

**PIOUS SOCIABILITY AND THE SPIRITUAL ELITE
IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE c.1650 – 1680**

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ABSTRACT

Seventeenth-century female rigorists have received little archival study since the nineteenth century, when they were at once mythologized as beautiful luminaries or ‘*précieuses*’ who monopolized the salons, and reduced to the ‘*Belles Amies*’ of the Jansenist convent of Port-Royal. This study attempts to show that they have been misinterpreted. It shows that by neglecting the correspondence of these women, historians have missed some of the richest descriptions of how female piety evolved after the *dévo*t generation pioneered the Catholic Reformation in France.

This thesis proposes that within the seventeenth-century Parisian rigorist movement there was an aristocratic friendship network comprised of women who socialized and worshipped together. It argues that within this group a socially and spiritually exclusive devotional culture developed, which it terms Pious Sociability. It seeks to show how Pious Sociability was characterized by intimate ‘spiritual friendships’, an aversion towards the licentious culture of an increasingly libertine royal court, and distinctive, anti-Baroque devotional practices. It suggests that the Pious Sociability of rigorist penitents may have informed, and been informed by, their perception of themselves as God’s spiritual elite with an affinity with the early Christian community.

Drawing upon manuscript and printed sources, this study demonstrates the significance of female pious networks to the history of the Catholic Reformation in France. It aims to offer an organic approach to the study of elite female culture, nuancing existing histories of post-Tridentine devotion and plotting the unfolding of feminine sociability beyond the salon.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Ms. Fr	Manuscrits français
Na. Fr	Nouvelles acquisitions français
Ms. Arsenal	Manuscrits Arsenal
Clair	Collection Clairambault
Dupuy	Collection Dupuy
Colbert	Collection Colbert
Vc Col	Cinq Cents Colberts
AN	Archives Nationales de France
MC	Musée Condé, Chantilly
BM	Bibliothèque Mazarine
BIF	Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France
BS MSVC	Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Manuscrits Victor Cousin
ADVO	Archives Départementales du Val d'Oise
ADO	Archives Départementales de l'Oise
ADSM	Archives Départementales de Seine-Maritime
ADEL	Archives Départementales d'Eure et Loir
BSPR	Bibliothèque de la Société de Port-Royal

Note on the Text

All transcriptions of manuscripts are quoted directly from the original texts. I have added punctuation sparingly in the interests of clarity but neither added, nor modernized, diacritics.

I have translated rare and/or ambiguous words in the footnotes. Unless noted otherwise, all transcriptions and translations are my own.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1615 the Catholic Reformation made its belated arrival in France. The Assembly of Clergy officially accepted the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545 – 1563) on the condition of Gallican independence from the Roman See.¹ In the following decades, Catholic spiritual rejuvenation was pioneered by the pious and charitable activities of the *dévo*t generation.² By the middle decades of the seventeenth century, the period which this thesis takes as its point of departure, the *dévo*t movement had begun to wane. The *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* was officially suppressed in 1666 and the charitable impulse within female confraternities such as the *Dames de la Charité* also suffered.³ The *dév*ots were increasingly thought of as an elitist ‘Church within a Church.’⁴ The moral austerity of the *dév*ots was revived however, by the next generation of spiritual elite, who are the subject of this thesis.

¹ Victor Martin, *Le gallicanisme et la réforme catholique: essai sur l'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trent 1563 – 1615* (Genève: Slatkine, 1975), 385; Norman Ravitch, *The Catholic Church and the French Nation 1589 – 1989* (London: Routledge, 1990), 16; Jean Dagens, *Bérulle et les origines de la restauration catholique 1575 – 1611* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1952).

² The historical literature on the *dév*ots is extensive. For some good recent accounts, see: Jean-Pierre Gutton, *Dév*ots et société au XVII^e siècle: construire le ciel sur la terre (Paris: Belin, 2004); Joseph Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France 1580 – 1730* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), especially chapter 15; Barbara Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); and Louis Châtellier, *L'Europe des Dév*ots (Paris: Flammarion, 1987). Gabriella Zarri also discusses ‘devote francesi’ in *Recinti: Donne, clausura e matrimonio nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2000), especially chapter seven, 417 – 52. On *dév*ot charity in this period, see Tim McHugh, *Hospital Politics in Seventeenth-Century France: The Crown, Urban Elites and the Poor* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Daniel Hickey, *Local Hospitals in Ancien Régime France: Rationalization, Resistance and Renewal* (Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997); and Colin Jones, *The Charitable Imperative: Hospitals and Nursing in Ancien Régime and Revolutionary France* (London: Routledge, 1989). On the political *parti dév*ot, see a recent article by Caroline Mailet-Rao: ‘Matthieu de Morgues and Michel de Marillac: The Dévots and Absolutism,’ *French History*, 25, no. 3 (September, 2011): 279 – 97.

³ Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity*, 245; McHugh, *Hospital Politics*, 2.

⁴ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 386 – 87; Alain Tallon, *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement 1629 - 1667: spiritualité et société* (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 1990), 45. On the organization of the *Compagnie*, see Alfred Rébelliau, *La compagnie secrète du Saint-Sacrement: lettres du groupe parisien au groupe marseillais, 1639 - 1662* (Paris: H. Champion, 1908). A good summary is also provided in René

1. Historiography: The Catholic Reformation and Lay Female Piety in France

During the last ten years, historians have begun to investigate the lay, female contribution to the Counter Reformation in late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century Europe.⁵ Barbara Diefendorf, one of the most important proponents of this new historiography, charted the move from penitential spirituality to *dévo*t charity among the Parisian female pious elite and highlighted their part in the early Catholic Reformation in France.⁶ Like Diefendorf, this study shows that female devotional culture was generational and needs to be understood as a response to changing spiritual currents, social and political circumstances. Distinct from Diefendorf's research in scope however, this study also makes an important methodological departure from her work. It moves beyond the reliance upon institutional documentation, such as the records of religious houses and confraternities, and instead proposes that an interrogation of correspondence can help us to better understand the social realities of elite devotion and avoid offering another version of the female spiritual 'triumph' over the

Tavenaux, *Le catholicisme dans la France classique 1610 - 1715* (2 volumes, Paris: Société d'Enseignement Supérieur, 1980), vol. 1, 225 – 33.

⁵ A non-exhaustive list is: Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity*; Barbara Diefendorf, 'Barbe Acarie and her Spiritual Daughters: Women's Spiritual Authority in Seventeenth-Century France,' in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 155 – 71; Barbara Diefendorf, 'Contradictions of the Century of Saints: Aristocratic Patronage and the Convents of Counter-Reformation Paris,' *French Historical Studies*, 24, no. 3 (Summer, 2001): 469 – 99; Barbara Diefendorf, 'An Age of Gold? Parisian Women, the Holy League and the Roots of Catholic Renewal,' in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Michael Wolfe (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 169 – 90; Barbara Diefendorf, 'Give us Back Our Children: Patriarchal Authority and Parental Consent to Religious Vocations in Early Counter-Reformation France,' *The Journal of Modern History*, 68, no. 2 (June, 1996): 265 – 307; Marcel Bernos, *Femmes et gens d'église dans la France classique, XVIIe - XVIIIe siècle*; préface par Jean Delumeau (Paris: Cerf, 2003); Marcel Bernos, 'La catéchisé des filles par les femmes aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles,' in *La religion de ma mère: les femmes et la transmission de la foi*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 1992), 269 – 81; Olwen Hufton, 'Altruism and Reciprocity: The Early Jesuits and their Female Patrons,' *Renaissance Studies*, 15, no. 3 (September, 2001): 328 – 53; Gabriella Zarri, 'From Prophecy to Discipline 1450 – 1650,' in *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), 83 – 112; Susan Dinan, *Women and Poor Relief in Seventeenth-Century France: The Early History of the Daughters of Charity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

⁶ Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity*, 245.

repressive character of the Council of Trent.⁷ By rediscovering the piety of the Parisian female ‘spiritual elite’ who succeeded the *dévots*, this study surveys a generation of pious women who have scarcely been studied by historians of the Catholic Reformation.⁸

The history of early modern Catholicism in Europe is constituted by a large body of scholarship.⁹ French historians have been at the forefront of attempts to recapture the ‘religion of the people’ in this context. The work of scholars such as Lucien Febvre and other *Annalistes* was prophetic in the early history of the post-Reformation Catholic laity.¹⁰ Since the 1950s, the *histoire des mentalités* and socio-historical approaches to religious experiences, spearheaded by Gabriel Le Bras and Jean Delumeau, have been more influential.¹¹ Writing in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council (1962 – 1965), Delumeau, a professed and active Catholic, was consciously affected by concerns about the

⁷ Dinan, *Women and Poor Relief*; Susan Dinan, ‘Spheres of Female Religious Expression in Early Modern France,’ in *Women and Religion in Old and New Worlds*, eds. Susan Dinan and Debra Meyers (London: Routledge, 2001), 71; Susan Dinan, ‘Overcoming Gender Limitations: The Daughters of Charity and Early Modern Catholicism,’ in *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O’Malley*, eds. Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 97 – 113; Rapley, *The Dévotes*; Marie-Florine Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World: Marie de l’Incarnation (1599 - 1672) and Madame Guyon (1648 - 1717)* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1998). Diefendorf and Bernos have also been frustrated by this tendency in the historiography; see *From Penitence to Charity*, 9; and Bernos, *Femmes et gens de l’église*, 28.

⁸ Diefendorf has also called for a separate study of later-seventeenth-century pious women in *From Penitence to Charity*, 15 – 16; see the Thesis Conclusion, below, p. 323, footnote 8. Linda Timmermans also recognized that female spirituality after 1660 has been neglected in *L’accès des femmes à la culture sous l’ancien régime* (Paris: Champion, 2005).

⁹ Some of the key general works include: John O’Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (London: Harvard University Press, 2002), 5; Hubert Jedin, ‘Catholic Reformation or Counter Reformation?’ in *The Counter Reformation: The Essential Readings*, ed. David M. Luebke (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 19 – 45; Robert Bireley, ‘Redefining Catholicism: Trent and Beyond,’ in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 6, ‘Reform and Expansion, 1500 – 1660,’ ed. R. Po Chia Hsia (9 volumes, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 148. A review of some of the most important works on the Catholic Reformation is provided by Simon Ditchfield in ‘Of Dancing Cardinals and Mestizo Madonnas: Reconfiguring the History of Roman Catholicism in the Early Modern Period,’ *Journal of Early Modern History*, 8, no. 3 – 4 (2004): 386 – 408, which I use here.

¹⁰ Lucien Febvre, ‘Une question mal posée: les origines de la réforme française et le problème des causes de la réforme,’ *La Revue Historique*, 159 (1929): 1 – 73.

¹¹ This directed historical attention away from the history of the Church to the history of religion: Gabriel Le Bras, *Études de sociologie religieuse* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955). On this shift, see O’Malley, *Trent and All That*, 99; and Bernard Hours, *L’église et la vie religieuse dans la France moderne XVIe – XVIIIe siècle* (1st edn, Paris: PUF, 2000), xi.

fate of twentieth-century Catholicism and ‘dechristianization’ in France.¹² Delumeau’s work stimulated a debate which is still being continued within French scholarship.¹³ Two generations of Delumeau’s disciples have contributed a number of studies to the history of lay piety during and after the Catholic Reformation.¹⁴

Across the Channel, John Bossy and his academic supervisor Henry Outram Evennett did not share Delumeau’s view of pre-Reformation Catholicism as obstinately pagan and instead claimed that the Counter Reformation destroyed many of the social ties that a thriving traditional religion had fostered.¹⁵ Bossy’s work helped to renew Anglo-American interest in

¹² Jean Delumeau, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971); Jean Delumeau, *La peur en Occident, XIV – XVIIIe siècles: une cité assiégée* (Paris: Fayard, 1978); Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th – 18th centuries*; translated by Eric Nicholson (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1990).

¹³ A recent contribution to this debate is: Guillaume Cuchet, ‘Jean Delumeau, historien de la peur et du péché: historiographie, religion et société dans le dernier tiers du 20e siècle,’ *Vingtième siècle revue d’histoire*, 107, no. 3 (2010): 145 – 55. Delumeau’s work sparked a number of responses, including: Dominique Julia, ‘Déchristianisation ou mutation culturelle: l’exemple du Bassin Parisien au XVII siècle,’ in *Croyances pouvoirs et société des Limousins aux Français*; études offertes à Louis Pérouas réunies par Michel Cassan, Jean Boutier, Nicole Lemaitre (Treignac: Éd. les Monédières, 1988), 185 – 239.

¹⁴ Bernard Dompnier was Delumeau’s student. His work on early modern French Catholicism has been important, see: *Enquête au pays des frères des anges: les capucins de la province de Lyon aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 1993); Bernard Dompnier, *Les cérémoniaux catholiques en France à l’époque moderne: une littérature de codification des rites liturgiques*; ouvrage dirigé par Cécile Davy-Rigaux, Bernard Dompnier et Daniel-Odon Hurel (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); Bernard Dompnier, *Confréries et dévotions dans la catholicité moderne, mi-XVe-début XIXe siècle; actes du colloque, Rome, octobre 2003*; études réunies par Bernard Dompnier et Paola Vismara (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2008). Marcel Bernos’ studies of French spirituality in this period are important to this thesis: Bernos, *Femmes et gens de l’église*; Marcel Bernos, *Les sacrements dans la France des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: pastorale et vécu des fidèles* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l’Université de Provence, 2007). The work of Marc Venard has been important to our understanding of the French Church in the Reformation and Counter Reformation: *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours* (13 volumes, Paris: Desclée, 1990 – 2000), vol. VIII, ‘Le temps des confessions: des origines à nos jours, 1530 – 1620,’ sous la responsabilité de Marc Venard (Paris: Desclée, 1992), Marc Vernard, *La Sorbonne et Richelieu* (Paris: Chancellerie des Universités, 1973); *Répertoire des visites pastorales de la France: anciens diocèses jusqu’en 1790: corrections et compléments* (Paris: Société d’Histoire Religieuse de la France, 2006). The work of several other French historians has also been important: Hours, *L’église et la vie religieuse*, Alain Tallon, *Le concile de Trente* (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 2000); Tallon, *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*; Châtellier, *L’Europe des Dévots*.

¹⁵ Henry Outram Evennett, ‘Counter-Reformation Spirituality,’ in *The Counter Reformation: The Essential Readings*, ed. Luebke, 58; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400 – 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); John Bossy, ‘The Counter Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe,’ *Past and Present*, 47 (May, 1970): 62. The other key works of John Bossy include: *Peace in the Post Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); ‘Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments,’ in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Edmund Leites (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 214 – 34; ‘The Mass as a Social Institution 1200 – 1700,’ *Past and Present*, 100 (August, 1983): 29 – 61; ‘Some Elementary

the Counter Reformation. In the 1990s, historians such as Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, Michael Mullett and Robert Bireley revisited the Catholic Reformation in Europe.¹⁶ Since then, there has been an outpouring of work on the experiences of the Catholic Reformation in different European countries.¹⁷ The newest appraisals of approaches to its history have argued that a less Eurocentric perspective is going to be essential if we are to understand how early modern Catholicism succeeded as a ‘World Religion.’¹⁸ This study cannot contribute to the history of the non-European Catholic revival, but it can help to reinforce the point that the Catholic Reformation must be seen as a longer-term process of appropriation.¹⁹ Joseph Bergin, one of the most important historians of the Catholic Church in France, recently reminded us that the French Catholic Reformation had not fizzled-out by 1660 but continued in its various forms well into the eighteenth century.²⁰ The ‘rigorism’ adopted by the elite women that this thesis investigates has to be located in their experience of this ‘long’ Catholic Reformation.

Rigorism was essentially a neo-Augustinian strand of Catholicism which is often regarded as the continental counterpart to English Puritanism due to its rejection of ‘Baroque

Forms of Durkheim,’ *Past and Present*, 95 (May, 1982): 3 – 18; ‘The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation,’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 25 (1975): 21 – 38.

¹⁶ R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540 – 1770* (2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999); Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism 1450 – 1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); on these see Ditchfield, ‘Of Dancing Cardinals,’ 392.

¹⁷ Among these studies are: Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Trevor Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas, and Miracles: The Counter Reformation in the Upper Palatinate* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008); Allyson M. Poska, *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

¹⁸ Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 6; Simon Ditchfield, ‘Of Dancing Cardinals’; R. Po-Chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in a Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552 – 1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); R. Po-Chia Hsia, ‘The Catholic Missions and Translations in China,’ in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 39 – 51.

¹⁹ Simon Ditchfield, ‘Decentering the Catholic Reformation: Papacy and Peoples in the Early Modern World,’ *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History*, 101 (2010): 207.

²⁰ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*; Bireley also made this point in *The Refashioning of Catholicism*, 2.

excesses.’²¹ The term ‘rigorism’ is preferable to ‘Jansenism’ because the latter narrowly refers to the faction who opposed the Jesuits, originating as a term of ‘opprobrium.’²² The rigorist ‘turn’ among the Parisian aristocracy should be understood in relation to the fate of the *dévot* movement, as Henri Brémond and Robin Briggs have shown.²³ Certainly, rigorism was fundamentally different to the Salesian spirituality of the *dévots* which was, in simple terms, based on the premise that God wanted all men to be saved.²⁴ In contrast, the most important rigorist principle was anti-Molinist; it said that God had only selected some individuals upon whom to bestow ‘efficacious grace’, which would allow them to suppress their corrupt human will and turn to God.²⁵ The new ‘spiritual elite’ inherited their predecessors’ desire for a more socially and spiritually exclusive culture of worship. After all, many of the women who became rigorist penitents were the daughters and daughters-in-law of the *dévot* generation, or were otherwise connected to *dévot* organizations.²⁶

²¹ Jean-Louis Quantin, ‘De la rigueur au rigorisme: les avvertenze ai confessori de Charles Borromée dans la France du XVIIe siècle,’ *Studia Borromaica*, 20 (2006): 195; Robin Briggs, *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tension in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 339, see especially the chapter entitled ‘The Catholic Puritans; Jansenists and Rigorists in France’; Bernard Chédozeau, ‘Port-Royal et le Jansénisme: la revendication d’une autre forme du tridentinisme?’ *XVIIe Siècle*, 171 (April – June, 1991): 122.

²² Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 339; Jean-Louis Quantin, *Le rigorisme chrétien* (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 2001), 15; Tavenaux, *Le catholicisme dans la France classique*, vol. 2, 302. Some of the women with whom this thesis is concerned were correspondents of rigorists who were opposed to Jansenism, such as the abbé de Rancé; see his letters to the duchesse de Longueville in, A. J. Krailsheimer, ed., *Abbé Armand Jean de Rancé: correspondance édition originale* (4 volumes, Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 1993), vol. 2, 467 – 68, 723 – 24, 727 – 28. The difference between ‘rigorism’ and ‘Jansenism’ is pointed out by Monique Cottret, ‘La Querelle Janséniste,’ in *Histoire du Christianisme*, vol. IX, ‘L’âge de raison 1620 – 1750,’ ed. Venard, 351.

²³ Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 345; Henri Brémond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu’à nos jours* (11 volumes, Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1916 – 1933), vol. IV. ‘La conquête mystique: l’école de Port-Royal,’ 30 – 31. On the similar moral austerity of the *dévots* and the rigorists, see Emmanuel S. Chill, ‘Religion and Mendicity in Seventeenth-Century France,’ *International Review of Social History*, 7, no. 3 (December, 1962): 406.

²⁴ I have found Yves Krumenacker, *L’école française de spiritualité: des mystiques, des fondateurs, des courantes et leur interprètes* (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 1998), to be the most useful discussion of the French School of Spirituality.

²⁵ P. Bénichou, *Morales du Grand Siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1948), 77 – 80.

²⁶ Katia Béguin, *Les princes de Conde: rebelles, courtisans et mécènes dans la France du Grand Siècle* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 1999), 44 – 5; and see Appendix A of this thesis. See Jones, *The Charitable*

Conceiving female rigorist piety as a product of the Catholic Reformation in France will allow this thesis to contribute a history of it which does not revolve around Port-Royal. The sheer volume of works on Jansenism must explain in no small part why historians have been unenthusiastic about lay rigorist piety.²⁷ Undoubtedly, it has to be understood in relation to the ‘Jansenist’ controversy, but it must be remembered that these women were attracted to the Port-Royal *cause célèbre* because they were rigorists, not vice versa. Without exception, rigorist women were relegated to a sideshow by nineteenth-century historians; they have been cast simply as the ‘Belles Amies de Port-Royal’ who lent their wealth and status to defend the convent during its persecution by the Crown and Papacy.²⁸ Counteracting this stubborn legacy, this study tries to show that the piety of female rigorists was more consequential than is currently supposed and deserves a fuller investigation. More than just patrons of the convent, this thesis argues for their importance as practitioners of a distinctive culture of worship which suited their status as the social and spiritual elite and often caused conflict with the spiritual directors at Port-Royal. They resisted the ‘easy devotions’ characteristic of *dévo*t piety and the experiential forms of worship associated with Baroque Catholicism. They

Imperative, 94, on Marie-Louise de Gonzague’s role as a *Dame de la Charité*. Diefendorf identifies the comtesse de Brienne as a *Dame de la Charité*, but only cites one example of her charitable work; see *From Penitence to Charity*, 198. The princesse de Conti is listed as a member in P. Coste, *Saint Vincent de Paul et les Dames de la Charité* (Paris: no publisher [hereafter n.p.], 1918). There may have also been some influence by male relatives who were members of the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, such as the duc de Liancourt who was director in 1648; see Rebélliau, *La compagnie secrète*, 71. I discuss the relationships of rigorist penitents with *dévo*t culture in chapters one and five.

²⁷ In addition to the classic works on ‘Jansenism’ and Port-Royal, such as C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal* (2nd edn, 5 volumes, Paris: L. Hachette, 1860); Louis Cognet, *Le Jansénisme* (6th edn, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1991); and René Tavenaux, *La vie quotidienne des Jansénistes aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1973), a number of new and incredibly rich histories have been written in recent years. Most recent is: Daniella Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism and Jansenism: Louis XIV and the Port-Royal Nuns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); see also Alexander Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France: Voices from the Wilderness* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977); Alexander Sedgwick, *The Travails of Conscience: The Arnauld Family and the Ancien Régime* (London: Harvard University Press, 1998); and William Doyle, *Jansenism: Catholic Resistance to Authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000).

²⁸ ‘Belles Amies’ originated with Cécile Gazier b. 1878, a librarian of *La Société des Amis de Port-Royal*, in Cécile Gazier, *Les belles amies de Port-Royal* (Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1930); but this is a problem perpetuated by the most recent of studies, such as: Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism and Jansenism*, 56 – 7.

also reacted against the Jesuit-led, Italianate practices of the court when they aspired to the purer forms of worship practised by the early Christians.²⁹ Their self-perception as the ‘spiritual elite’ was based upon their thorough comprehension of, and access to, the intellectual and theological debates of the century.³⁰ The bond that their commitment to demanding penitential regimes generated also forces us to re-evaluate some of the consequences of the Catholic Reformation for the laity, in particular the assumption that it resulted in a ‘highly individualistic’ and antisocial religion.³¹

The pious sociability of rigorist women also serves as a corrective to studies which privilege the salon as the ‘defining social institution’ of feminine *sociabilité*.³² This should

²⁹ Châtellier first raised the possibility of an anti-Baroque reaction in *L'Europe des dévots*, 174; Alain Tallon also questioned this in *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, 89. Tallon offers a useful history of French Gallicanism in *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVIe siècle: essai sur la vision gallicane du monde* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), 27 – 53. My argument for the rigorist identification with the early Christians is presented in chapters three and four and aims to reinforce some of the recent work on early modern erudition by scholars such as Bruno Neveu and Jean-Louis Quantin. See Bruno Neveu, *Érudition et religion aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*; préface de Marc Fumaroli (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994); Jean-Louis Quantin, *Le catholicisme classique et les pères de l'église: un retour aux sources 1669 – 1713* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1999); and Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³⁰ The female access to religious intellectual culture in early modern France was expertly showed by Linda Timmermans in *L'accès des femmes*; Marcel Bernos has also reinforced this perspective in *Femmes et gens de l'église*. I aim to develop this argument in chapter four of this thesis.

³¹ ‘The effect of the Counter Reformation,’ Bossy suspected, was ‘to shift the emphasis away from the field of objective social relations and into a field of interiorized discipline for the individual,’ Bossy, ‘The Social History of Confession,’ 21. Bossy also concluded that the changing guidelines for sin in the move from ‘Seven Deadly Sins to Ten Commandments’ gave Christians a ‘moral code which was stronger on obligations to God, somewhat narrower on obligations to neighbours,’ Bossy, ‘Moral Arithmetic,’ 217. One attempt at reassessing the models of John Bossy came in Katharine J. Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer, eds., *Penitence in the Age of Reformations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

³² Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 3. On *sociabilité*, see Steven D. Kale, *French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 12 – 13. The historical literature on salons and sociability is vast. As a starting point, see the classic work of Roger Picard, *Les salons littéraires et la société française 1670 – 1789* (New York: Brentanos, 1943); on the seventeenth century, see in particular Carolyn Lougee, *Le Paradis des Femmes: Women, Salons and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976); Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, *Exclusive Conversations: The Art of Interaction in Seventeenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); and more recent, Faith Evelyn Beasley, *Salons, History and the Creation of Seventeenth-Century France: Mastering Memory* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). On the eighteenth century, see the work of Dena Goodman, ‘Enlightenment Salons: The Convergence of Female and Philosophic Ambitions,’ *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 22, no. 3 (Spring, 1989): 329 – 50; and Antoine Lilti, *Le monde des salons: sociabilité et mondanité à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2005).

complement the efforts of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic working to deconstruct the myths ‘invented’ about the salon in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.³³ Pious sociability did not challenge the resilience of the salon; it was an ‘institution longue durée’ which even survived the Revolution.³⁴ Many of the women who became rigorist ‘penitents’ were regulars at the Rambouillet *chambre bleue* salon before their conversions and frequented madame de Sablé’s pious salon at Port-Royal afterwards.³⁵ Rigorist penitents began to see salon sociability as representative of the ‘worldliness’ that they felt compelled to sacrifice however, and their pious sociability was based upon a rejection of many of its customs.³⁶ Their aloofness from the salon was paralleled by their detachment from the royal court during an era when noble presence there was crucial for securing royal favour.³⁷ During peacetime, courtiers were usually invited three days per week to be entertained by the King with billiards and cards, and its endless programme of feasts and spectacles made the court a theatre of power.³⁸ Rigorist women were often cutting in their epistolary treatment of the

³³ Domna C. Stanton, ‘The Fiction of Préciosité and the Fear of Women,’ *Yale French Studies*, 62 (1981): 107 – 34; Beasley, *Salons, History and the Creation of Seventeenth-Century France*, 2; Lilti, *Le monde des salons*.

³⁴ Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, 417; Beasley, *Salons, History and the Creation of Seventeenth-Century France*, 28; Katharine A. Jensen, ‘Male Models of Feminine Epistolarity, or How to Write like a Woman in Seventeenth-Century-France,’ in *Writing the Female Voice: Essays on Epistolary Literature*, ed. Elizabeth C. Goldsmith (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989), 37.

³⁵ Barbara Krajweska, *Mythes et Découvertes: le salon littéraire de madame de Rambouillet dans les lettres des contemporains* (Paris: Papers on Seventeenth-Century Literature, 1990), 52; John Conley, *The Suspicion of Virtue: Women Philosophers in Neoclassical France* (London: Cornell University Press, 2002), 21 – 42.

³⁶ The ‘world’ as ‘société polie’ is explored by Marc Fumaroli in ‘Premiers témoins du parisianisme: le ‘monde’ et la ‘mode’ chez les moralistes du XVIIe siècle,’ *Littératures Classiques*, 22 (1994): 172. ‘Monde’ and ‘siècle’ were interchangeable in contemporary moralistic literature, 173.

³⁷ Roger Mettam, *Power and Faction in Louis XIV’s France* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 47; Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 213; Sharon Kettering, ‘Brokerage at the Court of Louis XIV,’ *The Historical Journal*, 36, no. 1 (March, 1993): 72; Sharon Kettering, ‘Patronage and Politics during the Fronde,’ *French Historical Studies*, 14, no. 3 (Spring, 1986): 413.

³⁸ Tim Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648 - 1815* (London: A. Lane, 2007) 431. The literature on the French court is vast and this is not intended as a comprehensive summary. See especially, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, ‘Auprès du Roi, la cour,’ *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 38, no. 1 (1983): 21 – 4; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Saint Simon and the Court of Louis XIV* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2001). See also, Alain Boreau, ‘Les cérémonies royales françaises: entre performance juridique et compétence liturgique,’

court and did their utmost to circumvent its profane rituals. An exploration of rigorist pious sociability therefore permits us to consider how female aristocratic *sociabilité* matured outside of institutions such as the salon and court in spaces which have received scant historical attention such as the estate.

2. Methodology

i) *Friendship Networks*

Pious sociability was the devotional culture pioneered by a friendship network of lay, rigorist ‘penitents.’ The composition of this friendship network changed across our period and had numerous external connections, but its core members were: Anne-Marie Martinozzi, princesse de Conti (1637 – 1672), Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon-Condé, duchesse de Longueville (1619 – 1679), Jeanne de Schomberg, duchesse de Liancourt (1600 – 1674), Anne Doni d’Attichy, comtesse de Maure (1601 – 1663), Louise de Béon du Massés, comtesse de Brienne (1585 – 1665), Anne de Rohan, princesse de Guéméné (1606 – 1685) and Madeleine de Souvré, marquise de Sablé (1599 – 1678). Three other ‘rigorist

Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations, 46, no. 6 (1991): 1253 – 64; Émile Magne, *Les plaisirs et les fêtes en France au XVIIe siècle* (Genève: Éditions de la Frégate, 1944); David J. Sturdy, *Louis XIV* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); David Lee Rubin, *Sun King: The Ascendancy of French Culture during the Reign of Louis XIV* (London: Associated University Presses, 1992); Alexandre Maral, ‘Le grand aumônier de France et le diocèse de la chapelle royale sous Louis XIV,’ *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes*, 158 (2000): 475 – 506; Marie-Christine Moine, *Les fêtes à la cour du Roi Soleil: 1653 - 1715* (Paris: F. Lanore, 1984); Sabine Du Crest, *Des fêtes à Versailles: les divertissements de Louis XIV* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1990); Jean-Marie Apostolidès, *Le roi machine: spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1981). On Europe more generally, see José Pedro Paiva, ed., *Religious Ceremonials and Images: Power and Social Meaning 1400 – 1750* (Coimbra: Palimage, 2002); Catherine Arminjon and Béatrix Saule, eds., *Tables royales et festins de cour en Europe 1661 – 1789; actes du colloque International Palais des Congrès* (Paris: La Documentation Française, École du Louvre, 1994); Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly and Anne Simon, eds., *Festivals and Ceremonies: A Bibliography of Works Relating to Court, Civic and Religious Festivals in Europe 1500 – 1800* (London: Mansell, 2000); J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, Margaret Shewring, eds., *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe* (2 volumes, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds., *Ritual, Religion and the Sacred*; translated by Elborg Forster and Patricia M. Ranum (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1982); Lawrence M. Bryant, ‘Making History: Ceremonial Texts, Royal Space and Political Theory in the Sixteenth Century,’ in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Wolfe, 46 – 77; Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), 19 – 76; Mervyn James, ‘Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town,’ *Past and Present*, 98 (February, 1983): 3 – 29.

sympathizers' who I suspect were part of this network but for whom we have less evidence of their involvement are also considered: Marie-Antoinette de Loménie de Brienne, marquise de Gamaches (1624 – 1704), Marie-Louise de Gonzague, Queen of Poland (1611 – 1667) and Marie de Hautefort, duchesse de Schomberg (1616 – 1691).

The structure of this group was reconstructed using letters.³⁹ Correspondence has been overlooked as a source for reconstructing the piety and sociability of seventeenth-century rigorists because of the legacy of French nineteenth-century editions of their letters which, owing to the contemporaneous emergence of interest in the salon, tend to privilege the 'politesse' and worldly activities of elite women.⁴⁰ The editors of these were, by their own admission, often quite selective in their publications of the letters, which were not intended to

³⁹ My approach was based on other recent works, such as: Barbara Stephenson, *The Power and Patronage of Marguerite de Navarre* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural World of the Verneys, 1660 – 1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); and especially Jonathan A. Reid, *King's Sister-Queen of Dissent: Marguerite of Navarre (1492 – 1549) and her Evangelical Network* (2 volumes, Boston: Brill, 2009). See Appendix A of this thesis for a prosopographical outline of the network.

