Print and pageantry as early modern tools for public diplomacy: French language pamphlets on the Habsburg-Bourbon Weddings (1614-1615) and Marie de Médicis's Tour of the Low Countries (1638)

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Print and Pageantry as Early Modern Tools for Public Diplomacy

French-Language Pamphlets on the Habsburg-Bourbon Weddings (1614–1615) and Marie de Médicis's Tour of the Low Countries (1638)

BRAM VAN LEUVEREN

Abstract

This article seeks to examine seventeenth-century public diplomacy through the combined lens of print and pageantry. Both are rarely discussed alongside each other in contributions on early modern diplomacy, news media, and correspondence networks. It will be shown that ceremonial rituals and theatrical entertainments were nonetheless oft-discussed subjects in French-language pamphlets of the seventeenth century on diplomatic events, policies, and debates. This study argues that such events could constitute the focus of a pamphlet or surface as an important theme or reference point on the basis of which authors could build arguments, introduce or defend diplomatic agendas, or propose new solutions to a political conflict or dilemma. Pamphlets on the Habsburg-Bourbon marriages of 1614–1615, held at Marsh's Library in Dublin within the collection of the English theologian and scholar Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699), and the tour of Marie de Médicis (1575–1642), the exiled Queen Mother of France, across the Low Countries in 1638, kept in the Bibliotheca Thysiana of the Leiden University Library, will be discussed as tools for the public diplomacy of a wide range of transnational stakeholders.

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Introduction

Seventeenth-century diplomacy in Europe, which historical and contemporary scholars on the topic have traditionally confined to the realm of the *arcana imperii* or secrets of state, has recently been brought back into the limelight of the early modern public arena by historians working on the print and pageantry cultures of the period.[1] Helmer Helmers and Willem T. Rossiter have usefully borrowed the term "public diplomacy" from international relations studies to denote the public communication that early modern ambassadors and their governments maintained with foreign audiences in a wide range of printed material, such as pamphlets, broadsheets, and engravings.[2] Ellen R. Welch, Klaas Van Gelder and Nina Lamal, Clemens Peck, and myself have similarly demonstrated that theatrical entertainments and solemn ceremonies at court and in the streets often served to publicly broadcast the diplomatic programs of their elite organizers and frequently involved ambassadors in the role of spectators or even performers.[3]

Pageantry, too, functioned as a tool for public diplomacy, which I will define here as the endeavor of any diplomatic actor, be it an accredited ambassador, anonymous intelligencer, or political leader, to inform both domestic and foreign audiences of their diplomatic agenda, decision, or point of view, and to persuade them of the necessity to implement it. In other words, early modern diplomacy revolved just as much around confidential affairs of state as it did around shaping and influencing public opinion surrounding a particular diplomatic event or policy, such as a transnational wedding or peace treaty, through public channels of communication.[4] Diplomatic stakeholders thus used dramatic or theatrical means to achieve their goals.

This article seeks to examine seventeenth-century public diplomacy through the combined lens of print and pageantry. "Pageantry" and related terms, such as "pomp" and "spectacle," will be used here as container concepts meant to designate both court and civic entertainments and ceremonies in early modern Europe that in contrast to the text-based drama or enacted theater of the period were not commonly scripted in writing but instead foregrounded embodied, ritual, and visual performance, such as dancing, gesturing, and pyrotechnical displays.[5] Pageants may include balls, ballets, masquerades, staged tournaments, and firework dramas, as well as coronations, nuptial blessings, triumphal processions, and ratification ceremonies. Both print and pageantry are rarely discussed alongside each other in contributions on early modern diplomacy and neighboring subjects like the news media and

correspondence networks of the period.[6] This is perhaps not surprising if we consider the dominant strand of scholarly thought within the field. Jürgen Habermas influentially argued in his 1962 book *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere) that early modern rituals and entertainments, particularly those at the fifteenth-century French and Burgundian court, served as examples of a so-called "repräsentative Öffentlichkeit" (representative public sphere).[7] Habermas defined such "Öffentlichkeit" as a conspicuous and top-down form of communication intended to reflect and convince royal subjects of the sovereign aura of their ruler.[8]

Scholarship on early modern European festivals in the 1970s and 1980s clearly built on Habermas's idea of "repräsentative Öffentlichkeit." Frances A. Yates, who pioneered research on late sixteenth-century French court festivals, famously argued that late Valois pageantry sought to communicate "the idea of the French monarchy," a symbolic expression of how the royal crown liked to represent itself to subjects and foreign visitors alike.[9] Yates's work mostly focused on "the imperial theme of peace," which she believed was central to the court entertainments of Catherine de Médicis (1519–1589), Queen Mother of France, in the late sixteenth century.[10] For Roy Strong, who focused on the court and civic festivals of the Habsburg, Valois, Stuart, and De' Medici dynasties, early modern pageantry was essentially a reflection of "monarchy" and "autocratic rule."[11]

Recent research has begun to nuance this picture of the early modern pageant as a top-down expression of monarchical ideas and power by drawing attention to its multi-authorial nature, the ability of its organizers to target the diplomatic agendas of various participants, and the efforts of especially lower-ranking royals and the higher nobility, chief among which were women, to stage entertainments independent from their (male) superiors.[12] The diplomatic programs of such pageants could subtly criticize or even run counter to those communicated in the ballets, mock tournaments, or masquerades of the realm's hegemonic powers.[13] Despite these insights, the Habermasian assumption that court rituals and entertainments functioned as unequivocal expressions of hegemony still looms large, especially in scholarship on late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century news and public opinion.[14] Although scholars in those fields have long since corrected Habermas's claim that a vibrant culture of public opinion only emerged in the taverns, coffeehouses, and *salons* of the eighteenth century, the early modern written text and its medial carriers, ranging from pamphlets and broadsheets to diaries and chronicles, continue to be seen as privileged platforms for the

formulation and exchange of opinions and views on matters of public interest.[15] Such a bias may be explained on the basis of the physicality and ephemerality of early modern pageantry. Since the latter rarely drew on preexisting dramatic texts and generally favored embodied, visual, and ritualized spectacle, such as dancing, fireworks, and solemn processions, over textual delivery, its ability to facilitate the expression of public opinion, let alone diplomatic views and judgments, has regularly been overlooked by historians in the field.[16]

This contribution shows that ceremonial rituals and theatrical entertainments were nonetheless oft-discussed subjects in French-language pamphlets of the seventeenth century on diplomatic events, policies, and debates. It argues that such events could constitute the focus of a pamphlet or surface as an important theme or reference point on the basis of which authors could build arguments, introduce or defend diplomatic agendas, or propose new solutions to a political conflict or dilemma. Pamphlets will be defined here as unbound printed publications that were relatively brief in scope (the examples discussed below ranged between eight and forty-eight pages) and had been cheaply produced in octavo format (16 × 10 cm) for quick distribution among large audiences. They regularly focused on topical issues, notably diplomatic, military, or religious affairs, and deployed a wide range of rhetorical styles, from apocalyptic to utopian, from matter-of-fact to intensely passionate, and from drama- to prophecy-styled discourses. Pamphlets were generally sold at bookshops to whoever could read and afford to buy them.[17] It should be noted that "pamphlet" is technically an anachronistic term that was first used in the English language, in its current understanding, from 1653. The word will be used interchangeably here with "*libelles*" or "*libelles diffamatoires*" (defamatory *libelles*), the seventeenth-century French terms for the phenomena that we label as "pamphlets" today.[18]

A salient example of how pageantry took center stage in French-language pamphlets of the seventeenth century is the equestrian carousel that was organized at the Place Royal in Paris for the engagement of the royal children of the Habsburg and Bourbon dynasties in April 1612. The carousel was one of the most popular themes of the pamphlets that appeared in France between 1612 and 1617.[19] For the authors of these sources, the event was the ultimate expression of the betrothal, and the transnational alliance that it sought to cement, on an embodied, ritual, as well as visual level. The opulent spectacle represented the diplomatic hopes that the regency government of Marie de Médicis (1575–1642), Queen Mother of France, had for the union: the presumed concord

and harmony that it would bestow on both France and Spain after decades of civil war and foreign conflict.[20] Pamphleteers either maligned the theatrical entertainments under discussion, most typically because they supported the opponents' diplomatic program, or praised them for embracing their own diplomatic schemes. Since both print and pageantry could function as tools for public diplomacy, the two were ideally equipped to work in tandem. Whereas pamphlets "extended" the life span of ephemeral spectacle in print by reinforcing particular messages that were first communicated in the pageant, entertainments and ceremonies served as strong reminders—embodiedly, ritually, and visually—of either the appeal or downside of a diplomatic pact or alliance, both for those who had attended the pageant in person or who read about it in retrospect.[21]

Case Studies and Provenance

This article will use two case studies to demonstrate the intimate relationship between print and pageantry in French-language pamphlets from the seventeenth century. The first case study focuses on *libelles* about the Habsburg-Bourbon marriages of 1614–1615 from the understudied French-language book and pamphlet collection of the English theologian and scholar Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699) at K2.6.33 in Marsh's Library, Dublin.[22] The marriages between the royal children of the Spanish House of Habsburg and the French House of Bourbon are pivotal events in the political and cultural history of early modern Europe. The French King, Louis XIII (1601–1643), was married off to the Infanta Dona Anna, the future Anne of Austria (1601–1666), while his sister, Élisabeth of Bourbon (1602–1644), wedded Prince Philip of Asturias, the later Philip IV of Spain (1605–1665). The double union witnessed the rapprochement between both monarchies after century-long conflict and were marked by diplomatic ceremonies and theatrical spectacles of unprecedented magnificence over a period of three years.[23] The *libelles* on the marriages were printed in Paris between 1614 and 1615 by well-known Parisian publishers such as Anthoine du Brueil, Jean Bourriquant, and Fédéric Morel and Pierre Mettayer. Several of these pamphlets are unique or rare.

