque bleue de Troyes*, Paris, Imago, 1999. The *livres bleus* were inexpensive popular devotional books and pamphlets peddled out of Troyes that included stories of the saints, short psalms and devotional pieces. They appear all over France in the eighteenth century. Alos see Carol M. Schuler, 'Virtuous model/voluptuous martyr: the suicide of Lucretia in northern renaissance art and its relationship to late medieval devotional imagery' from Jane L. Carroll and Alison G. Stewart, *Saints, sinners and sister: gender in northern art in medieval and early modern Europe*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003 and Christa Grossinger, 'The good woman' from *Picturing women in late medieval – renaissance art*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1997. For more on the lives of female saints see Jacob de Voragine, *The golden legend*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1995.

²⁴⁶ Saint Barbara is said to have been sentenced to death by her father and beheaded whilst Saint Catherine was condemned to death on a breaking wheel but at her touch it burst into flames before also being beheaded.

of female models of piety for a Jansenist community in eighteenth-century France.²⁴⁷ With this in mind, it will become clear that, according to different artists' religious convictions and the viewership the images were intended for, either a positive or negative visual rhetoric would have been legibly employed when representing Convulsionary women. Acknowledging this by pointing to the sheer volume of religious treatises and imagery that were in circulation at the time provides an insight into the representational choices of artists depicting such subjects.

As Bergin has noted it was an aim of Saint Cyran, an advocate of Augustinian teachings, who 'demanded a very high degree of commitment, penitence and rejection of worldliness, (he) expected Christians to do everything as if salvation depended purely on their efforts'.²⁴⁸ This level of contritionism, 'made a normal life within lay society incompatible with Christian living' often driving the faithful 'either to outright despair or withdrawn from the world'.²⁴⁹ Daniel Vidal has shown that nearly eighty percent of Convulsionary assistants, those performing the *secours*, were men and, as women 'contorted their half-naked bodies', they 'relied five times more often on the help of celibate male ecclesiastics than on the assistance of *religieuses*'.²⁵⁰ The visual evidence supports this as it is only the male figures that come to the fore with swords, heavy rocks and bludgeons, whilst Moler is in her convulsionary phase. Owing to the prominence of the body's position, it virtually offers itself up to the gaze of others. It was thought that 'pretty young girls deliberately (were) allowing themselves to become indecently exposed for long periods and

²⁴⁷ Joseph Bergin, *Church, society and religious change in France, 1580-1730*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009, 400

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 401

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 401. Contrition can be described as a sincere remorse for the sins one has committed. It differs from attrition in the sense that it is driven by a love of God as opposed to a self-centred sorrow for sin.

²⁵⁰ Daniel Vidal, 'Miracles et convulsions jansénistes au XVIII^e siècle, le mal et sa connaissance', *Annales : économies, sociétés, civilisations*, Vol. 44, Issue 5, 1989, 248

in full public view while they experienced their convulsions'.²⁵¹ What strikes the viewer as unusual are the sadomasochistic undertones in this image. Again with thanks to McManners here, 'when the convulsions began, a new role of leadership for women became available, as sacrificial victims of a strange liturgy of pain'.²⁵² Clearly, Moler is playing two simultaneous roles, as well as agitator of the devotional practices, she is the victim of the physical distress she is being subjected to. Her body is the focal point of the image, no other devotee has been pierced, beaten and crushed and this recalls the circulating visual culture of women enduring affective piety in states of religious ecstasy.²⁵³

Regrettably, this anonymous artist has not been able to convey the Convulsionaries in a completely favourable light, despite the print's presence in a pro-Jansenist text. This may be because we are not dealing with an academic artist like Restout who had shown great adeptness and skill in using subtle visual language. It is important to note that at this point Carré de Montgeron was publishing his work from the confines of his prison cell in Valence. It was unlikely that this anonymous artist was able to run proofs whilst the councillor was incarcerated or, indeed, this would have been carried out with great risk and difficulty, and communication with the outside world might have been restricted. With little or no correspondence, the artist may have had to rely on his own judgment to complete this work.