⁴⁰ The key publications were: Victor Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites de madame la duchesse de Longueville à madame la marquise de Sablé,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 449 – 62, 598 – 609, 674 – 99, 709 – 35; (1852): 40 – 56, 100 – 112, 174 – 94, 247 – 62, 336 – 85, 422 – 40; Victor Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites de madame la duchesse de Longueville, sœur du grand Condé; publiées par M. Victor Cousin membre de L'Institut,' *Paris école des chartes* (1842): 401 – 55; Victor Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites de mademoiselle de Vertus à madame la marquise de Sablé,' *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 13 (1852): 297 – 347; Victor Cousin, ed., 'Lettres nouvelles de madame de Longueville,' *Revue des deux mondes* (1851): 393 – 437; Victor Cousin, *Madame la marquise de Sable: nouvelle études sur les femmes illustres et la société du XVII^e siècle* (2nd edn, Paris: Didier, 1859); Édouard de Barthélemy, *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé: recueil des lettres des principaux habitués de son salon: annotées et précédées d'une introduction historique sur la société précieuse au XVII^e siècle, par Édouard de Barthélemy* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1865); Édouard de Barthélemy, *Une nièce de Mazarin: la princesse de Conti, d'après sa correspondance inédite* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1875); Édouard de Barthélemy, *Madame la comtesse de Maure, sa vie et sa correspondance, suivies des Maximes de Madame de Sablé et d'une étude sur la vie de Mademoiselle de Vandy* (Paris: J. Gay, 1863). There are also references to letters in some of the biographies. See, for example, Victor Cousin, 'Madame la comtesse de Maure et mademoiselle de Vandy,' *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 15 (1854): 489 – 515; Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville: nouvelles études sur les femmes illustres et la société du XVII^e siècle: la jeunesse de Madame de Longueville* (Paris: Didier, 1853); Victor Cousin, *Madame de Longueville: études sur les femmes illustres et la société du XVII^e siècle: Madame de Longueville pendant la Fronde 1651-1653* (3rd edn, Paris: Didier, 1867); Joseph-François Bourgoing de Villefore, *La véritable vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, duchesse de Longueville; par l'auteur des anecdotes de la constitution Unigenitus Bourgoin de Villefore* (Amsterdam: J. F. Jolly, 1739); and a more recent biography which is based on Villefore's is Arlette Lebigre, *La duchesse de Longueville* (Paris: Perrin, 2004). There are some English translations of the letters transcribed by Villefore in Hugh Noel Williams, *A Princess of Intrigue: Anne Genevieve de Bourbon, Duchesse de Longueville and her Times* (London: Hutchinson, 1907).

be used as a repository of sources.⁴¹ Instead, they served to buttress a particular narrative or biographical story of the *gens de qualités* of the *Grand Siècle*, and have not been re-edited since their initial publication.⁴² Faith Evelyn Beasley has even gone as far as suggesting that, ‘in the wake of the upheaval of the Revolution,’ scholars such as Victor Cousin (1792 – 1867) exploited the history of the salon to salvage the ‘greatness’ of France.⁴³ She argues persuasively that Cousin’s ‘novelistic’ histories were part of nineteenth-century ‘myth-making’ about France’s past: the collateral damage of which was the ‘devalorization’ of seventeenth-century women.⁴⁴ Biographical studies of Cousin and his philosophies also support these suppositions.⁴⁵

It was the historiographical neglect of these letters which inspired my early research. By returning to the manuscripts which were used by nineteenth-century biographers, I was able to identify a significant number of letters which had not been published and noticed the deficiencies of printed extracts, which on occasion, misquote and omit sentences from letters, sometimes removing important contextual significance. Discrepancies between different publications as to who the authors and recipients of certain letters were created further confusion.⁴⁶ As the documents were published as snippets and not in their entirety, it is often

⁴¹ They often describe certain collections as ‘unimportant.’ For example, see Cousin on Longueville’s letters to a Parisian *curé* on communion and confession, which he described as ‘les lettres les moins importantes,’ Cousin, ed., ‘Lettres inédites de madame la duchesse de Longueville,’ *Paris école des chartes* (1842): 435.

⁴² Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, ‘Authority, Authenticity and the Publication of Letters by Women,’ in *Writing the Female Voice: Essays on Epistolary Literature*, ed. Goldsmith, 57.

⁴³ Beasley, *Salons, History and the Creation of Seventeenth-Century France*, 176.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 211 - 12, 217 – 28.

⁴⁵ W. M. Simon, ‘The ‘Two Cultures’ in Nineteenth-Century France: Victor Cousin and Auguste Comte,’ *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 26, no. 1 (Jan - Mar, 1965): [Cousin] ‘...grew up in an atmosphere in which the Revolution was not so much an issue as a problem: it had got rid of the Ancien Régime without succeeding in putting anything in its place,’ 45.

⁴⁶ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584 and 10585 which are the letters of the duchesse de Longueville to the marquise de Sablé; BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, which are the letters of the princesse de Conti; BnF, Ms. Fr, 17048, 17049, 17050, 17051, 17052, 17053, 17054, 17055, 17056, which are letters to madame de Sablé; BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 3135, 3202, 4127, 5131, 5132, 5414, 5417, 5418, 5419, 5420, 5422, 7080, which are various letters to and from the comtesse

difficult to establish which letters (or sections of them) have been printed at all. Where possible, I have cited these and acknowledged the differences between my transcriptions and previous printed versions. In addition to re-examining these sources, I also researched other, larger collections of unpublished correspondence.⁴⁷ Mining rich but unexploited repositories such as the Charrier de La Roche-Guyon revealed surviving letters that historians have hitherto missed.⁴⁸

Using these sources, my approach was initially to establish the size of the female correspondence network before reading the letters qualitatively to evaluate the relationships within it.⁴⁹ The aim was not to profile the rigorist network in its entirety because this is

de Maure, comtesse de Brienne, duchesse de Longueville; BnF, Clair. 460, which are the letters of the duchesse de Longueville to the princesse Palatine. Compare, for example; BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, fo. 49, with *Journal des Savants* (1851): 453. I also researched Victor Cousin's archive for his copies of Longueville's letters in BS, MSVC. 17, MSVC. 2, MSVC. 25. Compare, for example, the letter dated 23 June which Barthélemy identified as received by madame de Sablé in *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé*, 232; Cousin on the other hand, identified the same letter as received by the *curé* of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas in 'Lettres inédites de madame la duchesse de Longueville,' *Paris école des chartes* (1842): 445.

⁴⁷ The main unpublished collections I have used are BnF, Ms. Fr, 17045, which are the letters of the abbé de La Vergne to madame de Sablé describing the activities of the duchesse de Longueville and princesse de Conti; BM, Ms. 1211, which are the letters of the princesse de Conti; MC, Chantilly, Série M, vols. xxxiv, xi, xii, xxv, xxix, which are the letters of the marquise de Gamaches, the duchesse de Longueville and others; Série O, vols. iv, vi, are the letters of the duchesse de Longueville and princesse de Conti; Série R, vols. i, ii, which are the letters of the comtesse de Maure, the comtesse de Brienne, the duchesse de Longueville to Marie-Louise de Gonzague; Série R, vol. iii, which are the letters of madame des Essarts to Longueville's chaplain monsieur Aubert; Série R, vols. iv, v and x, which are the letters of Marguerite Josse; MC, Chantilly, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque, Ms. 909, which are the letters of the duchesse de Longueville and Marie-Louise de Gonzague. There are vast numbers of unpublished letters in the Cabinet des Lettres collection at Chantilly and I have not been able to use many of them in this thesis. Some of the letters from Condé and Enghien to Marie-Louise de Gonzague in this collection have been published; see Émile Magne, ed., *Le grand condé et le duc d'enghien lettres inédites à Marie Louise de Gonzague reine de Pologne sur le cour de Louis XIV (1660 – 1667)* (Paris: Émile-Paul Frères, 1920). I have also used ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 371, 389, which are letters to and from Jeanne de Schomberg, duchesse de Liancourt; BIF, Ms. Godefroy, 479, 548, 531, 215, which are letters to and from the duchesses de Longueville and Liancourt; AN, Série K, 574, fo. 5 onwards, letters concerning the princesse de Conti; and AN, 4 AP, 186, letters to the comtesse de Brienne.

⁴⁸ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J; see Appendix D below, p. 366. Monsieur Patrick Lapalu, archivist at the Archives Départementales du Val d'Oise, has pointed out to me that this collection has not yet been fully catalogued. There is therefore potential for a substantial amount of research to be done there. The letters of Jeanne de Schomberg, duchesse de Liancourt, within the *Charrier* were the most pertinent to this thesis. Only three letters of hers had previously been identified; see Barthélemy, *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé*, 222. Jean Lesaulnier recently published two letters of the duchesse de Liancourt's grand-daughter, Jeanne-Charlotte du Plessis, to the duchess online; see Jean Lesaulnier, 'Jeanne-Charlotte du Plessis, princesse de Marcillac'; http://www.amisdeportroyal.org/file/bepr_doc_8_litre_mois_2009_07.pdf [accessed August 15, 2011].

⁴⁹ In addition to the manuscript letters exchanged between lay women, their female friends and their spiritual directors, I also used the printed correspondence of spiritual directors and female religious: M. P. Faugère, ed.,

something which other historians have already started to do.⁵⁰ An indiscriminate, blanket approach to the correspondence would also belie the exclusivity of lay, aristocratic women's 'spiritual friendships.' Indeed it would simply substantiate the traditional view of these women as a large, inclusive circle of *ex-salonnieres* who gathered in madame de Sablé's conventual apartment.⁵¹ Consequently, this study limits its attention to the density of connections within this lay, female group. The rationale behind the evolution of the friendship network and its coherence is also evaluated using funeral orations, spiritual autobiographies, testaments, household accounts and probate inventories.⁵²

The terms 'Friendship Network' and 'Friendship Group' that are used to delineate the contours of the group are borrowed from the behavioural sciences. Sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists have long been interested in the human tendency to nucleate and, since the 1940s, social network analysts have introduced a number of 'formal

Lettres de la Mère Agnès Arnauld abbesse de Port-Royal: publiées sur les textes authentiques avec une introduction par M. P. Faugère (Paris: B. Duprat, 1858); Lucien Goldmann, ed., *Correspondance de Martin de Barcos abbé de Saint-Cyran avec les abbesses de Port-Royal et les principaux personnages du groupe janséniste* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956); Anne-Claire Josse, ed., *Lettres d'Antoine Singlin: édition établie, présentée et annotée par Anne-Claire Josse* (Paris: Nolin, 2004); *Lettres de la révérende mère Marie-Angélique Arnauld* (Utrecht: aux Depends de la Compagnie, 1742 - 1744); and *Lettres chrestiennes et spirituelles de messire Jean du Vergier de Hauranne, abbé de Saint Cyran* (Paris: Chez la veuve Martin Durand, Sebastien Huré, Jean le Mire, Rolet le Duc, rue Saint Jacques, 1645).

⁵⁰ A full prosopography was published in the incredibly useful *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal élaboré sous la direction de Jean Lesaulnier et Anthony McKenna, avec la collaboration de Frédéric Delforge, Jean Mesnard, Régine Pouzet et. al* (Paris: H. Champion, 2004). The vast majority of the documents I have used in this thesis are not cited in this volume, however.

⁵¹ Usually regarded as inclusive of women such as: Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, madame de La Fayette (1634 – 1693), Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné (1626 – 1696), Elisabeth de Choiseul, madame du Plessis-Guénégaud (1610 – 1677), Julie d'Angennes, mademoiselle de Rambouillet and later marquise de Montausier (1607 – 1671), Marie-Madeleine de Vignerot, duchesse d'Aiguillon (1604 – 1675), Catherine Châteignier de la Roche Posay, madame de Saint Loup, Marie de Bailleul, marquise d'Huxelles (1626 – 1712), Charlotte d'Étampes de Valençay, marquise de Puisieux (1597 – 1677), Charlotte Saumaise de Chazon, comtesse de Brégy (1618 – 1693), Anne Hurault de Cheverny, marquise d'Aumont (1618 – 1658), and Madeleine de Scudéry (1607 – 1701). I found letter connections and evidence of our penitents' relationship with these women (who are also part of the *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, and many of whom are listed as 'Belle Amies de Port-Royal' by Gazier). See also, Cousin, *Madame de Sablé*, 258; and Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 602, for a list of members of this 'société.'

⁵² The testaments and codicilles of five women are transcribed in full in Appendix B. See footnotes 86, 87 and 88 on the documents used.

tools' with which to identify small groups, such as 'cliques', 'circles', 'clans' and 'clubs.'⁵³ Their rigidity means that terms such as the 'clique' are now outmoded, whereas the study of the structure and evolution of the 'friendship network' is still an important, current interest in social network analysis.⁵⁴

Friendship networks and groups are notoriously difficult to define. Sociologists differentiate between 'networks' and 'groups' on the basis that 'groups' are smaller, with more homogeneity and 'a higher degree of closeness' than a broader network.⁵⁵ This distinction is observed in this thesis to denote the changes in rigorist aristocratic friendships over time. 'Friendship network' is used more broadly to outline the dynamics of the early connections between the ten women, whereas 'friendship group' is used to describe the increasing cliquishness of three or four of the women during the 1660s. The following definition of a 'friendship network' is applied:

In a closed set of initially mutual strangers who will interact with each other for certain time a friendship network will develop...several characteristics like clique structure, degree of reciprocity exist...individuals build a network by making

⁵³ Linton C. Freeman, 'Social Network Analysis: Definition and History,' in *Encyclopaedia of Psychology*, ed. A. E. Kazadan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 350. For some of these approaches, see: Alex Bavelas, 'A Mathematical Model for Small Group Structures,' *Human Organisation*, 7 (1948): 16 – 30; and Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1969). On these 'tools,' see Richard D. Alba and Gwen Moore, 'Elite Social Circles,' *Sociological Methods and Research*, 7, no. 2 (November, 1978): 167 – 88; Robert J. Mokken, 'Cliques, Clubs and Clans,' *Quality and Quantity*, 13 (1979): 161 – 73; R. Duncan Luce and Albert D. Perry, 'A Method of Matrix Analysis of Group Structure,' *Psychometrika*, 14, no. 1 (March, 1949): 95 – 116; Lucia Falzon, 'Determining Groups from the Clique Structure in Large Social Networks,' *Social Networks*, 22, no. 2 (May, 2000): 159 – 72; Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler, 'Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion in Preadolescent Cliques,' *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 58, no. 3 (September, 1995): 145 – 62; Linton C. Freeman, 'The Structure of Social Groups,' in *Social Network Analysis*, ed. Linton C. Freeman (4 volumes, London: Sage, 2008), vol. 2, vii.

⁵⁴ Freeman, 'The Structure of Social Groups,' viii. Recent work on friendship networks that I found to be useful included the Special Editions of *The Journal of Mathematical Sociology* in 1997, 2001 and 2003 on 'The Evolution of Social Networks'; and Patrick Doreian and Frans N. Stokman, eds., *The Evolution of Social Networks* (2 volumes, Amsterdam: OPA, 1997). Other recent research includes: Maurits de Klepper, Ed Sleebos, Gerhard Van de Bunt, Filip Agneensens, 'Similarity in Friendship Networks: Selection or Influence? The Effect of Constraining Contexts and Non-visible Attributes,' *Social Networks*, 32, no. 1 (January, 2010): 82 – 90; Charles Kadushin, 'Networks and Small Groups,' *Structure and Dynamics*, 1, no. 1 (2005): 1 – 18.

⁵⁵ Evelien P. H. Zeggelink, Frans N. Stokman and Gerhard G. Van de Bunt, 'The Emergence of Groups in the Evolution of Friendship Networks,' *The Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, 21, no. 1 – 2 (1996): 30.

friendship choices and then the network simultaneously constrains and provides opportunities for friendship choices.⁵⁶

Following various bodies of sociological theory and empirical research there is now a disciplinary consensus that friendships do not occur randomly.⁵⁷ Friendships tend to grow between people with similar attitudes, attributes and social positions.⁵⁸ Individuals befriend others who are like themselves through a process of ‘social selection’ and the ‘social influence’ of these friends in turn reinforces similitude.⁵⁹ In exclusive groups, ‘homogeneity is further increased by...the homophilic selection of new members.’⁶⁰ The rigorist aristocratic friendship network therefore shared many features with what sociologists have found to be characteristic of modern, adult friendship networks.⁶¹ Relationships within the rigorist friendship network were affected by ‘social selection.’ It is no coincidence that the two

⁵⁶ Evelien Zeggelink, ‘Evolving Friendship Networks: An Individual Oriented Approach Implementing Similarity,’ *Social Networks*, 17, no. 2 (April, 1995): 84. See also Marijtje A. J. Van Duijn, Evelien P. H. Zeggelink, Mark Huisman, Frans N. Stokman, Frans W. Wasseur, ‘Evolution of Sociology Freshmen into a Friendship Network,’ *The Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, 27, no. 2 - 3 (2003): 157 – 58. The connections of the rigorist friendship network are outlined in chapter two below, pp. 68 – 74.

⁵⁷ Roger T. H. A. J. Leenders, ‘Evolution of Friendship and Best Friendship Choices,’ *The Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, 21, no. 1 - 2 (1996): 134; P. Lazarsfeld and R. K. Merton, ‘Friendship as a Social Process: A Substantive and Methodological Analysis,’ in *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*, eds. M. Berger, T. Abel, and C. H. Page (New York: Van Nostrand, 1954), 18 – 66; Jere M. Cohen, ‘Sources of Peer Group Homogeneity,’ *Sociology of Education*, 50, no. 4 (October, 1977): 227; Scott L. Feld, ‘The Focused Organisation of Social Ties,’ *American Journal of Sociology*, 86, no. 5 (March, 1981): 1015 – 35; Scott L. Feld, ‘Social Structural Determinants of Similarity among Associates,’ *American Sociological Review*, 47 no. 6 (December, 1982): 797; Scott L. Feld, ‘Why your Friends have more Friends than you do,’ *American Journal of Sociology*, 96, no. 6 (May, 1991): 1464 – 77; Maureen T. Hallinan, ‘The Process of Friendship Formation,’ *Social Networks*, 1, no. 2 (1978): 194; Lois M. Verbrugge, ‘The Structure of Adult Friendship Choices,’ *Social Forces*, 56, no. 2 (December, 1977): 576; Miller McPherson, Lynn Smith-Louin and James M. Cook, ‘Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks,’ *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27 (2001): 416; Zeggelink, ‘The Emergence of Groups,’ 29; Zeggelink, ‘Evolving Friendship Networks,’ 84.

⁵⁸ Feld, ‘The Focused Organisation of Social Ties,’ 1018.

⁵⁹ De Klepper, Sleebos, Van de Bunt, Agneesens, ‘Similarity in Friendship Networks,’ 82; Kadushin, ‘Networks and Small Groups,’ 2; Charles Kadushin, ‘The Motivational Foundation of Social Networks,’ *Social Networks*, 24, no. 1 (January, 2002): 77 – 91.

⁶⁰ Zeggelink, ‘The Emergence of Groups,’ 30.

⁶¹ This thesis was submitted before the publication of another work in Social Network Analysis by an important scholar: Charles Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks: Theories, Concepts and Findings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Forthcoming January, 2012).

spiritual friends at its nucleus, Longueville and Conti, also headed the social hierarchy within it. The Bourbon-Condé families were *princes du sang* and Longueville, who gradually became the cynosure of the group, was a direct cousin of Louis XIV. Within the *noblesse d'épée*, princes of the blood automatically qualified as peers, or *ducs et pairs*. Duchesses had *droit au tabouret*, which permitted them to be seated in the presence of the Queen.⁶² The Liancourt, Brienne, Guéméné, Sablé and Maure families had office-holding positions at court which was used as a 'barometer of status' among the *épée* nobility.⁶³ Spiritual autobiographies and letters also reveal that other factors were involved in the evaluation of potential friendships. After their conversions, rigorist penitents were increasingly 'homophilic' in their selection of devout friends with pious reputations and there is even evidence that they regulated the friendship choices of their closest 'spiritual friends.' The indication is that the mutual 'social influence' that spiritual friends had resulted in cliquishness within the rigorist friendship group.

Historians have been slow on the uptake of sociological terms such as these.⁶⁴ Unlike other organizing concepts such as the 'clique,' 'friendship network' and 'group' are not restrictive and they do not preclude the fact that some of our penitents may have had other, close friendships which are concealed by fragmentary source collections. Tracing the

⁶² Claude Lévy et Louis Henry, 'Ducs et pairs sous l'Ancien Régime: caractérisation démographiques d'une caste,' *Population*, 15, no. 5 (1960): 810.

⁶³ Robert J. Kalas, 'Marriage, Clientage, Office Holding, and the Advancement of the Early Modern French Nobility: The Noailles Family of Limousin,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27, no. 2 (Summer, 1996): 379. There is a body of literature on the relationship between robe and sword nobility in France; see as a starting point, J. H. M. Salmon, 'Storm over the noblesse,' *The Journal of Modern History*, 53, no. 2 (June, 1981): 242 – 57; and Roland Mousnier, *Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue 1598 - 1789* (2 volumes, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974).

⁶⁴ Andrew E. Barnes has made some interesting use of the 'clique' concept, see: *The Social Dimension of Piety: Associative Life and Devotional Change in the Penitent Confraternities of Marseilles (1499 – 1792)* (New York: Paulist Press, 1994); 'Cliques and Participation: Organizational Dynamics in the Penitents Bourras,' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 19, no. 1 (Summer, 1988): 25 – 53; 'The Wars of Religion and the Origins of Reformed Confraternities of Penitents: A Theoretical Approach,' *Archives des sciences sociales des religions*, 32, no. 64 (juillet – septembre, 1987): 117 – 36.

increasing exclusivity of the network also permits some consideration of how it changed over time, particularly with the princesse de Guéméné's 'return to the world' and the deaths of the comtesses de Maure and Brienne in the early 1660s. The difficulty with their application here is that there is no explicit referral to the existence of a 'friendship network' or 'friendship group' within the correspondence, and consequently this structure is being imposed upon a set of historical actors. There was a coherent group consciousness however, as the presence of terms such as 'amie', 'penitante' and 'société' in the correspondence illustrates.⁶⁵ This should serve as further justification for using these terms to frame the relationships shared by rigorist penitents.

ii) *The Sources and their Interpretation*

Historians forfeit richer accounts of devotion when they depend upon institutional sources to analyse lay piety and ignore letters. In the sixteenth century, women were important to the European Republic of Letters and participated in intellectual and theological debates via correspondence.⁶⁶ Yet it was the seventeenth century which witnessed the apogee of female letter writing, as many French scholars have shown.⁶⁷ Letter-writing manuals reinforced the parallel made between femininity and the genre when they taught women how to compose letters, and were one of the most widely diffused print genres during this period.⁶⁸ Letters

⁶⁵ The presence of these terms in the correspondence is discussed in chapters two and five.

⁶⁶ James Daybell, 'Interpreting Letters and Reading Script: Evidence for Female Education and Literacy in Tudor England,' *History of Education*, 34, no. 6 (November, 2005): 712.

⁶⁷ Goldsmith, ed., *Writing the Female Voice*, vii. Work on epistolary manuals has been lead by French social historians; see Alain Boreau, 'La norme épistolaire: une invention médiévale,' in *La correspondance: les usages de la lettre au XIXe siècle*, ed. Roger Chartier (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 127 – 57.

⁶⁸ Linda Mitchell, 'Entertainment and Instruction: Women's Roles in the English Epistolary Tradition,' *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 66, no. 3 - 4 (2003): 331.

were also central to polite culture at court: Louis XIV even read his courtiers' mail at Versailles.⁶⁹

In the last thirty years the study of 'the age of letter writing' has profited from some fruitful collaboration between literary theorists, feminist scholars and historians, culminating in the move towards a 'cultural history of correspondence' within Anglo-American scholarship.⁷⁰ Letters are now seen as texts which should be mined for their tropes and 'writerly qualities.'⁷¹ These disciplinary developments are important for our understanding of seventeenth-century female letters, which were often crafted with the enjoyment of the reader in mind and sometimes read aloud to a collective audience. Yet there is a risk of overstating the 'literary' qualities of the letter. Letters essentially fulfilled a primarily communicative function. Whilst the authors may have drawn upon epistolary techniques and sought to amuse the reader with stories, letters were fundamentally a tool for exchanging information, not a work layered with literary ambiguity. The epistolary sociability of rigorist penitents should also help to combat the assumption that letters were conducive to privacy and introspection.⁷²

⁶⁹ Philip Riley, *A Lust for Virtue: Louis XIV's Attack on Sin in Seventeenth-Century France* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001), 144; Katharine A. Jensen, *Writing Love: Letters, Women and the Novel in France, 1605 – 1776* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995), 12.

⁷⁰ On letters in seventeenth and eighteenth-century France, see Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (London: Cornell University Press, 2009); and Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, as a starting point. On England, see James Daybell, *Women Letter Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). A particular advocate of the 'cultural history of the letter' approach was Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1982), 186 – 92.

⁷¹ Rebecca Earle, ed., *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter Writers, 1600 - 1945* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 2; Janet Gurkin Altman, 'The Letter Book as a Literary Institution,' *Yale French Studies*, 71 (1986): 17 – 62; Amanda Gilroy and W. M. Verhoeven, eds., *Epistolary Histories, Letters, Fiction and Culture* (London: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 1; Fay Bound, 'Writing the Self? Love and the Letter in England c. 1660 – c.1760,' *Literature and History*, Third series, 11, no. 1 (Spring, 2002): 4.

⁷² Earle makes this point in *Epistolary Selves*, 6; see also Mary A. Favret, *Romantic Correspondence, Women, Politics and the Fiction of Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 19. Several other scholars have also pointed this out, see Diana Barnes, 'The Secretary of Ladies and Feminine Friendship at the Court of Henrietta Maria,' in *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage*, ed. Erin Griffey (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 39 – 47. Altman made the point that audiences are expanded when letters are shared in, *Epistolarity*, 186; see also Julie D. Campbell and Anne R. Larsen, 'Introduction,' in *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters*, eds. Julie D. Campbell and Anne R. Larsen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 10. This has not just been shown for women but also men, see James Dybikowski, 'Letters and Solitude: Pierre Coste's Correspondence with the Third Earl of Shaftesbury,' in *Réseaux de correspondance à l'âge classique (XVIe-*

As Morrissey and Wright argue, manuscript letters testify to the role of women as givers and receivers of spiritual advice.⁷³ Correspondence could transgress boundaries and allowed women to converse with friends and associates in their absence.⁷⁴ Letters not only tell us about individual women's religious sensibilities; they also tell us about discursive communities who were bound by a commitment to devotion.⁷⁵

Letters have also interested scholars as material objects. In the 1990s, A. R. Braunmuller and Jonathan Gibson used space in the manuscript letter to decode social hierarchies embedded in correspondence.⁷⁶ Seventeenth-century letter guides such as Antoine de Courtin's 'Nouveau traité de civilité' of 1671 advised that after the address written at the top of the page, a space was to be left which would be greater or lesser depending upon the status of the recipient.⁷⁷ In his work on women's letter writing in early modern England, James Daybell pointed out other ways that the palaeographic form of a letter might be

XVIIIe siècle), eds. Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, Jens Häselser, and Antony McKenna (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne 2006), 109 – 33.

⁷³ Mary Morrissey and Gillian Wright, 'Piety and Sociability in Early Modern Women's Letters,' *Womens Writing*, 13, no. 1 (March, 2006): 44. On female networks of support, see Karen Robertson, 'Tracing Women's Connections from a Letter by Elizabeth Raleigh,' in *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*, eds. Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 149.

⁷⁴ Scholars such as Thomas M. Carr Jr and Claire Walker have recently shown, for example, how letters were part of the 'incessant traffic' between the early modern convent and the world, and how they constituted a physical and psychological breach of *clausura*; see Thomas M. Carr Jr, ed., *Studies in Early Modern France: The Cloister and the World: Early Modern Convent Voices* (Charlottesville: Rookwood, 2007); and Claire Walker, 'Doe not suppose me a well mortified nun dead to the world: Letter Writing in the Early Modern English Convent,' in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing 1450 - 1700*, ed. James Daybell (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 167. See also Craig A. Monson, ed., *The Crannied Wall, Women, Religion and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992); and Ulrike Strasser, 'The Cloister as Membrane: Recent Convent Histories and the Circulation of People and Ideas,' *Gender and History*, 19, no. 2 (2007): 369 – 75. On letters and the ideas of space, see James How, *Epistolary Spaces English Letter Writing from the Foundation of the Post Office to Richardson's Clarissa* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 1 – 4.

⁷⁵ Susan Doran used letters to analyse Elizabeth I's religious sensibilities in 'Elizabeth I's Religion: the Evidence of her Letters,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51, no. 4 (October, 2000): 699 – 720.

⁷⁶ A. R. Braunmuller, 'Accounting for Absence: The Transcription of Space,' in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1985 – 1991*, ed. W. Speed Hill (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies in Conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1993), 48.

⁷⁷ Braunmuller, 'Accounting for Absence,' 54.

analysed, such as the hand that they were composed in and the use of abbreviations and contractions.⁷⁸ The attention paid by French historians to the material letter has been limited and Giora Sternberg is one of the first to take up this mantle for early modern French letter writing.⁷⁹ His important work on ‘status interaction’ has shown that letters conformed to certain social norms, where forms of address, subscriptions, the ceremonial of expression, and non-verbal features such as spatial intervals and graphic parameters were all signifiers of the relationship between sender and receiver.⁸⁰

Many of the letters analysed in this thesis took the same form. They were most often ‘billet’ letters, generally no greater than fifteen centimetres in length. Consequently, the pages were usually filled with text, rarely with salutations or spaces. Most of the letters were written in an informal italic hand which was generally used in letters to family, friends and social inferiors, whereas a formal italic hand signified a relationship with a social superior or politically influential friend.⁸¹ Words were often abbreviated – something which women were instructed not to do in letters to a social superior by French letter-writing manuals – and spellings were often phonetic.⁸² The letters occasionally reveal aspects of the mechanics and

⁷⁸ James Daybell, *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices 1580 – 1730* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); James Daybell, ‘Material Meanings and the Social Signs of Manuscript Letters in Early Modern England,’ *Literature Compass*, 6, no. 3 (May, 2009): 647 – 67; James Daybell, ‘Ples acsep thes my skrybled lynes: The Construction and Convention of Women’s Letters in England, 1540 – 1603,’ *Quidditas*, 20 (1999): 208; Daybell, ‘Interpreting Letters,’ 702. Other scholars have also made this point, see Sue Walker, ‘The Manners of the Page: Prescription and Practice in the Visual Organisation of Correspondence,’ *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 66, no. 3 - 4 (2003): 328; and Sara-Jayne Steen, ‘Reading Beyond the Words: Material Letters and the Process of Interpretation,’ *Quidditas*, 22 (2001): 67.

⁷⁹ Giora Sternberg, ‘Epistolary Ceremonial: Corresponding Status at the time of Louis XIV,’ *Past and Present*, 4 (August, 2009): 36.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 39. 20

⁸¹ Steen, ‘Reading Beyond the Words,’ 57.

⁸² Roger Chartier, ‘Secretaires for the People,’ in *Correspondence: Models of Letter Writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Roger Chartier, Alain Boureau and Cecile Dauphin; translated by Christopher Woodall (Oxford: Polity Press, 1997), 75 – 6. On spelling, see Daybell, ‘Interpreting Letters,’ 704; and Dena Goodman, ‘L’ortographe des dames: Gender and Language in the Old Regime,’ *French Historical Studies*, 25, no. 2 (Spring, 2002): 195. For more accurate translations of ambiguous words I have used Randle Cotgrave, *A French-English dictionary compiled by Mr Randle Cotgrave with another in English and French*

logistics of letter writing. Letters exchanged within Paris were usually delivered by *valets-de-pied*, despite the formalization of the French postal service in our period.⁸³ Where the letters are originals and not copies, it is clear that most were sealed in the same way. The most common form of closing and sealing a letter was what is known as the ‘tuck and seal’ format: the letter was folded twice horizontally and twice vertically, then the left portion was tucked inside the right one, and sealed in the corner with wax.⁸⁴

The clues that palaeographic analysis can give the historian adds to the value of returning to these manuscript letters. The sources do not provide one continuous narrative of rigorist pious sociability from 1650 to 1680 and, in parts, the disproportionate survival of some women’s letters results in a heavier concentration upon them.⁸⁵ The incompleteness of the sources is balanced by their depth; they allow us to chart the progression that a band of society women made over thirty years to becoming a coterie of converted ‘penitents.’

3. Chapter Summaries

The first part of the thesis explores what impact their sense of spiritual elevation had upon rigorist penitents’ sociability during the knitting-together of their friendship network. The narrative begins in chapter one with a brief exploration of their conversions in the 1650s. It shows how these episodes marked the beginning of their disillusionment with the world.

whereunto are newly added the animadversions and supplements of James Howell, Esquire (London: Printed by W.H. for Octavien Pulleyn and are to be sold at his shop, 1650), (no page numbers, hereafter n.p.n); and *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française* (2 volumes, Paris: Veuve de Bernard Brunet, 1762).

⁸³ Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 18; Eugène Vaillé, *Histoire des postes françaises jusqu’à la Révolution* (4 volumes, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1946), vol. 1, 45 – 6; Jonathan Gibson, ‘Letters,’ in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 617; Daybell, *Women Letter Writers in Tudor England*, 127 – 28.

⁸⁴ Daybell, *Women Letter Writers in Tudor England*, 65.

⁸⁵ There are more surviving letters written by, and about, Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon-Condé, duchesse de Longueville.

Chapter two examines the relationships that rigorist women formed with other ‘penitents’ and how they began to distinguish their own culture of worship from that of the royal court in the 1660s.

The second part of this thesis is devoted to a study of the forms of worship practised by female rigorist penitents. During the research phase, I was struck by the absence of any mention of devotional aids such as relics and rosary beads in the correspondence of rigorist women, given their fervent religiosity and social status, and interrogated the notarial archive and household accounts for further evidence.⁸⁶ Chapter three is an exploration of the material culture of lay rigorist devotion in the aristocratic *hôtel* based upon seven probate inventories.⁸⁷ It focuses upon the descriptions of devotional spaces such as the chapel and cabinet so that we might establish, firstly, how important material objects were to rigorist worship and, secondly, if there was a rigorist material culture or ‘style’ of devotion. The chapter argues that their signature style may have been informed by an aversion towards ‘Baroque’ experiential devotion and suggests that the rigorist affinity with the early

⁸⁶ The household accounts are: AN, R³, 101 – 119; R³, 1063 – 1070; and ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 277, 278, 279, 280. Most of the notarial documents, testaments and probate inventories are in AN, Minutier Central (hereafter AN, MC). The most important documents are: AN, MC, ET/XXXVI/202, inventory of the duc de Longueville; ET/XCVIII/251, inventory of the duchesse de Liancourt; and ET/XCVIII/0250, her testament; ET/LXXXVII/207, inventory of the duc de Rohan; ET/CVIII/219, inventory of Marie d’Hautefort; ET/XCI/564, inventory of the marquise de Gamaches. I refer to several other notarial documents throughout the thesis. The testament of the comtesse de Brienne is at AN, 4 AP, 168 and the probate inventory at AN, 4 AP, 315. I have used Longueville’s testament at MC, Chantilly, 1 – A 008. The princesse de Guéméné’s testament is at AN, MC, ET/LXXXVII/267, 25 January 1678. I refer to other documents in the Archives Privées and Archives Départementales throughout the thesis.