It is worthy of note that the pamphlets at K2.6.33 have been bound together in a Sammelband that may date back to the 1650s. This can be judged from the volume's limp vellum binding with green ties, which was common in Europe throughout the seventeenth century, and

sparse marginalia on the lower pastedown in a mid- to late-seventeenth-century hand, which feature a table of contents to the Sammelband. This table of contents, however, matches the present order of the pamphlets only partially, which suggests that later owners or compilers have changed and expanded the number of pamphlets. The selection of pamphlets by these owners or compilers, and their inclusion of the *libelles* on the marriages, reveals striking thematic parallels between the various texts that offer a seminal insight into the transnational interpretation and wider reception of the double match by near contemporaries. More than combining various pamphlets on the union alone, the Sammelband brings together sources on a wide range of related diplomatic matters. Such an editorial practice testifies to the fact that early modern people considered pageantry to be an inherent part of diplomatic culture and history, and that pamphlets referencing, or solely focusing on, pageantry interacted with printed material on adjacent diplomatic topics, including peace edicts, military affairs, and prophecies.[24] For instance, the question of whether or not the Habsburg-Bourbon marriages would restore peace to France is central to a number of pamphlets in the Sammelband. *Libelles* on the topic appear alongside printed grievances of opponents and copied treaties of diplomatic agreements between Marie de Médicis and the rebellious nobility that were signed around the same time.[25]

Another, perhaps less immediately obvious, theme that emerges from the pamphlets in the Sammelband is the French—and broader European—obsession with Ottoman Muslims. In keeping with traditional stereotypes on the continent, various *libelles* framed Muslims as "heretics" whose aggressive ambitions would lead them to conquer all of Europe and destroy Christendom.[26] A similar obsession with the Muslim "other" can be observed in the pamphlets that advertised the Habsburg-Bourbon double union as an agent of peace.[27] These pamphlets expressed the wish that the marital alliances between two of Europe's foremost Catholic powers would finally unite all of Christendom in a crusade against the Ottoman Empire and recover the Holy Land for good.

The second case study of this article concentrates on two pamphlets, ostensibly written by Marie de Médicis, from the Bibliotheca Thysiana of the Leiden University Library.[28] In them, the exiled Queen Mother of France sought to persuade an international audience of the diplomatic necessity of her tour into the Low Countries, which she would undertake from July 1631 until October 1638. In lieu of a financially independent household, the pamphlets, as well as their Dutch and English translations, helped De Médicis to manage the public opinion surrounding her controversial journey and—in keeping with my definition of public

diplomacy—engage with international audiences on a personal title.[29] Crucially, the impact of the pamphlets under consideration here was distinctly transnational. There are three reasons for this. First, the pamphlets discussed diplomatic affairs—a double wedding and a progress—that were of considerable transnational importance. The Habsburg-Bourbon marriages entailed a definite shift in international relations. They served as capstones to the Peace of Vervins, concluded in spring 1598, which had cemented a rapprochement between France and Spain after three years of open warfare.[30] Although De Médicis's tour of the Low Countries did not eventually result in a manifest change of Europe's balance of power, it did involve negotiations between the exiled Queen Mother, on the one hand, and the Dutch and Habsburg authorities on the other, which meant a potential reconsideration, and possibly endangerment of, the latter's formal relations with Louis XIII of France and his powerful creature, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642). After her failed coup of November 1630, designed to oust Richelieu, De Médicis went into exile abroad.[31]

Second, the theatrical entertainments and triumphal ceremonies that were so frequently discussed in the pamphlets on the aforementioned events were of equal transnational importance. The pageantry staged for the Franco-Spanish marriages and De Médicis's voyage was originally intended to broadcast the cross-national advantages of both events to a European audience of diplomats, political leaders, and citizens. The considerable output of pamphlets on the double union and, to a lesser degree, on the Queen Mother's tour of the Low Countries thus invoked the memory of the original pageantry, and its media-specific power to persuade people, to convince an even wider, and potentially international, audience of the transnational importance of the diplomatic events.

Finally, the cross-national significance of the pamphlets' subject matter meant that it could gather the interest of an international readership of diplomats, political leaders, and collectors of printed material—possibly the same audience that had attended the original pageantry staged for the Habsburg-Bourbon marriages and De Médicis's journey through the Low Countries. Although French-language pamphlets on the double union were targeted primarily at domestic audiences, since they sought to make diplomatic stakeholders in France receptive to the argument or point of view of the author in question, they nonetheless received attention from readers abroad. We know that many pamphlets on the marriages were either translated into, or appeared in, Spanish, Italian, and Latin. For example, pamphlets on the ceremonial entry of the Spanish extraordinary ambassador, Ruy III Gomez de Silva Mendoza y la Cerda, Duke of Pastrana (1585–1626), into Paris on August 13, 1612, appeared

in both French and Spanish.[32] Pastrana's entry confirmed one union of the Franco-Spanish double alliance, as it was followed by a diplomatic ceremony in which the Duke formally asked Marie de Médicis for the hand of Princess Elizabeth on behalf of Philip IV of Spain.[33] Moreover, diplomats, intelligencers, chroniclers, and political leaders across Europe often drew on the topical information provided in the pamphlets to keep themselves and their cross-national networks informed about the diplomatic debates, opinions, and developments surrounding the marital alliances and De Médicis's tour of the Low Countries.[34]

Similarly, De Médicis's pamphlets relating to her 1638 progress, written in vernacular French, were intended for French-speaking citizens of the Dutch Republic, the Spanish Netherlands, and England, just as their Dutch and English translations were targeted primarily at Dutch and Spanish Netherlandish populations respectively. The French originals may also have been read by, and circulated among, the Queen Mother's subjects back home. Although the international reception of the pamphlets is not the main focus of this article, I will consider the extent to which the rhetorical tone and style of these sources sought to target different—domestic as well as foreign—audiences of diplomatic stakeholders.

Debating the Transnational Diplomacy of the Habsburg-Bourbon Marriages (1614–1615)

The mid- to late-seventeenth-century owners or compilers of the Sammelband at K2.6.33 in Marsh's Library clearly aimed to provide a balanced overview of the opinions and viewpoints surrounding the marital alliances between the Habsburg and Bourbon dynasties. Rather than favoring the diplomatic interests of one party over the other, the volumes contain a roughly equal number of pamphlets written and commissioned by both supporters and opponents of the alliances. Most of these pamphlets were written anonymously, especially those critical of the double union, for fear of loss of face and exclusion from one's noble family or coalition, or even persecution and hanging.[35] Occasionally, the anonymity of a *libelle* can be explained on the basis of its collaborative genesis. Rather than being produced by a single author, other individuals would frequently contribute to the pamphlet in question, notably secretaries who would have been instructed to draft or fine-tune the text dictated to them by the commissioner, such as a *grand* (great noble), a supporter of the regency government, or the Queen Mother herself.[36] At least nine authors among the pamphlets at K2.6.33 can be identified with certainty. Among them are Marie de Médicis, chief engineer of

the double union on the French side of the marital negotiations; Henri de Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1588–1646), head of the anti-Habsburg coalition in France and one of the most vocal opponents of the marriages; and Antoine Arnauld (1560–1619), *avocat général* (advocate general) in the Parlement de Paris and *conseiller d'État* (councillor of state) to De Médicis's then-deceased husband, King Henri IV of France (1553–1610), who sought to reconcile adversaries and defendants of the alliances.[37] The pamphlets of De Médicis and Condé took the form of a letter that they signed off with their own names for dramatic effect, intended to create the suggestion among readers that they had been given access to an allegedly intimate conversation that would normally have been held behind closed doors. Since Condé was a powerful *prince du sang* (prince of the blood), who had rallied many malcontents against the regency government of De Médicis, he did not face immediate consequences for his rebellion.[38]

The pamphlets at K2.6.33 that specifically focus on the marriages display a wide range of rhetorical styles and thus provide a unique insight into the reception of the Habsburg-Bourbon marriages among different audiences. Pageantry served as a key reference point in all of them. Pamphleteers invoked references to theatrical entertainments and ceremonial entries, either real or imagined, to emphasize the diplomatic success of the marital alliances and the crown's reconciliation with the rebellious aristocracy, or to signal the purportedly decadent and vile aspirations of those who engineered the double union. *Libelles* written in support of the marriages were often laudatory and even utopian in style. One nameless author larded their pamphlet, entitled *Remerciement à la Royne Regente Mère du Roy. Et à messieurs les Princes & Seigneurs, qui l'ont assistee. Par les bons François, pour la bien-venuë de la Paix* (Gratitude to the Queen Regent Mother of the King. And to My Gentlemen, the Princes and Lords, who assisted her. By the good French people, dedicated to the joyous arrival of peace; Paris: Anthoine du Brueil, 1614), with references to ancient Greek and Roman history.[39] These references helped suggest that the matches stood in a long and respected tradition of diplomatic celebration and were thus anything but suspicious or deceitful. The author ensured the malcontent Princes of the Blood, to whom their pamphlet was addressed, that the regency government would not leave a conciliatory gesture from their end unrewarded but would instead celebrate it with opulent ceremonies and spectacles, even surpassing those given for the triumphal entries of ancient Greek and Roman generals.

The writer of the pamphlet thus likened Condé to Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus, the Roman general from the fifth century BCE (figure 1).