Conclusion

The images I have examined in this chapter were likely to have been produced by men – there were very few female printers. That said, once pamphlets had reached the streets of Paris they could be circulated by *colporteurs* of any sex, but from a pro-Convulsionary

²⁵¹ Robert B. Kreiser, *Miracles, convulsions and ecclesiastical politics in early eighteenth-century Paris*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978, 177

²⁵² John McManners, *Church and society in eighteenth-century France*, Volume 2, New York, Clarendon Press, 1998, 431

²⁵³ *The Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* (1647-52) by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598 – 1680) is just one example of this in art that artists, and especially those who had carried out Grand Tours, would have been familiar with.

viewpoint, it was priests and, more surprisingly, female *colporteuses* whose services were called upon to disseminate Jansenist literature.²⁵⁴ Thus, not only present in, but contributing to, every aspect of Convulsionary visual culture, research into women of this particular period is not to be undervalued and is far from being exhaustive.

The foci images of this chapter are not quite topographically accurate. They are recording contemporary events at some distance, and in some cases also include named individuals, yet, by representing the scene from the point of view of an outsider looking in, certain truth claims are being made about that with which we the viewer is being presented. These studies have shown that visual language was, indeed, sophisticated in print culture and has shed some light on the complexities of artworks by artist-engravers in early eighteenth-century France. The representation of women posing a threat to contemporaneous society is age old. Visual material of this kind had the ability to convey the anxieties or confidence felt by certain viewers when religiously enthusiastic women were portrayed as spiritual leaders, influential participants and theologically conscious. All images show Convulsionary women demonstrating a subversion of theological doctrine, although some examples are more ambiguously coded than others. I have argued that depicting women in this way goes hand in hand with contemporaneous reports of Convulsionary practices that allowed women to enact roles that were not habitually prescribed to them in the eighteenth century.

²⁵⁴ Christine Gouzi in *Jean Restout 1692-1768 : peintre d'histoire à Paris*, Paris, Arthena, 2000, 69, tells us a certain abbé Martine and Mlle le Roux distributed the majority of the *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*. Furthermore, Léon Abensour, *La femme et le féminisme avant la Révolution*, Paris, Leroux, 1923, 288, states that the number of Jansenist printing presses were on the increase in the early eighteenth century.

MAIN CONCLUSION

This thesis has provided the first in-depth study of a selection of prints depicting Convulsionary miracles and the movement's devout members. Previous scholars have focused largely on secular or large scale religious commissions and overlooked the works on paper pertaining to the religious controversies of the early eighteenth century. This is most obvious with relation to Jansenist and/or Convulsionary prints. In order to fill this, this study has explored the important role these types of images played in the discussions (both political and religious) of their elite audiences. I have largely approached this study from an art-historical perspective, paying particular attention to the relationship between the images and their audiences' reception. This thesis has exposed the potential audiences for these types of images, and how they might have been informed by, and were informing areas of discourse.

I have shown that the prints studied in Chapter One served as supporting material for legitimising Convulsionary miracles and, to some extent, confronted the King's decision to close the cemetery of Saint-Médard in 1732. This has allowed me to delve into the images' doctrinal implications when portraying miraculous scenes as well as the theological and medical standards that miracles were to adhere to in order to be legitimised. As a result, these high quality engravings were decoded to reveal the influence of contemporaneous medical material and popular Catholic visual culture which both artist and commissioner were acutely aware of and used to bolster the Convulsionaries' miraculous claims. This then enabled me to explore the extent to which these images might have been appreciated by their viewing audiences, whether it be in either medical, religious or aesthetic terms or a combination of all three. This chapter has shown that Restout's employment of artistic devices from both the metaphysical and physical realms attests to the fact that in the early eighteenth century these two boundaries were more closely bound than scholars once thought. I have shown how the

foci prints could be categorised across a variety of artistic genres and argued that their visual rhetorics would have been drawn from a variety of epistemologies.

I have demonstrated that the particular viewing audiences of such images were members of the Third Estate with a disposable income which has been gleaned from the works' high monetary value. Furthermore, I have shown that this section of society were well informed of the current political and religious climate through the sophisticated dissemination of illegal literature on the streets of Paris as well as through access to pro-Jansenist sermons during weekly mass. This study has reaffirmed the enormous value that eighteenth-century audiences placed on images, even on those in print form and how prints produced at a time of religious and political contention were able to contribute to the ecclesiastical and emerging humanist debates which elite viewers would have been a part. I have also touched upon the possible risks entailed for artists in producing images of this kind which helps to account for their anonymity and that hints at the artistic drives for their production; namely, financial rewards or religious affiliations.