⁸⁷ The following are used directly: AN, MC, ET/XXI/277; ET/XCVIII/234; ETXCVIII/196; ET/LXXV/172; ET/LXVI/134; ET/IX/457; LXXV/0091; ET/CV/0873; ET/LXXXVII/0209, 0211, 0240, 0242, 0267; ET/XLIII/047; ET/XXXVI/0182; ET/LXXV/117; ET/LXXV/147. In September 2011, when this thesis was substantially written, Nicolas Courtin published 24 Parisian inventories online; one of these was the inventory of the Hôtel de Liancourt which I use in chapters three and four. His transcription did not list the books in her inventory however; thus the material I have transcribed in chapter four remains unpublished. See Nicolas Courtin, ‘Corpus des hôtels parisiens du XVIIe siècle: Inventaires après décès de 24 hôtels,’ http://www.centrechastel.paris-sorbonne.fr/publication_sources_corpus/inventaires-hotels-paris.html [accessed November 13, 2011]. I read his thesis when it was unpublished as ‘L’art d’habiter l’ameublement des hôtels particuliers à Paris au XVIIe siècle’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2 volumes, Université de Paris IV Sorbonne, 2007); it has since been published as *L’art d’habiter à Paris au XVIIe siècle: l’ameublement des hôtels particuliers* (Dijon: Fatou, 2011) and is an excellent resource for the study of Parisian material culture, although it does not focus on the material culture of devotion.

Christians may have motivated an aspiration towards a ‘purer’ form of worship. Chapter four is a study of rigorist devotional reading based on a case study of the books owned by the duchesse de Liancourt. It reveals the erudite and high-minded texts that informed the claims that rigorist penitents made about their spiritual superiority and tests some of the arguments made in first three chapters.

As a measure of the uniqueness of the rigorist material culture of worship, this part of the thesis also uses three comparative sources: the probate inventories of Anne de Gonzague, princesse Palatine (1616 – 1684), Anne Poussart de Fors, duchesse de Richelieu (d.1684) and Marie de Lorraine, duchesse de Guise (1615 – 1688).⁸⁸ This part of the thesis does not attempt a comprehensive comparative study of the material culture of devotion; the discussion is intended to test the distinctiveness of the rigorist inventories. These sources are not treated as entirely representative of the Parisian female aristocracy and are located within the findings of broader historical studies of Parisian material culture and book ownership. The three women were selected for comparative purposes on the basis of their gender, social status and their reputations for piety. Crucially however, they were not rigorists and so highlight the differences between the material culture of rigorist penitents and that of ‘conventionally’ pious aristocratic women – by which I mean converted female courtiers performing orthodox and mainstream forms of devotion, sanctioned by the establishment.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Anne de Gonzague, princesse Palatine (1616 – 1684), AN, MC, ET/XCII/0247, 3 August 1684; Marie de Lorraine, duchesse de Guise (1615 – 1688); AN, R⁴, 1056, March 1688; Anne Poussart de Fors, duchesse de Richelieu (d.1684); AN, MC, ET/CV/904, 29 May 1684. The inventory of Marie de Lorraine has been used by other historians, see chapter three, below, p. 165, footnote 223.

⁸⁹ The notarial archive would permit a broader study of female aristocratic inventories but I have tried to limit the comparison to women of equally zealous piety but not rigorists or rigorist sympathizers. A comparison with the inventories of non-devout women who remained attached to the ‘world’ would be nonsensical. There are surviving inventories for women such as Madeleine de Scudéry at AN, MC, ET/XLIV/0344, 8 June 1701; madame de Sévigné at AN, MC, ET/LXII/261, (Rés. 499) 18 June 1696; and printed editions of the Rambouillet inventories: Charles Sauzé, ed., *Inventaires de l'hôtel de Rambouillet à Paris, en 1652, 1666 et 1671, du château de Rambouillet en 1666, et des châteaux d'Angoulême et de Montausier en 1671*; publiés par Charles Sauzé (Tours: Imprimerie de Deslis frères, 1894), which would permit a comparison with other, more ‘worldly’ women.

The third part of the thesis is comprised of one longer chapter which recovers the practice of pious sociability beyond Paris in the last two decades of our period. Chapter five uses correspondence as a starting point for mapping rigorist penitents' journeys away from Paris, and builds up a picture of how they passed the time using household accounts and the records of charitable donations. Importantly, it reassesses the significance of the timing of female penitents' retreats and argues that they may have been more than a seasonal aristocratic sojourn to the countryside but a way of evading events at court.

PART ONE: Spiritual Election and Sociability

CHAPTER ONE

On the road to Damascus: Conversion and Penitence c.1638 – 1660

‘Favour is deceitful and beauty is vain;
but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.’
*Proverbs 31:30*¹

In the middle decades of the seventeenth century, the aristocratic women who came to comprise the rigorist friendship network experienced sometimes epiphanic moments of conversion and became ‘penitents.’ In order to effect the transition from worldliness to holiness their longer-term pious resolutions were implemented via rigorous penitential regimes.² This chapter will recover the conversion experiences of some of these women by analysing the spiritual autobiographical writings they composed shortly after the conversion episode alongside the penitential statements made in their testaments. Correspondence will be used to show that, for aristocratic women, conversion was not simply a reflexive process but a socially visible occurrence which had tangible effects on their public conduct and their reception by their social peers.

1. Conversion and the Spiritual Autobiography

The history of conversion in the early modern world is part of a burgeoning body of scholarship.³ Etymologically, the word conversion derives from the Latin ‘*conversio*’: a word

¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10203, ‘Oraison funèbre de madame de Longueville,’ fo. 66, ‘L’*éclat et les charmes de la beauté sont vains et trompeurs; la femme qui craint le seigneur est cette qui sera louée*’; *The Bible: Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), Proverbs 31: 30, 750.

² Karl F. Morrison made the point that conversion was not a single, momentary incident but part of a long-term process in *Understanding Conversion* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 7.

³ James Muldoon, ‘Introduction: The Conversion of Europe,’ in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Muldoon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 2. Some of the most recent work on

which denoted the shift from polytheism to Christianity.⁴ Historians have been particularly interested in the large-scale conversion to Christianity which took place in the missionary context in the early modern period.⁵ There is also a rich anthology of historical literature on female spiritual experiences in Europe in this period which is more relevant to this chapter.⁶ A problem with much of the historical literature on female spirituality is that it has been confined to the study of male interpretations of the conversion experience because of the availability of sources. Biographies of pious women were often written by their confessors

conversion includes: Tijana Krstic, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Calvin B. Kendall, Oliver Nicholson, William D. Phillips Jr, and Marguerite Ragnow, eds. *Conversion to Christianity from Late Antiquity to the Modern Age: Considering the Process in Europe, Asia, and the Americas* (Minneapolis, Center for Early Modern History, 2009); R. Po-Chia Hsia, 'Christian Conversion in Late Ming China: Niccolo Longobardo and Shandong,' *The Medieval History Journal*, 12, no. 2 (July, 2009): [Special Issue: Conversion in Medieval and Early Modern Societies]: 275 – 301.

⁴ Monica Juneja and Kim Siebenhuner, 'Introduction,' *The Medieval History Journal*, 12, no. 2 (July, 2009): [Special Issue: Religious Conversion in Medieval and Early Modern Societies]: 171.

⁵ R. Po-Chia Hsia, 'Translating Christianity: Counter-Reformation Europe and the Catholic Mission in China 1580 – 1780,' in *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, eds. Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 87 – 108. Anthropological approaches have been influential in these studies of conversions from 'traditional' to 'world' religions; see Robert. W. Hefner, ed., *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). The behavioural sciences provide good methodological frameworks for the study of individual (not group) conversion; see William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (London: Longmans Green, 1902), 150 – 202.

⁶ María-Helena Sánchez Ortega investigated the Italian Angela of Foligno, a figure who influenced the spiritual experiences of lay Parisian mystic Barbe Acarie in the late-sixteenth century; see *Pecadoras de verano arrepentidas en invierno: El camino de la conversion femenina* (Madrid: Alianza, 1995). The work of Jodi Bilinkoff has also been important in this field; see Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and their Female Penitents 1450 – 1750* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Jodi Bilinkoff, 'Soul Mates: Spiritual Friendship and Life Writing in Early Modern Spain (and beyond),' in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View*, ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 143 – 53; and Jodi Bilinkoff 'Confessors, Penitents and the Construction of Identities in Early Modern Avila,' in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe 1500 – 1800: Essays in Honour of Natalie Zemon Davis*, eds. Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 83 – 100. On female spiritual writings I have also found these useful: Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing 1649 – 1688* (London: Virago, 1988); Mary M. Rowan, 'Themes and Styles in the Writings of the Great Abbesses of Seventeenth-Century France,' *Papers on Seventeenth-Century French Literature*, 16 (1982): 123 – 36; Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France,' in *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality and the Self in Western Thought*, eds. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna and David E. Wellbery (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 53 – 63; and Moshe Sluhovskiy, *Believe not every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), see 216.

and autobiographies were frequently commissioned by him.⁷ There have been a number of recent attempts to look beyond the rhetoric of humility in these sources and women's spiritual writings are consequently increasingly seen not as a genre of the repressed but rather an opportunity for female expression.⁸ Still, using these as historical sources requires methodological cautiousness. There is a fine line between reading the narrative critically and an overly abstract analysis.⁹ The writing of an autobiographical text is a reflexive process, as with all ego-documents.¹⁰ Female penitents were probably evoking established, gendered conversion tropes when they composed their accounts. Yet analyses of self-fashioning and narrative construction must be balanced by historical evaluations of the social experience of conversion.¹¹ Correspondence and other sources permit us to measure the effects that a conversion had beyond the spiritual autobiography.

Contextualizing these experiences is also crucial. The duchesse de Liancourt's conversion in autumn 1638 was the first among the group. Her spiritual autobiography reveals nothing about the occasion itself, but it is clear that she converted in during a period of ill-health when she became the penitent of a Jesuit spiritual director, César François

⁷ Ellen. A. Macek, "Ghostly Fathers" and their "Virtuous Daughters": The Role of Spiritual Direction in the Lives of Three Early Modern English Women,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, 90, no. 2 (April, 2004): 217.

⁸ Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, 28. Kristine Ibsen has also shown that the rhetoric was neither gendered nor necessarily a 'Christian affectation,' but a literary pattern inherited from Antiquity; see Kristine Ibsen, *Women's Spiritual Autobiography in Colonial Spanish America* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), 22.

⁹ D. Bruce Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3.

¹⁰ Tom Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality,' *The Historical Journal*, 39, no. 1 (March, 1996): 35. On the gendered 'self,' see Catriona Mackenzie and Natalie Stoljar, 'Introduction: Autonomy Refigured,' in *Relational Autonomy: Feminist Perspectives on Autonomy, Agency and the Social Self*, eds. Catriona Mackenzie and Natalie Stoljar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 4.

¹¹ I have found the work of James Olney on autobiography useful, see: James Olney, *Memory and Narrative: The Weave of Life Writing* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1998); James Olney, ed., *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); James Olney, *Metaphors of Self: The Meaning of Autobiography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

d'Haraucourt.¹² The penitential process also seems to have been intensified by the death of her son in 1646, as her letter to the French ambassador Claude de Mesmes (d.1650) disclosed:

Monsieur, en un temps ou je ne me croyois pas capable d'aucun plaisir j'en ay pris beaucoup a lire la lettre que vous me faire l'honneur de m'escire et ce que je n'eusse jamais pensé des pertes qui me sont survenues parmy mes plus grandes afflictions que je pouvois recevoir et qui ont eu la vertu de me les faire oublier pour quelque moments, ce ne sont pas, monsieur, les moindres merveilles de vostre esprit.¹³

The emotions brought about by bereavement, such as an inability to feel pleasure, also became synonymous with penitence as the next two chapters will show.

The duchesse de Longueville converted one year after the end of the Fronde and Cardinal Mazarin's return to Paris. Gabriel de Roquette, bishop of Autun (1624 – 1707) explained in his funeral sermon that Longueville's conversion in 1654 was driven by the death of her mother in December 1650.¹⁴ Whatever the stimulus, the conversion occurred during a sojourn at the convent of the Visitation at Moulins, where her aunt the duchesse de Montmorency was abbess.¹⁵ On 6 January 1654, Longueville sought the informal approval of her husband Henri to spend a period of retreat at Moulins and permission was also granted by a letter of the King.¹⁶ Longueville stayed at Moulins for six months with two of her

¹² Jean Lesaulnier, 'Le château de La Roche-Guyon et les Liancourt. 1629 - 1674,' in *Cahiers Leopold Delisle; Tome XL; N° unique 1991: Châteaux et châtelains en Normandie* (Limeil-Brévannes: Société Parisienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Normandes, 1994), 72.

¹³ BIF, Ms. Godefroy, 215, ff. 290 – 91, duchesse de Liancourt to Monsieur d'Avaux, undated. For his letter, see 'Lettre de consolation escrite par Monsieur d'Avaux à Madame de Liancourt sur la mort du Comte de la Roche Guyon son fils, à Munster le 9 novembre 1646.' Claude de Mesmes, comte d'Avaux was the French envoy at Munster for the Treaty of Westphalia.

¹⁴ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10203, fo. 77.

¹⁵ Charles Cotolendi, *La vie de madame la duchesse de montmorency supérieure de la Visitation de sainte marie de Moulins* (Paris: C Barbin, 1684), 1.

¹⁶ BnF, Clair. 441, fo. 10, duchesse de Longueville to the duc de Longueville, 6 January 1654: 'je vous demande non seulement la permission de demeurer avec Mad[am]e de Monmorency que je vais trouver demain mais encore la grace d'obtenir de sa majeste quelle approuve que je demeure en celui cy tout le temps'; MC,

chambermaids in a conventual cell.¹⁷ The spiritual reawakening itself came when she was reading:

Il se tira comme un rideau de devant les yeux de mon esprit; tous les charmes de la verité rassembles sous un seul objet, se présentèrent devant moi, la Foi, qui avoit demeure comme morte et ensevelie sous mes passions, se renouvella.¹⁸

The order of the Visitation, founded in 1610 by François de Sales (1567 – 1622) and Jeanne-Françoise Fremyot de Chantal (1572 – 1641), was revered among pious women in seventeenth-century Paris and celebrated an annual mass in honour of its female benefactors.¹⁹ For Longueville, the convent at Moulins retained a longer-term significance as the site of her conversion. In 1666, to honour the canonization ceremony of François de Sales, she donated a gold and silver brocade to the convent Church.²⁰

Chantilly, Série P, vol. xiv, fo. 3, Louis XIV to the duchesse de Longueville, 14 January 1654: ‘Ma cousine ayant sceu que vous desirez faire un sejour a Moulins pres de la personne de ma cousine la duchesse de montmorency vostre tante jay bien voullu vous en accorder la permission par cette lettre et vous dire que je trouve bon que vous vous arresties aud[ite] Moulins.’

¹⁷ *Memoires sur la vie, les malheurs, les vertus de très haute très illustre princesse Marie Félice des Ursins* (2 volumes, Poitiers: H. Oudin frères, 1877), vol. 2, 161 – 64; Lebigre, *La duchesse de Longueville*, 245.

¹⁸ Villefore, *La véritable vie d'Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon*, vol. 1, 4; this has also been reprinted in Benedetta Papiasogli, ‘Ritratto di Mme de Longueville,’ in *La lettera e lo spirito: Temi e figure del Seicento francese* (Pisa: Libreria Goliardica, 1986), 101.

¹⁹ On Jeanne de Chantal, see *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité ascétique et mystique doctrine et histoire*; fondé par M. Villier, F. Cavallera, J. de Guibert, S. J (17 volumes, Paris: Beauchesne, 1937 – 1995), vol. III (Paris: Beauchesne, 1957), 634 – 35. On the visitation, see Marie-Ange Duvignacq Glessgen, *L'ordre de la Visitation à Paris aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 1994), 231; Bernard Dompnier, ‘Introduction: les visitandines, les monastères et la visitation parcours dans les sources et l’historiographie,’ in *Visitation et visitandines aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles; actes du colloque d’Annecy*, ed. Bernard Dompnier (Saint Étienne, Publications de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 2001), 9; and Hélène Bordes, ‘L’ancienne visitation de Moulins à travers ses archives,’ *Bulletin de la Société d’Émulation du Bourbonnais*, 63, no. 3 (1987): 464.

²⁰ *Relation de ce qui s’est passé en la solennité de la canonisation de St François de Sales dans l’église des religieuses de la Visitation Ste Marie de Moulins par les soins & la sage conduite de madame la duchesse de Montmorency, supérieure dudit monastère. Et en suite la pompe funèbre, faite aux obsèques de ladite princesse, décédée audit monastère M DC LXVI* (Moulins: par Jacques Vernoy, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy 1666), 16.

It was Longueville's spiritual rebirth which helped to convert firstly her brother, Armand de Bourbon, and then his wife, Anne-Marie Martinozzi, princesse de Conti.²¹ Conti's correspondence with Guillaume Le Roy (1610 - 1684), an *abbé* from a newly enobled family, reveals that she experienced a conversion in February 1656 which coincided with the reception of the converted Christina of Sweden in Paris:

Vivre toujours dans un esprit de penitence, regarder jesus christ et son evangile comme notre modele regle souveraine, nous proposer de l'imiter, de l'honorer, de le suivre dans toutes nos oeuvres et dans tous les devoirs de notre condition, renoncer incessamment a nous meme et a notre propre volonte, vivre dans un esprit de mort et de sacrifice, c'est tout ce que doit proposer une ame veritablement convertie, vraiment penitente et vraiment chretienne.²²

The indications are that the comtesse de Brienne, the princesse de Guéméné, the marquise de Sablé and the comtesse de Maure were also 'vertitablement convertie' by the middle decades of the century. One expression of Brienne's penitence came in the form of an ode which was composed during a retreat at the convent of the *Filles de Sainte-Marie*.²³ The ode describes an edenic city which became corrupted by sin and vice: an allusion to the Fall. Brienne closed the elegy with the following pledge:

la grace de mon Dieu augmentera mon zelle je l'espere, parmy cette troupe fidelle mon esprit esclairé chassera les erreurs du siecle.²⁴

According to the letters of Jean-Ambroise Duvergier de Hauranne, abbé de Saint-Cyran (1581 – 1643), the princesse de Guéméné was converted by 1639 and was, along with the

²¹ Barthélemy, *Une nièce de Mazarin*, 145; see also Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, vol. 3, 46 – 52.

²² René Tavenaux, 'Jansénisme et vie sociale en France au XVII siècle,' *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 54, no. 152 (1968): 43; Moine, *Les fêtes à la cour du roi soleil*, 13; *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, vol. IX (Paris: Beauchesne, 1976), 694; BM, Ms. 2483, ff. 304 – 306, abbé Le Roy to the princesse de Conti, February 1656.

²³ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17056, ff. 186 – 89, comtesse de Brienne to madame de Sablé, undated.

²⁴ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17056, fo. 189, comtesse de Brienne to madame de Sablé, undated.

marquise de Sablé, among the first to establish a relationship with Port-Royal.²⁵ The comtesse de Maure's biographers have been unconvinced by her 'conversion.' They acknowledge that after the Fronde she underwent some kind of moral reformation but often attribute this to a change in her fortune.²⁶ This perception of the comtesse de Maure is perhaps the result of a lingering characterization of her as 'La Folle.'²⁷ The 'madwoman's' jealousy over Sablé's friendships with other women and her mercenary approach to relationships might also tempt us to think that she was motivated solely by the prospect of personal profit. Yet her aspirations to associate with the spiritual elite superseded these concerns as we will see shortly, and this was not simply a Tartuffian desire to be seen as pious. The countess' early letters to the marquise de Sablé are testimonies to her contrition:

Je men retourner donc dans ma solitude examiner les defauts qui me rendent si malheureuse et a moins que de les pouvoir corriger.²⁸

The sources are less enlightening about the conversions of our penitents' rigorist acquaintances. It seems that Marie-Louise de Gonzague and the duchesse de Schomberg had converted by the 1650s. The former was corresponding with spiritual directors at Port-Royal in the 1640s and the latter converted shortly after her husband's death in 1656.²⁹ We know

²⁵ Gazier, *Les belles amies de Port-Royal*, 6; Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, vol. 1, 378. AN, Série S, 4515^B records their contracts with Port-Royal, dated 16 January 1647 and 5 February 1656 respectively. On Saint-Cyran, see *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, vol. XIV (Paris: Beauchesne, 1990), 140.

²⁶ Cousin, 'Madame la comtesse de Maure et mademoiselle de Vandy,' 489; Barthélemy, *Madame la comtesse de Maure: la présence de ces deux jeunes femmes [mademoiselle de Vandy and mademoiselle d'Atry] augmentait notablement la dépense de la comtesse... il lui fallut définitivement quitter l'hôtel, déjà loué une fois au maréchal d'Albret, pour s'installer modestement au faubourg Saint-Jacques,* 42 – 4.

²⁷ Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots*, 116. Her biographers also doubted her commitment to rigorist theology, see Barthélemy, *Madame la comtesse de Maure*, 48; this is discussed below, pp. 50 – 51.

²⁸ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 321, comtesse de Maure to the marquise de Sablé, undated; this is printed in Barthélemy, *Madame la comtesse de Maure*, 79. The letter itself is not in Maure's own hand and looks like a later copy.

²⁹ According to Schomberg's eighteenth-century biographer, see *La Vie de Marie de Hautefort, duchesse de Schomberg par une de ses amies: ouvrage imprimé pour la première fois par G. É. J. M. A. L., sur un manuscrit tiré de la bibliothèque de M. Beaucousin, avec une préface et des notes par I. F. A. O* (n.p, 1799), 49 – 51.

that Marie-Louise de Gonzague was a retreatant with the princesse de Guéméné at Port-Royal in Paris in the early years of the 1640s, under the spiritual direction of *solitaire* Antoine Singlin (1607 – 1664).³⁰ Unfortunately, there is no evidence as to whether the marquise de Gamaches experienced a conversion. At our disposal for a more detailed discussion of the conversion experiences of rigorist penitents are the ‘spiritual autobiographies’ of the princesse de Conti, duchesse de Longueville and duchesse de Liancourt, which the next part of the chapter will focus upon.³¹ The term ‘spiritual autobiography’ is preferable to ‘conversion narrative’ due to the provenance of the accounts; some were clearly post-conversion texts composed during penitential reflections on the experience and place less emphasis on the moment of conversion than on the continuing practice of penitence.

2. Penitence in the Spiritual Autobiography

Conversion only marked the beginning of a life of penitence which was to thwart the life being turned away from:

By conversion we mean the reorientation of the soul of an individual, his deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which

³⁰ On Singlin, see *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, vol. XIV, 931 – 938; Josse, ed., *Lettres inédites d’Antoine Singlin*, 69. On Marie-Louise de Gonzague, see Norman Davies, *God’s Playground: A History of Poland* (2 volumes, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), vol. 1, ‘The origins to 1795,’ 394.

³¹ Cousin and Villefore published extracts of the account written by Longueville and these extracts have been used more recently by Craveri and Benedetta Papisogli in their ‘portraits’ of madame de Longueville; see Benedetta Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*; translated by Theresa Waugh (New York: New York Review, 2006), 71 – 87; Papisogli, ‘Ritratto di Mme de Longueville,’ 100 – 107. Liancourt’s was published as part of the ‘conduct literature’ she wrote for her grand-daughter, but the Conti account remains unprinted: BnF, Na. Fr, 10951, ‘Copie de plusieurs différens écrits de Madame la princesse de Conty.’ The duchesse de Liancourt’s text is discussed in a recent examination of eighteenth-century ‘conduct literature,’ Aurélie Chatenet, ‘La femme maîtresse de maison? Rôle et place des femmes dans les ouvrages d’économie domestique au XVIIIe siècle,’ *Histoire, économie et société*, 28, no. 4 (2009): 21 – 34; but, to my knowledge, has been neglected as a source for seventeenth-century female piety.

implies a consciousness that a great change is involved that the old was wrong and the new is right.³²

The admission of sin was the first stage in rigorist penitents' abandonment of the worldly life. A sin they frequently confessed to was 'distraction' or 'diversion,' particularly from prayer. Both the princesse de Conti and duchesse de Longueville listed these tendencies among their faults:

De n'apporter pas le respect que je dois dans mes prieres...De me trop disiper dans les conversations et avec les personnes qui me plaisent.³³

Jay eu lumiere...que jusques icy j'avois cherché Dieu d'une manière tres humaine m'attachant aux personnes qui me conduisoient a luy d'une facon tres pleine d'amour propre.³⁴

The intention to correct these foibles, particularly the inability to resist pleasure and conversations with friends, is an example of the penitential mortification involved in conversion. Suffering was welcomed as the providential punishment for sin. Conti promised, for example, to embrace penitence and the 'challenges' that God sent her.³⁵ The act of writing these confessions may have functioned as a textual examination of conscience, but it is clear that not all of the spiritual autobiographies were produced simply to be consumed by a spiritual director: they were to be re-read by the penitent herself. The intended posterity of Liancourt's text is proved by its address to her grand-daughter.³⁶ There are signs that

³² Arthur Darby Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 7; Frederick H. Russell, 'Augustine: Conversion by the Book,' in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Muldoon, 13.

³³ BnF, Na. Fr, 10951, fo. 3.

³⁴ BSPR, Ms. PR, 107, ff. 93 – 4.

³⁵ BnF, Na. Fr, 10951, fo.10.

³⁶ Jeanne-Charlotte du Plessis Liancourt (1644 – 1669) who died at the age of 25. She married François VII, duc de La Rochefoucauld some years earlier; see AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/196, 18 March 1658, 23 March 1658. A probate inventory was taken on 6 March 1670, AN, ET/ XCVIII/234; See Appendix A, p. 335.

Longueville revised her accounts. This occurred firstly during a retreat in November 1661, the date of her first spiritual writing, and then in July 1663, the date of the second. Conti was more precise about the long-term use of her writings as she vowed, ‘Je liray toutes les semaines ces escrit pour voir si je suis fidelle a l’execution.’³⁷

The promise to revisit their testimonies illustrates the importance of the conversion experience for rigorist penitents. Their spiritual autobiographies show that conversion was perceived as a personal turning-point. The princesse de Conti praised her reinvigorated ‘self’ after retreat and commented on her spiritual strength:

Il me semble que je reviens fortifiée et affermie dans le désir d’estre uniquement a nostre seigneur plus persuadée qu’il faut en tenir qu’a Dieu seul.³⁸

Longueville may have been constructing a more specific post-conversion identity in her writings:

Comme rien ne nous rend si indignes des graces de Dieu que la meconnoissance de ces memes graces et que rien ne nous conduit tant a la meconnoissance que l’oubly j’ay cru qu’il estoit bon que j’ecriviste celles que j’ay recues de sa divine bonté a pareil jour que celuy d’aujourd’huy qui est celuy de la feste de S[ain]te Madeleine...ce que je luy demande par l’intercession de la glorieuse s[ain]te le jour et par l’asistance de laquelle je les ay recues.³⁹

Her conversion in 1654 and the day she composed the account in 1663 was 22 July, the feast of the Magdalene. The trope of the penitent Magdalene immortalized in the works of Philippe de Champaigne (1602 – 1674), Simon Vouet (1590 – 1649) and Charles Le Brun (1619 –

³⁷ BnF, Na. Fr, 10951, fo. 20.

³⁸ BnF, Na. Fr, 10951, fo. 5.

³⁹ BSPR, Ms. PR, 107, fo. 93.

1690) was a rich if obvious source for the female aristocrat undergoing penance.⁴⁰ By the twelfth century, Mary Magdalene was attributed a wealthy aristocratic background as the sister of Martha and Lazarus.⁴¹ Her appeal to elite female converts then, lay not only in her gender, beauty and sinful existence, but also her social status. This symbolism was not only relevant to rigorist penitents, of course. In Ignatius Loyola's 'Spiritual Exercises' of 1548, completed during his time at the University of Paris, the exercitant is advised to meditate on the conversion of Mary Magdalene.⁴² The symbolism of the Magdalene can also be found in poems and elevations written in the early-seventeenth century, such as Pierre de Bérulle's (1575 – 1629) 'Élevation sur sainte-madeleine' of 1627.⁴³ Both Marie de Medici and Anne of Austria had a fondness for the Magdalene and the Bourbons helped to develop the cult in the French Church.⁴⁴ Furthermore, it became modish to be painted 'à la Madeleine' at court. Louise de la Vallière, a mistress of Louis XIV, was depicted in this fashion by Pierre Mignard (1612 – 1695).⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Many French and Anglo-American historians have discussed the importance of the 'beata peccatrix' in the late Middle Ages and early modern period and the literature on the subject is extensive. See the seminal work of Victor Saxer, *Culte de marie-madeleine en occident des origines à la fin du moyen age* (2 volumes, Paris: Clavreuil, 1959). For a summary of the relevant historiography, see Katherine Ludwig Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen: Preaching and Popular Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

⁴¹ Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (London: Harper Collins, 1994), 136.

⁴² *Ibid*, 254.

⁴³ Françoise Bardon, 'Le thème de la madeleine pénitente au XVIIe siècle en France,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968): 283; Joseph Beaudé, 'L'élévation sur sainte-madeleine du Cardinal de Bérulle et la mystique du XVIIe siècle,' in *Marie-Madeleine dans la mystique les arts et les lettres*, ed. E. Dupperay (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 127.

⁴⁴ Marie-Madeleine Fontaine, 'Marie-madeleine: une sainte courtisane par les dames de la cour,' in *Female Saints and Sinners: saintes et mondaines, France 1450 – 1650*, eds. Jennifer Britnell and Anne Moss (Durham: University of Durham, 2002), 3.

⁴⁵ Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, 301.

This identification with the ‘penitent sinner’ is also evident in the idiosyncratic preambles of rigorist women’s testaments.⁴⁶ Conti and Brienne explicitly identified the Magdalene as a saint that they were affiliated with in their testaments and Longueville and Liancourt made similar statements of contrition.⁴⁷ The appropriation of the image of the female penitent sinner was not simply a narrative device in the spiritual autobiography, or a formulaic declaration in the testament, but an enduring sentiment. Conti identified with the penitent courtesan of Alexandria, Sainte Thais, according to her correspondence.⁴⁸ Thais was a model penitent who renounced her immoral existence as a prostitute and enclosed herself for three years within a narrow cell.⁴⁹ Twenty years after her conversion, receiving communion on the feast of the Magdalene was paramount for Longueville:

j’avois communie le jour de S[ain]te Madeleine et que j’etois dans le dessein de le faire vendredy...j’espere que vous ne m’oublierez pas ce jour la ni meme aujourdhy et que vous demanderes a Dieu avec bien de la ferveur que je sois veritablement sortie de l’egypte et que je n’y retourne jamais.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Testaments within the Parisian notarial archives have been used on a large scale by historians and have been important to the history of *mentalités*, such as the work by Pierre Chaunu and his students, *La Mort à Paris: XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1978). The issues surrounding the use of testaments as sources for the history of piety have also been fully outlined by medieval historians working on English wills; see Clive Burgess, ‘Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered,’ in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), 14 – 33.

⁴⁷ AN, R³, 119, 22 December 1671; AN, 4 AP, 168, 26 August 1665; AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/0250, 8 June 1674; MC, Chantilly, 1 – A - 008, 30 August 1678. Guéméné asked for forgiveness in her testament but this does seem like a formulaic statement; see AN, MC, ET/ LXXXVII/267, 25 January 1678. All of these are transcribed in Appendix B. Marie-Louise Gonzague’s testament is at AN, Série K, 1314, fo. 160, 10 March 1667.

⁴⁸ BnF, Ms. Fr, 19347, fo. 49, princesse de Conti to the abbé de Ciron, undated.

⁴⁹ *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur* (68 volumes, Antwerp and Brussels: 1643 – 1940), Octobris IV, Dies 8 Octobris, 225: ‘Fuit quædam meretrix, Thaisis nomine, tantæ pulchritudinis,’ ‘Acta Sanctorum: The Full Text Database,’ <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk> [accessed March 7, 2011]; see also Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*; translated by William Granger Ryan (2 volumes, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), vol. 2, 234; and ‘Taisia’ in Filippo Caraffa, Giuseppe Morelli, et. al, eds., *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome: Città Nuova editrice, 1995 – 2000), vol. XII, (Rome: Città Nuova editrice, 1969), 98.

⁵⁰ MC, Chantilly, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque, Ms. 167, ff. 7 – 11, fo. 8, duchesse de Longueville to the *curé* of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, 27 July, undated, Port-Royal. These letters are copies and there are no substantial variations (other than orthographical) to those printed by Cousin in ‘Lettres inédites,’ *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* (1843); for this letter see 440; Cousin dated this letter 28 July.

Longueville used a scriptural analogy in this letter to liken the date of her conversion to the escape of the Israelites from slavery in Egypt.⁵¹ Longueville's dedication to penitence after her conversion meant that she was able to compare herself to the Israelites and her pre-conversion state to the torment of the slaves: a clear distinction between her pre and post-conversion 'self.' As these sources demonstrate, this change in self-perception was not instantaneous; using the image of the 'penitent' sinner aristocratic women continued to refresh the conversion experience years later as part of the ongoing penitential process.