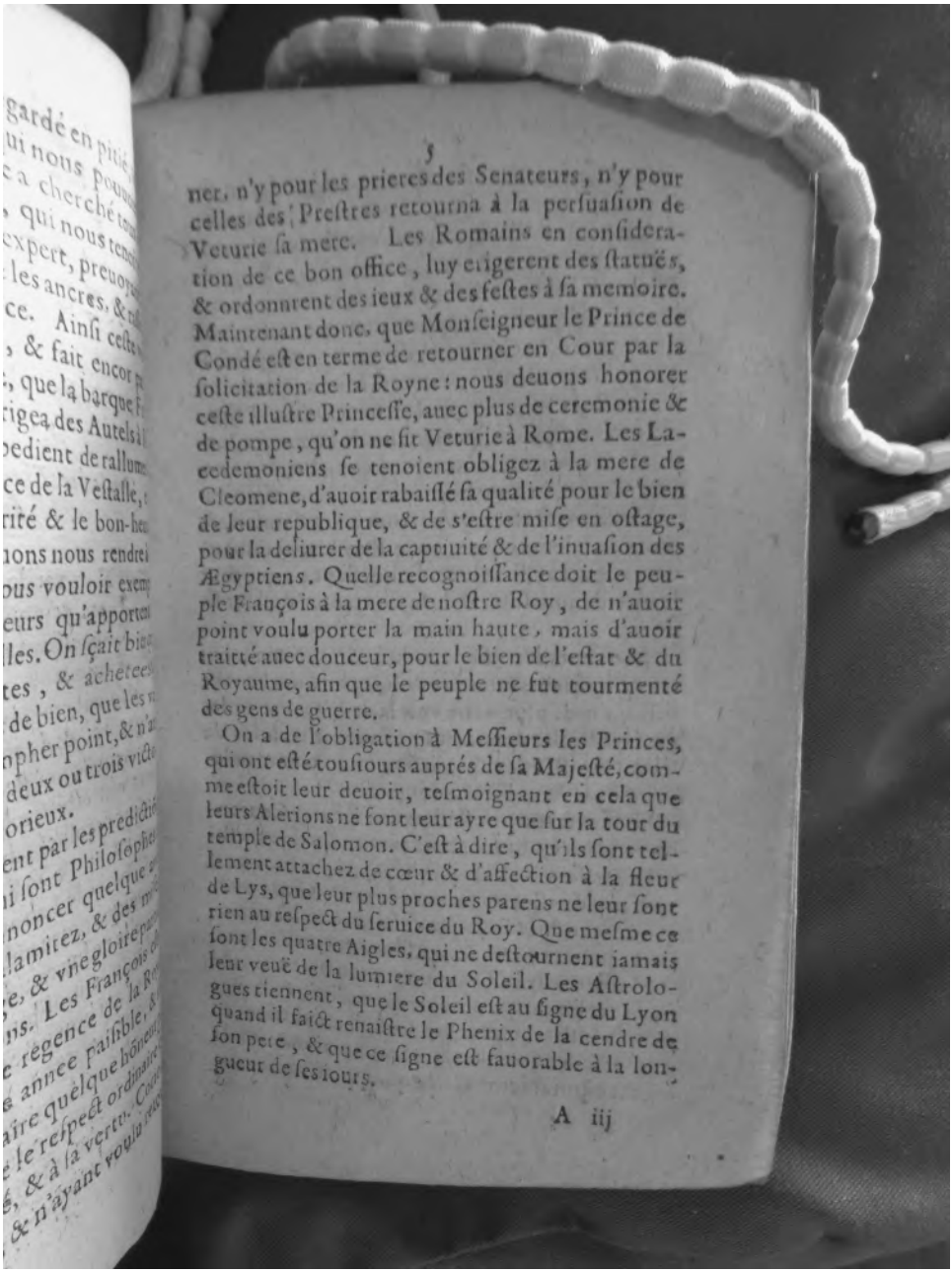

Figure 1. Excerpt of *Remerciement à la Royne Regente Mère du Roy. Et à messieurs les Princes & Seigneurs, qui l'ont assistee. Par les bons François, pour la bien-venuë de la Paix* (Paris: Anthoine du Brueil, 1614), p. 5, in which Condé's impending reconciliation with the French crown is likened to Coriolanus's triumphal return to Rome. Marsh's Library, Dublin, K2.6.33, USTC 6001650. (Photograph by author)

Just as Coriolanus was honored in Rome with much celebration by his mother, Veturia, after having captured the Volscian city of Corioli, so did the pamphleteer envisage that the return of Condé to Paris, which was impending at the time of the pamphlet's publication, namely in fall 1614, would be fêted by De Médicis with unprecedented magnificence.[40] But the Prince's return would be celebrated on an even grander scale than its imagined historical precedent: "Maintenant donc, que Monseigneur le Prince de Condé est en terme de retourner en Cour par la solicitation de la Royne: nous devons honorer ceste illustre Princesse, avec plus de ceremonie & de pompe, qu'onne fit Veturie à Rome" (Now, therefore, that My Lord, the Prince of Condé, is about to return to court at the Queen's behest, we must honor this illustrious Prince with more ceremony and pomp than Veturia staged in Rome).[41] Condé had initially withdrawn from court in January 1614 out of dissatisfaction with the crown's reorganization of government, which De Médicis had planned in preparation for her son's majority in October of that year.[42] Seeing that the monarchy had failed to award him a more substantial share in government, Condé and various of his magnates fortified themselves at the Château of Mézières in the northeastern province of Champagne.[43] In fall 1614, De Médicis invited Condé to attend the meetings of the Estates General, which she would organize from October of that year to March the following in order to review the grievances of the dissatisfied aristocracy. These meetings, and Condé's return to court, were greeted by most supporters of the regency government, of which our anonymous author was clearly a representative, as successful attempts to open peace talks between the French crown and the high nobility.[44]

Similarly, the writer of the *Remerciement* compared Charles de Lorraine, Duke of Guise (1571–1640), who was a loyal supporter of the regency government and had been a favorite of the deceased Henri IV, to Epaminondas (418–362 BCE), the Greek general of Thebes.[45] Just as Epaminondas had led several victorious expeditions against the Spartan and Peloponnesian armies, which created a period of enduring peace in Thebes, so did the pamphleteer hope that the Guises's loyalty to the French monarchy would help bring a definite end to noble infighting and lead the kingdom to a glorious age of concord. The author used the impending festivities that had been planned for Condé's reconciliation as examples of what would be in store for the remaining malcontents among the Princes of the Blood if they would decide to make amends with the regency government: "C'est l'Epaminondas, qui veillera au salut de la France, cependant tout le monde est en festin, & en resiouyssance, du bon-honeur de cestre [i.e., Condé's] reconciliation" (It is the Epaminondas who oversees the prosperous state of France while everyone fêtes

and rejoices the happiness of this reconciliation).[46] Besides referencing the specific festivities that would be staged for Condé's return, the author used pageantry as a rhetorical figure to invoke the idealized image of the *âge d'or* (golden age), an image that was widespread in the literary, visual, and performing arts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly in war-torn France.[47] In these arts, the *âge d'or* was associated with the harmony of both an imagined ancient past and that of a blissful future, no longer tainted by conflict and hatred. Rather than taking up arms or petitioning for conflict, as religionists and dissatisfied nobles had done for more than forty decades during the Wars of Religion, citizens in the *âge d'or* lived happily together in common celebration of peace and harmony. Similar to the real-world pageantry that commemorated marriages and visits of foreign dignitaries, the imagined festivities of the *âge d'or*, chief among which were music, dancing, singing, poetry reciting, and feasting, had restored the equilibrium in the kingdom with their harmony-inducing qualities and put an end to political and religious difference among citizens.[48]

The *libelles* at K2.6.33 that were issued against the marriages are frequently pessimistic and even apocalyptic in style and tone. In one anonymously written pamphlet, titled *Les Souspirs du bon François. Sur les miseres de ce temps* (The sighs of the good French people. On the miseries of these times; Paris: Pierre Buray, 1615), the author imagined the disillusioned French court to have finally comprehended the disastrous effects that the marital alliances had brought upon their kingdom (figure 2).[49] Having celebrated the marriages with feasts and balls for nearly three years, ever since the betrothal of the royal children of France and Spain in April 1612, courtiers had now stopped dancing and masquerading. The pamphleteer claimed that the gaiety of pageantry was but temporary—a smoke screen, in fact, that concealed the deplorable state of the kingdom and the world at large. For, France's double union with Spain had not effectuated the desired peace that was promised to subjects and foreigners alike by the engineers of the marriages:

> L'aize de nostre a pris fin, & nostre dance est tournee en pleurs. La joye des tabourins est finie, la douceur de la harpe se taist. Les nopces sont tournees en dueil & le son de musique en lamentation. Joye & liesse son bannies des champs, on s'esioüit plus es vignobles. Nostre moisson nous a esté ravie, au jour que nous la pensions cueillir.[50]

> [This age of ours has come to an end, and our dance has turned into tears. The joy of the tambourines is over; the sweetness of the harp muted. The nuptials have turned into mourning and the sound of lamenting music. Joy and jubilation have been banished from the fields; we no longer take delight in gleaning our vineyards. Our harvest has been taken from us on the day that we intended to reap it.]