In Chapter Two, I have broadly outlined how women in the lower Third Estate might have been involved in theological discourse and aware of recent religious controversies, such as the nuns of Port-Royal. For the first time, my work has explored the marginal status that Convulsionary women might have occupied and thus the drives for taking up such intense form of devotions in the public arena. This has allowed me to explore the extent to which Convulsionary women were able to exert a destabilising influence in broader religious affairs. Furthermore, by unpacking the depicted audiences in these images, as well as their possible viewing audiences, I have suggested that the Convulsionary movement implicated people from a range of socio-economic, cultural and religious backgrounds. I have also considered the conventions employed across these prints to represent Convulsionary women and have

uncovered unusual and diverse interpretations. Although I have come across other kinds of images relating to this subject during the course of my research, I have not been able to fully explore the wealth of relevant visual culture that is in existence, due to time and word constraints.

In conclusion, this thesis has highlighted a very real urgency to explore Jansenist and Convulsionary visual culture. There is a wealth of images on the subject that is yet to be at the fore of academic enquiry. It has reinforced the importance of considering images, not only in print but in all media, and most importantly, with relation to other areas of discourse and debate during the eighteenth century. Further considerations may include comparing legible references to the religious debates across print, painting and/or other forms of visual culture and whether popular and/or elite audiences were expressing concerns with regards to such images. My work has recognised that there is a wider European context to explore when researching the Convulsionaries and further developments in this area may include the Convulsionary print network and trade routes across Holland, Paris and the rest of France.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1:

Anon, *Louis Basile Carré de Montgeron offering his book on deacon François de Pâris and the Convulsionaries of Saint-Médard to King Louis XV*, engraving, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1737

Figure 2:

Pierre Etienne Moitte (after Maurice Quentin de la Tour), *Portrait of Jean Restout le Jeune*, engraving, c. 1740, Five Colleges and Historic Deerfield Museum Consortium, USA

Figure 3:

Jean Restout, *Miraculous healing of a blind woman, Marie Carteri on the tomb of deacon François de Pâris at the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard*, engraving, 1737, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine, Paris, France

Figure 4:

Jean Restout, *Miraculous healing Madeleine Durand on the tomb of deacon François de Pâris at the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard*, engraving, 1737, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine, Paris, France

Figure 5:

Jean Restout, *Miraculous healing Pierre Gautier on the tomb of deacon François de Pâris at the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard*, engraving, 1737, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine, Paris, France

Figure 6:

Jean Restout, *Miraculous healing of a paralytic, Marie-Anne Couronneau on the tomb of deacon François de Pâris at the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard*, engraving, 1737, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine, Paris, France

Figure 7:

Jean Restout, *Miraculous healing of a deaf-mute Catherine Bigot on the tomb of deacon François de Pâris at the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard*, engraving, 1737, Wellcome Collection, London

Figure 8:

Gérard de Lairesse, *The ribs*, engraving, 1739, Wellcome Collection, London

Figure 9:

Anon, Confraternity print of Saint Crespin and Saint Crespinien, Eglise Saint-Jean de Latran (Paris), Confrérie de Saint Crespin et Saint Crespinien, date unknown

Figure 10:

Noël Hallé, *Saint Vincent de Paul preaching at Saint Etienne du Mont* (and detail), 1761, oil on canvas, cathedral of Saint-Louis, Versailles

Figure 11:

Jean Restout, *Pierre Gautier de Pezenas*, study for engraving in chalk, 1737, Musée National de Port-Royal des Granges

Figure 12:

Jean Restout, *Le tombeau du B. François de Pâris, Diacre de l'Eglise de Paris, mort le 1er May 1727. Illustré par des miracles sans nombre et des conversions éclatantes*, engraving, 1737, Collections iconographiques, Archives National de France

Figure 13:

Bernard Picart, *Différentes agitations des convulsionnaires*, engraving, 1741, Wellcome Collection, London

Figure 14:

Anonymous, *Secours donnés à Gabrielle Moler*, engraving, Musée de la Ville de Paris, engraving, 1747, Musée Carnavalet, France

Figure 15:

Jean-Jacques Scheuchzer, *The human eye as the work of God*, from *Physique sacrée*, VI, engraving by I. A. Fridrich, 1732-7

Figure 16:

Jacques Callot, *Superbia*, from the series *Seven Deadly Sins*, etching, 1618-1625, The British Museum

Figure 17:

Jean Restout, *The death of Saint Scholastica*, oil on canvas, 1730, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours

Discours que M^r. DE MONGERON, Conseiller du Parlement de Paris a fait au ROI, en luy présentant son livre, le 29 Juillet 1737.