3. Grace and Salvation in the Spiritual Autobiography

Penitence is not the only recurring theme in rigorist penitents' commentaries on their conversions. These sources are also testaments to the birth of many lifelong preoccupations with salvation. In Brienne's verse, she alluded to the fall and explicitly referred to the 'grace' that had ignited her desire to avoid the sins of the 'siècle.'⁵² Longueville harnessed the language of redemption in her analogical letter on the Israelites by asking the *curé* to pray that she was 'veritablement sortie de l'egypte.' She also commemorated receiving God's 'grace' in her spiritual autobiography.⁵³ The princesse de Conti was certain that her conversion marked a significant stage in the pursuit of her salvation:

Je desire de tout mon coeur de devenir enfant et d'obeir sans vouloir scavoir les raisons et je regarderay que mon obeissance ne consi[s]t[e] pas seulement aux choses exterieurs mais aux interieures, cest pourquoy je ne douteray plus destre a nostre Seigneur, mais croiray estre tousjours entre ses bras jusqu'a ce qu'on me dise le contraire.⁵⁴

⁵¹ See Exodus 12: 31 – 42, especially verse 42: 'It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord for bringing them out from the Land of Egypt; this is that night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations,' *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 80.

⁵² See p. 41 above.

⁵³ See p. 45 above.

⁵⁴ BnF. Na. Fr, 10951, fo. 9.

Conversion gave rigorist penitents a spiritual confidence. Conti vowed to believe in her safety ‘entre ses (Our Lord’s) bras’ until she discovered otherwise: something that the rigorists encouraged female penitents to believe.⁵⁵ The word ‘grâce’ was used proverbially in the seventeenth century as it is in modern French, but the the language in these sources suggests the term was being used in a different capacity.⁵⁶ The process that Conti’s spiritual autobiography and the other above examples allude to is the receipt of grace during conversion and its relationship to salvation: an issue which was at the heart of the theological disputes of the age. ‘Grace’ was discussed at the Council of Trent between June 1546 and January 1547 when it dealt with justification: one of the most important doctrinal questions facing the Church in this period.⁵⁷ The Church Fathers affirmed the importance of grace and free will, but did not outline the connections between the two, inviting further dispute.⁵⁸ Indeed, to find the official Catholic position on the doctrine of grace, we have to return to the declarations of the Councils of Carthage (418), Ephesus (431) and Orange (529).⁵⁹

In the debate that ensued between the rigorists and the Jesuits, the central question concerned the *initium salutis*, or whether the first stage in the salvific process came from man or God.⁶⁰ Did the human first choose to dedicate her life to God and then receive divine grace to facilitate the pursuit of salvation? Or did God bestow His grace upon her, allowing her to devote her life to Him? The Jesuits wrote in favour of the human condition and human free will in the debate over the doctrine of grace. Their position was outlined in the Spanish Luis

⁵⁵ See chapter two below, p. 112.

⁵⁶ *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*: ‘Grâce: faveur qu’on fait à quelqu’un’; the dictionary also refers to its proverbial use as ‘venue de la grâce de Dieu,’ vol. 1, 832.

⁵⁷ Bireley, ‘Redefining Catholicism: Trent and Beyond,’ 148.

⁵⁸ Delumeau, *Le catholicisme*, 156.

⁵⁹ Jan Miel, *Pascal and Theology* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1969), 1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

de Molina's 'De concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis' of 1588. Molina argued that even after the Fall, humans were still able to choose between good and evil; God simply needed to give them 'sufficient grace' which, coupled with their freedom to choose to use it, would enable them to receive the sacraments, follow the commandments and eventually be saved. Molina's stance on the cooperation between 'sufficient grace' and human free will essentially made salvation more accessible.⁶¹ Conversely, the rigorists upheld the Augustinian stance that, first, a human soul needed God's grace to conquer their corrupt human nature.⁶² There were also distinctions made between the types of grace God could bestow. For salvation, one needed 'efficacious' grace from God which would redirect human desire towards Him.⁶³ On grace, the rigorists were faithful to Augustine's view on free will (or, at least his view after c.396).⁶⁴ In short, this meant that a conversion was not the result of free will but a consequence of having received divine grace.

One penitent found the rigorist position on grace difficult to accept. The comtesse de Maure's letters on the doctrine to the marquise de Sablé were used by her nineteenth-century biographers as evidence of her impiety.⁶⁵ The problem that the countess initially faced was a reluctance to accept the Augustinian position which she found denied God's mercy and was too severe. Her outlook on this was influenced by the comte de Maure, as she explained in letters written immediately after the issue of the Papal Bull *Cum Occasione* in 1653. But her correspondence arguably reveals that although she preferred to believe (for her own spiritual

⁶¹ Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560 – 1791* (London: Yale University Press, 1996), 52.

⁶² Éric Rebillard, 'A New Style of Argument in Christian Polemic: Augustine and the use of Patristic Citations,' *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 8, no. 4 (Winter, 2000): 559 – 78.

⁶³ Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 60.

⁶⁴ Miel, *Pascal and Theology*, 25.

⁶⁵ See p. 41 above.

comfort) that God would not condemn anyone, she was aware of the possible consequences of these delusions:

Je me tiens tres volontiers a la bule qui sans condamner saint Augustin, condamne pourtant les offences que j'ay trouvées de sorte que sans avoit jamais peu rien entendre au raisonnement dont on se sert par la grace sufisante... je ne scay a qui il peut estre utile de croire qu'il faisse nessecairement quil y ait des damnés et que Dieu ne ne [repeated in the manuscript] a pas donné la grace qui est necessaire pour acomplir ce qu'il a commande, mais je scay bien que ceste creance-la me seroit fort dangereuse.⁶⁶

Robin Briggs explained that rigorists often 'found it hard to accept that life was being lived in the shadow of the Fall and its consequences.'⁶⁷ There is no evidence of Sablé's response to Maure, or any other rigorists' attempts to convey how 'useful' or comforting a belief in grace and predestination could be to the spiritual elite. Yet the fact that Maure later became so intimately connected with Port-Royal and, as we shall see, emerged as one of the most devoted members of the female rigorist friendship network suggests that she changed her mind.

Maure's initial difficulty accepting the Augustinian stance on grace should not detract from the way that when other rigorist penitents declared themselves 'in God's hands' or 'liberated from Egypt', they were confessing to have been initiated into a selective congregation of the faithful. Their profession as the spiritual elite involved the subtle claim that they had received God's grace. Theologically speaking, there is a difference between having been granted divine grace and being guaranteed salvation (or being predestined) because of the role played by the type of grace received. The recurrence of the language of

⁶⁶ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, ff. 257 – 58, fo. 257, comtesse de Maure to the marquise de Sablé, undated; this letter was printed by Barthélemy, *Madame la comtesse de Maure*, 190 – 91. Barthélemy's transcription contains substantial orthographic and some word variations. For example: 'je me tiens très volontiers a la bulle qui sans condamner Saint Augustin, condamne pourtant les opinions que j'y ay trouvées...'

⁶⁷ Robin Briggs, 'The Science of Sin: Jacques de Sainte-Beuve and his cas de conscience,' in *Religious Change in Europe 1650 – 1914*, ed. Nigel Aston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 40.

redemption in the sources does point towards a belief in the receipt of a ‘sanctifying’ grace, however.⁶⁸ Writing and re-reading the spiritual autobiography helped to shape, as well as reflect, the significance of the conversion experience.⁶⁹ Rigorist penitents came to pinpoint the day of their conversion as the moment they were saved.

4. The Social Visibility of Conversion

Saint Peter was the archetypal example of how the ‘just’ might ‘fall’ when God withdrew His divine grace.⁷⁰ The resolutions outlined within the spiritual autobiographies of rigorist penitents show that they intended to profit spiritually from their conversions and avoid such a ‘fall from grace.’ Interior scrutiny was to be accompanied by the reformation of public conduct. The duchesse de Liancourt’s 38 *règles* made daily provisions for the edification of her household staff and outlined ways that she might become a more virtuous penitent. These were appended to the guide she famously wrote for her grand-daughter, which offered advice on the appropriate social and spiritual deportment of a pious female aristocrat.⁷¹

J’essayeray d’ouir tous les jours de Dimanche la Messe a ma paroisse, d’ouir le Prosne, ou de le faire entendre par quelqu’un de nos gens, et pour les autres Festes je m’assujettiray au lieu, pourvu que ce soit quelque eglise, ne la voulant ouir dans la

⁶⁸ The next chapter presents more evidence for this belief and for the attitudes of spiritual directors towards it.

⁶⁹ The way writing helps to shape an experience is a point made by Fay Bound; see ‘Writing the self?’ 5. See also Jonathan Sawday, ‘Self and Selfhood in the Seventeenth Century,’ in *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1997), 38.

⁷⁰ Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 61.

⁷¹ There are several editions of this text, including a new critical edition by Colette H. Winn, ed., *Règlement donné par une dame de haute qualité à M*** sa petite-fille, pour sa conduite, & pour celle de sa maison: avec un autre règlement que cette dame avoit dressé pour elle-mesme, éd. critique par Colette H. Winn* (Paris: H. Champion, 1997). I have critiqued Winn’s analysis of the text in chapter four and instead used the earliest printed edition: Jeanne de Schomberg, duchesse de Liancourt, *Règlement donné par une dame de haute qualité à M*** sa petite-fille, pour sa conduite et pour celle de sa maison, avec un autre règlement que cette dame avoit dressé pour elle-mesme* (Paris: A. Leguerrier, 1698). This text was first published in 1698 by the abbé Jean-Jacques Boileau and was reprinted five times between 1698 and 1881; see Winn, *Règlement donné par une dame*, 8.

chapelle du logis, quelque permission que j'en aye, que quand je me trouveray mal, ou quil y aura quelque autre sujet raisonnable, et quelque part que ce soit je me garderay bien s'il plaist a Dieu, de faire attendre le Prestre ni de souffrir qu'il sy fasse du bruit ni d'indecence qui puisse troubler la devotion.⁷²

Her garb would also set a penitent apart:

Il faut non seulement vous priver de toutes les principales choses, qui tendent à de si grands maux, mais encore des apparences comme des superfluites d'habits, des modes qui decouvrent le sein et les bras, des mouches, des fards, et de toutes les autres choses qui marquent une attache trop curieuse.⁷³

For Liancourt, a converted woman not only regularly attended parish mass and listened faithfully to the *prône*, she also rebuked those who disturbed devotions.⁷⁴ Such a virtuous penitent would be instantly recognizable having avoided 'fards' (make-up), 'mouches' (taffeta or velvet patches used as beauty marks) and clothes which showed too much of the breasts and arms.⁷⁵ Conti also resolved to set an example. Children were to be raised in the 'fear of God' and domestic servants were to have their morals examined once weekly.⁷⁶ The format of this portion of her autobiography was similar to 'Les devoirs des grands' written by the prince de Conti, which may indicate how she modelled her resolutions on some of the statements made by the Prince, particularly his 'obligations comme gouverneur de Province.'⁷⁷

⁷² *Règlement*, 226.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 52.

⁷⁴ 'The *prône* was a set of vernacular prayers and announcements that the celebrant read aloud in French, typically during the offertory service'; Katharine J. Lualdi, 'Persevering in the Faith: Catholic Worship and Communal Identity in the Wake of the Edict of Nantes,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35, no. 3 (Fall, 2004): 720.

⁷⁵ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Fard: composition artificielle qu'on met sur le visage pour faire paroître le teint le plus beau,' vol. 1, 721; 'Mouches: on appelle aussi certain petit morceau de taffetas noir préparé que les Dames se mettent sur le visage, pour faire paroître leur teint plus blanc,' vol. 2, 177.

⁷⁶ BnF, Na. Fr, 10951, ff. 13 - 21.

⁷⁷ BnF, Ms. Fr, 1925, fo. 23 onwards; see also one of the several early printed editions, such as: Armand de Bourbon, prince de Conti, *Les Devoirs des grands* (Paris: C. Barbin, 1666).

Contemporary memoirs also show how the modification of their public deportment affected an aristocratic woman's reputation. The conversion of the duchesse de Longueville was mocked by her alleged former lover François VI, duc de La Rochefoucauld (1613 – 1680) and the Jesuit René Rapin (1621 – 1687).⁷⁸ The duchesse de Montpensier commented more favourably on Longueville's conversion in her memoirs, and Françoise Bertaut de Motteville (1621 – 1689) described a palpable change in her during this period:

Sa vertu a été si grande et sa conversion si parfaite, que par elle on a eu sujet d'admirer en notre siècle les effets de la grâce et les merveilles que Dieu opère dans nos ames quand il lui plaît de les éclairer de sa lumière, et que d'un grand pécheur il veut faire un saint Paul et un saint Augustin.⁷⁹

A 'conversion si parfaite' could also have a longer-term effect on a woman's reputation. Madame de Sévigné referred to the princesse de Conti and duchesse de Longueville in 1671 thus:

J'ai dine aujourd'hui chez madame de Lavardin, apres avoir ete en Bourdaloue ou etaient les *meres de l'eglise*; c'est ainsi que j'appelle les princesses de Conti et de Longueville.⁸⁰

Calling Longueville and Conti the 'mères de l'église' was a cynical assessment: a typical Sévigné quip. It nevertheless shows that after their pious conversions and a lifetime dedicated to penitence, the spiritual elite were identifiable. The reputation of the duchesse de Liancourt

⁷⁸ Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, 84 – 5.

⁷⁹ Anne-Marie Louise d'Orléans (1627 – 1693), duchesse de Montpensier; *Nouvelle collections des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle par M. M. Michaud de l'Académie Française*, vol. 4, 'Mademoiselle de Montpensier' (Paris: Chez l'Éditeur du Commentaire Analytique du Code Civil, 1838), 178: '...prenant un meilleur parti, de se mettre dans les filles de Sainte-Marie de Moulins avec madame la duchesse de Montmorency sa tante'; *Nouvelle collections des mémoires*, vol. 10, 'Madame de Motteville,' 431.

⁸⁰ *Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné: correspondance par Roger Duchêne* (3 volumes, Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1972), vol. 1, Sévigné to madame de Grignan, Friday 13 March 1671, 183.

was similarly appraised by rigorist theologian Godefroy Hermant (1617 – 1690) who observed that she and the duke's piety was recognized by the 'whole court.'⁸¹

The conversions of aristocratic women quickly became public knowledge. The poet Jean Chapelain (1595 – 1674) gossiped in his letters that the princesse de Guéméné's conversion had 'shocked the court.'⁸² Conversions also elicited the expectation of an immediately perceptible change. In June 1654, the comtesse de Maure was staying at the spa town popular with the French elite, Bourbon l'Archambault. It is clear that she anticipated a more dramatic difference in Longueville when she wrote that she had found her 'unchanged.'⁸³ Longueville's metamorphosis was more obvious to many of her old acquaintances at the Rambouillet salon. Shortly after the duchess' conversion mademoiselle de Vandy felt it necessary to apologize for discussing trivial matters in her letters when the duchess was in 'such a holy place': a double entendre which referred to the religious house where Longueville had retreated and her personal disposition.⁸⁴ Chapelain exercised caution when he wrote to her at Rouen on 9 April 1659:

Madame V[otre] A[ltesse] ne se tiendra point s'il vous plaist pour interrompue dans ses exercices de piété si je luy tesmoigne en peu de paroles la consolation que m'a apportée l'honneur que j'ay eu de voir et de saluer M[onsei]g[neu]rs ses enfans...Je vous souhaite cette satisfaction madame et j'espère que le ciel l'accordera à vos prières et à celles de tous les gens de bien.⁸⁵

⁸¹ A. Gazier, ed., *Mémoires de Godefroy Hermant, docteur de Sorbonne, chanoine de Beauvais, ancien recteur de l'Université: sur l'histoire ecclésiastique du XVIIe siècle (1630 - 1663) publiés pour la première fois, sur le manuscrit autographe et sur les anciennes copies authentiques, avec une introduction et des notes, par A. Gazier* (6 volumes, Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1905 - 1910), vol. 3, 491; referenced by Jean Lesaulnier in 'Les Liancourt, leur hôtel et leurs hôtes (1631 – 1674),' in *Images de La Rochefoucauld; actes du Tricentenaire, 1680 - 1980*, eds. Jean Lafond et Jean Mesnard (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984), 171.

⁸² P. H. Tamizey de Larroque, ed., *Lettres de Jean Chapelain de l'académie française* (2 volumes, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880 - 1883), vol. 1, 542 – 44.

⁸³ *Bourbon l'Archambault: le plus beau nom de France* (Bourbon: Association des Amis du vieux Bourbon, 1989), 52; BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 5417, fo. 141, comtesse de Maure to Antoine de Godeau (1605 – 1672), bishop of Grasse and Vence, 12 June 1654: 'j'ay veu madame de Longueville et que je ne l'ay point trouvée changées si ce nest pas par l'esprit.'

⁸⁴ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 5417, fo. 145, mademoiselle de Vandy to the duchesse de Longueville, undated.

⁸⁵ Larroque, ed., *Lettres de Jean Chapelain*, vol. 2, 36.

Longueville's 'worldly friends' were becoming hesitant in their exchanges with her because of her new reputation for piety. There are also signs that the duchess began to disparage the frivolousness of salon customs:

Il est aujourd'hui un sy bon jour qu'il ne faut pas employer a escrire de longues lettres, adieu donc.⁸⁶

Letter writing, regarded as a virtuous feminine pastime which was all-the-rage in the salons, had become an inappropriate way of observing a Holy Day of Obligation such as All Saints for Longueville.⁸⁷

The experience of conversion also necessitated a conspicuous absence from public life and social events. This could be a short-term sabbatical if a penitent retreated to a religious house, or, as we will see with our penitents, a longer-term detachment.⁸⁸ The duchesse de Liancourt planned to avoid most sources of 'divertissement', with the exception of the most 'harmless' activities:

Je choisiray ceux qui sont les plus innocens et qui m'empêchent moins d'élever mon esprit a Dieu, comme la promenade, la peinture, la conversation honnête et autres semblables...Pour les festins et autres assemblées quoique innocentes, je n'iray que quand je seray obligée.⁸⁹

One year after her conversion, Longueville seems to have made herself similarly aloof:

⁸⁶ MC, Chantilly, Série P, vol. xix, ff. 307 – 308, fo. 307, duchesse de Longueville to Monsieur d'Autreil, 1 November 1658, Maubuisson.

⁸⁷ This clearly denoted Longueville's change of heart. Compare this with a letter she wrote with her spiritual friends on the day of All Saints some years earlier, see chapter five, below, p. 316.

⁸⁸ The way their attitudes to the court changed over time is considered in chapters two and five.

⁸⁹ *Règlement*, 233.

Je l'ai trouvée non seulement dévote comme on nous l'avoit dit mais detachée du monde plus que je ne l'avois cru.⁹⁰

By 1655, the comtesse de Maure was able to recognize the transformation that Longueville's conversion had prompted. She mused over the duchess' withdrawal from the world some years later in another letter:

Je nay point encore veu m[ada]me de Longueville, je lay cherchee une fois (l'on disoit qu'elle estoit retiree) et quand elle la sceu elle ma escrit une lettre fort aimable mais rien ne me scauroit faire changer d'opinion quelle se passe parfaitement de moy et cest bien a ma confusion car elle se plaist ce me semble avec toutes celles qui sont devotes.⁹¹

Maure's use of the term 'dévot' in both of these letters is surprising given that it is said to have acquired a derisory meaning by the middle decades of the century.⁹² This may simply be a result of the chronology. The 1650s, the approximate date of the letter, predated the suppression of the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* and the death of Anne of Austria (1666). It was probably only in the 1660s that 'dévot' was attributed this derisive quality, when works such as Molière's 'Tartuffe' gave extra ammunition to their ridicule.⁹³ The term also

⁹⁰ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 5414, fo. 701, comtesse de Maure to madame de Montausier, 9 June 1655; printed in Barthélemy, *Madame la comtesse de Maure*, 111.

⁹¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 256, comtesse de Maure to madame de Sablé, undated; Barthélemy printed an extract in *Madame la comtesse de Maure*, 47, but amalgamates two separate letters, which suggest that Longueville had shunned the countess. These extracts were part of Barthélemy (and previously Cousin's) argument that as Longueville was becoming increasingly devout, Maure was becoming less so - which is clearly inaccurate.

⁹² These are the only instances I have found where this word was used. Rigorists did refer to themselves as 'penitents'; see for example, how the princesse de Conti described Longueville in BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, ff. 199 - 200, princesse de Conti to the abbé de La Vergne, 30 December, undated. On the changing meaning of the term *dévot*, see Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 366.

⁹³ Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots*, 175 - 90.

took on a negative political connotation, being associated with the *parti dévot* opposition to a foreign policy which ‘forfeited a Catholic reconquest’ in Europe.⁹⁴

The countess’ use of the word may also be indicative of the generational overlap within the rigorist friendship network. This was important during the first decade of our period, when the daughters, god-daughters and daughters-in-law of *dévots* converted and began to pursue a more exclusive culture of worship. Rigorist penitents had a strong spiritual pedigree. They had been exposed to the *dévo*t culture of the pious Queen Anne of Austria and the zeal of their own families. For example, Longueville’s mother Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, princesse de Condé (1594 – 1650) and her friend Marie-Madeleine de Vignerot, duchesse d’Aiguillon (1604 – 1675), with whom Longueville had also grown familiar at the Hôtel de Condé in her youth, were dedicated *Dames de la Charité*.⁹⁵ Maure’s letter therefore serves as a reminder that rigorist devotional culture cannot be separated from its *dévo*t antecedents. Henri Brémond has already shown that the theological middle-ground between the ‘devout humanism’ of the *dévots* on the one hand and the ‘Jansenism’ of Port-Royal on the other was ‘l’école française’ and the spirituality of figures such as Bérulle, Vincent de Paul (1581 – 1660) and Jean-Jacques Olier (1608 – 1657).⁹⁶ It also seems likely that older women such as Maure and Brienne would have helped to bridge the two generations within the friendship network.⁹⁷ The letters of Vincent de Paul show the comtesse de Brienne’s role in the efforts of the *Dames de la Charité* in 1657 and her own

⁹⁴ Dale K. Van Kley, *The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France, 1757 – 1765* (London: Yale University Press, 1975), 11.

⁹⁵ Béguin, *Les princes de Condé*, 66.

⁹⁶ Brémond, *Histoire littéraire*, vol. III, ‘La Conquête mystique: l’école française,’ 22 – 154, 222 – 57, vol. IV, 25. It is also true that Saint-Cyran, who brought Cornelius Jansen’s (1585 – 1638) ideas to France from Louvain, became closely associated with Bérulle and became ‘la véritable chef du parti dévot’ after Bérulle’s death in 1629; see Tavenaux, ‘Jansénisme et vie sociale,’ 30.

⁹⁷ A point I return to in chapters three and four.

correspondence reveals her status as a benefactor of religious houses.⁹⁸ There are also other indications that the younger members of the network maintained ties with *dévots* and their organizations. The princesse de Conti was a regular correspondent of Madeleine de Lamoignon (1609 – 1687), daughter of Marie Deslandes, who became one of the most active *Dames de la Charité* in the 1660s.⁹⁹ Vincent de Paul also wrote to Longueville’s chaplain Monsieur Aubert in the 1650s about Marie-Louise de Gonzague’s efforts to assist the Congregation of the Mission and solicited the help of the duchess.¹⁰⁰ In Maure’s letter, she went on to be more specific about the ‘*dévotes*’ that Longueville associated with and even named the comtesse de Brienne as one of them.¹⁰¹ Despite this clear overlap, rigorist penitents must not be seen as *dévots*. Even the comtesse de Maure observed that Longueville’s piety exceeded that of a *dévo*t because of her superior moral rigour. Longueville was, as Maure put it, ‘plus...detachée du monde.’

As well as highlighting the relationship between a newly converted rigorist and the broader religious context, these sources show that Maure’s interest in Longueville only seem to come to light in her letters after the duchess’ conversion, despite the fact that she was corresponding with Sablé as early as 1631.¹⁰² Not only is this interest in her spiritual welfare illustrative of the public nature of Longueville’s piety, perhaps due to her status, but also of the countess’ desire to associate with her. Maure’s letter is demonstrative of her anxieties

⁹⁸ *Lettres de S. Vincent de Paul fondateur des prêtres de la mission et des filles de la Charité, édition publiée par un prêtre de la congrégation de la mission* (2 volumes, Paris: Librairie de D. Dumoulin, 1882), vol. 2, 203; see AN, 4AP, 186, soeur Marie Potin to the comtesse de Brienne, 9 November 1656, and 15 June, undated.

⁹⁹ AN, Série K, 574, a number of undated letters to and from Mademoiselle de Lamoignon and the princesse de Conti. Other charitable connections between rigorist penitents and ‘*dévo*t’ projects are discussed in chapter five, below, pp. 280 – 88.

¹⁰⁰ MC, Chantilly, Série R, vol. iii, fo. 325, Vincent de Paul to Monsieur Aubert, 20 September [probably 1658], Saint-Lazare.

¹⁰¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 256. This is something which was left out of Barthélemy’s version of the letter.

¹⁰² BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 325, comtesse de Maure to madame de Sablé, undated.

about reciprocity in this relationship. This was not motivated by her inclination to mingle with her social superiors but her desire to associate with the pious. Certainly the countess was an acquaintance of Longueville's before 1654. Both were *salonnières* and connected via their political machinations in the Fronde. In December 1659, Longueville planned to visit Maure on her return to Paris from the Longueville estate at Coulommiers as an expression of her gratitude for Louis de Rochechouart's (Maure's husband's) successful intervention on behalf of her brother, the exiled prince de Condé.¹⁰³ After their conversions however, political affiliations between Maure and Longueville were superseded by spiritual ones. The comtesse de Maure's eagerness reminds us that even for our network of penitents who were either in preparation for or in the process of renouncing the world, the pursuit of devotion among restricted circles of the privileged was highly attractive and retained its social kudos.¹⁰⁴

The conversion of the duchesse de Liancourt had a similar effect on her standing. Her eminence as a penitent woman did not go unnoticed by the court, as the duc de Saint-Simon informs us in his memoirs.¹⁰⁵ There are also traces of this in the correspondence. One letter to her in 1661, for example, emphasized that the opportunity to live a life of simplicity and penitence among the converted was beneficial for those who had lived a sinful, worldly existence.¹⁰⁶ The author of the letter, one monsieur de Beuzeville, informed the duchesse of the spiritual resolution of his wife and went on to describe the appeal of the Liancourt estate for a penitential undertaking:

¹⁰³ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 5420, fo. 1285, comtesse de Maure to the duchesse de Longueville, 26 November 1659.

¹⁰⁴ I consider more evidence for the desirability of 'spiritual friendships' in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁵ A. de Boislisle, ed., *Mémoires de Saint-Simon: nouvelle édition collationnée sur le manuscrit autographe, augmentée des additions de Saint-Simon au Journal de Dangeau, notes et appendices par A. de Boislisle* (Paris: Hachette, 1879 – 1928), vol. 1, 366, where he comments on her 'insigne piété.'

¹⁰⁶ ADVO, fonds privés, 10 J, 371, monsieur de Beuzeville to the duchesse de Liancourt: '...telles occasions est fort bonne pour des gens qui n'auoient pas merite par leur vie precedente de vivre dans une penitence et une privation continuelle,' 6 October c.1661. This was probably Antoine de la Luzerne, seigneur de Beuzeville, who was capitaine lieutenant de la compagnie d'ordonnance des chevaux-légers du duc de Longueville, (d. 1685).

je pourray bien passera tout leste en haute normandie a fin den estre une partie a n[ot]re cher liancour.¹⁰⁷

Very little time had elapsed then, before these converted penitents were being branded as spiritual prodigies by their contemporaries.

Conclusion

Conversion was a dramatic turning point in the lives of rigorist penitents, just as it was for Saint Paul on the road to Damascus.¹⁰⁸ This chapter has aimed to set the scene for this thesis. It has shown that the conversions of the seven women at the heart of the rigorist friendship network were experienced in close proximity. Their spiritual autobiographies, testaments and letters show that they returned to the experience years later to reflect upon the transition that they had made from sinner to penitent. Longueville, Brienne and Conti's writings also provide some explicit evidence for the way they believed that their conversions marked the day that they had received the gift of God's grace. Early correspondence and occasional notes in contemporary memoirs betray the external social perception of the conversions of women such as Longueville, Conti, Liancourt and Guéméné. Now that the experience of conversion for a Parisian female aristocrat has been contextualized, the next chapter will move on to consider how it informed the bonding of a friendship network of 'rigorist' penitents and the pious regimes they adhered to.

¹⁰⁷ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 371, monsieur de Beuzeville to the duchesse de Liancourt, 6 October c.1661.

¹⁰⁸ Russell, 'Augustine: Conversion by the Book,' 23; Marcel Bernos, 'Confession et conversion,' in *La conversion au XVIIe siècle; actes du XIIe colloque de Marseille; Centre méridional de rencontres sur le XVIIe siècle, janvier 1982* (Marseille, C.M.R. 17, 1983), 284.

CHAPTER TWO

Spiritual Friendships and the Devotional Culture of the ‘Elect’

‘The righteous is more excellent than his neighbour:
but the way of the wicked seduceth them.’ *Proverbs* 12:26.¹

This chapter will chart the evolution of a network of rigorist ‘spiritual friends’ who began to correspond and socialize with each other in the first decade after their conversions. It will argue, firstly, that burdened with the demands of penitence, pious women sought spiritual comfort in conversation and in epistolary contact with their ‘spiritual friends.’ Secondly, it will show that as the rigorist friendship network became increasingly cliquish, the court began to be perceived as damaging to their spiritual advancement.

1. The History of Friendship

Historiographical interest in early modern friendship was roused by the history of *mentalités* in France and social history in England.² In recent decades, historians who have recounted stories of friends bound by love and intimacy in the medieval and early modern period have destabilized Lawrence Stone’s now dated assertion that in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth

¹ *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 733.

² Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., *A History of Private Life* (5 volumes, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987 – 1991); Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality*; translated by Richard Southern (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Some of the most important English work included: Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500 – 1800* (2nd edn, London: Penguin, 1990); Alan Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England 1300 – 1840* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); and J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550 – 1760* (London: E. Arnold, 1987). Many scholars working on kinship and marriage in pre-modern, pre-industrial societies have been influenced by the social sciences; anthropological studies of kinship networks in modern indigenous societies have been particularly important to historians; see Ray Pahl, *On Friendship* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); Robert R. Bell, *Worlds of Friendship* (London: Sage, 1981); Robert Brain, *Friends and Lovers* (London: Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1976); and Alan Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

centuries people were incapable of establishing affective ties.³ The language of emotion in early modern expressions of friendship remains problematic, however.⁴ In early modern France, the elite relied on their *crédit* with each other to form alliances. Terms such as ‘ami’ and ‘amitié’ could denote the love of a spouse or close friend, but were also part of the vocabulary of loyalty to a client.⁵ Sharon Kettering is the authority on this nomenclature.⁶ Her proposal is that friendship was ‘a free, horizontal alliance...without a *quid pro quo*’ whereas clientage existed where there was an ‘unequal, vertical alliance between a superior and an inferior based on a reciprocal exchange.’⁷ French historians have also offered similar suggestions for distinguishing between the two.⁸ The historical consensus that ‘friendship’ existed where the bond was mutual, voluntary, equal and not of social, political or economic

³ Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage*, 80; Brian McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350 – 1250* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1988); Julian Haseldine, ed., *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999); Patricia M. Crawford and Laura Gowing, eds., *Women’s Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2000).

⁴ Especially differentiating the language of friendship from clientage; for an excellent summary of the historiography on noble clientage in sixteenth-century France, see Ellie Haddad, ‘Noble Clientele in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Historiographical Approach,’ *French History*, 20, no. 1 (March, 2006): 75 – 109. See also Michel Rey’s published doctoral thesis *L’amitié à la Renaissance: Italie, France, Angleterre 1450 – 1650*, ed. Anne Sophie Perriaux (Florence: Institut Universitaire Européen, 1999), 60 – 84 offers a useful summary of some of the French historiography on friendship.

⁵ Jean-Marie Constant, *La vie quotidienne de la noblesse française aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1985), 167; Kristen B. Neuschel, *Word of Honor: Interpreting Noble Cultures in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 103; Arlette Jouanna, ‘Des réseaux d’amitié aux clientèles centralisées: les provinces et la cour (France XVIe – XVIIe siècle),’ in *Patronages et clientélismes 1550 – 1750 (France, Angleterre, Espagne, Italie)*, eds. Charles Giry-Deloison and Roger Mettam (London: Institut Français du Royaume Uni, 1995), 22 – 3; Natalie Zemon Davis similarly noted the range of ways that the word ‘friend’ was used in sixteenth century France, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 30 – 31.

⁶ Sharon Kettering, *Power and Reputation at the Court of Louis XIII: The Career of Charles d’Albret, Duc de Luynes (1578 – 1621)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008); Sharon Kettering, ‘Friendship and Clientage in Early Modern France,’ *French History*, 6, no. 2 (June, 1992): 139 – 58; Sharon Kettering, ‘The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen,’ *The Historical Journal*, 32, no. 4 (December, 1989): 817 – 41; Sharon Kettering, ‘Patronage in Early Modern France,’ *French Historical Studies*, 17, no. 4 (Fall, 1992): 839 – 62; Sharon Kettering, ‘Gift-giving and Patronage in Early Modern France,’ *French History*, 2, no. 2 (June, 1988): 131 – 51; Kettering, ‘Patronage and Politics during the Fronde’; Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients*; Kettering, ‘Brokerage at the Court of Louis XIV.’

⁷ Kettering, ‘Friendship and Clientage,’ 145 – 46.

⁸ Arlette Jouanna, *Le devoir de révolte: la noblesse française et la gestation de l’état moderne, 1559 – 1661* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 74.

necessity to either party is useful here. Yet it is important that the intimacy of ‘voluntary’ and ‘mutual’ spiritual friendships is not conflated with privacy.⁹ Even a spiritual friendship could be expedient for both parties as we saw in the last chapter.