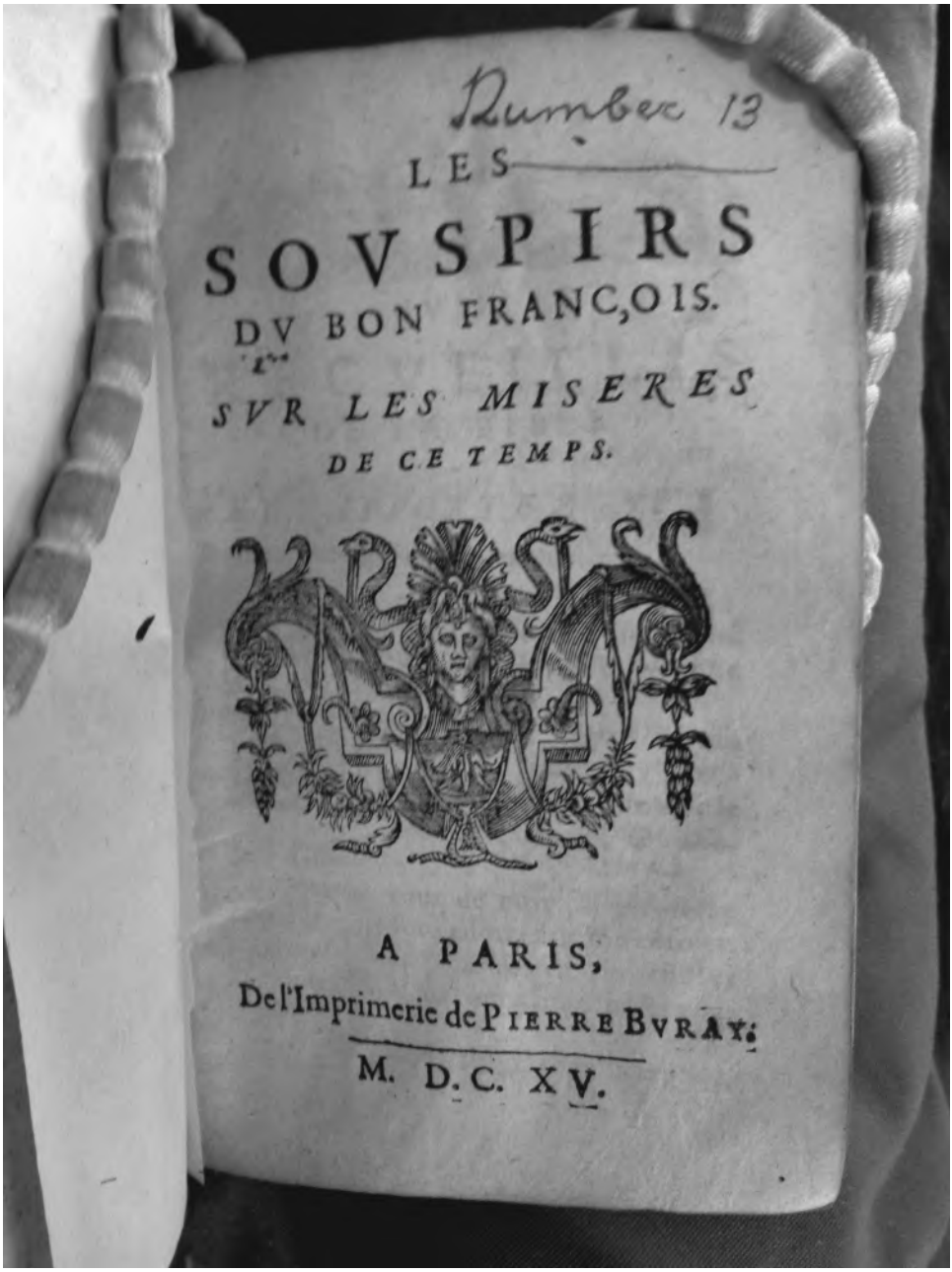

Figure 2. Title page of *Les Souspirs du bon François. Sur les miseres de ce temps* (Paris: Pierre Buray, 1615), Marsh's Library, Dublin, K2.6.33, USTC 6013655. The pamphlet's vignette features Medusa, one of three Gorgon monsters in ancient Greek mythology, whose gaze would turn anyone looking at her into stone. Although the vignette was reused by multiple publishers in early seventeenth-century France, its inclusion on the title page of this pamphlet may have served as an evil-averting mechanism, as though warding off the dangers that the Habsburg-Bourbon marriages purportedly entailed. (Photograph by author)

Similar to the author of the *Remerciement*, the pamphleteer of *Les Souspirs* was keen to reference pageantry—imagined rather than real—to invoke the utopian image of the *âge d'or*. But unlike the optimistic tone of the former pamphlet, which promised that a golden age of fêting would be within reach once the Princes of the Blood had rallied with the regency government, music and dancing served in *Les Souspirs* as reminders of a blissful, but now brutally disturbed, past. The author undoubtedly identified that past with the anti-Habsburg policies of Henri IV, who had ruled France from 1589 until his untimely death in 1610.[51] They cited the *âge d'iron* (iron age), rather than its opposite, the *âge d'or*, in an attempt to illustrate the apocalyptic wasteland that the marital alliances had left behind after their formal conclusion in Madrid and Paris in August 1612. The pamphleteer concluded that even ambassadors, whom early modern theorists of diplomacy liked to invest with the task of engineering peace among the Catholic realms of the continent, could be seen crying among the disillusioned dancing courtiers, unable to reverse the sorry state of the kingdom. "Les messagers de paix pleurent amerement" (The messengers of peace weep bitterly), the author wrote, "Toute la terre pleure d'un grand cry" (The whole earth cries profusely).[52] Pageantry thus served as a popular rhetorical figure or, better still, as a lens through which pamphleteers on both ends of the diplomatic spectrum could evaluate and discuss the Franco-Spanish matches, invoking it to highlight either the beneficial or disastrous effects that they believed the alliances would have for France and the world at large.

Contrary to the polemical *libelles* discussed above, which either fiercely supported or denounced the double union, the pamphlet of Antoine Arnauld, the aforementioned *avocat général* in the Parlement de Paris, claimed to adopt a conciliatory position in the debate. The first page of *Les Terreurs panniques de ceux qui pensent que l'alliance d'Espagne doive mettre la guerre en France* (The frantic terror of those who think that the alliance with Spain will bring war to France; Paris: Nicolas Alexandre, 1615) stated the occasion for the publication of his pamphlet: the progress of De Médicis and Louis XIII from Paris to Bordeaux, between August 17 and October 7, 1615, which was meant to celebrate the marital alliances with opulent ceremonies and theatrical entertainments.[53] On October 18, the nuptial blessing was to be fêted by proxy in both Bordeaux and Burgos. Despite the ostensibly festive nature of the event, Arnauld noted that the king's tour had "donné l'alarme à tant de personnes" (alarmed many people).[54]

It is not difficult to see why. The progress itself was fraught with danger, as rebellious nobles had mobilized troops along the route to break

up the royal train, while the ostentatious celebrations of the marriages ignored that many subjects among both the nobility and the citizenry of France outrightly rejected De Médicis's marital diplomacy.[55] Pageantry thus served here as a starting point for a larger discussion on diplomatic affairs that evidently touched on the subject matter of real-world pageants, namely the Franco-Spanish marriages and the—imagined—future that they would hold in store for the kingdom, but extended beyond the scope of the actual festivities to address doubts, qualms, and misgivings from opponents that were not referenced in the individual celebrations for obvious reasons.

In his preface to the pamphlet, Arnauld condemned *libelle diffamatoires* on the double union that produced nothing but slander. His pamphlet, by contrast, claimed to present a dignified and well-reasoned analysis of the transnational diplomacy that underpinned the Habsburg-Bourbon matches:

> Voyant courir des Libelles qui n'ont pour fondement que la medisance, ni pour but que la sedition, Qui par des paroles escrites avec peu de jugement, & moins de raison, taschent d'irriter le people [. . .] Je me suis essayé [in this pamphlet] de desabuser les moins clair-voyans, & par des raisons, & par des exemples irreprochables, réfuter des simples paroles qui ne contiennent ni l'un, ni l'autre.[56]
>
> [Seeing pamphlets circulate that only spread gossip for no purpose other than sedition and which by words written with little clarity of mind, and even less argumentation, seek to irritate people [. . .] I have tried to rid the less clear-sighted from abuses and by reason and flawless examples refute their simple words, which contain neither logical thought nor worthy exemplifications.]

In the main text of the pamphlet, Arnauld listed various general misgivings that French people had against the Franco-Spanish marriages, after which he sought to refute them one by one. I will highlight here three such rebuttals. First, Arnauld set out to counter the argument that Charles de Lorraine, Duke of Guise, would use the double union to advance his own position at court. He noted, however, that the Guise family had dwindled in size and influence and that the Duke had always been loyal to the French crown.[57] Second, Arnauld posited that, contrary to popular belief, Spain would certainly refrain from taking advantage of the rapprochement by encircling and usurping France. Had not France engineered two marital alliances with the Habsburgs in the past? After all, François I of France (1494–1547) had been married to Eleanor of Austria (1498–1558) in July 1530, and Isabella of Austria (1566–1633), daughter of Élisabeth of Valois, had been wedded to Albert of Austria (1559–1621), Archduke of the Spanish Netherlands, in April 1599.

According to the *avocat*, none of these alliances had caused any conflicts between the two kingdoms, neither open nor underhanded.[58] Finally, Arnauld claimed that fears over potential tensions with England

and the German Protestant States, who had been allegedly offended by the rapprochement between the two major Catholic countries, were entirely unfounded. He encouraged readers to appreciate the backing from France's other foreign allies instead. For, not only Spain, but also the papacy, Venice, and "tous les Alliez" (all allies) of Louis XIII had openly expressed their support for the double union.[59] *Les Terreurs panniques* can thus be read both as a heuristic guide of the marital diplomacy of the regency government and as an encouragement for French subjects to join their king and his mother in celebrating the formal conclusion of the Habsburg-Bourbon matches during the couple's progress from Paris to Bordeaux.

Marie de Médicis's Pamphleteering in the Low Countries (1638)

The two *libelles* in the Bibliotheca Thysiana of the Leiden University Library on De Médicis's 1638 tour of the Low Countries, purportedly written by the Queen Mother herself, one at the beginning of her itinerary into the Dutch Republic, in late August, and another on her arrival in England, in late October, depicted an altogether less cohesive royal front.[60] Sixteen years after the ratification of the Habsburg-Bourbon marriages, the bond between mother and son was beyond repair. After Louis XIII's majority in October 1614, affairs of state had become increasingly dominated by Cardinal Richelieu, who was appointed *ministre des affaires étrangères* (minister of foreign affairs) in 1616 and *premier ministre* (first minister) in 1624. Following her failed attempt to overthrow Richelieu in November 1630, De Médicis went into self-imposed exile, first within France, at Compiègne, and from July 1631 abroad. The progress took her from the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic to England and eventually to the Imperial Electorate of Cologne, where the impoverished Queen Mother would die on July 3, 1642.[61]

The two pamphlets under consideration here clearly served as tools for public diplomacy. De Médicis used them to uphold her international status after her failed *coup d'état* in France and to inform European audiences about her diplomatic agenda while touring the Spanish Netherlands and the Republic. In both texts, the Queen Mother reflected on the generosity of her foreign hosts. Interestingly, she used the theatrical entertainments and diplomatic ceremonies that these hosts had granted—or apparently had failed to grant—to her as indicators of the overall quality of her reception. De Médicis's first pamphlet, entitled

Apologie de la Reyne contenant les causes de sa retraite de Flandre (Apologia of the Queen containing the motives for her departure from Flanders; The Hague: Antoine Tongerloo, 1638), was targeted primarily at French-speaking audiences in the Dutch Republic and, by implication, the Spanish Netherlands. Since the text was published in The Hague, the Republic's seat of government, it likely included diplomats and political leaders among its readership.