SIRE, le zèle ardent qui m'embrase pour V^{tre} Majesté m'a obligé de composer ce livre pour découvrir plusieurs vérités, qu'on vous cache, et que V^{tre} Majesté à grand intérêt de savoir, et pour vous dévoiler les projets qui se trament sourdement contre votre autorité. je sçais, SIRE, que la démarche que je fais, m'attirera la haine de ceux qui emploient tous leurs efforts, pour empêcher que V^{tre} Majesté et ses principaux Ministres ne soient instruits des faits dont ce livre contient les preuves; mais je n'ai pas balancé à m'exposer à tout leur ressentiment parce qu'il étoit question de rendre à V^{tre} Majesté et à la religion le plus essentiel de tout les services.
Ô ROI, si j'ay trouvé grâce devant vos yeux, je vous conjure de m'accorder, s'il vous plaît, ma propre vie, et celle de mon peuple pour lequel j'implore votre clemence.
Cet nous avons été l'opprobre et le mépris de nos frères; aux pires, pour être ignorés et exterminés.
..... et nous avons un ennemi dont la ruine retombe sur le Roy même. Edet C. 78. 24.

Fig. 1, Anon, Louis Basile Carré de Montgeron offering his book on deacon François de Pâris and the Convulsionaries of Saint-Médard to King Louis XV, engraving, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, 1737



Fig. 2, Pierre Etienne Moitte (after Maurice Quentin de la Tour), *Portrait of Jean Restout le Jeune*, engraving, Five Colleges and Historic Deerfield Museum Consortium, USA, c. 1740

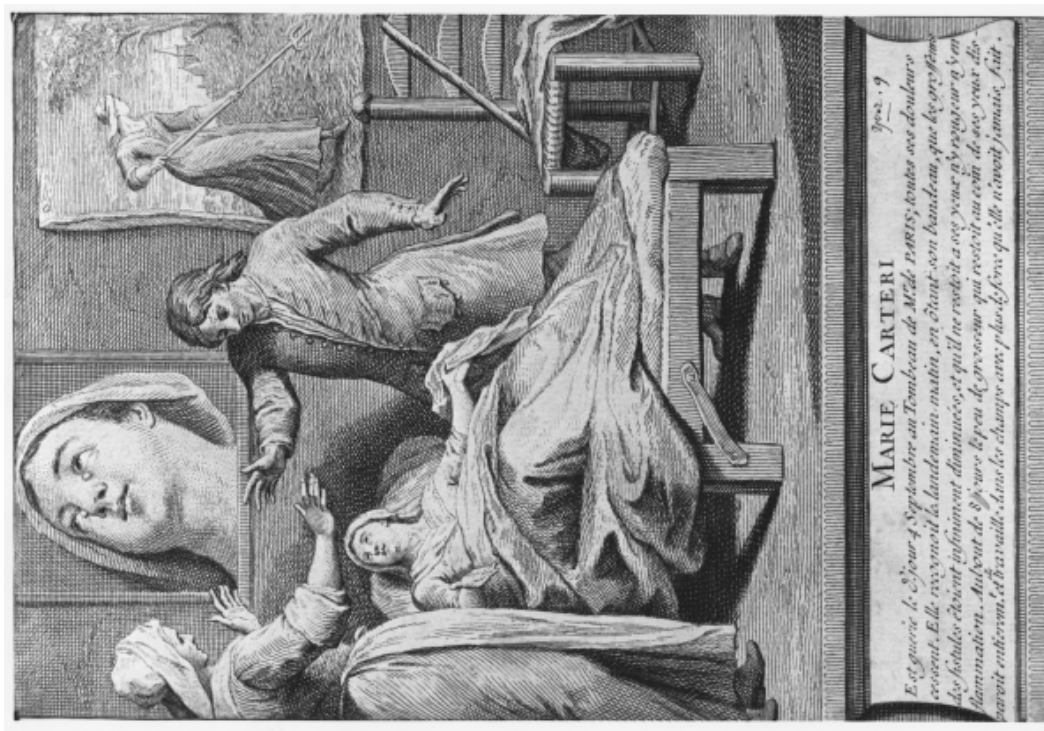


Fig. 3, Jean Restout, *Miraculous healing of a blind woman, Marie Carteri on the tomb of deacon François de Pâris at the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard* from *La Vérité des Miracles*, engraving, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine, Paris, France, 1737