The history of friendship was constituted by stories of chaste male friendships or with mixed romantic relationships until fairly recently.¹⁰ The history of same-sex friendship is now no longer the unfrequented ‘vast chamber’ that Virginia Woolf observed in 1929, as scholars have discovered the history of platonic same-sex love, and gay and lesbian relationships.¹¹ Yet histories of early modern affective ties must not mistake either emotional or physical intimacy for sexuality: an error which the late Alan Bray tried to correct in his work on male friendship in sixteenth-century England.¹² Same-sex friendships were often expressed using language which is synonymous with romantic love in modern-day lexis.¹³

⁹ As Simon Hodson has recently shown in his study of Louise de Coligny’s network, even in their ‘personal correspondence,’ women of this social status were not necessarily bound to the ‘informal sphere of network building;’ Simon Hodson, ‘The Power of Female Dynastic Networks: A Brief Study of Louise de Coligny, Princesse of Orange and her Stepdaughters,’ *Women’s History Review*, 16, no. 3 (July, 2007): 337.

¹⁰ See, for example, Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (2nd edn, London: Gay Men’s Press, 1988); Alan Bray, *The Friend* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2003); and Alan Bray, ‘Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship in Elizabethan England,’ *History Workshop Journal*, 29, no. 1 (January, 1990): 1 – 19. See also, Valerie Traub, ‘Friendship’s Loss: Alan Bray’s Making of History,’ *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 10, no. 3 (2004): [Special Issue: The Work of Friendship: In Memoriam Alan Bray]: 339 – 65.

¹¹ Patricia M. Crawford and Sara Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England 1550 – 1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 231; Patricia M. Crawford, ‘Love and Friendship between Women in Early Modern England,’ in *Venus and Mars: Engendering Love and War in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Andrew Lynch and Philippa Maddern (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1995), 47 – 61; Laura Gowing, ‘The Politics of Women’s Friendship in Early Modern England,’ in *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe 1300 – 1800*, eds. Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 133. On lesbian relationships, see Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Harriette Andreadis, ‘The Erotics of Female Friendship in Early Modern England,’ in *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women’s Alliances in Early Modern England*, eds. Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 241 – 58; and Judith Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). Some feminist scholars have suggested that lesbianism is a useful category for understanding female friendships if it is understood as a ‘devotion’ to other women; Crawford, ‘Love and Friendship between Women,’ 51.

¹² Gowing, ‘The Politics of Women’s Friendship,’ 133; and see Bray, ‘Homosexuality and the Signs of Male Friendship,’ 3.

¹³ Julian Haseldine, ‘Friendship and Rivalry: The Role of Amiticia in Twelfth-Century Monastic Relations,’ *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44, no. 3 (July, 1993): 393, 413; Jane Tibbetts Schulenberg, *Forgetful of their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500 – 1100* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 309 – 21.

The epistolary expression of love between rigorist penitents is therefore something which needs to be framed as a profoundly spiritual connection and not eroticized.

Spiritualizing friendships was part of an intellectual tradition with classical origins.¹⁴ The Bible offered several models of spiritual friendship and the Western Church Fathers preached the spiritual profit that devoted friends could earn.¹⁵ Augustine spoke of friendship as a deeply spiritual connection in his ‘Confessions’; John Cassian dedicated one of his conferences to the subject; according to Gregory the Great, friends were *custos animi*, or guardians of the soul, who were to know a friend’s inner life intimately and were responsible for their salvation.¹⁶ In the twelfth century, or the ‘age of friendship’, the founder of the Cistercians Bernard of Clairvaux advised that friendships should always culminate in sublimation with the friend in the presence of God.¹⁷ This notion of ‘amicitia spiritualis’ was further expounded upon in Aelred of Rievaulx’s ‘De spirituali amicitia.’¹⁸

Renaissance humanists tried to reclaim the classical principles of friendship. For Thomas More and Francis Bacon friendship was a reciprocal ‘pact’, just as it was for Cicero and Seneca.¹⁹ In France, François de Sales’ devout humanism assigned a special role to

Something which is evident in the letters of female rigorist penitents; see, for example: BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, ff. 239 – 58, letters of the comtesse de Maure to madame de Sablé (largely undated).

¹⁴ Julian Haseldine, ‘Understanding the Language of Amicitia: The Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (1115 – 1183),’ *Journal of Medieval History*, 20, no. 3 (September, 1994): 239.

¹⁵ McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, xxii; cites Ecclesiasticus 6:17: ‘Whoso feareth the Lord shall direct his friendship aright: for as he is, so shall his neightoubt be also,’ *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 117.

¹⁶ McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, xv, 77; Klaus Oschema, ‘Sacred or Profane? Reflections on Love and Friendship in the Middle Ages,’ in *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe 1300 – 1800*, eds. Gowing, Hunter and Rubin, 48.

¹⁷ McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 231; Eva Österberg, *Friendship and Love, Ethics and Politics: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 37.

¹⁸ Österberg, *Friendship and Love*, 36; Haseldine, ‘Understanding the Language of Amicitia,’ 240.

¹⁹ David Wootton, ‘Francis Bacon: Your Flexible Friend,’ in *The World of the Favourite*, eds. J. H. Elliot and L. W. B. Brockliss (London: Yale University Press, 1999), 188.

female friendship which was portrayed as a form of divine love.²⁰ Michel Rey has traced the discourse of friendship in other French works.²¹ Michel de Montaigne's (1533 – 1592) 'Essay on Friendship' was inspired by his love for his friend Etienne de La Boëtie and offered a taxonomy which contrasted perfect friendship with other relationships, such as the 'fickle' sexual passions between men and women.²² Montaigne's disciple Pierre Charron (1541 – 1603) continued discussions of friendship in his 'De la sagesse.' For Charron 'friendship' encompassed a number of relationships, whether domestic, devotional or political.²³ L'amitié 'spirituelle' or 'parfaite' was the only type of friendship which was not sensitive to social hierarchy.²⁴ In the seventeenth century, Montaigne's low estimation of female companions was echoed by Charles de Saint-Evremond (1613 – 1703), who claimed that women were unreliable friends.²⁵ The rigorists also graded friendships.²⁶ Robert Arnauld d'Andilly (d.1674) wrote in 1661 that: 'Friendship, considered in all its purity, must be unadulterated

²⁰ Frances Harris, *Transformations of Love: The Friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 5. On Italy in this period, see Peter N. Miller, 'Friendship and Conversation in Seventeenth-Century Venice,' *The Journal of Modern History*, 73, no. 1 (March, 2001): 1 - 31.

²¹ Michel Rey, 'Communauté et individu: l'amitié comme lien social à la renaissance,' *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 10 (1991): 617 – 25; Rey, *L'amitié à la Renaissance*.

²² Michel de Montaigne, *On Friendship*; translated by M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2004), 6. Montaigne also said that friendship 'takes possession of the soul' and 'loosens all other bonds,' 15.

²³ Rey, 'Communauté et individu,' 618.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 618.

²⁵ E. Joe Johnson, 'Can Women and Men be Friends? Writings on Friendship in France's Ancien Régime and C. B. Fagan's Comedy 'L'amitié rivale de l'amour,' in *Ideas, Aesthetics and Inquiries in the Early Modern Era 1650 – 1850*, ed. Kevin L. Cope (New York: AMS Press, 2010), 111 – 12.

²⁶ Several of Madame de Sablé maxims touch upon the theme: D. Jouaust, ed., *Maximes de Madame de Sablé* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1870), Maxim XLIII, 30; Maxim XLIV, 30 – 31; Maxim LXXVII, 44 – 5; Maxim LXXVIII, 45.

by self-interest' and can be 'found wholly pure only', he asserted, 'within a very small number of friends.'²⁷

The prioritization of spiritual friendship therefore has a long history. It is the spiritual bond that could only be shared by a 'very small number of friends' which this chapter aims to recapture.²⁸ Certainly, many of our penitents were not strangers. As noted in the thesis introduction, Longueville, Brienne, Maure and Sablé had frequented the Rambouillet salon in their youth and, along with Gamaches and Gonzague, they had all attended the gatherings hosted by the princesse de Condé at her *hôtel* in the 1630s and early 1640s.²⁹ The duchesse de Liancourt was acquainted with Longueville, Brienne and Gamaches who had stayed at the château de Liancourt during the 1640s.³⁰ As we will discuss, there was probably also a politically-motivated bond within a network of women where many figures were ex-Frondeurs. In this chapter the importance of the religious connection shared by female penitents will be foregrounded using this concept of 'spiritual friendship': a relationship founded upon a common dedication to the pursuit of salvation, characterized by a mutual interest in spiritual progress.

²⁷ Marc Fumaroli, *The Poet and the King: Jean de La Fontaine and his Century*; translated by Jane Marie Todd (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 188 – 89; also cited in Jean Lafond, *L'homme et son image: morale et littérature de Montaigne à Mandeville* (Paris: H Champion, 1996), 278 – 80.

²⁸ See BnF, Ms. Fr, 24425, for a letter of the bishop of Saint-Pons to the Port-Royal sympathizer the marquise d'Huxelles on friendship, undated, which had been sent in response to her query on friendship, fo. 2: 'Mais vostre demande, Madame, ne se borne pas a la charité qui regarde tout le monde, vous desirez de savoir si outre cette loy il est permis a un chretien d'avoir une amitie particuliere une confiance et une preference pour quelqu'un.' See footnote 51 in the Thesis Introduction on Huxelles.

²⁹ Béguin, *Les princes de Condé*, 66 – 7; see their letters at MC, Chantilly, Série M, vol. xxix, fo. 417, Louise de Cruttol, Anne de Fors, Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon-Condé, Isabelle de Montmorency, Marie de Loménie, Anne de Ragny, and Marie de La Tour, to the duc d'Enghien, 4 September 1643.

³⁰ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 4116, ff. 851 – 53, 'Vers sur le champ Estant à Liancourt avec Mademoiselle de Bourbon, et Mesdemoiselles de Rambouillet, de Bouteville, et de Brienne et envoyez a Merou, à Madame la Princesse, le jour de la Toussaints, La vie et les miracles de sainte Marguerite Charlotte de Montmorency, Princesse de Condé, mis en vers à Liancourt.' This is discussed in chapter five, below, p. 316.

2. Spiritual Friendship

i) *A Network of Penitents*

The rigorist friendship network was comprised of seven female aristocrats. In the 1660s, the network contracted as female penitents took greater interest in their spiritual friends and eloigned themselves further from the world. The comtesse de Maure was progressively solicitous about Longueville after her conversion, as we have seen. The motivations for this relationship are difficult to evaluate because of Maure's clinginess but it seems that friendship was gradually requited by the duchess:

Je verray du premier jour M[adam]e la comtesse de Maure car elle en a envie, et J'aurois peur qu'elle ne s'acomoda pas six sepmeines durant l'obstacle de ma retraite ainsy je luy menderay qu'elle peut venir isy.³¹

The 'relationship' between Maure and Sablé was caricatured by nineteenth-century historians as a product of Maure's infatuation with the marquess.³² Regardless of the inequality of their affections, the friendship was grounded in a common penitential angst. Maure regularly shared her disquietude with Sablé, whom she referred to as her 'love.'³³ Guéméné described her relationship with both Sablé and Maure as 'amitié' in her letters and often used them as a vehicle for sharing her spiritual anxieties with the former.³⁴ The duchesse de Liancourt

³¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, fo. 117, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, undated; Cousin reproduced an extract of this letter in 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 457, but omitted this part of the letter.

³² Barthélemy, *Madame la comtesse de Maure*, 7 – 9.

³³ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, ff. 238 – 93, comtesse de Maure to madame de Sablé. She uses 'm'amour' to address Sablé in the majority of these letters.

³⁴ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17048, fo. 305, princesse de Guéméné to madame de Sablé, undated. Maure and Guéméné had a dispute in September 1655 when the comtesse de Maure took offence at not having been offered a chair at the Hôtel de Guéméné. They both confirmed their friendship for each other in later letters to Sablé. See, for example, BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 5420, princesse de Guéméné to madame de Sablé, September 1655: 'Mais je prefere si fort l'amitié de mes amies.' On Guéméné's relationship with Sablé, see BnF, Ms. Fr, 17051, fo. 27, princesse de Guéméné to madame de Sablé, 2 December 1672: '...je vous supplie d'estre bien persuadée que

similarly called Sablé her ‘sister’ and the duchesse de Longueville called Brienne ‘ma chere.’³⁵ Terms of endearment were also used by Maure and the comtesse de Brienne, who often referred to each other as ‘compagne.’³⁶ After her involvement in the Fronde, Maure received some moral and spiritual advice from her ‘companion’:

Après cela, permettes moy sil vous plaist, ma chere compagne, de vous dire avec ma franchise ordinaire pour les personnes que j’ayme comme vous (car je croy quil y a longtemps que vous estes assurée de mon affection) qu’en verité vous aves tort...Consultes-le devant dieu, sans doute vous en aures douleur, vous oublierez vos interests pour entrer dans ceux d’une veritable chrestienne qui ne cherche pas a se venger quand elle en auroit raison, Je ne pietens pas de vous precher ni de choquer vos sentimens ni moins de vous donner des lumieres, vous en aves plus que moy en toutes choses, mais seulement de vous dire en véritable ayme, mes pensees.³⁷

Brienne assured Maure of her affection and tried to help her achieve a moral and spiritual peace by advising her to relinquish her personal (political) interests and dedicate herself to those of a ‘veritable chrestienne.’ It seems that Brienne also had the ability to comfort Longueville:

Je ne vous demande mille autre reconnoissance qu’un peu de part dans votre coeur et beaucoup dans vos prieres, car j’en ay plus de besoin et plus de desir que jamais.³⁸

Even when rigorist women were not corresponding personally, or at least the sources do not reveal that they were, the letters show that they assumed the responsibilities of spiritual

personne ne peut vous honorer et aimer puis que moy ny estre plus dans tous vos enterres que je seray toute ma vie.’

³⁵ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 877, duchesse de Longueville to the comtesse de Brienne, 19 February, undated, Bordeaux: ‘Vous devinerez aisement de quoi je vous parler et sachant mieux que personne les favorables sen[t]imens que vous aves eu pour moi en cette occasion vous ne feres pas etonné de ce que les aiant appris ils ont reveillé en moi tous ceux que des obligations anciennes m’ont donnes pour vous croies ma chere.’

³⁶ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 4119, ff. 1 – 13, letters of the comtesse de Brienne and Maure.

³⁷ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 4119, fo. 11, comtesse de Brienne to the comtesse de Maure, undated.

³⁸ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 877, duchesse de Longueville to the comtesse de Brienne, 29 February, undated, Bordeaux.

friends by enquiring after the welfare of fellow penitents. Maure and Brienne talked about their respective relationships with Longueville and on one occasion Maure assured Brienne that the duchess loved her ‘autant qu’elle jamais fait.’³⁹ The princesse de Guéméné was the subject of several of Maure’s letters to the marquise de Sablé.⁴⁰ Longueville’s propensity to discuss the princesse de Conti in her letters to Sablé also suggests that the marquess asked about her regularly.⁴¹ Conti’s relationship with Longueville is one that she explicitly referred to as friendship in her letters with the abbé Pierre Tressan de La Vergne (b.1618).⁴² She called Longueville La Vergne’s ‘penitent’ and her ‘friend’ (amie).⁴³

A cognisance with choice spiritual friends did not just appeal to the comtesse de Maure; Longueville exhibited some shrewdness in her attempts to strike up a friendship with the duchesse de Liancourt:

M[adam]e de Liancour s’en va lundy ainsy il faut que vous envoiyes aujourd’huy ou demain la prier de vous venir trouver et afin quelle ny menque pas parce quelle a beaucoup d’affaires et bien des incommodites il faut luy mender que vous luy voules parler pour une chose de charité et mesme de justice a quoy personne ne peut donner ordre qu’elle, mais souvenés vous de ne parler a M[adam]e de Liancour que comme de vous, mais point comme avec la participation de la personne interessée, il ne faut point mentir mais il faut tourner la chose en sorte qu’elle ne puisse penser que vous estes de concert avec la personne pour l’interest de qui vous agissés. Je vous donne le bon soir.⁴⁴

³⁹ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 4119, fo. 11, comtesse de Brienne to the comtesse de Maure, undated.

⁴⁰ See, for example, BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, ff. 291 – 92, fo. 292, comtesse de Maure to madame de Sablé, undated.

⁴¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, 10585, there are innumerable letters concerning Conti in Longueville’s letters to Sablé. See p. 109 below for an indication of Sablé’s interest in Conti’s spiritual progress.

⁴² BnF, Ms. Fr, 25080, fo. 156, ‘Abrégé de la vie et de la mort de monsieur l’abbé de La Vergne.’

⁴³ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, see fo. 199, for example, which is examined in chapter five.

⁴⁴ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 95 - 6, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, undated.

It is unclear exactly what cause Longueville and Sablé were acting in aid of, but flattering Liancourt's moral virtues and praising her personal skills was their approach to getting her onside. Elsewhere, the duchess' letters reveal that Jacques Esprit (1611 – 1677) acted as a messenger between herself and Liancourt.⁴⁵ The duchesse de Liancourt was also a fellow parishioner of the comtesse de Brienne at Saint-Sulpice.

As these seven women became co-penitents of rigorist spiritual directors, their bond became increasingly 'rigorist' in composition and nature. A large proportion of their correspondence is undated, and consequently it is difficult to plot precisely when they became spiritual (and not worldly) friends. Crucially, they were already monitoring each other's conversions, policing morality and exchanging inspiring letters before they became the 'Belles Amies' patrons of Port-Royal. Port-Royal did have a part to play in the consummation of some of these friendships as we will see, but their relationships must be seen as a spiritual friendship network which became associated with the convent and not a product of it.

Even the fragmentary correspondence therefore shows that rigorist penitents fulfil sociologists' criteria for identifying a friendship network. They were not just pairs of friends, but a network of 'common friends' with 'common interests.'⁴⁶ Our seven penitents also had

⁴⁵ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 175 - 76, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, undated.

⁴⁶ Van Duijn, Zeggelink, Huisman, Stokman, Wasseur, 'Evolution of Sociology Freshmen into a Friendship Network,' 157 – 58. Nine direct epistolary relationships (where penitents corresponded directly with each other) comprised the network as well as a host of mutual ties. The nine direct correspondence ties were: Conti – Longueville, Longueville – Sablé, Liancourt – Sablé, Maure – Longueville, Maure – Sablé, Brienne – Maure, Brienne – Sablé, Brienne – Longueville, Guéméné – Sablé. I have also found epistolary evidence for mutual relationships between Conti – Liancourt, Conti – Brienne, Conti – Sablé, Liancourt – Longueville, Liancourt – Brienne, Guéméné – Liancourt, Guéméné – Maure. All of the women had connections with four or five others; Sablé and Guéméné being the exceptions. Sablé had ties with all six others but this is probably an impression created by the disproportionate survival of the sources because Valant conserved all of Sablé's recipients' letters. Guéméné only had connections with three women but she must have fallen out of favour after her semi-'return to the world' where she returned to her *hôtel* at the Place Royale in Paris, but continued to use Port-Royal for her devotional exercises; see Josse, ed., *Lettres inédites d'Antoine Singlin*, 69.

ties with three ‘rigorist sympathizers.’⁴⁷ When Marie-Louise de Gonzague left France to become Queen of Poland after marrying Wladyslaw IV in 1646, she remained an important epistolary contact for many of the women in our network.⁴⁸ Letters to her tended to be more formal however, and lacked the familiarity that characterized correspondence within the friendship network: they nearly always contained opening and closing salutations.⁴⁹ The regularity of her correspondence with the comtesse de Brienne was probably also informed by the comte de Brienne’s position as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.⁵⁰ Rigorist women themselves identified the epistolary style suitable for spiritual friends:

On na vous pas manque a repondre a vos lettres quelque embaras ou je sois si vos lettres estoient sans tant de madame et avec des termes qui me parassent plains dune civilite qui ne se pratique point entre des personnes qui sont dans une amitie ausy grand que celle que je croious que vous me faisies lhonneur davoir pour moy.⁵¹

Salutations such as ‘madame’ and other polite terms were unnecessary between such ‘great friends.’ There are indications that rigorist penitents’ ties with some of these women may have been more significant than the sources permit us to show. There are no extant letters

⁴⁷ Five out of the seven were connected to the Queen of Poland, three to Schomberg and four to the marquise de Gamaches.

⁴⁸ MC, Chantilly, Série R, vol. i, fo. 29, duchesse de Liancourt to Marie-Louise de Gonzague, undated; fo. 149, duchesse de Longueville to Marie-Louise de Gonzague, 22 August 1645; fo. 155, duchesse de Longueville to Marie-Louise de Gonzague, 23 August 1643; fo. 365, comtesse de Brienne to Marie-Louise de Gonzague, 6 September undated; vol. ii, fo. 91, Marie-Louise de Gonzague to the comtesse de Maure, undated; fo. 120, Marie-Louise de Gonzague to the duchesse de Longueville, undated; fo. 140, Marie-Louise de Gonzague to the comtesse de Maure, 24 April 1647.

⁴⁹ MC, Chantilly, Série R, vol. ii, fo. 120, Marie-Louise de Gonzague to the duchesse de Longueville, undated, opened with ‘Madame ma cousine’ and closed with ‘votre tres affectionnée cousine.’

⁵⁰ Her correspondence with the comtesse was regular, as hinted at by the letters themselves: MC, Chantilly, Série R, vol. ii, fo. 140, Marie-Louise de Gonzague to the comtesse de Brienne, 24 April 1647, Varsovie: ‘Il y a quinze jours que je resu un de vos lettre.’ There are also surviving drafts of letters to Brienne at MC, Chantilly, Série R, vol. ii, fo. 93. Brienne’s letters to Marie-Louise de Gonzague convey her service to the Queen: MC, Chantilly: Série R, vol. i, fo. 365, comtesse de Brienne to Marie-Louise de Gonzague, 6 September, undated: ‘jespere que je seray aussitost de tour a paris que les Ambassadeurs de Pologne y seroit arives si jestoie utille a v[ot]re service.’ On the comte de Brienne, see Appendix A, p. 332 and below, chapter four, p. 250.

⁵¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17048, fo. 305, princesse de Guéméné to madame de Sablé, undated, but probably written shortly after the death of Louis de Rohan in 1667. There was an obvious epistolary style that spiritual friends practised, as I argued in the Introduction, see above, p. 30.

between the marquise de Gamaches and Conti, but she was close enough to the princess to be present at her deathbed on 4 February 1672.⁵² There is further evidence that Gamaches was a correspondent of Longueville's.⁵³ Some surviving letters also reveal that they were appraised as prospective pious friends. Longueville admired the qualities of the duchesse de Schomberg in one letter to Sablé:

Quand on a commensé a lire la letre que vous m'envoies on n'a pas de peine a vous obeir en la lisant tout de long, car elle est la plus spirituelle du monde et d'une sorte d'esprit que je n'avois pas soubconné en madame de schomberg, Je vous la renvoie et je la trouve tout comme vous, Il y a bien de la delicatesse et de la lumiere et jamais rien ne m'a tant estonnée que de trouver cela en cette personne. Sy M[onsieu]r de Villeurs m'avoit demandé le conseil qu'il vous a demandé je ne luy aurois point respondu comme vous aves fait car il me semble qu'il faut une grande vocation pour entreprendre ou de demeurer dans sa cure ou de le quiter pour le dessein qu'il a et Il faut estre son directeur pour luy donner quelque decision la dessus je l'avois donc renvoié a celuy qui le dirige par ce que ces choses ne se doivent point decider par la seule raison humaine et par le bon sens, mais par la cognoissance de la volonte de Dieu.⁵⁴

The fact that Schomberg was Sablé's testamentary executor suggests that they became close.⁵⁵ Not all of the women within the rigorist friendship network were equally as intimate; some spiritual friends were closer than others. The duchesse de Schomberg's relationship with her sister-in-law Liancourt was strained for a time after the duc de Schomberg's death in 1656, for example. As this outline of its interconnections has shown however, a mutual

⁵² *Marie de Rabutin-Chantal: marquise de Sévigné: correspondance*, vol. 1, Sévigné to madame de Grignan, 5 February 1672, 431.

⁵³ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 880, duchesse de Longueville to Gabriel de Roquette, 26 August, undated, Bordeaux: '...vous en donner le soin faire mille complimens pour moi a M[adam]e de Brienne sur la maladie de son mari et a lui-même quand il sera en estat d'en recevoir jay deja ecrit la dessus a M[adam]e de Gamaches.'

⁵⁴ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, fo. 5, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 3 April 1664; printed as an extract in Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 734. The letter itself was much longer, as noted above. Longueville's appraisal of Schomberg was actually part of a broader discussion about the religious vocations of a *curé* and reputations for piety, and not an isolated comment about her. 'Delicatesse' meant a delicacy or tenderness and 'Lumière' a brightness, according to Cotgrave, *A French-English dictionary*, n.p.n.

⁵⁵ AN, MC, ET/IX/457, 17 October 1673.

interest in spiritual welfare gave coherence to the whole network.⁵⁶ This was what Jonathan Reid would call the ‘in-group vocabulary’ of the friendship group and can be read as evidence of its ‘self-identity and ‘self-consciousness.’⁵⁷

ii) *The Spiritual Director*

‘Spiritual friendship’ is an expression traditionally reserved to denote the confessor-penitent relationship. The confessor, or spiritual director, was essential after conversion for married, lay women who confessed their sins to him, often via the letter.⁵⁸ According to confessional manuals such as Carlo Borromeo’s (1538 – 1584) ‘Avvertenze ai Confessori’ of 1574, confessors were to be instrumental in the reform of the ‘decorum of urban life’ by instructing penitents on their journey toward absolution.⁵⁹ The ascent of the spiritual director began in the fifteenth century, and the ensuing couple of centuries have been hailed as ‘the golden age of spiritual direction.’⁶⁰ Male directors were not the only sources of official spiritual advice because female abbesses retained their traditional roles in dispensing spiritual counsel.⁶¹ Teresa of Avila even went as far as saying that male guidance could endanger the souls of

⁵⁶ Rigid penitents’ assessments of worldly friendships show that this was not typical of relationships with women outside of it; see pp. 100 – 101, below.

⁵⁷ Reid, *King’s Sister – Queen of Dissent*, vol. 2, 570.

⁵⁸ Rudolph M. Bell, ‘Telling her Sins: Male Confessors and Female Penitents in Catholic-Reformation Italy,’ in *That Gentle Strength: Historical Perspectives on Women in Christianity*, eds. Lynda L. Coon, Katherine J. Haldane and Elisabeth W. Sommer (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 129; Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, 24; Adriano Prosperi, ‘Spiritual Letters,’ in *Women and Faith*, eds. Scaraffia and Zarri, 116.

⁵⁹ Wiestse De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 68.

⁶⁰ Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, 17; Patricia Ranft, ‘A Key to Counter Reformation Women’s Activism: The Confessor-Spiritual Director,’ *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 10, no. 2 (Fall, 1994): 12.

⁶¹ Patricia Ranft, *A Woman’s Way: The Forgotten History of Women Spiritual Directors* (1st edn, New York: Palgrave, 2000), 116. Using the example of Barbe Acarie, Barbara Diefendorf has shown how spiritual guidance for the laity often came from female sources; see ‘Barbe Acarie and her Spiritual Daughters,’ 168.

women.⁶² Rigorist penitents did ask the advice of their cloistered sisters. The relationships of Angélique (1591 – 1661) and Agnès Arnauld (1593 – 1672) with the female patrons of Port-Royal are well-known and documented by their correspondence.⁶³ There are also a number of less renowned links such as Eléonore de Souvré at Saint-Amand in Rouen, Françoise-Renée de Lorraine at Montmartre and a number of female religious at the Carmelite convent on the rue Saint-Jacques.⁶⁴

The approach of many historians looking at the confessor-penitent relationship has been to establish whether the male-female/confessor-penitent dichotomy was paralleled by dominance and subordination. Dame Olwen Hufton found this to be true. She argued that the role of the male confessor was instrumental in the Catholic Church's control of women.⁶⁵ Others have suggested that this relationship was more complex.⁶⁶ Jodi Bilinkoff showed that virtuous women were often praised by their confessors and held up as saintly exemplars.⁶⁷ In

⁶² Laurence Lux-Sterritt and Carmen M. Mangion, 'Introduction: Gender, Catholicism and Women's Spirituality over the Longue Durée,' in *Gender, Catholicism and Spirituality*, eds. Laurence Lux-Sterritt and Carmen M. Mangion (London: Palgrave, 2011), 14.

⁶³ Faugère, ed., *Lettres de la Mère Agnès Arnauld; Lettres de la révérende mère Marie-Angélique Arnauld*.

⁶⁴ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17048, ff. 1 - 3, 5 - 7, 12, 16, Eléonore de Souvré to madame de Sablé, undated; BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 186, Françoise-Renée de Lorraine to madame de Sablé, 16 September 1674; MC, Chantilly, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque, Ms. 167, letters of the duchesse de Longueville to various Carmelites.

⁶⁵ Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe* (2 volumes, London: Fontana Press, 1995), vol. 1, '1500 – 1800,' 375. A useful review of Hufton's approaches can be found in Colin Jones, 'Olwen Hufton's 'Poor,' Richard Cobb's 'People,' and the Notions of the *Longue Durée* in French Revolutionary Historiography,' *Past and Present*, 1 (2006): 178 – 203, Supplement: 'The Art of Survival: Gender and History in Europe 1450 – 2000'; see especially 195, on the Huftonian approach towards women as 'perky' victims.

⁶⁶ Barbara Diefendorf regards this relationship, on the contrary, as comparable to that of teacher and pupil rather than one which reinforced gender roles; Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity*, 69. In a similar way, Patricia Ranft has suggested that the degree of spiritual experience determined who was dominant in the relationship; see Ranft, *A Woman's Way*, 120. See also, Bilinkoff, 'Confessors, Penitents and the Construction of Identities,' 83.

⁶⁷ Jodi Bilinkoff, 'Navigating the Waves of Devotion: Toward a Gendered Analysis of Early Modern Catholicism,' in *Crossing Boundaries: Attending to Early Modern Women*, eds. Margaret Mikesell and Adele Seeff (London: Associated University Presses, 2000), 161 – 72. Bilinkoff has also shown the way biographies written by male directors contain descriptions of intimate friendships between confessors and their penitents; see Bilinkoff, 'Soul Mates,' 148.

recent years then, it seems the scholarly trend has been to downplay the penitent's subservience. The move towards a narrative of gendered female agency should be aware that social status was often more important than gender in shaping these relationships. For aristocratic penitents, their social status vetoed any inferiority that their gender may have imparted.

The Fourth Lateran Council stipulated that any confessions made to a confessor were to be confidential.⁶⁸ The guarantee of discretion must have been comforting to converted, aristocratic women whose spiritual reformations became 'society' tittle-tattle. Female penitents recognized the importance of having a 'good confessor' and the spiritual comfort they could bring.⁶⁹ Guillaume Le Roy was a source of relief for Longueville:

je n'ay pas eu le temps de vous remercier de la part que vous avez prise à la joye qu'il m'a causée et plus encore de la bonté que vous avez de vouloir bien redoubler vos prieres a proportion du redoublement de mes besoins.⁷⁰

He also sent her sister-in-law the princesse de Conti stories of conversion to read and provided her with his own reflections upon the advice of Saint Paul and Saint Bernard, and on the conversion of the Magdalene.⁷¹

Does the evidence of the spiritual relief brought by letters of spiritual direction burden the concept of *female* pious sociability with the problem of the over significance of the *male* spiritual director? Confessors were undoubtedly important to the penitential process, but same-sex spiritual friendships were actually prioritized by rigorist women for several reasons.

⁶⁸ Bilinkoff, *Related Lives*, 2.

⁶⁹ Bilinkoff, 'Soul Mates,' 144.

⁷⁰ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 5422, fo. 1257, duchesse de Longueville to the abbé Le Roy, 20 February 1660.

⁷¹ BM, Ms. 2483, ff. 306 – 308; printed in Gérard Namer, *L'abbé Le Roy et ses amis: essai sur le jansénisme extrémiste intramondain* (Paris: Sevpen, 1964), 174 – 77, 177 – 78; which are letters from Le Roy to Conti written between February 1656 and August 1659.

Firstly, female liaisons with a spiritual director or any other male clerical advisor were often forged out of necessity. Whether married or widowed, lay women needed the male confessor to oversee their penitential regimen. It was his utterance of the words of absolution and his prescription of penance that helped the penitent achieve forgiveness from sin.⁷² An aristocratic woman could change her director at regular intervals according to her needs: they were the recipients of ‘elite religious patronage’ and part of the apparatus for the exercise of penitence.⁷³ For our penitents, spiritual directors were pawns used in the pursuit of their salvation. This was evident in the way they appraised these men’s performances together. The comtesse de Brienne vouched for the counsel of Gabriel de Roquette and introduced him to the princesse de Conti.⁷⁴ A rigorist bishop who empathized with the Jansenists, Roquette was subsequently employed by the Contis as *vicairé général* for Cluny and Saint-Denis.⁷⁵ The work of Longueville’s ‘companion-attendant’ and confidante Catherine-Françoise de Bretagne-Avaugour, mademoiselle de Vertus (1617 – 1692), helped to secure Singlin as Longueville’s director in 1654:

enfin je recues hier au soir un billet de la dame on vous supplie donc de faire en sorte que v[ot]re amy [Singlin] vienne demain icy afin qu’on n’ait pas l’inquietude qu’il soit forte cogneu dans son quartier il faut venir enchaise et renvoyer ses porteurs et je luy donneray les miens pour le reporter ou il luy plaira s’il luy plaist de venir disner on le mettera dans une chambre ou personne ne le vaira qui le cognoisse et il est mieux ce me semble qu’il vienne dasses bonne heure cest a dire entre dix et onze heures.⁷⁶

⁷² Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, 50. Although, for the rigorists, sinners could not achieve forgiveness *just* with the cleric’s power of absolution so the role of the spiritual director was more limited in this part of the penitential process; see Henry Phillips, *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 199.