In the *Apologie*, De Médicis criticized the Habsburg government, which had been financially responsible for her stay in the Spanish Netherlands, for having treated her "cruellement" (cruelly) and without regard of her royal "naissance" (birth) and "l'avantage que Dieu m'a donné par dessus toutes les autres Reynes" (the advantage that God has given me above all other Queens).[62] Although De Médicis had, in fact, been honored with ceremonial entries in Bergen (July 31, 1631) and Antwerp (September 4, 1631), among other cities, in the first year of her progress abroad, she was forced to leave the Spanish Netherlands after seven years. Philip IV of Spain, husband to De Médicis's daughter Élisabeth, feared that the progress of his mother-in-law would further deteriorate his diplomatic relations with Louis XIII, with whom he had been at war since May 1635.[63] Unable to reverse Philip's decision, given her financially precarious position as an exiled royal woman, De Médicis used her *Apologie* to complain publicly about how she had received from the Habsburg government "aucune consolation ny divertissement" (neither consolation nor [theatrical and generally festive] entertainment).[64] Philip's apparent failure to treat the Queen Mother to a sufficient amount of pageantry had left her, in turn, "dans une solitude forcée et bien esloignée de la douce conversation que je m'etois promise en ce pais" (in a state of solitude and far removed from the sweet conversation I had promised myself in this country).[65] The pamphlet thus enabled De Médicis to criticize the foreign policy of the Habsburg crown and its ceremonial reception of her person, while indirectly announcing her tour of, as well as the reasons for entering, the Dutch Republic to Netherlandish audiences.

In her second pamphlet, entitled *Declaration de la Reyne Mère du Roy Très-Chrestien, Contenant les raisons de sa sortie des Pais-bas, & Le desaveu d'un Manifeste qui cour soubs son Nom, sur le mesme Subject* (Statement of the Queen Mother of the Most-Christian King, containing the motives for her departure from the Netherlands, and the renouncement of a manifest that circulates under her name, on the same subject; London: George Thomason, 1638), De Médicis evaluated the pageantry that had been awarded to her by the Dutch Stadtholder, Frederick Henry

(1584–1647), in exclusively positive terms. She clarified up front that the Stadtholder's "hospitalité" (hospitality), by which she referred to the theatrical entertainments that had been staged in her honor across the Dutch province of Holland, should be understood as a genuine token of transnational friendship and not as a "pretexte" for malicious diplomatic scheming.[66] De Médicis claimed that Frederick Henry had received her "si humainement" (so humanely), not as a representative or opponent of the Habsburg crown, but as an "amye & confederée de France" (friend and confederate of France).[67] Despite the fact that she had previously stayed in the Spanish Netherlands and received a pension from Philip IV, the Queen Mother emphasized that she had "tousiours esté neutres pour ce qui a regardé les affaires publicques entre la France et l'Espagne" (always been neutral with regard to the public affairs between France and Spain).[68]

The pamphlet chiefly addressed French-speaking audiences in England whom De Médicis sought to convince of her good intentions, given the Queen Mother's intention to continue her progress in that kingdom. Among such audiences would have been ambassadors and political kingpins, notably Huguenot migrants, associated with the Stuart court. The reception of De Médicis's *Declaration* was, in fact, itself part of a diplomatic ceremony at the English court. The final lines of the pamphlet following the Queen Mother's signature stated that the original—that is, the handwritten French—statement was read out loud at St James's Palace in London ("leue publicquement" [read in public]) in the presence of King Charles I of England (1600–1649), after which De Médicis signed the text "de sa main" (in her hand). The handwritten original was kept by Luca Fabroni, Count of Domart (d. 1648), De Médicis's confidant and principal advisor on her progress from the continent to England.[69] The Queen Mother was keen to further increase the domestic and international impact of her public diplomacy, for the *Declaration* appeared in both Dutch and English translations the following year.[70] These translations probably appealed to Netherlandish and English populations that did not necessarily belong to the traditional ruling elite of either country but wished to keep informed about topical diplomatic events and the public opinion surrounding those.

De Médicis's references to pageantry in both pamphlets ultimately served to strengthen her claim to royal status as Queen Mother of France and to prepare a victorious return to her home country in order to reunite with Louis XIII, not unlike Coriolanus or Epaminondas in the *Remerciement* (figure 3). Whereas she believed that Philip IV's insufficient

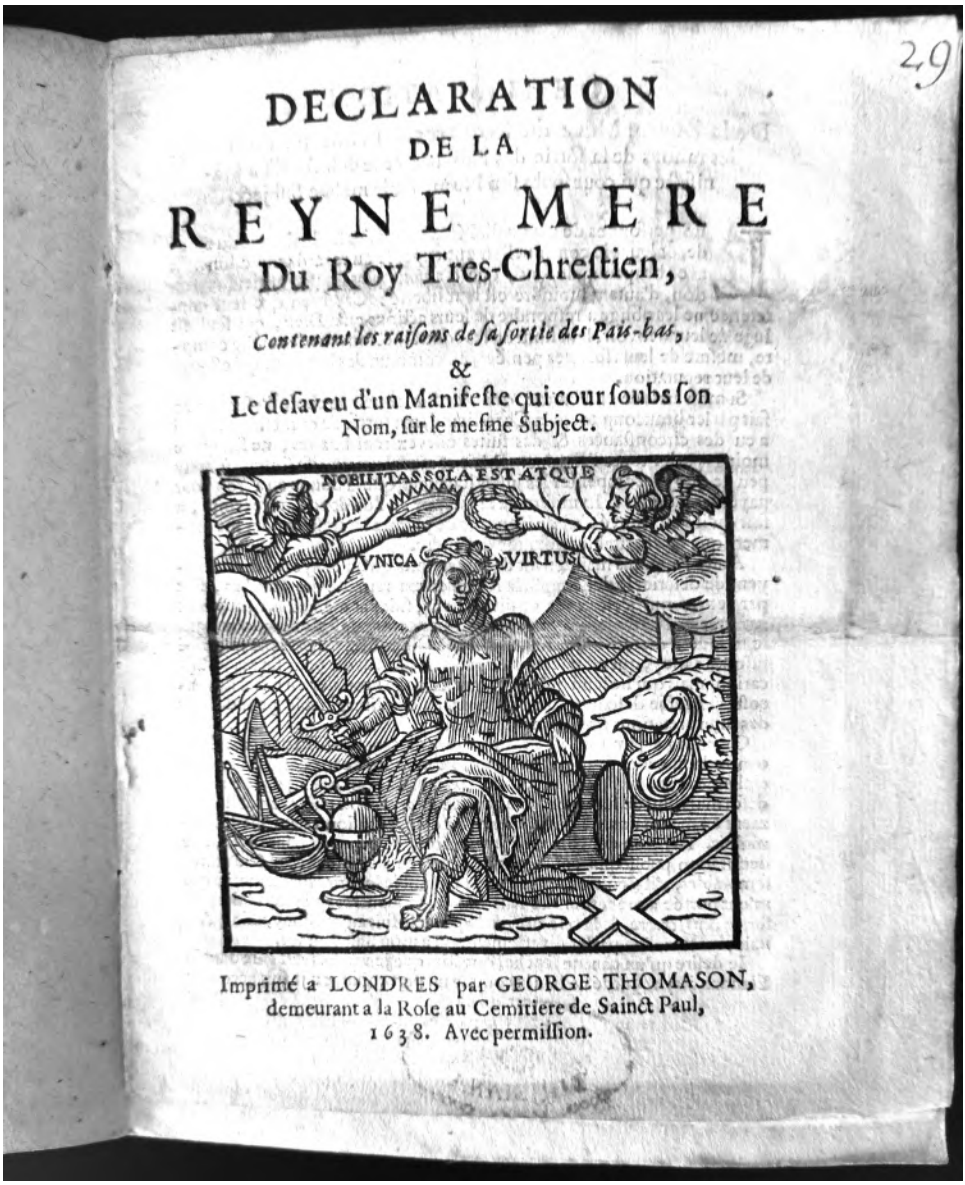

Figure 3. Title page of Marie de Médicis's *Declaration de la Reyne Mère du Roy Très-Chrestien, Contenant les raisons de sa sortie des Pais-bas, & Le desaveu d'un Manifeste qui cour soubs son Nom, sur le mesme Subject* (London: George Thomason, 1638), Leiden University Library, Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 4164, USTC 1030931. The pamphlet's vignette features the motto "nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus" (nobility is the one and only virtue), which is derived from Juvenal, *Satires*, 8.20. Although the vignette was reused by various publishers in early seventeenth-century England and the Low Countries, the sword, orb, and cross, combined with the laurel and closed crown, which are offered to Justitia by the descending angels, may have emphasized De Médicis's claim to royal status as Queen Mother of France. (Photograph by author)

command of pageantry had not given due credit to her royal status, Frederick Henry's welcome had clearly hit the mark, and De Médicis of course hoped that her English hosts were able and willing to match the Stadtholder's example.[71] In the two pamphlets, De Médicis claimed that her self-enforced voyage to the Spanish Netherlands, the Dutch Republic, and England was part of her overarching diplomatic endeavor to protect her son, Louis XIII, against the power-hungry machinations of Richelieu. To allow readers to empathize with this endeavor and avoid the impression that she was merely interested in reassuming power at the French court, De Médicis stressed that she had continuously strived to pacify, rather than alienate, her son from her affections. "Ie veux bien aufly [*sic*: aussi] qu'on scache" (I would also like it to be known), she wrote, "qu'en tout le temps que j'ay sejourné dans les Pais-bas [. . .] mes principaus soings & mes meilleurs souhaits, ont tousiours eu pour object ma reconciliation avec le Roy, Monsieur mon filz" (that during my entire sojourn in the Low Countries [. . .] the object of my principal care and best wishes has always been my reconciliation with the King, *Monsieur* my son).[72] The *Apologie* and *Declaration*, then, offered De Médicis the tools to control the public opinion surrounding her progress as an exiled Queen Mother and to broadcast her public diplomacy to a wide European readership of diplomats, intelligencers, political leaders, and interested citizens on both sides of the Channel.