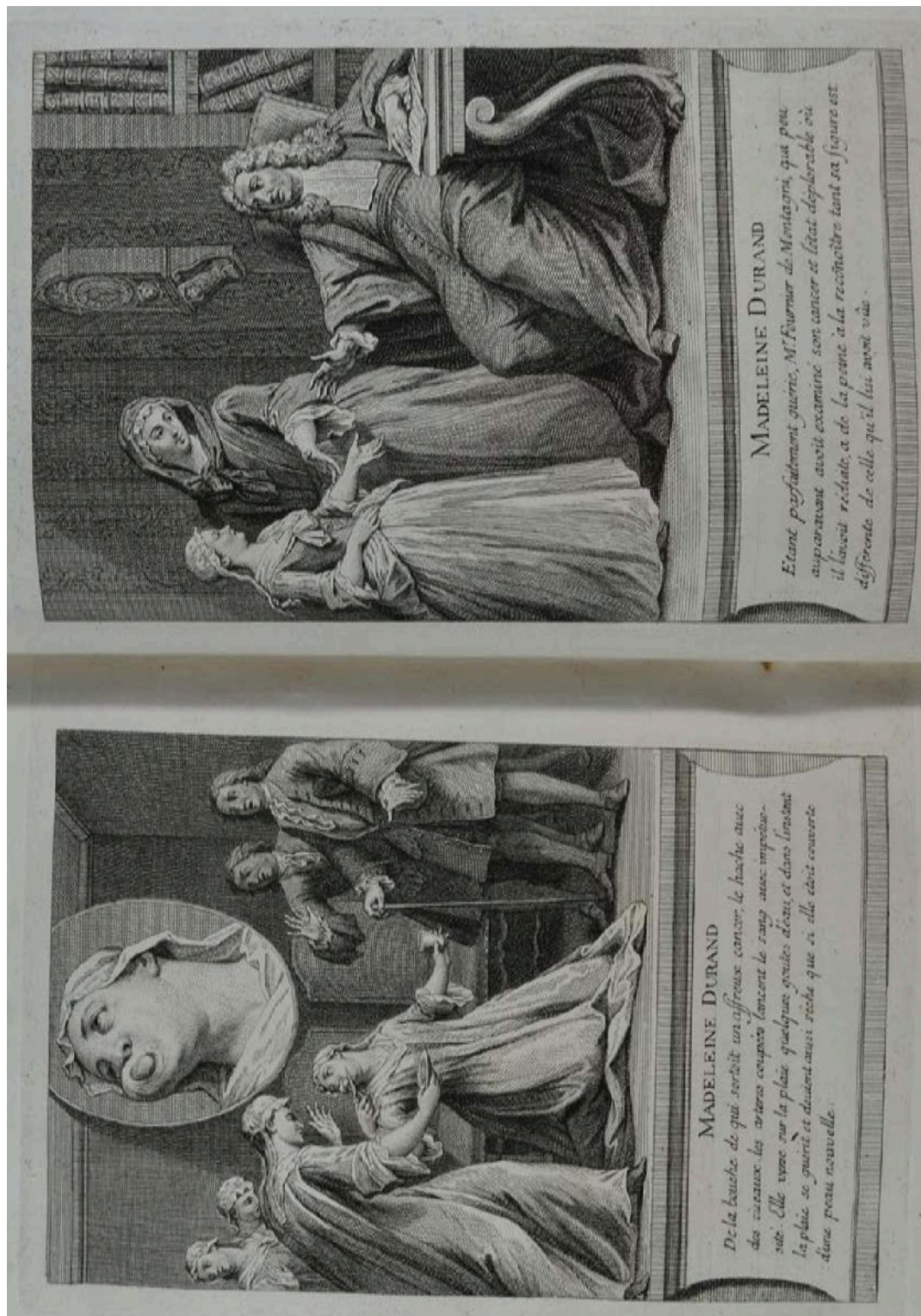


Fig. 4, Jean Restout, *Miraculous healing Madeleine Durand on the tomb of deacon François de Pâris at the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard*, engraving, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine, Paris, France, 1737