⁷³ Stephenson, *The Power and Patronage of Marguerite de Navarre*, 171; Béguin, *Les princes de Condé*, 184 – 87.

⁷⁴ Béguin, *Les princes de Condé*, 401.

⁷⁵ Joseph Bergin, *Crown, Church and Episcopate under Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 292, 472.

⁷⁶ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, ff. 39 – 41, mademoiselle de Vertus to madame de Sablé, undated; see Cousin, ed., ‘Lettres inédites de mademoiselle de Vertus,’ *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes*, 13 (1852): 332, for variations on this letter, as his transcription left out some words. Vertus was the daughter of Claude d’Avaugour, comte de

According to this letter, the consultation was arranged in the format of a discrete social occasion. Singlin was invited to dine and was to be transported in the chair. Vertus later celebrated the success of this meeting and Longueville's satisfaction with the conversation. Drafting a spiritual director in this way was comparable to a modern-day recruitment process. Clerics were screened against certain 'competencies':

vous me faites tant de bien en toutes manieres et vous estes si appliquee a trouver les moyens de m'en faire que je ne scay madame comment vous remercier si vous pouviez voir le font de mon cœur je ne seray pas si embarsee car je suis assuree que vous y trouveres tant d'amitie et tant de reconnoissance...vous scaurez plus particulierement de m[adame]e de Longueville comment elle est satisfaite de la conversation de M[onsieur] de Montigni elle me dit qu'elle avoit trouvé la dernière facilité avec luy et une solidité admirable enfin tout ce qui est nécessaire a un véritable directeur.⁷⁷

'Montigni' was a pseudonym used for Singlin who was born in Paris in 1607 and started his career as a vintners apprentice in his father's firm. When Singlin later joined the clergy and entered a seminary, the family business was inherited by his brother Pierre who was a wine merchant in Paris.⁷⁸ Singlin became acquainted with Saint-Cyran after becoming confessor at the Hôpital de la Pitié and left this role in 1637 in order to become a *solitaire* of Port-Royal.⁷⁹

Vertus and Catherine Fouquet de la Varonne, and the sister of Marie de Bretagne, who married Hercule de Rohan and later became duchesse de Montbazou. She was therefore distantly related to the princesse de Guéméné; see AN, 273 AP, 53. She died at Port-Royal-des-Champs on 21 November 1692. Her role as Longueville's 'companion-attendant' is discussed in chapter five.

⁷⁷ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, ff. 71 – 2, fo. 72, mademoiselle de Vertus to madame de Sablé, undated; see Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites de mademoiselle de Vertus,' *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 13 (1852): 333, for an extract of this letter, with some orthographic variations.

⁷⁸ AN, MC, ET/LXXV/0095, 17 April 1657, is the probate inventory of Pierre Singlin.

⁷⁹ Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France*, 40.

The arrangement of these initial encounters was a way for spiritual friends to resolve the dilemma of choosing a director collectively. When Singlin died in 1664, Longueville resorted to her female spiritual friends to help her select a new one and settle her ‘quandary’:

j’estois incertaine sy vous sçavies la perte que nous avons toutes faite ainsy je ne vous escrivois point, en verité j’en suis tout a fait touchée car outre l’obligation que j’avois a ce s[ain]t homme de sa charité pour moy, me revoila tombée dans l’ambaras ou j’estois devant que de le prendre c’est a dire d’avoir besoin de quelqu’un et de ne scavoir qui prendre, je vous prie de bien prier dieu pour moy je ne doute pas que vous ne soies pas touchée ausy et qu’outre le touchement d’amitié et de besoin vous ne la soies ausy par voir la mort dans un de vos amis...il faut essayer de se fortifier par le recours a dieu et par la priere...⁸⁰

Longueville closed the letter with ‘je ne scay ou est ce bon homme que vous me recommandes ny ou il loge,’ which indicates that Sablé had been suggesting potential candidates to fulfil the ‘besoing.’ Elite penitents had considerable latitude in identifying and recommending male clerics to their friends in this way, whether they became spiritual directors, or simply sources of advice:

le pere de Mouchy est un homme fort agreable et fort solide, Il est tout fait comme un janseniste quoy qu’il leur soit opposé et on ne sçauroit deviner quil ne lest point estant dans les mesme maximes qu’eux sur la dissipline et sur la morale...Il est thomiste sur la grace, il a l’esprit naturel d’un fort honneste homme et sy vous pouves vous procurer sa conversation vous en seres satisfaite assurement, mais je ne scay sy lair de port royal ne l’esloignera pas un peu de vous.⁸¹

⁸⁰ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, ff. 117 – 18, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé; the letter itself is undated but Sablé’s doctor Valant marked it ‘18 avril 1664’; see Cousin, ed., ‘Lettres inédites,’ *Journal des Savants* (1852): 258, for another transcription of the whole letter, with some minor variations to my transcription. This repertoire mentions Singlin’s probate inventory: AN, MC, RE/LXXV/2, 16 July 1664.

⁸¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 146 – 48, 146 – 47, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 27 October, undated, Trie. This letter was not published by Cousin or Barthélemy.

Pierre de Mouchy (1610 – 1686) was an Oratorian with a chamber at the Hôtel de Liancourt and was also the brother of one of Longueville’s chambermaids.⁸² In this letter, Longueville assessed Mouchy’s moral virtues as well as his doctrinal positions: both of which were important for the rigorists. Her reference to his ‘Thomist’ position shows that she grasped the subtle distinction between the Thomist and Augustinian views on grace.⁸³ Although it was also opposed to Molinism, Saint Thomas Aquinas’ doctrine of cooperative grace possessed the optimism that the Augustinian conception did not share because it taught that man was perfectible.⁸⁴ Most significantly, Longueville promoted ‘conversation’ with Mouchy as she did with a number of other male clerics. Within this letter, Longueville went on to appraise an *abbé* and friend of the prince de Conti who was ‘tres vertueux’, ‘plus scavant qu’aucun de sa congregation’ and ‘augustinien pour la doctrine.’⁸⁵ The preceptor of Conti’s children Étienne de Lombard, abbé de Trouillas (b. 1610), was described as having ‘tres bonnes qualités, bien de la pieté, bien de l’esprit, et le coeur le plus noble du monde.’⁸⁶

Oratory priests crop-up regularly in letters and notarial documents pertaining to rigorist penitents.⁸⁷ This can be explained by the inextricable link that historians have found between

⁸² *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, 738; AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/251, 16 July 1674, see, for example, ‘dans la garde-robe de monsieur de Mouchy’; Cousin, ed., ‘Lettres inédites de mademoiselle de Vertus,’ *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes*, 13 (1852): 337.

⁸³ Miel, *Pascal and Theology*, 37 – 40.

⁸⁴ Tavenaux, *Le catholicisme dans la France classique*, vol. 1, 294.

⁸⁵ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 198 - 200, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 11 September, undated, Châteaudun.

⁸⁶ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 198 - 200, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 11 September, undated, Châteaudun; AN, Série R³, 118, fo. 106.

⁸⁷ Joseph-Guy-Toussaint Desmares (1603 – 1687) was another Oratory representative who had ties with the network. He enjoyed the patronage of the duchesse de Liancourt in particular. I have found one extant letter he wrote to her at BIF, Ms. Godefroy, 531, ff. 257 – 58, lettre du reverend père Desmares à madame de Liancourt sur les fausses accusations qu’on luy impose pendant le carême de l’année 1648: ‘Aujourd’huy voicy une nouvelle accusation dont on me charge d’avoir dict une dame de piété a qui jay parlé sur la conversions que le concile de trente n’estoit qu’un concile de police et que depuis les 4 premiers siècles il ny avoit plus d’église que dans les coeurs des fideles...Enfin madame, jescris cette lettre a la haste, comme vous pouvez bien juger, et je

rigorism and the Oratory.⁸⁸ In Paris, both the Oratorians and the rigorists were affiliates of the Carmelite convent on the rue Saint-Jacques; they were also more broadly connected via their neo-Augustinianism and their devotion to the Holy Sacrament.⁸⁹ This ought to serve as a reminder that female rigorists did not only associate with *abbés* but sought the advice of a much larger pool of male advisors – even the *solitaires* at Port-Royal, who were neither ordained nor members of religious orders.⁹⁰

Female penitents also corresponded with those high in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Bishop Nicolas Pavillon of Alet (1639 – 1677) and his supporter Godeau were among their contacts. Pavillon adopted a more rigorist stance as his episcopal career progressed, and Godeau was not only a correspondent of the comtesse de Maure, but also of the marquise de Gamaches, the princesse de Conti and the duchesse de Longueville.⁹¹ These were probably acquaintances made years before any of our penitents had converted since Godeau had frequented the Rambouillet salon. He was also a correspondent of Julie d'Angennes, mademoiselle de Rambouillet (1607 – 1671) and Elisabeth de Choiseul, madame du Plessis-

prends la liberte de m'adresser a vous afin que vous la fassiez voir si vous l'avez agreable a tous ceux qui pourroit avoir conceu quelque mauvaise opinion de mes sentimens je consent mesme quelle soit imprimee et donnee au public si on le juge a propos quoy que le stile ne men soit pas avantageux et je finis par la protestation que je fais destre toute ma vie, Madame, V[ot]re tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur Joseph Des mares, Pre[tre] de l'orat[oire] de Jesus.'

⁸⁸ Jean Lesaulnier, 'Introduction,' in *Chroniques de Port-Royal: Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Port-Royal*, no. 50, 'Port-Royal et l'oratoire,' (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2001), 7 – 45; Krumenacker, *L'école française*, 268, 471.

⁸⁹ Lesaulnier, 'Introduction,' 22.

⁹⁰ Phillips, *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France*, 195.

⁹¹ Godeau was discussed in chapter one, see above, p. 55. On Pavillon, see Bernard Chédozeau, 'La formation du clergé à Alet pendant l'épiscopat de Nicolas Pavillon (1639 – 1677),' in *Chroniques de Port-Royal: Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Port-Royal*, no. 32 'Port-Royal et l'épiscopat' (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1983), 78. On Godeau, see also: *Lettres de M. Godeau sur divers sujets* (Paris: E. Ganeau et J. Estienne, 1713), 243 – 46, 367 – 69, 396 – 98, 412; and Louis Cognet, *Antoine Godeau (1605 – 1672): Évêque de Grasse et de Vence* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1990), 488.

Guénégaud (1610 – 1677).⁹² Godeau's letters also reveal that he did distribute spiritual advice to our penitents, denoting the anomalous nature of these relationships.⁹³ After conversion then, the aristocratic female penitent may have had one spiritual director who she met or corresponded with on a regular basis, but other clerics could offer alternative sources of advice. The relative freedom that female penitents had to choose the advisor they wanted invalidates the assertion that male clerics were used as a Church tool of oppression.⁹⁴ The recourse to female friends to help identify a new spiritual director is also demonstrative of the resourcefulness of the rigorist friendship network and the role played by co-penitents.

The second reason why female spiritual friends became more important than the male confessor was that rigorist women had very different expectations of their relationships with male clerics and their female friends. For example, female spiritual friends outranked spiritual directors in Longueville's correspondence hierarchy. In August 1667, when she learned that Sablé had been writing to the abbé de La Vergne at l'Isle-Adam but had ignored her, she felt slighted by her spiritual friend:

l'horrible chaud qu'il a fait m'ayant paru une tres legitime cause de vostre silence je n'ay point voulu en l'interompant vers vous vous donner la fatigue de le rompre ou la contrainte de ne faire une espece de petite insivilité en ne me respondant pas un mot, mais a cette heure qu'il est un peu passée, et que en plus je voy que vous escrives a m[onsieu]r de la vergne je ne puis m'empescher de vous demander de vos nouvelles c'est une chose mesme qui ne vous desplaira pas que se soit par une espece de jalousie des douleurs que vous escrives a m[onsieu]r de la vergne quand vous ne me dites pas un mot que je romps mon silence pour vous gronder du vostre mendes moy donc un peu combien il eust dure sy je ne vous en eusse fait des reproches M[ademoise]lle de Vertu[s] est a paris qui vous verra et qui vous dira de mes

⁹² *Lettres de M. Godeau*, 210 – 12, 394 – 95.

⁹³ Contact with rigorist bishops became more important during periods of religious persecution. During the controversy over the Five Propositions, for example, four rigorist bishops declined to accept the papal bulls and the Assembly's Formulary, supporting the Port-Royal cause; see Alison Forrestal, *Fathers, Pastors and Kings: Visions of Episcopacy in Seventeenth-Century France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 129 – 35.

⁹⁴ Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, vol. 1, 375.

nouvelles pour moy je vais a chantilly avec madame la princesse de Conty je ne sçay pas sy vous n'aves peu rien tentes aupres de m[onsieur] l'abbe de Rospigliosy.⁹⁵

The fact that Longueville questioned why Sablé would write to La Vergne before giving 'one word' to her is indicative of the way she envisaged a spiritual friendship: loyalty to one's female correspondents was to come before one's relationship with a male cleric.

Lay female penitents were not only superior spiritual friends because of their social status and gender. It seems that penitents could also be more honest with other women who faced the same obstacles to spiritual perfection as they did. Rigorist spiritual directors sought to instil in their penitents a profound contempt for the profanities of the *vie mondaine*, and reminded them that penitential deprivation through introspection in solitude was essential to the pursuit of salvation.⁹⁶ Letters of spiritual direction portrayed the *vie penitente* as antithetical to the habitual social activities of their female directees. Spiritual directors advocated the adoption of 'silence' as an antidote to the polite liaisons that their elite penitents encountered in the salon and court and as a spiritual remedy for the sin and vanity associated with the privileged life of a Parisian aristocrat.⁹⁷

Spiritual directors often encountered problems when they attempted to conquer elite penitents' attachment to worldly habits, which is indicative of this conflict of interest. The

⁹⁵ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 93 – 4, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 3 August, undated, l'Isle-Adam; Cousin printed an extract of this letter, see 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 607. The mentioning of the presence of Rospigliosi in France indicates that it was probably 1667. We know that at this time, Longueville and the princesse de Conti were at l'Isle-Adam with the Bourbon-Condé confessor, the abbé de La Vergne. See chapter 5 below, p. 279.

⁹⁶ Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, 16 – 18. Port-Royal's Saint-Cyran saw solitude as the idyllic devotional state for the pursuit of individual salvation, having intensely mystical experiences during his imprisonment at Vincennes; Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 347; Tavenaux, *Vie quotidienne des Jansénistes*, 23.

⁹⁷ Josse, ed., *Lettres d'Antoine Singlin*, Singlin to the duchesse de Longueville, 17 November 1662, 480 – 83: 'le silence est le gardien de toutes les vertus'; he also cited James 1: 26: 'If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain,' *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 281.

letters of the abbé Gabriel de Ciron (1619 – 1675) reveal his worries about accepting two elite penitents as directees after the abbé de La Vergne introduced him to the prince and princesse de Conti. In one part of the letter, Ciron specifically referred to the ‘worldliness’ in the prince de Conti’s soul:

M[onsieu]r le Prince de Conty veulent que je donner a Dieu et mener une vie vrain[en]t eternal... Selon le sentiment present j’aimerois mieux la mort que cet employ... Je vous écris celle cy a 2 fins, l’une afin que vous prier D[ieu] pour moi qui m’eclaire quil me donne la fort a vaincre le monde en cette ame, et la grace d’y etablir J[esus] C[hrist].⁹⁸

Singlin lamented on the 6 December 1643 that the princesse de Guéméné and Marie-Louise de Gonzague would not achieve true penitence if they did not renounce their worldly ties.⁹⁹

His letters often betray his struggle to reconcile the solitary, penitential life with the pious ambitions of the aristocrat. When the duc de Longueville suffered a bout of illness, Singlin even tried to comfort the duchess with a letter emphasizing the transience of the worldly life:

Rien ne fait davantage voir comme toute la grandeur du monde avec tous ses biens et plaisirs ne sont que pures illusions, tromperies et mensonges... Tout ce qui n’est point éternel et qui n’est que temporel passe comme un songe et une fumée. Si les gens du monde n’étaient dans un état léthargique et dans un enivrement comme parle l’Écriture sainte, ils mépriseraient cette vie et elle leur serait à charge et avec tout ce qu’il est de plus spécieux dans le monde.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, 274 – 75; BnF, Ms. Fr, 19347, ff. 20 – 22, letter of the abbé de Ciron to an unknown recipient, 12 April, undated. This chapter will consider other instances where aristocratic habits caused conflict with spiritual directors shortly.

⁹⁹ Josse, ed., *Lettres d’Antoine Singlin*, Singlin to Angélique Arnauld, 1 March 1644, 240: ‘Si l’une et l’autre princesse ne se résolvent à quitter absolument le monde et tout leur train pour se mettre toutes en lieu de faire pénitence dans la retraite, elles ne feront jamais rien, et leur pénitence sera toujours défectueuse, étant impossible pour elles qu’elles la puissent bien faire dans le monde.’

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, Singlin to the duchesse de Longueville, May 1663, 492 - 93.

Rigorist spiritual directors also discouraged lay penitents from closeness with anyone other than God, even their own confessor.¹⁰¹ Singlin claimed that sociability with lay women merely served to satisfy temptation:

C'est par ce même esprit que l'on vous juge si propre à être entremettrice dans nos affaires, parce que l'on espère d'y trouver plus de conformité à ce qui plaît au monde. C'est en cela que l'on met votre grande habileté. Ces amis séculiers qui s'entremettent de nos affaires, et quelques autres avec eux, ne s'aperçoivent pas de ce piège que je découvre souvent dans leurs négociations à en aller parler aux dames amies où l'on se satisfait et l'on se divertit même quelquefois.¹⁰²

This tension was certainly recognized by female penitents. Longueville felt the need to justify her conversations by reflecting upon the effects that penitence could have on a person in an abstruse letter to Sablé:

on est ravie de vous voir la conscience ausy delicate que vous l'avés, les gents faits comme vous (s'il y en a) ne scauroient faire autrement, ils ont tousjours tout a fait dure ou bien dans la derniere delicatesse car leur esprit leur fait tant deserter ce choses ou les autres gents ne voient rien qu'il est impossible apres cela que la grace qui est eux ne les tourmente sur ce que leur esprit leur a fait apercevoit vrayment vous n'aves nul besoing de me faire souvenir de la parole que je vous ay donnée, ou plustost que je me suis donnée a moy mesme...mais quoy que la conversation que nous aurons ne blesse rien de tout ce qu'on doit a dieu, Je n'iray point neantmoins la chercher par esprit de retraite car ce movement est tousjours un esffet de l'esprit de penitence et veritablement se n'est pas le moien de la faire que d'aller vous entretenir je le feray jedy s'il plaira dieu vous me donnera donc ce jour la une portion de religieuse vous saves qu'outre les bonnes raisons qui vous donnent empecher de me donner un festin cest que je suis indigne par mon miserable goust.¹⁰³

The objective here is not to infer that male directors of conscience used spiritual direction repressively to impose rigorist piety upon lay women, or that the piety of aristocratic penitents was at all insincere or perfunctory. What is clear from these letters is that the

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, Singlin to 'une personne du monde,' 18 October 1655, 418.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, Singlin to the duchesse de Longueville, 5 May 1663, 496.

¹⁰³ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 116 – 17, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, undated; Cousin printed an extract of the letter in 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 683, but omitted the section preceding 'vous avez nul besoing' which therefore obscured the basis for Longueville's attitude to their conversations.

rigorist *mépris du monde* existed in constant tension with the social mandates that elite lay penitents were enslaved to and the predispositions that their social status gave them. Consequently, confessor-penitent relationships could not have achieved the same sincerity as lay, female spiritual friendships. Now that a distinction between lay female and male clerical relationships has been made, let us explore the spiritual intimacy that some female friends strived for.

iii) Spiritual Friendships and Penitence

The degree of closeness in a female spiritual friendship can often be measured using correspondence. Intense spiritual friends tended to share penitential experiences via the letter. Longueville and Conti's relationship is one of the most compelling examples of mutual redemptorial responsibility within a spiritual friendship. Their devotion to one another deepened after their respective conversions in the mid-1650s.¹⁰⁴ Shortly after her conversion, Conti addressed a number of letters to 'une dame de piété' and to 'une apres sa conversion.' The princess told her husband in June 1654 that 'madame de Longueville a escrit a un de ses amis une lettre ou elle ne parle que de moy.'¹⁰⁵ The princess also used her letters to describe Longueville's spiritual state to the abbé de La Vergne, as we shall see later. With this additional information then, I think we can afford to be bold enough to claim that these letters were intended for Longueville. In one of these letters, the princess divulged her desire to talk about spiritual matters with her 'pious' recipient:

Je n'ay jamais eu tant de besoin d'aller prendre un peu de joye ches vous je suis si fatigee de moy que je n'en puis plus si vostre sante vous permet de venir je vous prie de venir de bonne heure passer la journee aupres de moy nous pourrons parler a nostre

¹⁰⁴ Confirming a point made by Barnes that 'religious conversion or the decision to lead a devout life [was] represented as a function of female friendship,' Barnes, 'The Secretary of Ladies and Feminine Friendship,' 47.

¹⁰⁵ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, fo. 5, princesse de Conti to Armand de Bourbon, 17 June 1654.

aise de la seule chose qui peut contenter nostre ame, j'estois si fatigee hier d'avoir entendu parler d'autre chose que je nen pouvois plus. Je n'ay jamais si bien connu ma misere et ma confiance croit a mesure que je connois la mesure de ma foiblesse que Dieu est bon, qu'il est aimable que la creature est peu de chose, nous parlerons aujourd'hui a nostre aise de ses grandeurs et de ses misericordes.¹⁰⁶

Spiritual friendships provided the hands-on support that female penitents needed during the undertaking of a penitential regime. Conti wanted to discuss matters which could grant her soul some spiritual contentment, and hoped a visit from her female recipient would provide the opportune moment for this. She suggested that they talk about God's mercy: a matter which we might expect would be reserved for discussion with the spiritual director. Her female spiritual friend was also the target for a more vivid epistolary account of her contrition:

j'eus le coeur si serre de voir jesus christ en croix tout mid souffrant avec une couronne d'epines sur la teste que jen pleuray et me dit en moy mesme faut il que pendant que jesus soufre je sois faite comme je suis, et metant humiliee et priant devant Dieu.¹⁰⁷

This letter contains many stock images of feminine penitence. Conti's vision of the crucified Christ prompted her 'sacred tears.' This is comparable to the types of experiences had by female mystics and was part of a repertoire of symbols of feminine, affective piety.¹⁰⁸ Conti's description of herself crying and prostrating her body before God, specifically before the cross, is reminiscent of the way penitence was performed in conversion narratives, penitential accounts and mystical writings.¹⁰⁹ In whichever way Conti was using the image of the

¹⁰⁶ BM, Ms. 1211, fo. 99, princesse de Conti to 'une dame de piété,' 1659.

¹⁰⁷ BM, Ms. 1211, ff. 100 – 101, princesse de Conti to 'une après sa conversion,' undated.

¹⁰⁸ Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 9; Haskins, *Mary Magdalen*, 187; Jansen, *The Making of the Magdalen*, 207.

¹⁰⁹ On this, see Elizabeth Knuth, 'The Gift of Tears in Teresa of Avila,' *Mystics Quarterly*, 20, no. 4 (December, 1994): 131 – 42.

penitent sinner, the letter served to share an intensely personal, almost flagellatory experience. The most private experiences of interior mortification were therefore disclosed by spiritual friends in a type of epistolary examination of conscience. For both the author and recipient of the letter, reflecting on these experiences must have functioned to alleviate the burdens of penitence.

Conti's letters to her husband abound in expressions of love but she did not confide in the prince in the same way as she did her female friend, regardless of whether we accept that it was Longueville or not. Even where she did mention her spiritual progress to the prince, Conti exercised restraint:

Mon cher mari je vous ayme plus que je nay jamais faict vous estes bien avan dans mon coeur je vous ayme bien tandremen...aymes tousjours vostre chere femme qui est toute a vous. Je fisier mes devotions et je me souvin bien de vous il faut estre bien a dieu mon cher enfan pries nostre seigneur pour moy quil me fasse misericorde et quil me pardone mes peches je suis bien miserable.¹¹⁰

Conti's description of her progress amounted to a vague statement that she had been performing her 'devotions,' which we can contrast with the openness with which she wrote to her female friend. Dena Goodman has shown that the bonds of friendship were tested by a wife's duties to her marriage.¹¹¹ The late feminist historian Patricia Crawford also found a similar thing in seventeenth-century England and noted that 'fundamental to women's culture was friendship between women that challenged patriarchal values.'¹¹² Armand's frequent absences, due to his position as governor of Languedoc, seem only to have strengthened the budding friendship between his sister and his wife in the early 1660s. The prince de Conti

¹¹⁰ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, ff. 90 - 91, princesse de Conti to Armand de Bourbon, 1 June 1657, Paris; Barthélemy printed extracts of many of Conti's letters to her husband in *Une nièce de Mazarin*; I have not been able to find this one.

¹¹¹ Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters*, 306 – 307.

¹¹² Crawford, 'Friendship and Love between Women,' 49.

became the new governor in 1660 and spent a considerable amount of time there until his death in 1666.¹¹³ After his and the duc de Longueville's deaths, as we shall see in chapter five, the sisters-in-law grew more devoted to each other as widowed *custos animi*.

Longueville's relationship with the marquise de Sablé was another spiritual friendship which achieved a comparable level of intimacy.¹¹⁴ The way Longueville often consulted the spiritual counsel of her older spiritual friend was perhaps informed by Sablé's age and her reputation for her commitment to her rigorist penitential regime. It was therefore different to her friendship with the younger princesse de Conti. During the lying-in of Marie-Thérèse in October 1661, Longueville sought to impress her older and penitentially-advanced spiritual friend with an account of how her dedication to solitude helped her to combat worldliness at court:

c'est plus tost une consolation a la fatigue qu'on a fontenebleau de vous faire response que ce n'est une nouvelle fatigue et rien n'est plus mal nommé que cela, mais vrayment il ne faut pas une chose moins agreable que le sont les marques de vostre souvenir par adoucir un peu le chagrin que j'ay icy, je n'ay pas l'incommodite que vous pensies, car mon frere a pris la chambre ou j'avois tant de bruit, et m'a donné la siene, ou il n'y en a point du tout, c'est la seule douceur de fontenebleau pour moy car la mesme extreme hauteur qui la rend tout fait exempte de bruit, la rend aussy si inaccessible aux gents qui n'ont pas une furieuse envie de me voir que comme il y en a fort peu dans cette disposition j'y suis dans une asses grande solitude pour estre a la cour, j'y passe une partie de ma vie par bien de raisons et je ne voy gueres la reine mere que le matin ou pour l'accompagner a des vespres devant le saint sacrement qui est exposé et qui le sera jusqu'aux couches de la reine ou elle va tous les jours.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 113.

¹¹⁴ Her letters were archived by Sablé's doctor, Valant, who also placed a docket or a brief explanation of the contents on the cover; something which other scholars have found; see Steen, 'Reading beyond the words,' 65. The letters in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal were copied and deposited by Valentin Conrart; see Nicolas Schapira, *Un professionnel des lettres au XVIIe siècle: Valentin Conrart, une histoire sociale* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon, 2003); and Auguste Bourgoïn, *Un Bourgeois de Paris lettré au XVIIe siècle: Valentin Conrart, premier secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie française, et son temps, sa vie, ses écrits, son rôle dans l'histoire littéraire de la première partie du XVIIe siècle*; Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris (Paris: Hachette, 1883).

¹¹⁵ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 47 - 8, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 30 October, undated; see Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 456, for an extract of this part of the letter with some minor variations.

The Queen's lying-in was a period when Longueville's attendance at Fontainebleau was part of her public, social duties; by mid-October, the ladies of the great nobility had arrived at Fontainebleau as was customary.¹¹⁶ Longueville's apartment there gave her some respite, as the above account shows. The duchess described how she had exchanged rooms with her brother to avoid the distractions of court and explained that its inaccessibility meant that she would not be disturbed. Particularly interesting in this letter is the perceived juxtaposition between the courtly devotion at Vespers in the chapel of the Holy Trinity and the sobriety of Longueville's cabinet: something which we will return to shortly.

The image of the solitary penitent aristocrat writing correspondence to a pious recipient is reminiscent of the 'desert dwellers' or Saint Jerome in his study.¹¹⁷ How contrived were these self-portraits? The epistolary trope of solitude in the cabinet which could only be alleviated by the dialogue of friendship has been examined elsewhere.¹¹⁸ Without doubt, educated aristocratic women would have been accustomed to reading the correspondence models that letter-writing manuals made accessible. Yet we need not overstate this. It is clear that corresponding with Sablé temporarily postponed Longueville's boredom, but it also offered her some degree of spiritual comfort. Words such as 'adoucir'¹¹⁹ and 'chagrin'¹²⁰ imitated the language of spiritual direction and were clearly part of a spiritual vocabulary.

¹¹⁶ Ruth Kleinman, *Anne of Austria: Queen of France* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985), 279 – 80.

¹¹⁷ Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity*, 26.

¹¹⁸ Barnes, 'The Secretary of Ladies and Feminine Friendship,' 47; Rebecca Earle, 'Letters, Writers and the Historian,' in *Epistolary Selves*, ed. Earle, 6; Morrissey and Wright, 'Piety and Sociability in Early Modern Women's Letters,' 44.

¹¹⁹ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Addoucir: pacify, appease, temper,' n.p.n.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*: 'Chagrin: 'anxiety, pensiveness, melancholy, anguishes of mind, heaviness,' n.p.n; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Chagrin: peine, affliction, déplaisir; il est aussi adjectif et signifie melancholique, triste, mauvaise humeur,' vol. 1, 268.

Longueville also used her letters to Sablé to divulge her spiritual anxieties and to share her perceptions of her own spiritual progress:

Il y a bien longtemps que j'avois écrite de resveiller votre letargie¹²¹ mais sy vous voies comme ma vie est faite vous comprendries bien qu'a cette heure que dieu m'a fait la grace de ne pas preferer les choses satisfaisantes aux necesaires, je n'ay pas le temps de faire les premieres estant quasy tousjours acablee par les dernieres en sorte quil ne me reste pas de loisir pour les autres, je ne puis me tenir de vous dire en passant que cela me paroist une penitence sy digne de m'estre ordonne par la providence parce que'elle est fort proportionée a mes peches et la plus mortifiante de toutes ma naturel que je n'essaye pas de me tirer de cet ordre et ainsy je ne vous ay pas escrit.¹²²

In the letter from which this extract is taken, the duchess also gave a lengthy account of her ill-health at the time, and her infirmity was cited as the reason she had not corresponded with Sablé regularly. Her bodily illness was conceived of as a spiritual punishment and, again, her inability to engage in pleasurable activities was understood as a form of penitential deprivation. God had sent her the 'grace' not to prefer such activities, which was a worthy 'penitence' ordained by 'providence.' Most significantly, she applied this understanding to her life before conversion. She perceived it as just punishment for her sins and the most effective sentence for someone of her character. During these periods she often asked Sablé to pray for her:

Je vous dis encore pries pour moy, car j'en ay un extreme besoing, il est de la justice de dieu sur mes peches.¹²³

Requests for prayer in correspondence were often formulaic and are frequently found in letters between social unequals or where one correspondent was a figure of authority.¹²⁴ In

¹²¹ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Letargie: drowsie or forgetful sickness or a dull heaviness,' n.p.n.

¹²² BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, fo. 157, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 6 August, undated; Cousin printed a full version of this letter, see 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 733 – 34.

¹²³ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, ff. 162 - 63, fo. 163, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 17 July, undated, Châteaudun; Cousin published one version of this letter in 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1852): 376.

these instances it seems clear that prayer was an act of mutual support; a response to a particular need provoked by spiritual anxieties or other emotions.

Serious epistolary exchanges must be contextualized, however. The surviving correspondence of the rigorist friendship network shows that letters were also means of sharing titillating stories and gossip. Spiritual friends were not just devout agony-aunts; they were also companions. The letters show that their spiritual bond was the foundation for their social gatherings and often gastronomic sociability:

M[adam]e de Brienne ma priée daller diner ches elle aujourdui mais comme cest pour y demeurer a l'assemblee apres diner je ne n'y veux pas engager sans savoir si je verrai le roi... car si je le vois je n'irai point diner ches M[adam]e de Brienne je voudrois donc bien savoir ma destine entre cy et midi afin que j'ai le loisir ou d'alle ches M[adam]e de Brienne ou de lui mander qu'elle ne m'attende point.¹²⁵

Other occasions where the comtesse de Maure dined with Longueville were also at once sociable and pious.¹²⁶ There are several other letters which reveal how spiritual friends exchanged medicinal and culinary recipes, and dined together.¹²⁷

The Hôtel de Liancourt on the rue de Seine in Paris was an important location in the topography of rigorist sociability. Female penitents were often present for the theological and philosophical discussions of the Port-Royal scholars there.¹²⁸ Extant correspondence shows

¹²⁴ Such as Longueville's letters to her father, MC, Chantilly, Série M, vol. xxxiv, ff. 318 - 20. This is a point made in: Sternberg, 'Epistolary Ceremonial,' 58.

¹²⁵ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, ff. 874 - 75, duchesse de Longueville to Gabriel de Roquette, undated.

¹²⁶ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 279, comtesse de Maure to madame de Sablé, undated: '...hier je ne laissay pas daller diner avec M[adam]e de Longueville.' See Barthélemy, *Madame la comtesse de Maure*, 160 - 61; Barthélemy dates the letter to August or September 1660.

¹²⁷ See BnF, Ms. Fr, 17057, fo. 24, princesse de Guéméné to madame de Sablé, undated, for a letter exchanging a recipe; many of the letters to Sablé in BnF, Ms. Fr, 17048 and 17050 also mention recipes and Sablé's dinners.