Conclusion

Whether commissioned, dictated, or written by working diplomats, rebellious nobles, royalist *avocats*, exiled queen mothers, or anonymous pamphleteers, *libelles* could serve as powerful tools for public diplomacy across national borders. Through pamphlets, which were distributed across France and wider portions of Europe on a large scale, diplomatic debates on transnational marriages, alliances, conflicts, and royal progresses became part of a transnational public discourse that could extend beyond the traditional court elite. This was despite the fact that it was mostly elite people who would have been able to read and afford the pamphlets. They, too, were often directly addressed in the pamphlets themselves, either because their support was requested for the successful implementation of a cross-national marriage, as in the case of the Habsburg-Bourbon double union, or because the pamphleteer

depended on their good graces and even financial compensation, as was the case for the exiled De Médicis.

Therefore, the pamphlets under discussion in this contribution did not always directly engage in diplomatic debate. Generally speaking, debating a matter of diplomatic interest presupposes that one introduces certain statements on the matter and makes explicit statements that are contrary to one's position in the debate, in order to refute them accordingly. The authors of our seventeenth-century pamphlets, however, frequently brushed over contentious issues if this helped to defend their diplomatic position, while using exaggeration, pathos, and prejudice to win over readers for their cause. The allegedly seditious and unreasonable character of *libelles diffamatoires* was precisely what bothered Antoine Arnauld, the jurist-author of *Les Terreurs panniques*. This article has sought to bring attention to the important role that pageantry fulfilled in successfully drumming up support for one's public diplomatic program among a transnational audience of diplomats, political leaders, and news gatherers.

References to theatrical entertainments and ceremonial rituals, whether real or imagined, enabled pamphleteers to persuade their readership to either back or oppose a particular diplomatic event, decision, or policy. The festivities referenced in the pamphlets for the Franco-Spanish marital alliance, for instance, could signal to readers the blissful future that the union would hold in store for them, couched in idealized allusions to a supposedly shared ancient Greek and Roman past, while also serving as a trigger warning for the vile and decadent hopes of its diplomatic engineers. For De Médicis, evaluations of the pageantry which had been staged in her honor throughout the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic allowed her to reclaim some of the royal power and diplomatic agency that she possessed as Queen Regent to Louis XIII before his majority in October 1615. References to the solemn entries that had been organized for her in the Republic served as reminders to readers—and particularly to other European rulers who may have considered hosting her in the future—of her royal descent. Just like the triumphal processions of ancient Greek and Roman rulers, those entries solidified one's sovereignty, or so De Médicis hoped. Pamphleteers thus strived to prolong the short-lived nature of theatrical and ritual spectacle across national borders by reconsidering, reframing, and reusing the original themes and messages for their own public diplomatic program.

Notes

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1. Mark Netzloff, "Public Diplomacy and the Comedy of State: Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*," in *Authority and Diplomacy from Dante and Shakespeare*, ed. Jason Powell and William T. Rossiter (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 185–97 (185); Helmer Helmers, "Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Towards a New History of News," *Media History* 22, nos. 3–4 (2016): 401–20 (401); Bram van Leuveren, "Perceptions of Privacy in Diplomatic Correspondence: Dutch and English Ambassadors at the Early Modern French Court," in *Privacy in Early Modern Correspondence*, ed. Michäel Green and Lars Cyril Nørgaard (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).
2. Helmers, "Public Diplomacy"; William T. Rossiter, "'Lingua Eius Loquetur Mendacium': Pietro Arentino and the Margins of Reformation Diplomacy," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 82, no. 4 (2020): 519–37. Mark Netzloff mentions "public diplomacy" but does not elaborate on the topic. Netzloff, "Public Diplomacy," 18.
3. Ellen R. Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy: International Relations and the Performing Arts in Early Modern France*, Haney Foundation Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017); *Cultural and Public Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century Europe*, ed. Klaas Van Gelder and Nina Lamal, special issue, *The Seventeenth Century* 36, no. 3 (2021); Clemens Peck, "'Kriegs Ab= und Friedens Einzug': Zur diplomatischen Performativität der Friedensspiele am Nürnberger Exekutionstag," in *Warum Friedenschließen so schwer ist: Frühneuzeitliche Friedensfindung am Beispiel des Westfälischen Friedenskongresses*, ed. Dorothée Goetze and Lena Oetzel, Schriftenreihe zur Neueren Geschichte 39; Neue Folge 2 (Munich: Aschendorff, 2019), 273–90; Bram van Leuveren, "Crossing Borders: Comparative and Transnational Approaches to Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe," *Arti dello Spettacolo / Performing Arts* 6, no. 24 (2020): 24–35 (30); Bram van Leuveren, *Early Modern Diplomacy and French Festival Culture in a European Context, 1572–1614* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, forthcoming).
4. The literature on public opinion in early modern Europe is vast, but see Hélène Duccini, *Faire voir, faire croire: L'Opinion publique sous Louis XIII*, Époques (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2003); Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Johannes Arndt and Esther-Beate Körber, eds., *Das Mediensystem im Alten Reich der Frühen Neuzeit (1600–1750)*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts fùr Europäische Geschichte Mainz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010); Jan Bloemendal, Arjan van Dixhoorn, and Elsa Strietman, eds., *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Low Countries, 1450–1650*, Brill's Studies in

Intellectual History 197 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011); Jan Bloemendal, Peter Eversmann, and Elsa Strietman, eds., *Drama, Performance and Debate: Theatre and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Period*, Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013).

5. Pamela H. Smith et al., "The Matter of Ephemeral Art: Craft, Spectacle, and Power in Early Modern Europe," *Renaissance Quarterly* 73 (2020), 78–131, offers an excellent introduction to the topic and understands early modern pageantry as an ephemeral art that has often been overlooked by historians of the visual arts.
6. Van Leuveren, "Crossing Borders," 30. For exceptions, see Duccini, *Faire voir*, 117–29; De Vivo, *Information and Communication*, 230–32; Rosanne M. Baars, *Rumours of Revolt: Civil War and the Emergence of a Transnational News Culture in France and the Netherlands, 1561–1598*, Library of the Written Word 88, The Handpress World 69 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021), 46–47, 159–61. More substantial research has been done on lavishly produced books that commemorated a particular festival or ceremonial entry, whether at court or in the streets. See, for example, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form," in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. Ronnie Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, and Margaret Shewring, Modern Humanities Research Association 15, 2 vols. (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 1:3–17, and other contributions to the aforementioned volumes; Thomas Rahn, *Festbeschreibung: Funktion und Topik einer Textsorte am Beispiel höfischer Hochzeiten in Deutschland (1568–1794)*, Frühe Neuzeit 108 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006); Benoît Bolduc, *La Fête imprimée: Spectacles et cérémonies politiques (1549–1662)*, Lire le XVIIe siècle 39, Théâtre 5 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2016).
7. Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, Wissenschaft 891 (Frankfurt am Main, 1962; repr. 2019), 60–66, esp. 63–65. All translations in this article are my own.
8. Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, 60–61.
9. Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), chap. "The Idea of the French Monarchy," 121–26.
10. Yates, *Astraea*, 133. See also Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 15 (London: Warburg Institute, 1947), 60–62, 236–74; Yates, *The Valois Tapestries* (London: Warburg Institute, 1959; repr. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 51–72, 82–87.
11. Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450–1650* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1973; repr. 1984), 65.
12. Nanie Bridgman, "L'Aristocratie française et le ballet de cour," *Cahiers de l'Association internationale des études françaises* 9 (1957): 9–21; Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Marie-Hélène Grintchenko, *Catherine de Bourbon (1559–1604): Influence politique, religieuse et culturelle d'une princesse calviniste*, Vie des huguenots 50 (Paris: Champion, 2009), 813–55; Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy*; Melinda J. Gough, *Dancing Queen: Marie de Médicis' Ballets at the Court of Henri IV* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019); Van Leuveren, *Early Modern Diplomacy*. Ellen R. Welch argues that organizers of court ballets in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-

century France used "equivocation" to cater toward the diplomatic agendas of different audiences. Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy*, 13.

13. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, for one, has shown that Anne of Denmark (1574–1619) advanced pro-Spanish policies as Queen of England and Ireland through her patronage of court masques, which led John Finet, the English Master of Ceremonies, to complain that "the King of England was not master in his own house" (dispatch of October 23, 1612, to William Trumbull). Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England*, quotation on page 21. More recently, Melinda J. Gough has examined Marie de Médicis's use of the multimedia court ballet as a tool for promoting her political authority, prior to Henri IV's death in May 1610. Gough, *Dancing Queen*.
14. Minou Schraven, "The Representation of Court Ceremonies in Print: The Development and Distribution of the Funeral Book in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Joop W. Koopmans, Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 13 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 47–61; De Vivo, *Information and Communication*, 174–76, 230–32; Helmers, "Public Diplomacy," 402; Baars, *Rumours of Revolt*, 46–47. However, the newsworthy aspects of text-based drama and songs in early modern Europe have received more attention: Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. 40–101; Bloemendal, Van Dixhoorn, and Strietman, *Literary Cultures*; Bloemendal, Eversmann, and Strietman, *Drama, Performance and Debate*; Helmer Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Amelie Roper, "German Music Broadsheets, 1500 to 1550: Production, Persuasion and Performance," in *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, Library of the Written Word 60, The Handwritten World 45 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 401–41; Baars, *Rumours of Revolt*.
15. For criticism of Habermas's historical bias in scholarship on early modern news and public opinion, see Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Jeremy D. Popkin, "New Perspectives on the Early Modern European Press," in Koopmans, *News and Politics*, 1–27 (4–6); Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, "Introduction," in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions: History, Culture, Religion, Ideas 121 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 1–9 (1–2); Jan Bloemendal and Arjan van Dixhoorn, "Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Low Countries," in Bloemendal, Van Dixhoorn, and Strietman, *Literary Cultures*, 1–35 (3, 11–23); Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, 22–23, among others.
16. Margriet Hoogvliet, "Introduction," in *Multi-Media Compositions from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Margriet Hoogvliet, Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 9 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), ix–xiii; Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque*, 1–11, esp. 8; Smith et al., *The Matter of Ephemeral Art*, 82; Van Leuveren, "Crossing Borders," 28; Van Leuveren, *Early Modern Diplomacy*, introduction.
17. Jean-Pierre Seguin, *L'Information en France avant le périodique: 517 Canards imprimés entre 1529 et 1631* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1965), 11–20; Hélène Duccini, "Regard sur la littérature pamphlétaire en France au XVIIe siècle," *Revue historique* 260, no. 2 (1978): 313–39 (313–14); Hubert Car-

rier, "Conclusion. Pour une Définition du pamphlet: Constantes du genre et caractéristiques originales des textes polémiques du XVIe siècle," in *Le Pamphlet en France au XVIe siècle*, ed. Robert Aulotte, special issue, *Cahiers V. L. Saulnier* 1, no. 25 (1983): 123–36; Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 18; Duccini, *Faire voir*, 9–69; Sharon Kettering, "Political Pamphlets in Early Seventeenth-Century France: The Propaganda War between Louis XIII and His Mother, 1619–20," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 42, no. 4 (2011), 963–80 (966–67); Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 9, 73–75; Joad Raymond, "Les Libelles internationaux à la période moderne: Étude préliminaire," *Études Épistémè* 26 (2014), pars. 1–4, https://journals.openedition.org/episteme/297 (accessed March 13, 2022). Jan Bloemendal and Arjan van Dixhoorn have written on the difficulty of distinguishing between pamphlets and—what they consider as—other forms of early modern printed material, such as *bruit* (rumor), chronicles, dramatic texts, ballads, or didactic poems. See Bloemendal and Van Dixhoorn, "Literary Cultures," 8–9. For the purposes of this article, I consider all of the aforementioned texts as different types of pamphlets.