Fig. 5, Jean Restout, *Miraculous healing of Pierre Gautier on the tomb of deacon François de Pâris at the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard*, engraving, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine, Paris, France, 1737

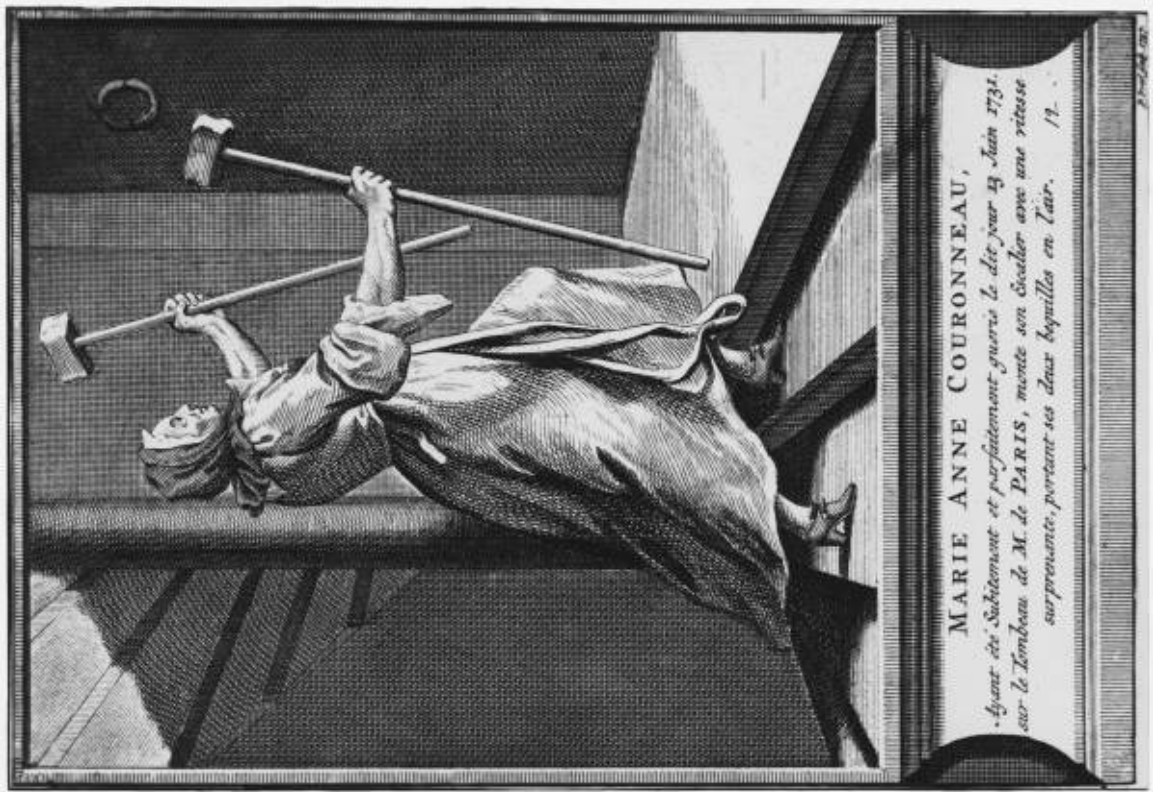


Fig. 6, Jean Restout, *Miraculous healing of a paralytic, Marie-Anne Couronneau on the tomb of deacon François de Pâris at the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard*, engraving, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine, Paris, France, 1737



Fig. 7, Jean Restout, *Miraculous healing of a deaf-mute Catherine Bigot on the tomb of deacon François de Pâris at the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard* from *La Vérité des Miracles*, engraving, Wellcome Collection, London, 1737



Fig. 8, Gérard de Lairesse, *The ribs*, engraving, Wellcome Collection, London, 1739