¹²⁸ See Map 1.3 in Appendix C. Jean Lesaulnier's edited version of the *Recueil des choses diverses*, a manuscript discovered in 1950 and believed to be from the Liancourt residence, reveals the nature of the conversations that were held there: Jean Lesaulnier, *Port-Royal insolite: édition critique du 'Recueil de choses diverses'* (Paris: Klincksieck 1992). The text, which is comparable to the minutes of a meeting, was composed

that they also congregated to hear sermons. The duchesse de Schomberg hosted a gathering in March 1668, which convened for Claude Joli's (1610 – 1678) oration.¹²⁹ The convent was another space for this sociability. Although this thesis is not concerned with reconstructing the practice of female retreat at the convent at length due to the large body of scholarship already devoted to it, it is important not to disregard its centrality as a space for the devotional culture of aristocratic women. Historians have shown how the walls of the cloister continued to be porous even after the Council of Trent: kin and neighbours were part of obligatory devotions, regular masses were held for deceased friends and family, and young aristocrats continued to be educated within the conventual walls.¹³⁰ Religious houses were also dependent politically and economically upon patronage beyond the grille, and goods were exchanged regularly both at the parlour and the wheel.¹³¹ Historians of Counter-Reformation Italy have pointed to the way female religious houses were 'aristocratized'; they were dominated by powerful noble families, where dowries and familial bequests made sure convents profited from these relationships.¹³² Conventual histories are therefore no longer isolated microcosmic studies of an enclosed community, and it has also become important to recognize that these 'golden cages' did not represent a space devoid of culture.¹³³ Historians

around 1670 and betrays the presence of many of the women in our network, but it does not reveal much about their contribution to these discussions; see Lesaulnier, *Port-Royal Insolite*, 259, 424.

¹²⁹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17048, ff. 52 – 3, Eléonore de Souvré to madame de Sablé, March 1668: 'Ce qui mempesche davoir aujourd'hui lhonneur de vous voir cest que je suis engagée daller apres diner chez m[adam]e de [s]chomberg pour entendre le sermon de monsieur jolly...' Claude Joli was bishop of Agen.

¹³⁰ Strasser, 'The Cloister as Membrane,' 369; Claire Walker, 'Recusants, Daughters, and Sisters in Christ: English Nuns and their Communities in the Seventeenth Century,' in *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Susan Broomhall and Stephanie Tarbin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 61, 68; Silvia Evangelisti, 'Wives, Widows, and Brides of Christ: Marriage and the Convent in the Historiography of Early Modern Italy,' *The Historical Journal*, 43, no. 1 (March, 2000): 245.

¹³¹ Elissa Weaver, *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 9.

¹³² Helen Hills, "'Enamelled with the Blood of a Noble Lineage': Tracing Noble Blood and Female Holiness in Early Modern Neapolitan Convents and their Architecture,' *Church History*, 73, no. 1 (March, 2004): 2, 14.

¹³³ Silvia Evangelisti, 'Monastic Poverty and Material Culture in Early Modern Italian Convents,' *The Historical Journal*, 47, no. 1 (March, 2004): 12.

have traced a strong conventual tradition of writing, painting and performance.¹³⁴ When we talk about the lay penetration of the cloister we should also be mindful that the holy sisters were often of similar social background to the lay penitent and therefore accustomed to genteel pastimes.¹³⁵ Mita Choudhury even argued that they lived in a similar state of luxury to their lay sisters.¹³⁶

In early modern Europe, religious houses offered exclusive privileges to some of the female elite, including royalty, which permitted them inside the cloister.¹³⁷ These retreats were often made once annually but could be more frequent.¹³⁸ Diefendorf has shown that in early-seventeenth-century Paris, wealthy aristocrats might secure the rights of ‘founder’ to a religious house by bequeathing a substantial gift to the institution.¹³⁹ The princesse de Condé, the duchesse de Longueville’s mother, held these privileges at the Parisian Carmelite convent from 1637. An act of 18 November gave Charlotte-Marguerite and her daughter the rights to have ‘libre entrée du monastere, toutes les fois qu’il leur plaira, pour y boire, manger,

¹³⁴ Claire Walker, ‘Going against some Forcible Wind’: Writing and Reform in Medieval and Early Modern Convents,’ *Journal of Women’s History*, 21, no. 1 (Spring, 2009): 142; Amy Leonard, *Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 31; Craig A. Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (London: University of California Press, 1995), 1; Craig A. Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art and Arson in the Convents of Italy* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

¹³⁵ Wendy Gibson, *Women in Seventeenth-Century France* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), 220.

¹³⁶ Mita Choudhury, *Convents and Nuns in Eighteenth-Century French Politics and Culture* (London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 20; although this probably did not apply to the female religious at Port-Royal.

¹³⁷ Diefendorf, ‘Barbe Acarie and her Spiritual Daughters,’ 166; Rapley, *The Dévotes*, 28.

¹³⁸ Marcel Fosseyeux, ‘Les retraites spirituelles au XVIIe siècle,’ *Bulletin de la Société Historique de Paris*, 47 (1920): 49. Lisa Banner has shown that, in Spain, spaces were provided for noble patrons and allowed access to the altars and reliquary rooms which might be conducive to religious observance or periods of mourning; Lisa A. Banner, ‘Private Rooms in the Monastic Architecture of Habsburg Spain,’ in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 81 – 4.

¹³⁹ Diefendorf, ‘Contradictions of the Century of Saints,’ 480; Elizabeth Rapley, *A Social History of the Cloister: Daily Life in the Teaching Monasteries of the Old Regime* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 286.

coucher, assister au divin service et aultres exercices spirituels.’¹⁴⁰ After the affirmation of *Periculoso* at the Council of Trent in December 1563, architectural boundaries were reinforced by exhaustive regulations controlling who had access to the sacred spaces inside the cloister.¹⁴¹ Entrance inside therefore possessed a potent ‘social cachet’ for secular female retreatants.¹⁴²

Discussions of the prestigiousness of access inside the cloister must not obscure the primary, religious function of the exercise. The way that religious houses functioned more as refuges for elite women during periods of illness or mourning rather than for spaces for ‘genuine’ lay devotion has become a historical platitude.¹⁴³ This approach to the aristocratic culture of retreat is problematic. It constructs a false binary between its social and spiritual functions and assumes that a socially significant, modish devotional practice precludes the undertaking of an intensive, scrutinous pious exercise. The epistolary accounts of rigorist penitents’ retreats suggest otherwise:

¹⁴⁰ Jean-Baptiste Eriau, *L’ancien carmel du faubourg Saint-Jacques 1604 – 1792* (Paris: J. de Gigord, 1929), 77; BnF, Vc Colbert. 159, ff. 300, 327. The Carmelites records of 24 April 1648 also describe the apartments she had constructed there: See AN, Série S, 4655^B, 24 April 1648, ‘Donation par Madame la princesse Douairiere de Condé vers batiments qu’elle avoit fait batir dans l’enclos carmelites et des decorations qui estoient au dedans des batiments.’

¹⁴¹ Helen Hills, ‘The Veiled Body: Within the Folds of Early Modern Neapolitan Convent Architecture,’ *Oxford Art Journal*, 27, no. 3 (2004): 277.

¹⁴² Diefendorf, ‘Contradictions of the Century of Saints,’ 479.

¹⁴³ Diefendorf, ‘Contradictions of the Century of Saints,’ 479; Barbara R. Woshinsky, ‘Convent Parleys: Listening to Women’s Voices in Madame de Villeguier’s *Mémoires de la Vie de Henriette Sylvie de Molière*,’ in *The Cloister and the World*, ed. Carr, 167; Bernard Beugnot, ‘Y a-t-il une problématique féminine de la retraite?’ in *Onze études sur l’image de la femme dans la littérature française du dix-septième siècle*, ed. Wolfgang Leiner (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1984), 35. It is true that women used the convent as a place for repose during periods of mourning; see the retreat of Longueville’s ‘companion attendant’ mademoiselle de Vertus after Longueville’s death at BnF, Ms. Fr, 19680, ff. 134 – 36, mademoiselle de Vertus to unknown recipient, 26 May 1679: ‘Helas Madame que vous estes bonne de prendre part a la continuation de mes peines, car il est vray qu’on ne m’a pas donné le tems des respirer sous la pezanteur de la Croix que N[otre] S[eigneur] m’avoit imposée en m’otant Madame de Longueville...’ ‘Je suis si fort en repos, j’en jouiray tant que je pourray si quelque rencontre m’oblige d’en sortir, je tacheray de la faire sans chagrin.’

ce nest pas sans une mortification que je passe une feste sans aller ches vous mais en ce monde on ne fait pas tout ce qu'on veut je vous en diray la raison quand jauray l'honneur de vous voir M[adam]e de Longueville yra donc dimanche faire ses devotions a P[ort] R[oyal] et y commencer une neufaine pour ce que vous scaves faites bien prier par cela sil vous plaist il me samble que dieu la veuille entre les mains de cette person.¹⁴⁴

The *neuvaine* or novena was also practised by the princesse de Conti at the abbé de La Vergne's behest.¹⁴⁵ The novena was a period of prayer which lasted nine days, usually in preparation for penitence or in mourning, which was completed by a mass on the final day.¹⁴⁶ Spending nine days in retreat imitated the biblical example of the nine days of waiting prescribed by Christ to the Apostles, and also symbolized the nine months spent by Christ in the Virgin's womb.¹⁴⁷ Even if rigorist penitents did value the seclusion offered by exclusive access inside the cloister, a sojourn there could also be part of an organized devotional programme. Devotional exercises such as the novena were actually complemented by the penchant for privilege and sense of privacy afforded by retreat at a convent, not contrary to it.

Beyond Paris, there were several religious houses which were important spaces for rigorist penitents' sociability. The Port-Royal outpost at Maubuisson was frequented by Longueville.¹⁴⁸ The princesse de Conti went on regular retreats to the Carmelite convent at Narbonne where one of her chambermaids, Marguerite de Launay, later made her vows and

¹⁴⁴ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 46, mademoiselle de Vertus to madame de Sablé, undated; see Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites de mademoiselle de Vertus,' *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 13 (1852): 331, for a short extract of this letter.

¹⁴⁵ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, ff. 167 – 68, fo. 168, princesse de Conti to the abbé de La Vergne, undated: 'je recevray vos ordres pour moy pour la *neuvaine* dimanche sy dieu le veut sy non il ne laisera pas de communer pour la mesme intantion.'

¹⁴⁶ E. A. Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (3rd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1165.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 1165.

¹⁴⁸ *Conseil général du Val d'Oise, Maubuisson a Maubuisson histoire et archéologie d'une abbaye royale et cistercienne du XIIIe au XXe siècle* (Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône: n.p, 1988), 21, 41; Adolphe Dutilleux and Joseph Depoin, *L'abbaye de Maubuisson Notre Dame la Royale: histoire et cartulaire publiés d'après des documents entièrement inédits* (Pontoise: Imprimerie de A. Paris, 1882 - 1885), 61.

where she gained the rights of founder on 23 February 1664. In Paris, the profusion of religious buildings in the early-seventeenth century formed part of the effort to ‘Catholicize’ the city.¹⁴⁹ The ‘géographie conventuelle’ was part of the ‘urban physionomie’ of Paris, according to Marcel Poëte.¹⁵⁰ He noted the density of convents in the Parisian faubourgs on the left (Saint-Germain and Saint-Jacques) and right banks (Saint-Honoré and Saint-Antoine).¹⁵¹ Constructions in these quarters of Paris accelerated in our period: the work of architect François Mansart (1598 – 1666), whose plans and elevations survive for the Visitation and Val-de-Grâce, was prolific.¹⁵² With Val-de-Grâce, Port-Royal, and the houses of the Capucins, Carmelites and the *Filles de la Visitation*, the faubourg Saint-Jacques was central to the retreats of aristocratic women.¹⁵³ In one letter, Longueville exhorted the marquise d’Huxelles to proceed with her plans to retire to the faubourg.¹⁵⁴ There were also a host of charitable relationships between women in our network and the Parisian convents. The comtesse de Maure was a patron of the Feuillants house on the rue Saint-Honoré and the princesse de Guéméné had a familial tomb constructed there.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ Colin Jones, *Paris: Biography of a City* (London: Penguin, 2006), 165.

¹⁵⁰ Marcel Poëte, *Une vie de cité: Paris de sa naissance à nos jours*, vol. III, ‘La spiritualité de la cité classique, les origines de la cité moderne XVIe – XVIIe siècles’ (4 volumes, Paris: A. Picard, 1924 - 1931), 388.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 390.

¹⁵² *François Mansart: les bâtiments marchés de travaux 1623 – 1665* (Paris: Archives Nationales, 1998), 417, 399; Alexandre Gady, ‘Paris au XVIIe siècle: architecture et urbanisme,’ in *Le XVIIe siècle*, eds. Joel Cornette and Alain Mérot (Paris: Seuil, 1999), 161.

¹⁵³ The Carmelite convent situated on the rue Saint-Jacques and along the rue d’Enfer was frequented by the Parisian elite. In addition to her apartment at the Carmelite convent, Anne of Austria constructed lodgings at her own project Val-de-Grâce; see André Hallays, *Le val-de-grâce et Port-Royal* (Paris: Hachette, 1925), 8; Eriau, *L’ancien carmel du faubourg Saint-Jacques*, 35; BM. Ms. 1211, fo. 9. For the location of the faubourg Saint-Jacques, see Map 1.2 in Appendix C.

¹⁵⁴ BnF, Ms. Fr, 12769, fo. 34, duchesse de Longueville to the marquise d’Huxelles, undated: ‘...mais mesme que je vous sera bien pour le vie presente puisque vous seres deslvrée parla de la crainte que vous avies de ce mal, cet advantage ne se bornera pas mesme a vous, il s’etendra sur vos amis et surtout sur ceux qui demeurent en nostre quartier, puisque vous ne craindres plus asses le mauvais air du fauxbourg st jacques pour vous empescher d’y venir loger sy vos autres mesures s’acommodent a ce dessein, Je le souhaite de tout mon cœur.’

¹⁵⁵ See AN, Série S, 4203: ‘Madame la comtesse de Maure a donne pour fondation de messes a son intention par son testament cent livres de rente,’ ‘Plus une messe haute le 15 mars de chaque annee a perpetuite fondee

Female rigorists' lodgings by Port-Royal are well-documented.¹⁵⁶ Sablé's apartment abutted the convent and one side opened onto a balcony into the convent church, which allowed her to attend religious services with the nuns.¹⁵⁷ The proximity of Port-Royal to the Carmelite convent was also often the reason for Longueville's visits to see Maure and Sablé there. She timed her sociable engagements in Paris to periods of time spent in her apartment at the Carmelites:

j'y aille aujourd'hui lorsque je vais aux carmelites pour st joseph estant necessites de voir m[adam]e de saint simon sur le mariage de sa petite fille, et Madame la comtesse de maure que je ne pourrais plus voir de longtemps a cause de mes remedes.¹⁵⁸

Longueville's frequent retreat to Sablé's 'desert' at Port-Royal is also evident in her correspondence:

Il y a desja asses longtemps que je me disois quelle raison vous pouvoit empescher de m'escire...J'espere parler avec vous de toutes ces choses et bien d'autres avec un grand plaisir et effectivement je me fais une idee la plus agreable du monde d'estre hermite quelques jours de la sepmeine sy vous m'y voules bien souffrir ce sera la ou nous agiterons et ou nous aprofondirons bien des choses et ou je vous monstrey mon cœur aussy a descouvert que vous l'aves veu jadis dans lequel vous trouveres toujours les sentiments les plus tendres du monde, je vous en assure.¹⁵⁹

par haute et puissante dame madame la princesse de guemene moyenant la rente de cent livres aprendre par annee a l'hostel de ville de paris sur les rentes du clergé par testament olographe du 13 March 1679.' On the Feuillants, see also: AN, Série S, 4166, 13 May 1679: 'Nous Anne de Rohan Princesse de Guemené duchesse douariere de Montbazou, ayant choisy pour ma sepulture la chappelle que jay fait accomodes dans l'Eglise des Reverendes peres feuillantes en la rue saint honoré a Paris ma volonté est que ladite chappelle servira de sepulture a toutes les personnes de la maison de Rohan qui desiront y estre mit apres leur morte.'

¹⁵⁶ See AN, Série S, 4515^B, 5 February 1656: 'Donation par Mad[ame] la marq[ui]se de Sablé des Batimens qu'elle avoit fait.' The donations of our other penitents to Port-Royal are also documented: 16 January 1647 Anne de Rohan, princesse de Guéméné; 26 February 1670: duchesse de Longueville. See Gazier, *Les belles amies de Port-Royal*, 6 – 14; and Amelia Gere Mason, *The women of the French Salons* (Iowa: World Library, 2007), 68 – 83.

¹⁵⁷ Conley, *The Suspicion of Virtue*, 24.

¹⁵⁸ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 13 – 14, fo. 14, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, undated, probably 19 March, the feast of Saint Joseph.

¹⁵⁹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 159 – 62, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, undated; see Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 453. In this letter, Longueville also mentions waiting for Sablé's letters to arrive each morning, giving some indication of the logistics of letter writing. See also, BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, fo. 172, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, undated: 'Je suis sy toudchée que je ne puis se me semble me soulager quavec vous j'envoie donc sçavoir sy vous nous voules demain, ou sinon apres demain je

Longueville's plans to 'discuss' (agiter) and 'go into depth' (approfondir) on certain subjects as well as 'open her heart' to Sablé during her a period spent as a 'hermit' show the fluidity between piety and sociability during a conventual retreat.

Rigorist piety therefore became the basis for our penitents' sociability. They were part of a broader Parisian rigorist network that convened to hear sermons and debate philosophical texts.¹⁶⁰ They also practised activities which were entirely conventional for seventeenth-century pious women such as conventual retreat. The evidence for their more private gatherings nevertheless hints at an increasingly privileged role for spiritual friends and a more selective culture of pious sociability among them. The next part of this chapter will probe the sources to reveal what they can tell us about this exclusivity.

3. The Devotional Culture of the 'Elect'

- i) *'La société et meme l'amitié de la plupart des hommes n'est qu'un commerce qui ne dure qu'autant que le besoin': Spiritual Friendships and Exclusivity.*¹⁶¹

The tendency to hierarchize friendships was part of an intellectual tradition, as we saw at the start of this chapter. The company of 'spiritual friends' was deemed to be beneficial to the

dis nous parce que ma[demoiselle] de vertu sera de la partie estant un veritable tiers entre nous deux en cette occasion.⁷

¹⁶⁰ Their fondness for hearing sermons is also revealed by BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 80 - 81, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 'samedy,' undated: 'Je suis au desespoir de ce que la continuation de mon rhume m'oste la joie d'aller vous conter mon ambaras qui est entierement terminé dieu mercy, et qui n'est point celuy que vous avies imaginé... mais je ne scay quand se sera car mon rhume ne se peut guerir que par la chaud de ma petite chambre et je suis tous les jours contrainte de sortir, se fut hier pour entendre presher l'abbé de Roquette aux Jesuites qui fit le plus beau sermond du monde et c'est aujourdhuy pour aller au service de M[adam]e de Rambouillet, et peut estre toute l'apres dinée ches m[onsieur] de s[ain]te Beuve.'

¹⁶¹ Jouaust, ed., *Maximes de madame de Sablé*, Maxim LXXVII, 44 – 5.

state of one's soul, and the desire of the select few to reserve these advantages was already implicit in some of our penitents' spiritual resolutions:

Pour les visites, j'en feray le moins que je pourray et seulement pour l'ordinaire ches les personnes avec qui je suis liée de parente, ou d'amitie, ou d'obligation particulière, ou avec qui je puisse profiter pour mon salut.¹⁶²

According to this pledge, Liancourt's contact was to be exclusively with her kin, friends, those she had an obligation to, or those with whom she could advance spiritually. The predilection of female penitents for keeping only a select type of company not only highlights the important role played by spiritual friends; it also reveals the penchant for associating with those of a pious reputation.¹⁶³

If it was spiritually advantageous to befriend those from whom one could profit salvifically, it was detrimental to solicit worldly friends who were a source of moral corruption.¹⁶⁴ The last chapter demonstrated how the friendships that female penitents had made in the salons were affected by conversion. Instances where rigorist penitents explicitly measured their 'spiritual friendships' against worldly relationships are more difficult to find, but there are signs that rigorist penitents subjected their friendships to these appraisals:

pour ce qui est de ceste visite quelle v[ous] veut faire, v[ous] voyes bien que tout ce qu'on peut faire cest de n'en parler jamais la premiere qui est ce que jay toujours observé. On n'ira pas luy faire entendre que v[ous] ne la voules pas. Elle en reparla encore hier la premiere, disant que ce seroit la premiere chose quelle feroit apres avoit este a st maur, mais on trouvera moyen qu'elle ny soit guiere on la menera a leglise, ches m[adam]e de guimenay [Guéméné] et mesmes ches m[ademoiselle] datrie pour peu quelle en ait d'envie... dites un peu comment donc vous aves devine qu'on n'avoit pas d'envie que vous allassiez a Saint Maur...¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² *Règlement*, 209.

¹⁶³ Upholding the point made in chapter one.

¹⁶⁴ Spiritual directors also warned female penitents about the detrimental effects of worldly company and immoral conversations; Josse, ed., *Lettres d'Antoine Singlin*, 418.

¹⁶⁵ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, ff. 291 – 92, fo. 292, comtesse de Maure to madame de Sablé, undated; see Barthélemy, *Madame la comtesse de Maure*, 197 – 98.

At first glance this letter seems to be an indication of Maure's desire for the high-society *salonnière* Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, madame de La Fayette (1634 – 1693) to be well-received.¹⁶⁶ In Sablé's meeting with La Fayette, the countess' instructions were for her to adopt the coolness that Maure claimed she 'always' practised. On closer examination, the letter is actually illustrative of a tension between the nature of our penitents' social gatherings and those of *précieuses* such as La Fayette. The tone of the letter is quite different to instances where spiritual friends planned meetings and discussed their sociability with other rigorist penitents.¹⁶⁷ Maure seems to have been uneasy about Sablé meeting La Fayette and going to Sainte-Maure. This may have been a reflection of her envious temperament. Alternatively, it may reveal the role played by spiritual friends in the planning of social encounters with women outside of the friendship network. Despite later becoming a Port-Royal sympathizer and devoting her later years to penitence, at the date of this letter in the early 1660s, La Fayette was still very active in court and salon society. Perhaps this motivated Maure's worries about how a meeting between La Fayette and Sablé would transpire. Longueville's letters suggest that she evaluated friendships even more strictly:

Il y a bien des années que je mesure tout avec elle [madame de Saint Loup] parce qu'il n'y a pas d'air de vanité¹⁶⁸ quelle ne preine sur de serteines amities dont la miene est du nombre, et je n'ay point trouve cela convenable. Ainsy je n'ay point voulu nourrir cet air la, et je lay sy peu nourry que quand elle a este des temps tres

¹⁶⁶ Leah Chang, *Into Print: The Production of Female Authorship in Early Modern France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 217. Among other works, La Fayette wrote 'The princesse de Clèves' with the duc de La Rochefoucauld; see Madame de La Fayette, *The Princesse de Clèves* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Madame de La Fayette, *La princesse de Montpensier* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1993); Madame de La Fayette, *Zaide: histoire espagnole: texte établi d'après l'édition originale, Janine Anseaume Kreiter* (Paris: A. G. Nizet, 1982).

¹⁶⁷ Such as Longueville and Sablé's attempts to win Liancourt's friendship and assistance with their own affairs, discussed above, p. 70.

¹⁶⁸ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*, 'Vanité: vanitie, trifling, emptiness and inconstancy,' n.p.n.

longs sans me voir et sans m'escire jay tout laissé mourir sans esmouvois avec elle...¹⁶⁹

Madame de Saint Loup, or Châteignier de la Roche Posay, was not the 'friend' that Longueville's nineteenth-century biographers would have us believe.¹⁷⁰ Saint Loup's 'vanité' was a constraint on their relationship, as well as the disputes that they seemed to have had over gossip and morality.¹⁷¹

On some occasions then, female penitents spoke frankly about the women who would not count among their spiritual friends. The fact that Longueville and Conti avoided other women such as their other sister-in-law, Condé's wife Claire-Clémence de Maillé-Brézé, princesse de Condé (1628 – 1694), was probably also a sign of their selectiveness. Yet it is impossible to be sure without the type of explicit epistolary condemnation that we have for madame de Saint Loup. A more subtle indication of the way spiritual friends identified each other is their treatment of the term 'solitude.' The letters sometimes suggest that rigorist retreatants sought to pursue a modish devotional practice, such as a periodic retreat to a conventual cell, but in a way which distinguished them from other pious women who visited their friends' conventual apartments. The image of Sablé's apartment at Port-Royal as an inclusive forum for the 'Belles Amies' is the result of a failure to recognize the disproportionate impression created by the surviving correspondence.¹⁷² The correspondence actually shows that spiritual friends possessed V.I.P. rights to Sablé's apartment, even during periods when she had 'crises de devotion ou d'humeur pendant lesquelles elle ne recevait

¹⁶⁹ BnF. Ms. Fr, 10585, ff. 110 – 14, fo. 110, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 9 December 1664; Cousin printed a version of this letter in full in 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1852): 103 – 104.

¹⁷⁰ Cousin offers a portrait of her as 'très-belle, très-vaine, très-intrigante' and accompanied by Longueville at Chantilly in 1656, in 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1852): 100. But the above letter shows that it had been 'bien des années' since they had been good friends.

¹⁷¹ Cousin does mention their dispute, *Ibid*, 101 – 104.

¹⁷² As I argued in the Introduction, see above, p. 23. Barthélemy's book, *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé*, is an example of traditional views of the scope of Sablé's friendships.

personne.¹⁷³ The princesse de Conti used Sablé's apartment in 1656, according to a letter of the abbé Le Roy, to ensure she could arrive at the Carmelite convent on the rue Saint-Jacques early the following morning to celebrate the feast of Saint Joseph:

J'ai envoyé aux Carmelites ce matin pour savoir si la fete de Saint Joseph était remise a lundi et on m'a mande que ce serait demain. Ainsi il faut s'il vous plait, que vous veniez ce soir ches M[adame] de S[ablé] pour etre demain de bonne heure aux Carmelites afin d'y faire vos devotions. Je prie Dieu qu'il vous sanctifie entierement.¹⁷⁴

Longueville wanted to exercise a more exclusive right as she also hoped to be permitted to transcend the boundaries of solitude:

J'envoie scavoir de vos nouvelles et vous dire que se seroit moy mesme qui vous en aurois esté demander sy je n'avois esté accablée d'affaires, Je seray toute la sepmaine a cause de l'arbitrage de monsieurs mes freres apres lesquels la toussaints m'empeschera encore de vous voir, mais apres cela je vous iray demander a disner et vous iray conter mille chose qui ne se peuvent escrire, monsieur esprit vous en a deja appris quelques unes car il me le promit l'autre jour, sy on pouvoit vous laisser la, vous en seriez bien contente car vous ne prevenez jamais les gents, je souhaite au moins que se ne soit que par esprit de solitude et de peur d'atirer quelqu'un dans vostre desert, car encore que je pretende de voir estre l'exception de la regle que vous pratiques la dessus.¹⁷⁵

Concerning Sablé's neglect of her letters, Longueville explained how her own time had been occupied by her affairs during the week of All Saints (1 November) but hoped to visit Sablé in her apartment. The duchess felt sure that her presence in Sablé's 'desert' would not constitute a transgression of the principles of solitude during retreat and thought of herself as 'the exception to the rule,' as she put it. As far as Longueville was concerned, 'esprit de solitude' did not rule out the chances of a sociable engagement between spiritual friends, and

¹⁷³ Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 674.

¹⁷⁴ BM. Ms. 2483, fo. 306, abbé Le Roy to the princesse de Conti, undated.

¹⁷⁵ BnF, Ms. Fr. 10585, ff. 75 – 6, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, undated; Cousin printed an extract of this in 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 675, which omits the first part of the letter and commences with 'sy on pouvoit', and thus obscures the sociable nature of the meeting between the spiritual friends.

she went on to suggest that they dine together and share news. In this particular piece of correspondence the letter's palaeographic form reinforced its tone; it had no initial salutation or seal and Longueville left most of the page blank when she closed the letter with 'je vous donne le bonjour.'

This particular understanding of 'solitude' is also clear in the preparation for and the undertaking of retreat. Bernard Beugnot noted the significance of epistolary communication during the retreat of Bussy-Rabutin (1618 – 1693) in 1665, as 'l'instrument et le lieu d'elaboration d'un art de vivre loin de la cour.'¹⁷⁶ In Longueville and Sablé's case too, it is clear that the letter functioned as a medium for making solitude sociable:

Je n'ay garde d'estre fâchée qu'on vous ait parlé de mon dessein puisque vous scavés que je vous en ay parlé moy mesme, et que j'avois mesme prié Ma[demoise]lle de vertu de vous rendre conte de l'estat ou est la chose, mais je ne puis comprendre qui vous en a parlé et il m'est important de le sçavoir, et ce que l'on vous en a dit, je vous prie de me le mender, et d'estre assurée que sy il ne faut pas le dire je n'en parleray point du tout, je m'imagine qu'il faut que se soit M[onsieur] de Trouillar ou M[onsieur] de la Vergne, mais qu'est ce que vous trouvés la qui vous puisse donner sujet d'appeller cela a vostre egard des petites duretés. Car on sçait bien qu'on ne prend pas ces resolutions a la jour nommé, a moins qu'on ait vescu longtemps ensembles ausy, et qu'on soit propre a prendre les mesmes mesures, et le mesme plan de vie, ou on ne pense pas qu'il soit aysé de vous trouver tout ce qu'il vous faut, et assurément il ne m'est point entré dans l'esprit que se fut la une chose possible, je penserois bien que sy jamais la retraite vous la devenoit et que je fusse desja dans une qui vous peut estre convenable, par toutes les conditions dont vous ne pouvez vous passer, que je vous seroit une chose qui vous la rendroit supportable que de la faire ou je serois, mais il faut assurément que je vous marque les logis, et que je soie fixée auparavant que vous preniez une vraye resolution, voila ce qui m'entre dans l'esprit sur l'ouverture que vous me faites, a laquelle j'advoue que je n'ay nullement pensé auparavant, n'ayant jamais regardé comme une chose praticable que vous puissiez jamais vous fixer a executer une resolution qui a l'air de se mettre dans son tombeau. Sy je me trompe, redresses-moy.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Bernard Beugnot, 'Vie mondaine et retraite au temps de Louis XIV,' *Revue du Pacifique*, I, no. 1 (1975): 15.

¹⁷⁷ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, ff. 96 – 8, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 19 September 1667, Trie; see Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 676, which published this part of the letter in full, with some orthographic differences to my transcription.

Longueville's resolution to retire from the world had been discussed without her knowledge by the abbé de La Vergne and Sablé.¹⁷⁸ Longueville's defended her decision not to tell Sablé about her plans by explaining that her retreat was not accessible to the ageing marquess. The need to legitimize her surreptitiousness suggests that a more open approach to devotional regimes among 'spiritual friends' was the norm. This is confirmed by the way in which mademoiselle de Vertus was clearly aware of her plans and she had been directed by Longueville to inform Sablé of her undertaking.¹⁷⁹

Spiritual friends envisaged their sociability as separate from other forums, even rigorist ones. Even women traditionally regarded as 'Belles Amies' such as madame de La Fayette, and personal friends such as madame de Saint Loup, were to be kept on the outside of their friendship group which began to achieve a 'higher degree of closeness' in the 1660s.¹⁸⁰ The next part of the chapter will explore how the desire for social and spiritual exclusivity, most clearly expressed by Longueville, Liancourt and Conti, informed the social attitudes of female penitents towards conventional forums of aristocratic sociability and worship.

ii) *Anti-Court Attitudes?*

Pious sociability became increasingly distant from other forms of aristocratic culture in the 1660s. Chapter one showed how, after their conversions, rigorist penitents were perceived

¹⁷⁸ The closing sentence of the above extract, which states that Sablé would not suit the 'air' at the site of retreat, hints that it was probably to be carried out at Port-Royal-des-Champs.

¹⁷⁹ Letters, as a medium for sharing 'solitude,' were not without their problems. Longueville was particularly private and she was nervous about her letters being intercepted or being read by third parties. She often reminded the recipients of her letters to burn them and so probably discussed most of her plans in person, rather than via the letter; see BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, ff. 99 – 101, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 5 October, Valant dates this 1667, Trie: 'on ne peut plus parler par letre d'une des matieres de la dernieres des miennes et de la votre, il faut estre teste a teste pour cela... je viens de vous dire le commerce letres ne comporte point cette sorte d'entretien'; see Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 677.

¹⁸⁰ This 'closeness' is what sociologists see as differentiating broader friendship networks and smaller groups; Zeggelink, 'The Emergence of Groups in the Evolution of Friendship Networks,' 30; see Introduction, above, p. 24.

differently by those they had associated with in the salons, but it was the libertine lifestyle embodied by the court and its vulgar, showy culture of devotion which offended them the most. A pattern which reemerges in the lives of most of rigorist women is the renouncement of, or at the very least a detachment from, the court. The exact dates of many of our penitents' estrangement from the court are difficult to pinpoint, which makes it difficult to offer a continuous narrative of their evolving social attitudes after conversion. Nevertheless it is clear that by the middle decades of the century rigorist penitents shared a common disillusionment with the court. Liancourt made her absence from it a permanent move sometime after her conversion in 1638, whilst Longueville and Conti attended infrequently as part of their social duties.¹⁸¹ After being lady-in-waiting to the Queen Mother in her youth, the comtesse de Maure spent less time at court following her move to Port-Royal, and the marquise de Sablé made a similar detachment during the 1650s. The princesse de Guéméné initially returned to court after her early conversion, but later retreated to her château at Rochefort. The comtesse de Brienne retreated to Châteauneuf-sur-Charente, where she died in 1665.