18. Duccini, "Regard," 313; Carrier, "Conclusion," 127–28; Sawyer, *Printed Poison*, 17–18; Duccini, *Faire voir*, 19.
19. André Stegmann, "La Fête parisienne à la Place Royale en avril 1612," in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Jacquot and Elie Koningson, Le Chœur des muses, 3 vols. (Paris: Éditions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1956–1975), 3:373–92 (379–84); Duccini, *Faire voir*, 122–29; Marie Baudière, "The Carrousel of 1612 and the Festival Book," in *Dynastic Marriages 1612/1615: A Celebration of the Habsburg and Bourbon Unions*, ed. Margaret M. McGowan, European Festival Studies 1450–1700 (London and New York: Routledge, 2013; paperback 2016), 83–93; Bolduc, *La Fête imprimée*, 135–90.
20. Sara Mamone, *Firenze e Parigi: Due capitali dello spettacolo per una regina, Maria de' Medici* (Milan: Amilcare Pizzi, 1987); McGowan, *Dynastic Marriages*; Maxime Cormier, *Marie de Médicis vue par les observateurs italiens (1597–1624)*, unpublished MA thesis, Université Rennes 2, 2012, 44–94; Bolduc, *La Fête imprimée*, 135–90; Van Leuveren, *Early Modern Diplomacy*, chap. 5.
21. Van Leuveren, "Crossing Borders," 30. Compare De Vivo, *Information and Communication*, 175, who argues that "ritual also coupled with other [i.e., printed] media, prolonging and widening the effects of the ritual message."
22. Newport J. D. White, *A Catalogue of Books in the French Language, Printed in or before A. D. 1715, Remaining in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, with an Appendix Relating to the Cashel Diocesan Library* (Dublin: Ponsonby and Gibbs, 1918); Muriel McCarthy, *All Graduates & Gentlemen: Marsh's Library* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 1980), 38–39. See also the online catalog of Marsh's Library (https://www.marshlibrary.ie/catalogue). Edward Stillingfleet's collection contains "almost 10,000 books" and was purchased by Archbishop Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713) for £2,500 in 1705. Muriel McCarthy calls the collection "the most important in the whole Library." McCarthy, *All Graduates & Gentlemen*, 38.
23. See note 20 above.
24. Van Leuveren, "Crossing Borders," 30–31. Compare Melinda J. Gough, "Marie de Medici's 1605 *ballet de la reine*: New Evidence and Analysis," *Early*

Theatre 15, no. 1 (2012): 109–44 (117). Gough argues that the seventeenth-century manuscript collection of the famous antiquarian Nicolas-Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), which includes printed sources on court ballets, as well as a range of other political and ceremonial affairs, demonstrates that contemporaries recognized spectacle as "inherently bound up with local and international politics, including questions of rule within kingdoms and diplomatic relations with other courts." Gough, "Marie de Medici's 1605 *ballet de la reine*," 117.

25. In Marsh's Library, Dublin, at K2.6.33, see, for example, the grievances that the nominal head of the high nobility addressed to the regency government: [Henri de Bourbon, Prince of Condé], *Lettre de Monseigneur le Prince a la Royne* ([s.n.]: [s.l.]), USTC 6010888, or the peace agreement promulgated by the Estates General on August 25, 1615: Anne de Lévis, Duke of Ventadour, et al., *Articles accordez par le sieur Duc de Vantadour Pair de France, & Lieutenant General pour le Roy au Gouvernement de Languedoc, & les sieurs de Thou, Janin, de Boißise, & de Bullion, tous Conseillers au Conseil d'Estat, & Commissaires deputez par sa Majesté vertu du pouvoir ci après transcrit du 5.may dernier à Monseigneur le Prince de Condé premier Princes, Officiers de la Couronne & Seigneurs qui l'ont aßisté, soient presens ou absens* ([s.l.] :[s.n.], 1614), USTC 6018130. Note that seventeenth-century spelling conventions in this article have been modernized wherever this causes confusion, and that USTC numbers of pamphlets refer to entries in the online Universal Short Title Catalogue of the University of St. Andrews (https://www.ustc.ac.uk).
26. Claire Price, "The Turkish 'Capitulations,'" *Current History* 16, no. 3 (1922): 464–66; Ania Loomba, "'Delicious Traffick': Alterity and Exchange on Early Modern Stages," *Shakespeare Survey* 52 (1999): 201–14 (see especially 206, note 24); Youssef El Alaoui, "The Moriscos in France after the Expulsion: Notes for the History of a Minority," in *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World 56 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 239–68.
27. In Marsh's Library, at K2.6.33, see, for instance, S. D. S. A., *Discours sur ce qui s'est passé à l'arrivee de Monsieur le Duc de Pastrane Ambassadeur d'Espagne. Ensemble une resjouissance sur le bonheur des Alliances de France & d'Espagne, avec l'explication d'une Prophetie de Nostra-Damus sur le mesme suject* (Paris: Pierre Bertault, 1612), USTC 6010451.
28. Marie de Médicis, *Apologie de la Reyne contenant les causes de sa retraite de Flandre* (The Hague: Antoine Tongerloo, 1638), Leiden University Library, Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 4165, USTC 1032635; Marie de Médicis, *Declaration de la Reyne Mère du Roy Très-Chrestien, Contenant les raisons de sa sortie des Pais-bas, & Le desaveu d'un Manifeste qui cour soubs son Nom, sur le mesme Subject* (London: George Thomason, 1638), Leiden University Library, Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 4164, USTC 1030931.
29. De Médicis's entry into Amsterdam (August 31–September 5, 1638) has received the most scholarly attention so far: Dirk Snoep, *Praal en propaganda: Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1975), 39–64; Jan van Asch, *Blyde pracktyke: Blijde intocht van Maria de Medici in Amsterdam, 31 augustus–5 september 1638*, unpublished BA dissertation, Utrecht University, 2010; Megan C. Blocksom, "Procession, Pride and Politics in the *Medicea hospes* (1638): A Dutch Festival Book for a French Queen," *Dutch Crossing* 42, no. 1 (2018), 3–27; Suzanne Decemvirale, *Public Displays of Affection: Negotiating Power*

and Identity in Ceremonial Receptions in Amsterdam, 1580–1660, unpublished PhD thesis, UC Santa Barbara, 2018, 77–132; Léonie Marquaille, "'Des Réceptions royalles' pour une reine en exil: Ambitions artistiques et enjeux diplomatiques lors de l'entrée de Marie de Médicis à Amsterdam," *Dix-septième siècle* 2, no. 291 (2021): 167–83. My Marie Skłodowska-Curie research project aims to study the Queen Mother's entire progress by also taking into account her entries into various other Netherlandish towns, such as Delft, Leiden, and Dordrecht. For De Médicis's stay in the Spanish Netherlands and England, shortly before and after her Dutch itinerary, see Toby Osborne, "A Queen Mother in Exile: Marie de Médicis in the Spanish Netherlands and England, 1631–41," in *Monarchy and Exile: The Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Médicis to Wilhelm II*, ed. Philip Mansel and Torsten Riotte (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 17–43.

30. Arthur E. Imhof, *Der Friede von Vervins 1598* (Aurau: Keller Verlag, 1966); *La Paix de Vervins, 1598*, ed. Claudine Vidal and Frédérique Pilleboue ([Laon]: Fédération des Sociétés d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de l'Aisne, 1998); Jean-François Labourdette, Jean-Pierre Poussou, and Marie-Catherine Vignal, eds., *Le Traité de Vervins*, Collection du Centre Roland Mousnier (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000).
31. Duccini, *Faire voir*, 448–63; Jean-François Dubost, *Marie de Médicis: La Reine dévoilée*, Biographie Payot (Paris: Payot & Rivages, 2009), 767–850; Osborne, "A Queen Mother in Exile," 17.
32. For the French edition, included in the Sammelband at K2.6.33 in Marsh's Library, see S. D. S. A., *Discours*, USTC 6010451. For the Spanish version of the latter pamphlet, see *Entrada que hizo en Paris el Principe de Merito, Duque de Pastrana, y Francavila, Embaxador extraordinario de la Magestad Catolica de Filipo III, para el efeto, y conciertos de los felicissimos casamientos. Y de su gran recibimiento, a los treze de Agosto deste Año de 1612* (Madrid: Alonso Martín de Balboa, 1612), USTC 5013632.
33. François-Tommy Perrens, *Les Mariages espagnols sous le règne de Henri IV et la régence de Marie de Médicis (1602–1615)*, Études sur le règne de Henri IV et la régence de Marie de Médicis (Paris: Didier et cie, 1869), 418–23; Nicolas Le Roux, "A Time of Frenzy: Dreams of Union and Aristocratic Turmoil (1610–1615)," in McGowan, *Dynastic Marriages*, 19–38 (27); Alain Hugon, *Au service du Roi Catholique: "Honorables ambassadeurs" et "divins espions": Représentation diplomatique et service secret dans les relations hispano-françaises de 1598 à 1635*, Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2004), 115, 125–26, 137; Van Leuveren, *Early Modern Diplomacy*, chap. 5. For the grand ball staged in Pastrana's honor on August 26, 1612, which followed upon the ceremonial entry of the ambassador into Paris and was organized by Princess Marguerite de Valois (1553–1615), daughter of the late Catherine de Médicis and first spouse of the deceased Henri IV, see Margaret M. McGowan, "Marguerite de Valois, Reine de Navarre (1553–1615): Patroness and Performer," *Early Music History* 34 (2015): 191–206 (192–93).
34. For historical context and related examples, see De Vivo, *Information and Communication*, 232–48; Pettegree, *The Invention of News*, 97, 99; Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, 43–47; Helmers, "Public Diplomacy," 412; Baars, *Rumours of Revolt*.
35. Duccini, *Faire voir*, 49–54; Sawyer, *Printed Poison*, 18, 26, 89.
36. Duccini, *Faire voir*, 49–50; Sawyer, *Printed Poison*, 53–54; Kettering, "Political Pamphlets," 972.