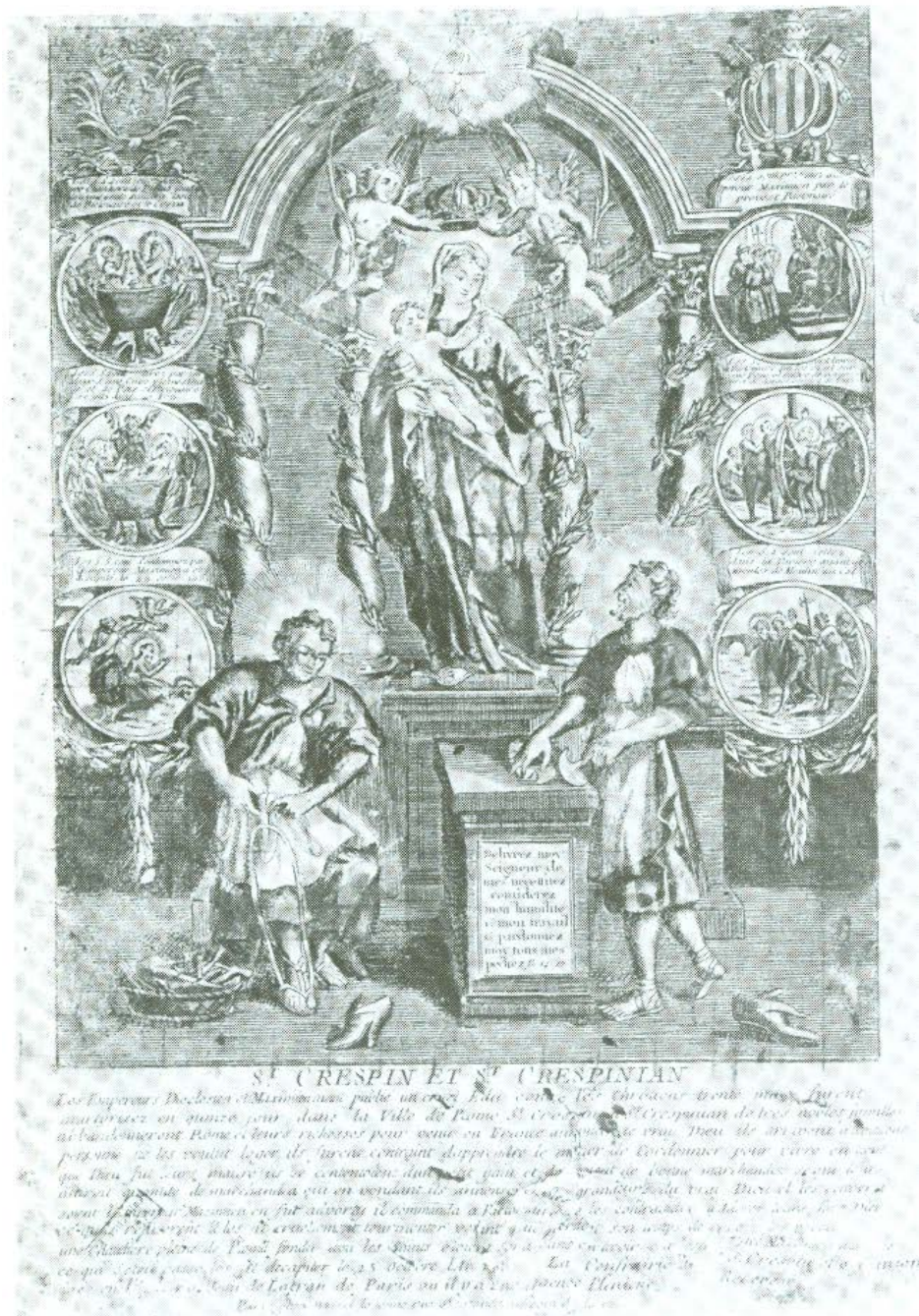


Fig. 9, Anon, Confraternity print of Saint Crespin and Saint Crespinian, Eglise Saint-Jean de
 Latran (Paris), Confrérie de Saint Crespin et Saint Crespinian, date unknown



Fig. 10, Noël Hallé, *Saint Vincent de Paul preaching at Saint Etienne du Mont* (and detail),
1761, oil on canvas, cathedral of Saint-Louis, Versailles



Fig. 11, Jean Restout, *Pierre Gautier de Pezenas*, study for engraving in pencil and chalk,
Musée National de Port-Royal des Granges, 1737



Fig. 12, Jean Restout, *Le tombeau du B. François de Pâris, Diacre de l'Eglise de Paris, mort le 1er May 1727. Illustré par des miracles sans nombre et des conversions éclatantes* from *La Vérité des Miracles*, Collections iconographiques, Archives National de France, 1737

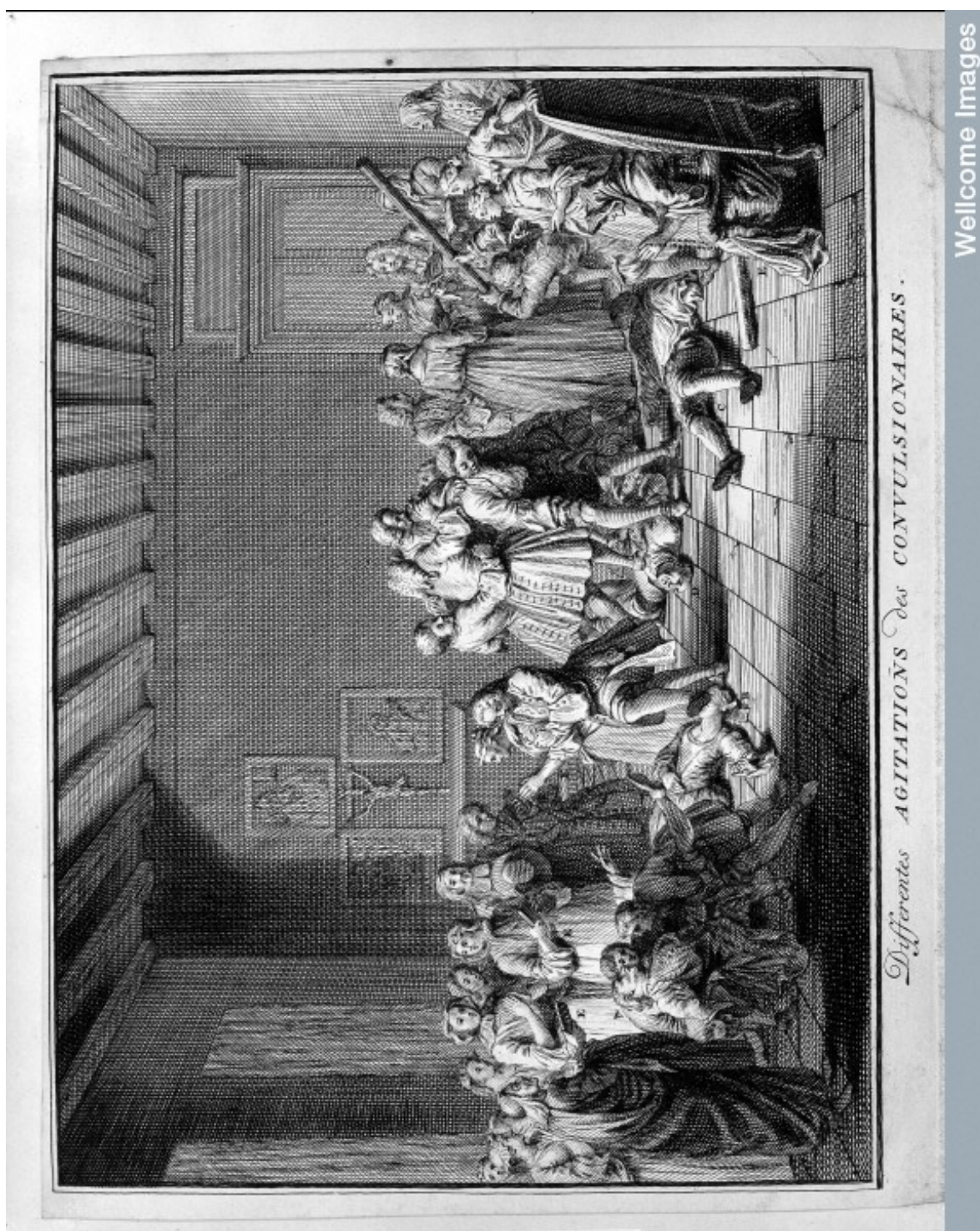


Fig. 13, Students of Bernard Picart, *Différentes agitations des convulsionnaire* from *Cérémonies et coutumes de tous les peuples du monde*, engraving, Wellcome Collection, London, 1741



Fig. 14, Anon, *Secours donnés à Gabrielle Moler* from *La Vérité des Miracles*, engraving,

Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, France, 1747



Fig. 15, Jean-Jacques Scheuchzer, *The human eye as the work of God*, from *Physique sacrée*, VI, engraving by I. A. Fridrich, 1732-7



Fig. 16, Jacques Callot, *Superbia*, from the series *Seven Deadly Sins*, 1618-1625



Fig. 17, Jean Restout, *The death of Saint Scholastica*, oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, 1730

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