37. Marsh's Library, K2.6.33: [Antoine Arnauld], *Les Terreurs panniques de ceux qui pensent que l'alliance d'Espagne doive mettre la guerre en France* (Paris: Nicolas Alexandre, 1615), USTC 6001474; [Prince of Condé], *Lettre de Monseigneur le Prince*, USTC 6010888; Prince of Condé, *Les articles presentez au Roy par Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, pour la Paix. Avec les Desputez de l'Assemblee de Nimes joints avec lui, Ensemble la Response faite par sa Majesté sur lesdites Articles* (Paris: Jean Millot, 1616), USTC 6009320; Marie de Médicis, *Double de la response de la Royne Regente, mere du Roy, A la lettre escritte à sa Majesté, par Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, le 19. de Fevrier 1614* (Paris: Jean de Bordeaulx and Jean Millot, 1614), USTC 6011721. The other identifiable authors are César de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme (1594–1665), the illegitimate child of the late Henri IV and his mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées (1573–1599); *conseillers d'État* (counselors of state) Anne de Lévis, Duke of Ventadour (1605–1662), and his colleagues; Charles de Lorraine, Duke of Guise (1571–1640), a staunch supporter of the regency government; Louis XIII; Jean Sirmond (1589–1649), a political theorist; and Mathurine de Vallois (ca. 1589–ca. 1627), a female jester at De Médicis's court.

    For their pamphlets, see Marsh's Library, K2.6.33: Monsieur de Vandosme [César de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme], *Coppie de la letter escrite a sa majeste, par Monsieur de Vandosme* ([s.l.]: [s.n.], 1614), rev. ed. of USTC 6011291 and similar editions; Lévis, Duke of Ventadour, et al., *Articles*, USTC 6018130; Duc de Guise [Charles de Lorraine, Duke of Guise], *Harangue faicte a la Royne, par Monseigneur le duc de Guise a son arrivee en Espagne. Sur le sacré mariage de leurs Majestez* (Paris: Jean Bourriquant, 1615), USTC 6009053; Louis XIII, *Declaration du Roy, sur la prise des armes par aucuns de ses sujets de la Religion pretendue reformee: Portant nouvelle confirmation des Edicts & Declaration ci devant faictes en faveur de ceux de ladite Religion. Avec l'Arrest de la Cour de Parlement* (Paris: Fédéric Morel and Pierre Mettayer, 1615), USTC 6012265; Mathurine [de Vallois], *La cholere de Mathurine, contre les difformes Reformateurs de la France* (Paris: Jean Milot, 1615), USTC 6800352; [Jean Sirmond], *La pitarchie françoise: ou response aux vaines plainctes des mal contens* [Paris: Jean de Latran, 1615], USTC 6013410.
38. Sawyer, *Printed Poison*, 53. Condé's status as first *prince du sang* would allow him to succeed to the French throne if Louis XIII and his brother, Gaston, Duke of Orléans (1608–1660), died without viable offspring. For more on the opposition of Condé and his adversaries to De Médicis's regency, see James Michael Hayden, *France and the Estates General of 1614*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 54–73; Katia Béguin, *Les Princes de Condé: Rebelles, courtisans et mécènes dans la France du grand siècle*, Epoques (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1999), 23, 26–27; Caroline Bitsch, *Vie et carrière d'Henri II de Bourbon, prince de Condé, 1588–1646: Exemple de comportement et d'idées politiques au début du XVIIe siècle*, Bibliothèque d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 27 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008), 119–68; Dubost, *Marie de Médicis*, 430–49.
39. *Remerciement à la Royne Regente Mère du Roy. Et à messieurs les Princes & Seigneurs, qui l'ont assistee. Par les bons François, pour la bien-venuë de la Paix* (Paris: Anthoine du Brueil, 1614), Marsh's Library, K2.6.33, USTC 6001650.
40. *Remerciement*, 4–5.
41. *Remerciement*, 5.
42. Hayden, *France*, 54–113; Duccini, *Faire voir*, 142; Dubost, *Marie de Médicis*, 431; Le Roux, "A Time of Frenzy," 29.
43. Hayden, *France*, 54–113; Le Roux, "A Time of Frenzy," 29.

44. Hayden, *France*, 54–113; Duccini, *Faire voir*, 142–50; Dubost, *Marie de Médicis*, 431–43; Le Roux, "A Time of Frenzy," 29–33.
45. *Remerciement*, 6. On the relationship between Charles de Lorraine and the Guise family with the regency government, see Hugon, *Au service*, 325, 328–31.
46. *Remerciement*, 6.
47. Harry Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), esp. 112–38; Margaret M. McGowan, *Ideal Forms in the Age of Ronsard*, Una's Lectures (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 66; Elinor Myara Kelif, *L'Imaginaire de l'âge d'or à la Renaissance*, Études Renaissantes ([Turnhout]: Brepols, 2017), esp. 285–307, 436–43.
48. For late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century ideas on the alleged irenic effects of theatrical entertainments, as these circulated in especially France and on the Italian peninsula, see Daniel P. Walker, "The Aims of Baïf's *Académie de Poésie et de Musique*," *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1, no. 2 (1946): 91–100; Yates, *The French Academies*, 14–27, 36–37; Günter Berghaus, "Neoplatonic and Pythagorean Notions of World Harmony and Unity and Their Influence on Renaissance Dance Theory," *Dance Research* 10, no. 2 (1992): 43–70.
49. *Les Souspirs du bon François. Sur les miseres de ce temps* (Paris: Pierre Buray, 1615), Marsh's Library, K2.6.33, USTC 6013655.
50. *Les Souspirs*, 4.
51. James Michael Hayden, "Continuity in the France of Henry IV and Louis XIII: French Foreign Policy, 1598–1615," *Journal of Modern History* 45, no. 1 (1973), 1–23.
52. *Les Souspirs*, 4. On early modern ambassadors as imagined agents of peace, see Jean Jules Jusserand, "The School for Ambassadors," *American Historical Review* 27, no. 3 (1922): 426–64; Betty Behrens, "Treatises on the Ambassador Written in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," *English Historical Review*, 1936, 616–27; Joycelyne G. Russell, *Peacemaking in the Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1986), 3–20; Dante Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne*, 2 vols. unpublished doctoral thesis, École Normale Supérieure de Lyon/Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, 2014, 1, "*L'Ambassadeur au croisement du droit, de l'ethique et de la politique*"; Van Leuveren, *Early Modern Diplomacy*, chap. 1.
53. *Les Terreurs panniques de ceux qui pensent que l'alliance d'Espagne doive mettre la guerre en France* (Paris: Nicolas Alexandre, 1615), Marsh's Library, K2.6.33, USTC 6001474. On the progress and festivities in Bordeaux, see Marie-Claude Canova-Green, "Ambivalent Fictions: The Bordeaux Celebrations of the Wedding of Louis XIII and Anne d'Autriche," in McGowan, *Dynastic Marriages*, 179–99.
54. Arnauld, *Les Terreurs panniques*, 3.
55. John H. Elliott, "The Political Context of the 1612–1615 Franco-Spanish Treaty," in McGowan, *Dynastic Marriages*, 5–18 (14–16); Le Roux, "A Time of Frenzy," 35–36; Canova-Green, "Ambivalent Fictions," 179.
56. Arnauld, *Les Terreurs panniques*, "Au lecteur."
57. Arnauld, *Les Terreurs panniques*, 4, 6.
58. Arnauld, *Les Terreurs panniques*, 8.
59. Arnauld, *Les Terreurs panniques*, 15.
60. See note 28 above.
61. See note 31 above.
62. De Médicis, *Apologie*, [A2v].

63. Dubost, *Marie de Médicis*, 805–8.
64. De Médicis, *Apologie*, [A2v].
65. De Médicis, *Apologie*, [A2v].
66. De Médicis, *Declaration*, A3r.
67. De Médicis, *Declaration*, A3r.
68. De Médicis, *Declaration*, A3r.
69. De Médicis, *Declaration*, [A4v].
70. Marie de Médicis, *Verklaeringe der Koninginne Moeder des Aller Christelicksten Konings, Inhoudende de oorsaken haeres uittochts uit Nederlandt, ende Eene Ontkenninge van seker Manifest, 't welck loopt onder haer naem op 't selve subject. Overgeset uit den Francçoischen in onse Nederduytsche Tale* (Amsterdam: Joost Broerszoon, 1639), USTC 1031205; Marie de Médicis, *Declaration of the Queene, Mother of the most Christian King. Containing the reasons of her departure out of the Low-Countreys; And disadvowing a Manifest, set out in her Name upon the same Argument* (London: John Raworth for Joshua Kirton and Thomas Warren, 1639), USTC 3020581.
71. In the expanded version of *Declaration*, published the following year, the Queen Mother stressed the point that Frederick Henry had received her "non seullement comme une Princesse de ma condition qui demandoit passage" (not only as a Princess of my stature who requests passage), but also as "un Roy triumphant, qui les fut allé visiter" (a triumphant King who had gone to visit [these lands]). De Médicis, *Declaration*.
72. De Médicis, *Declaration*, [A3v]–[A4r].

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