What was the nature of this disaffection? It is clear that for the rigorists, the court represented the worldliness that lay penitents needed to renounce if they were to dedicate themselves to God. Rigorist spiritual directors wrote openly to their penitents about the impious court and warned them that a preoccupation with worldly affairs was sinful. The court also represented the power which, by 1661, persecuted the faithful. The first suppression order aimed at the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* was issued in December 1660

¹⁸¹ Lesaulnier references the duc de Saint-Simon in 'Les Liancourt,' 172. The duchesse de Liancourt was able to make her absence from court more permanent, despite her husband's position; see ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 371, Roger du Plessis to madame la duchesse de Liancourt, 3 October 1661; ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 371, Roger du Plessis to madame la duchesse de Liancourt, 6 December 1661: this letter shows he burned her responses. The presence of the princesse de Conti at court is evident in *Nouvelle collections des mémoires*, vol. 4, 'Mademoiselle de Montpensier,' 328, 340. The way Longueville and Conti avoided certain occasions at court is discussed in chapter five.

and, after the death of Anne of Austria in 1666, even Molière's 'Tartuffe' gained the support of the King.¹⁸² The attitude of the rigorists towards political authority was ambiguous; Augustinianism advocated obedience to secular authority based on the principle that even a Lapsarian world had to be ordered.¹⁸³ Yet Port-Royal was already implicated in a political opposition by 1637 with its involvement in distributing 'Mars Gallicus', which opposed Cardinal Richelieu's alliance with the Protestants against the Habsburgs.¹⁸⁴ The establishment also presented rigorism as an 'internal heresy' posing a danger to the stability of the Church and State.¹⁸⁵

Aristocratic lay penitents had also been stung by the failure of the Frondes (1648 – 1653). The turbulent noble rebellion had only just been quelled when they converted, and many rigorist penitents had played active roles in it.¹⁸⁶ The duc and duchesse de Liancourt and the Briennes remained loyal, but among the nobles who joined the cause were the duchesse de Longueville and her husband, the prince de Conti (who would later marry Anne-Marie Martinozzi, princesse de Conti), the Great Condé, and their associates the comte and comtesse de Maure.¹⁸⁷ Not only did the rigorists bear a grudge against Cardinal Mazarin for his persecution of Port-Royal; as ex-Frondeurs they also resented him for the failure of

¹⁸² Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 387; Emmanuel S. Chill, 'Tartuffe, Religion and Courtly Culture,' *French Historical Studies*, 3, no. 2 (Autumn, 1963): 153 - 55.

¹⁸³ Phillips, *Church and Culture*, 201.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 200.

¹⁸⁵ Van Kley, *The Jansenists*, 11; Jean-Louis Quantin, 'Ces autres qui nous font ce que nous sommes: les jansénistes face à leurs adversaires,' *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 212, no. 4 (1995): 400, 405.

¹⁸⁶ The duchesse de Longueville's role in the Fronde has been re-examined in 2011 by Sophie Vergnes, 'La duchesse de Longueville et ses frères pendant la Fronde: de la solidarité fraternelle à l'émancipation féminine,' *Dix-septième siècle*, 2, no. 251 (2011): 309 – 332, see especially 332.

¹⁸⁷ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Ancien Régime: A History of France 1610 – 1774* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 104.

the rebellion.¹⁸⁸ The rigorist association with the traitor Jean-François Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz (1613 – 1679) also branded them as a political opposition to the government.¹⁸⁹

Richard M. Golden asserted that after the collapse of the Fronde, dissenters such as Longueville ‘substituted overt political opposition for religious and moral.’¹⁹⁰ To an extent this is true. But the social realities of aristocratic life in this period meant that the rigorist disillusionment with the court could never have been openly dissident or anti-authoritarian.¹⁹¹ The pressure to conform was great: aristocratic women had public duties to fulfil and the interests of their spouses and kin to consider.¹⁹² After the Fronde, Mazarin used patronage to pacify the noble rebels and the male relatives of rigorist female penitents often held decent positions; this perhaps explains why Longueville remained governor of Normandy until his death in 1663.¹⁹³ Even the prince de Condé managed to obtain a royal pardon after the 1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees, which marked the end of the conflict between France and Spain.¹⁹⁴

The social position of our penitents kept them at arms-length from the real culture of

¹⁸⁸ Richard M. Golden, *The Godly Rebellion: Parisian Cures and the Religious Fronde 1652 – 1662* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Richard M. Golden, ‘The Mentality of Opposition: The Jansenism of the Parisian Curés during the Religious Fronde,’ *The Catholic Historical Review*, 64, no. 4 (October, 1978): 565 – 80; Richard Bonney, ‘Cardinal Mazarin and his Critics: The Remonstrances of 1652,’ *Journal of European Studies*, 10, no. 1 (1980): 15 – 31; Richard Bonney, ‘Cardinal Mazarin and the Great Nobility during the Fronde,’ *The English Historical Review*, 96 (October, 1981): 819. See also the most recent article on the Jansenists and the Fronde: Jean-Louis Quantin, ‘A Godly Fronde? Jansenism and the Mid-Seventeenth-Century Crisis of the French Monarchy,’ *French History*, 25, no. 4 (December, 2011): 473 – 91, see especially 485.

¹⁸⁹ Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 349.

¹⁹⁰ Golden, *The Godly Rebellion*, 129.

¹⁹¹ Brian E. Strayer, *Suffering Saints: Jansenists and Convulsionnaires in France, 1640 - 1799* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008), 47.

¹⁹² Longueville’s correspondence shows how pious women of this status were often compelled to organize their own gatherings around their duties at court; see BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, ff. 46, 49, 65, 106, various letters of the duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé.

¹⁹³ Kettering, ‘Patronage and Politics during the Fronde,’ 419.

¹⁹⁴ Orest Ranum, *The Fronde: A French Revolution 1648 – 1652* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993), 347; Peter Hamish Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 753.

opposition that the ‘Jansenists’ represented. The ‘noblesse frondeuse’, according to Lucien Goldmann, ‘n’a jamais fourni que des éléments périphériques au mouvement janséniste.’¹⁹⁵

The pious sociability of rigorist penitents was nevertheless founded upon the dissatisfaction of the spiritual elite with court society. Just as Diana Barnes found in her study of the godly faction at the court of Henrietta Maria, ‘friendship ma[de] relinquishing ties with society easier and provi[ded] a mode for doing so.’¹⁹⁶

This chapter has illustrated how the duchesse de Longueville was averse to the ostentatious culture of the court which she was subjected to at Fontainebleau in October 1661.¹⁹⁷ In June that year, she had already launched an overt assault on Parisian high-society in a letter concerning her pious sister-in-law’s presence at Court. Conti had been appointed *chef du conseil* and *superintendante* of the household of Anne of Austria which made her attendance necessary.¹⁹⁸ Longueville fretted in a letter to Sablé:

sy la p[rin]cesse de conty pouvoit subsister dans la cour dans la vertu qu’elle a, je voudrois qu’elle y fut, mais le moien, et n’est ce pas exposer les gents a des perils serteins que de les metre dans de tels postes, a 24 ans, belle, heureux et au milieu de la grandeurs et du plaisir et vouloir qu’on sorte sain et sauf de telles choses, cela est au dessus de la nature, c’est pourquoy je ne voudrois pas y contribuer, mais je ne voudrois pas ausy l’en destourner, parce que dieu peut avoir ses dessains et qu’il peut la garder en ce lieu s’il se veut servir d’elle, pour le sanctifier comme il garde les 3 enfents dans la fournaise de babilonne.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Lucien Goldmann, ‘Remarques sur le Jansénisme: la vision tragique du monde et la noblesse de robe,’ *XVIIe siècle*, 19 (1953): 192. The appeal of Jansenism to the robe nobility has been explained using a neo-Marxist framework; see Lucien Goldmann, *Le Dieu caché: étude sur la vision tragique dans les ‘Pensées’ de Pascal et dans le théâtre de Racine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1955). I discuss these in the thesis conclusion, p. 327.

¹⁹⁶ Barnes, ‘The Secretary of Ladies and Feminine Friendship,’ 50.

¹⁹⁷ See above, p. 89.

¹⁹⁸ Jean-François Dubost, *La France Italienne: XVIe – XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1997), 443.

¹⁹⁹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, ff. 183 - 84, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 22 June 1661, Rouen; Cousin published this part of the letter, with some minor orthographic variations in ‘Lettres inédites,’ *Journal des Savants* (1851): 460.

Longueville pondered the spiritual and moral damage that the court could do to a young, beautiful penitent. She questioned how a woman of ‘virtue’ could resist the temptations of an environment of ‘pleasure’ and ‘magnificence’, but hoped that God would protect Conti just as he delivered three young Jews from the Furnace of Babylon. According to the Book of Daniel, God delivered Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego from burning when they were thrown into the furnace for refusing to worship Nebuchadnezzar’s golden image on the grounds that it was not their God.²⁰⁰ By reflecting upon this story, Longueville was clearly employing an esoteric, ‘in-group’ vocabulary to express discontentment with the court.²⁰¹ It is comparable to the types of analogies made in rigorist letters of spiritual direction, where the court was compared to the ‘demeures des demons.’²⁰² It is conceivable that there was a subtext in this letter which used the false worship of a King and his minions to represent the royal court. This is certainly something which Sablé, as a fellow penitent familiar with the Old Testament, would have been able to decode. More explicit, was Longueville’s conviction that God would protect the princess from temptation, which is also indicative of the spiritual certitude of elite female penitents. She believed that God would not let the princess relapse, as if her salvation had already been preordained.

The gravity of Longueville’s letter can only be understood if we return to consider its theological weight. The last chapter acknowledged that the comtesse de Maure found the Augustinian stances on grace and predestination difficult to accept in the early 1650s, but it presented the evidence for the way other female penitents saw their conversions as proof that they had received God’s grace.²⁰³ The epistolary evidence affirms this tendency to continue

²⁰⁰ Daniel 3: 1 – 28, *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 971 – 72.

²⁰¹ ‘In-group’ is Reid’s term, *King’s Sister – Queen of Dissent*, vol. 2, 570.

²⁰² Josse, ed., *Lettres d’Antoine Singlin*, Singlin to Marie-Louise de Gonzague, June 1654, 405 – 409.

²⁰³ See above, pp. 50 - 51 on the comtesse de Maure and pp. 41 – 49 for the other evidence.

to reflect upon the grace they had been allotted and what it meant for the state of their souls. In a letter to the abbé Le Roy, Longueville debated the possibility of putting grace to good use but recognized the ‘presumptuousness’ of hoping for it:

Je voy mieux que jamais que cela est impossible a l’homme corrompu, sans un secours si extraordinaire qu’il seroit quasy presomptieux de [grace] l’esperer. Il est vray que comme ces secours nous sont envoyez par la seule misericorde... c’est pourquoy on a bien besoin que la charité de nos amis se redouble. Excitez donc la v[ot]re et demandez à Jesus Christ, que son esprit me mene dans le monde, puis qu’il peut que J’y aille; que ce ne soit pas le mien qui m’y conduise, que le sien empesche celuy du siècle de rentrer dans mon coeur et qu’il me preserve ou il me conduire; car en verité, si luy mesme ne nous garde, nos soins seront bien inutiles pour nous préserver. A[nne]G[eneviève].²⁰⁴

Rigorist spiritual directors did not advocate this complacency. It is nevertheless clear that some female penitents were confident in their status as God’s spiritual elite:

Je recois avec le respect que je dois ce que vous me proposez de la part de madame de longueville... je vous dirai tout simplement quil me semble qu’il n’y a point d’autorite legitime qui permette a un Chrestien de prier dieu en le remerciant de sa predestination.²⁰⁵

In this rebarbative letter, Martin de Barcos, abbé de Saint-Cyran (1600 – 1678), reprimanded Longueville for praying to God to thank him for her predestination. He made a comparison between doing this and thanking a King for having received a particular honour, without first being absolutely sure that one had received it.²⁰⁶ Saint-Cyran critiqued this type of prayer and said it was symptomatic of a time when new ‘unregulated’ and ‘dangerous’ devotions were being ‘invented,’ as a result of the introduction of ‘modes dans la religion, dans l’Église, et dans les autels.’ His rebuke was faithful to the official rigorist position on grace and

²⁰⁴ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 5422, fo. 1257, duchesse de Longueville to the abbé Le Roy, 20 February 1660, Trie. These letters, which were missed by Cousin and Barthélemy, combat their assumptions that Longueville’s conversion and piety had no theological basis; this argument is developed in chapter four of this thesis.

²⁰⁵ Goldmann, ed., *Correspondance de Martin de Barcos*, 306 – 309, 306, 1661 or 1662; not to be confused with his uncle Jean-Ambroise Duvergier de Hauranne, abbé de Saint-Cyran (1581 – 1643), see above, p. 41.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 307.

predestination. Following Augustine, the rigorists believed that God had chosen his elect and that they would be the only souls he would save, but they also asserted that God was the only one to know who has been predestined for salvation: a qualification which Saint-Cyran conveyed to mademoiselle de Vertus in the above letter.²⁰⁷ This was something which Blaise Pascal (1623 – 1662) also stressed in his ‘*Écrit sur la grâce*:’ ‘laissant dans le secret impénétrable de Dieu le discernement des élus d’avec les réprouvés.’²⁰⁸

The pious sociability of lay female rigorists may not just have been informed by their identity as converted ‘penitents’ who were working towards their salvation, but by something altogether more significant: that they were God’s chosen elect. Even if they were not to presume it, penitents were instructed by rigorist writers to hope that they were among God’s elect - or ‘entre ses bras’ as we saw in the last chapter – and to behave accordingly.²⁰⁹ There was, however, an interesting tension between the more stringent forms of rigorism in the letters of the Port-Royal spiritual directors and the rigorism of lay penitents. The aristocratic predisposition for exclusivity caused conflict with spiritual directors who were constantly trying to keep these tendencies in check.²¹⁰

Whether informed by a firm confidence in their predestination, or simply their desire for it, the rejection of the court by women from the ranks of the high aristocracy remains

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 307.

²⁰⁸ Pascal, ‘*Écrits sur la Grâce*,’ in *Œuvres Complètes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954), 954. On Pascal, see *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, vol. XII (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 279 – 90.

²⁰⁹ According to Pascal, not knowing you were elect did not mean you should assume you were not: ‘tous les hommes du monde sont obligés de croire...qu’ils sont de ce petit nombre d’élus que Jésus-Christ veut sauver,’ Pascal, ‘*Écrits sur la Grâce*,’ 954. He hinted that those who dedicated their lives to piety could take some comfort that their hearts had already been ‘touched by grace’ when he wrote that the Lord assured them: ‘You would not seek me, if you did not possess me’; see David Wetsel, *Pascal and Disbelief: Catechesis and Conversion in the Pensées* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1994), 386.

²¹⁰ As argued above about spiritual directors, see above, pp. 83 – 4; and in the Thesis Introduction above, p. 16.

significant. The court was repeatedly posited as potentially harmful to the progress of the spiritual elite:

Il faut que je sois souvan au Louvre et je crain que ce commerce avec le monde quoy que avec de bonnes intansions me fasse perdre cette precieuse familiarite que Notre Seigneur m'a donnée avec luy qui mest plus chere que la vie.²¹¹

Conti's concerns about being 'at the Louvre' in this letter indicate that it was probably written at the same time as Longueville's correspondence with Sablé about her.²¹² Conti worried that being thrust into a worldly environment would corrode the spiritual progress she had made since her conversion, when God had given her a 'precious familiarity' with him.

Disaffection with the court also took on a new quality as rigorist penitents became more influential patrons of Port-Royal. Longueville's role as protector of the convent until her death in 1679 added gusto to her detachment from the court. Her indignation was heightened during the Formulary Controversy, which climaxed in 1664 when 12 nuns from Port-Royal were forcibly removed from the convent. In 1665, a papal bull required its residents to sign a Formulary confirming their 'sincere' rejection of Jansen's 'Five Propositions,' which had already been condemned as heretical by *Cum Occasione* in 1653.²¹³ The 'droit' and 'fait' distinction allowed the community at Port-Royal to agree that the Five Propositions were heretical but deny that they were in Jansen's 'Augustinus', and many refused to sign on that

²¹¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, ff. 214 – 15, princesse de Conti to the abbé de La Vergne, 12 December, undated; see Barthélemy's version of this letter in *Une nièce de Mazarin*, 200 – 202.

²¹² See above, p. 109.

²¹³ Doyle, *Jansenism*, 33.

basis.²¹⁴ It was during this period that Longueville was required at Fontainebleau, as she explained to Sablé:

enfin me voila a Paris on vous juges bien que je ne seray pas longtemps sans vous voir. Cependant je ne sçay quel jour se pourra estre parce que m[onsieu]r le prince est revenu ausy de fontenebleau pour des affaires ou il faut que j'assiste, de plus mon frere le pr[ince] de Conty est sur le point de son despart pour le languedoc de sorte que nous nous verons souvent et toutes les choses prandront quasy tout le temps que je vous voudrois donner. Je vous menderay quand je seray libre et vous me menderes sy vous voudres de moy. Mon dieu dans quelle angoisse a t on este a fontenebleau, de sy trouver dans le temps ou toutes ces miserres se passoient a paris et destre durant ce temps proprement en peis ennemy.²¹⁵ J'y ay tant cognoissance avec m[onsieu]r de rouanes par l'impossibilité que j'eus de voir un homme dans les mesmes sentiments que moy sur toutes ces choses la, sans m'aller consoler avec luy et luy descharger mon cœur.²¹⁶

In this letter, Longueville described Louis XIV's court as 'enemy territory' and expressed her own 'anguish' at having to be there. In this case it was Longueville's obligations to her brothers, Condé and Conti, which consumed her time. We learn that Longueville's consolation was the presence of Artus Gouffier, duc de Rouanez (1627 – 1696), the patron of Blaise Pascal, with whom she shared a disapproval of the court.²¹⁷

The alienation of rigorist female penitents from the court was not solely informed by their disgruntlement over the treatment of the nuns at Port-Royal. Certainly, their protection became part of a *cause célèbre* within Parisian high society in the 1660s and attracted the support of 'worldly' women such as madame du Plessis-Guénégaud, madame de Sévigné and

²¹⁴ Carol Baxter, 'Pure as Angels, Proud as Lucifer: An Anatomy of Resistance by the Community of Port-Royal,' in *La femme au XVIIe siècle; actes du colloque de Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 5 - 7 octobre 2000*, ed. Richard G. Hodgson (Tübingen: G. Narr, 2002), 340.

²¹⁵ 'Peis [pays] ennemy' is an example of phonetic spelling in these letters.

²¹⁶ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 64 – 5, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, undated; Cousin printed this in, 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 456 – 57, with only minor orthographic variations.

²¹⁷ Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 457.

even madame de La Fayette.²¹⁸ Yet the contrast between flamboyant court devotion and rigorist austerity must have also been a factor. At its twenty-fifth session, the Council of Trent upheld many aspects of Catholic devotion which came to characterize the ‘Baroque’ experiential piety that scholars have observed in Italy, Spain and Germany.²¹⁹ It was also conducive to the King’s love of ritual displays of sovereignty and power.²²⁰ Recent works have shown the importance of the liturgical calendar to court ceremony.²²¹ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie has examined it in detail, using the memoirs of the duc de Saint-Simon to reconstruct the sacred hierarchy which was pronounced during royal mass.²²² At the pinnacle of the hierarchy were the King and his sons, followed by his grandsons and the *princes du sang*.²²³ Hierarchy also governed the spiritual privileges to be gained at mass. The royal chaplain could administer the sacraments to the King’s officers and courtiers, for example.²²⁴

For rigorist women, attendance at mass and the reception of the sacraments was less of a vainglorious spectacle than a period of spiritual toil and demanding penitence. The delay

²¹⁸ Gazier, *Les belles amies de Port-Royal*, chapter VI; Phillips, *Church and Culture*, 195 – 96; Gibson, *Women in Seventeenth-Century France*, 229. Elisabeth de Choiseul, madame du Plessis-Guénégaud (1610 – 1677), is an interesting figure who seems to have left no correspondence. Daughter of Charles de Choiseul, marquis de Praslain, maréchal de France, bailli, gouverneur de Troyes, and Claude de Cazillac, Elisabeth de Choiseul was one of seven children; see Denise Mayer, ‘Madame du Plessis Guénégaud: née Elisabeth de Choiseul,’ *XVIIe siècle*, no. 156 (1987): 173. In February 1642, she married Henri du Plessis-Guénégaud, seigneur du Plessis-Belleville (1610 – 1676) who later became Secretary of State. She was a *salonnière* and a correspondent and friend of Madame de La Fayette and Madame de Sévigné. Her testament can be found at AN, MC, ET/XCII 219, 10 January 1677.

²¹⁹ Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany 1550 – 1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 61; Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 162; Kaspar Von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe 1500 – 1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 101.

²²⁰ Boreau, ‘Les cérémonies royales françaises,’ 1253; Magne, *Les plaisirs et les fêtes*; Sturdy, *Louis XIV*, 17; Rubin, *Sun King*.

²²¹ See, for example, John Adamson, *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500 – 1750* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2000).

²²² Le Roy Ladurie, ‘Auprès du roi,’ 26; see also Le Roy Ladurie, *Saint Simon*.

²²³ Le Roy Ladurie, *Saint Simon*, 68.

²²⁴ Maral, ‘Le grand aumônier de France,’ 476.

in absolution after confession was one of the defining features of rigorism.²²⁵ The Council of Trent reaffirmed the place of the sacrament of penance in the devotional lives of every Christian within the Roman catechism of 1566, which endorsed the canon of 1215 *Omnis Utriusque Sexus* and enforced annual confession.²²⁶ The Tridentine fathers generated the perception of the sacrament of penance as the final stage in a process of interior discipline: confession was compulsory before communion could be received.²²⁷ This was because communion could not be received when one was in a state of mortal sin.²²⁸ Confession was thus increasingly conceived in more individualistic terms; it was now the culmination of the examination of conscience, and it became difficult for a soul to be absolved without prior engagement in demanding penitential spiritual exercises.²²⁹ During our period, confession was also being feminized. Confessors' manuals referred specifically to female penitents and some writers even suggested that women were predisposed towards this process.²³⁰

The female rigorist penitent was also shackled by the insufficiency of attrition for attaining forgiveness. Instead the rigorists maintained that contrition was essential before the soul could be absolved. This ensured that absolution could not be achieved through a fear of punishment. The rigorist approach to intensifying feelings of contrition following conversion was a penitential deprivation of the sacrament of communion until a successful examination

²²⁵ Quantin, *Le rigorisme chrétien*, 19; Bossy, 'The Social History of Confession.'

²²⁶ De Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul*, 43 - 6.

²²⁷ Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 127.

²²⁸ Stephen Haliczer, *Sexuality in the Confessional: A Sacrament Profaned* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 24.

²²⁹ This is Bossy's argument in 'The Social History of Confession.'

²³⁰ Haliczer, *Sexuality in the Confessional*, 33 - 4.

of conscience had been undertaken. The value of the delay in absolution was articulated in Antoine Arnauld's (1612 – 1694) 'De la fréquente communion' of 1643:

Il se doit considérer éloigné des autels de l'église comme Adam banni des délices du Paradis; privé de la privation de ce pain de vie, comme Adam fut privé de l'arbre de vie... et voir, selon la parole des Augustin dans cette séparation de Dieu par un temps.²³¹

Arnauld held-up the Borromean practice of deferring absolution.²³² The demands of rigorist casuistry were also expressed in their denouncement of the moral laxism of the Jesuits, most notoriously exposed in Blaise Pascal's 'Provincial Letters' and in their maintenance of a staunchly anti-probabilist stance. This is exemplified by Louvain Professor Jean Sinnich's refutation of probabilism in 'Saul Exrex' (1662), which devoted 30 chapters to the rebuttal of the moral *relâchement* of the probabilist principle that a minority opinion could justify absolution.²³³ Yet as Robin Briggs pointed out some years ago, the rigorist position became very close to orthodoxy as the French Church took an increasingly 'hard line' on confession in the seventeenth century. The General Assembly actually promoted moral rigorism in the 1650s, using the position proposed by Borromeo in his 'Instructions to Confessors.'²³⁴

Longueville's letters to Louis Marcel (1635 – 1704), *curé* of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas in Paris shed light upon the anguish that this process caused rigorist penitents.²³⁵ He acted as

²³¹ Antoine Arnauld, *De la fréquent communion ou les sentiments des pères, des papes et des conciles touchant l'usage des sacrements de pénitence et eucharistie sont fidèlement exposez; par servir d'adresse aux personnes qui pensent sérieusement à se convertir à Dieu, et aux pasteurs et confesseurs zèles par le bien des âmes* (Paris: n.p, 1713), 26. For a good summary of the principle of deferred absolution, see John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France* (2 volumes, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), vol. 2, 'The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion,' 247 – 52.

²³² Bossy, *Peace in the Post Reformation*, 44.

²³³ Quantin, *Le rigorisme chrétien*, 14; Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 291.

²³⁴ Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 291.

²³⁵ MC, Chantilly, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque, Ms. 167, ff. 7 – 11, duchesse de Longueville to the *curé* of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, 27 July, undated, Port-Royal; ff. 17 – 19, duchesse de Longueville to the *curé* of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, undated; ff. 19 – 23, duchesse de Longueville to the *curé* of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-

spiritual director to the duchess when Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy (1613 – 1684) was imprisoned in the Bastille between 1667 and 1668.²³⁶ In one letter, her anxiety about admitting to her inability to receive confession demonstrates this preoccupation:

Je n'oserai quasi vous dire que je ne communiai pas hier, il m'arriva un embarras que je ne pus demeler que par cet expedient je reparerai cette perte mardy jour de la visitation j'ai devotion a cette fete, c'est le premier jour que notre seigneur a tire quelqu'un du peché depuis son incarnation.²³⁷

Feast days aggravated her levels of agitation:

Vous ferez donc bien de cener le jour de la Présentation, y ayant dévotion et le jour étant considérable pour etre consacré à la vie qu'a menée la Saint Vierge dans le saint temple... Rien n'est plus capable de vous bien disposer à la sainte communion et à la faire frequemment. M[onsieur] Dufour dit que les fautes petites que vous croyez etre en grand nombre ne sont pas des empechements à la cene, quand on a soin de les reconnaître, de s'en humilier et d'en demander pardon à Dieu.²³⁸

Singlin had consulted Charles Dufour (d.1679), an old spiritual director of Longueville and *curé* of Saint-Maclou at Rouen, on Longueville's anxieties about attending communion on the 21 November: the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin.²³⁹ Singlin's advice to her was to receive communion on the feast, burdening Longueville with the penance she would need to perform before the sacrament. Conti was similarly unsure about the Eucharist in her letters to the abbé de La Vergne and panicked even more so at Easter:

Pas, 23 July, undated, Port-Royal; ff. 24 – 8, duchesse de Longueville to the *curé* of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, 22 October, undated, Trie; ff. 38 – 43, duchesse de Longueville to the *curé* of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, 23 June, undated, Port-Royal.

²³⁶ *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, 715.

²³⁷ MC, Chantilly, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque, Ms. 167, ff. 13 – 14, duchesse de Longueville to the *curé* of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, 30 June, undated, Port-Royal. Cousin printed an extract of this letter in 'Lettres inédites de madame la duchesse de Longueville,' *Paris école des chartes* (1842): 441 – 42. Again, there are few differences between my transcriptions and these nineteenth-century versions because the surviving letters are already copies. I returned to the manuscripts once it became clear that Barthélemy and Cousin had confused some of the recipients and omitted some of the letters.

²³⁸ Josse, ed., *Lettres d'Antoine Singlin*, Singlin to the duchesse de Longueville, 17 November 1662, 480 – 83, 481.

²³⁹ I have not identified any correspondence of Dufour's at Rouen but there is a will at ADSM, Série G, 3429, 17 June 1679.

J'ay passe aujourd'huy le jour aux bernardines pour revenir de mes dissipations, cestoit un jour de comunion pour moi, mais je nay ose comunier, je ne scay sy jay bien faict.²⁴⁰

J'avois grande devotion a comunier les cinq vandredis de mars parce que lon dict que N[otre] S[eigneur] est mort un des ces cinq vandredis, cela a faict que jay communie trois jours de suite car vous m'avies donne le samedi et le dimanche.²⁴¹

The histrionics of the mass at Louis XIV's court must therefore have been contemptible for rigorist penitents for whom receiving the sacrament was part of a protracted and testing process. Their commitment to these penitential regimes distinguished our penitents and made other showy forms of worship loathsome to them.²⁴²

The ritual of court worship was also aggrandized by liturgical music. The use of music in the liturgy was sanctioned by the Council of Trent which delegated responsibility for governing its use to local episcopal authorities, with only 'lascivious or impure elements' to be proscribed.²⁴³ Music was a valid aid to devotion for most aristocrats.²⁴⁴ Scholars such as Patricia Ranum have shown the importance of music to the devotional lives of the Guise, and at court music was central to the pomp and majesty of worship.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, fo. 215, princesse de Conti to the abbé de La Vergne, undated.

²⁴¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, ff. 163 – 66, fo. 164, princesse de Conti to the abbé de La Vergne, 10 March, undated.

²⁴² We saw in chapter one how the duchesse de Liancourt even pledged to change her conduct at Mass, see above, p. 53.

²⁴³ Craig A. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55, no. 1 (Spring, 2001): 3, 22.

²⁴⁴ Patricia Ranum, 'The Gilles Requiem: Rhetoric in the Service of Liturgy,' in *Les femmes au grand siècle; Le Baroque music et littérature; musique et liturgie; actes du 33e congrès annuel de la North American Society for Seventeenth-Century French Literature*, eds. David Wetsel and Frédéric Canovas (Tübingen: G. Narr, 2003), 239. Chapters three, four and five will present other evidence for the rigorist contempt for 'divertissement' in the probate inventories, household accounts and correspondence of our penitents.

²⁴⁵ Alexandre Maral, *La chapelle royale de Versailles sous Louis XIV* (Sprimont: Madarga, 2002); Catherine Massip, 'The Chapelle Royale in the Time of Louis XIV,' in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Court Ceremony in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Juan José Carreras, Bernardo J. García García (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 48 – 64. The establishment of the *académie royale de musique* in 1669

Before 1661 the court attended mass at one of the Parisian parish churches at which the King worshipped: Saint-Eustache, the Feuillantes or the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. Courtiers were expected at Vespers and the salutations of the Holy Sacrament.²⁴⁶ After 1661, Versailles took precedence and Louis XIV appointed Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632 – 1687) as *surintendant de la musique du Roi*.²⁴⁷ Although the court was not permanently present at Versailles until 1682, the ceremonies in the chapel there offer an insight into what courtly devotional music might have been like in our period.²⁴⁸ Alexandre Maral has also shown that mass was celebrated six times per day in the chapel by missionary priests: the hours of which were regulated by the King himself.²⁴⁹ Permission to change mass times was granted to Louis XIV in 1665 by the archbishop of Paris.²⁵⁰ Maral has also noted the way that on certain Sundays and feasts of the liturgical calendar the King ‘tient chapelle’ and came down into the nave for the ‘Messe Basse,’ which was a spoken mass accompanied by music.²⁵¹

The Port-Royalists were critical of liturgical music.²⁵² This was an Augustinian principle. In his ‘Confessions’, Augustine feared the dangers of pleasure when singing in

confirmed the move towards centralizing the arts; see Robert M. Isherwood, ‘The Centralization of Music in the Reign of Louis XIV,’ *French Historical Studies*, 6, no. 2 (Autumn, 1969): 159; and Patrice Veit, ‘La Musique religieuse entre 1620 et 1750,’ in *Histoire du christianisme*, vol. IX, ‘L’âge de raison 1620 – 1750,’ ed. Venard, 1073.

²⁴⁶ Massip, ‘The Chapelle Royale,’ 49 – 50.

²⁴⁷ Régine Astier, ‘Louis XIV: Premier Danseur,’ in *Sun King*, ed. Rubin, 94.

²⁴⁸ The centrality of music to these observances has been demonstrated by French scholars working on accounts of the King’s expenditure; see Marcelle Benoit, *Musiques de cour: chapelle, chambre, écurie 1661 – 1733* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1971).

²⁴⁹ Maral, *La chapelle royale*, 113.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 114.

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, 115. Maral shows that he did so on these occasions: the feasts of the Circumcision, the Purification, the Assumption, the Immaculate Conception, the Virgin, the Nativity, Ash Wednesday, Holy Thursday, Palm Sunday, Easter, Pentecost, All Saints and Christmas.

²⁵² Von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 103. The importance of the psalms of David to rigorist piety is discussed in chapter four.

Church.²⁵³ Although there is no indication in their correspondence that lay penitents abhorred devotional music, other sources suggest that they may have observed rigorist stringency on the subject. Echoing Augustine's cautiousness about music were the duchesse de Liancourt's instructions for daily prayers in the chapel at the château de La Roche-Guyon:

Les chapelains diront tous les jours les heures canoniales a chapelle selon l'usage du breviare romain *sans les chantes* mais les recitant seulement tout haut et distinctement.²⁵⁴

The canonical hours are the services to be recited at the times of Divine Office and usually include Mattins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline.²⁵⁵ Liancourt's proviso that they would be spoken and not sung was reminiscent of Athanasius' condition that the reader would utter the psalm 'with so slight inflection of voice that it was nearer speaking than singing.'²⁵⁶ Louis XIV's musical masses must therefore have been worlds apart from the rigorism practised in lay penitents' private chapels and may have alienated them further from the court.²⁵⁷

Conclusion

Brian McGuire observed that 'the more the desert fathers concentrated on cutting themselves off from each other, the more they came to know and understand each other.'²⁵⁸ The pursuit

²⁵³ Quantin, *Le rigorisme chrétien*, 42.

²⁵⁴ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 397, 'dossier relatif à la fondation de Roger du Plessis et Jeanne de Schomberg de quatre chapelains pour la chapelle du château et à l'organisation des services religieux (1652 - 1653).'

²⁵⁵ Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 795.

²⁵⁶ *The Confessions of St Augustine including the Imitation of Christ* (New York: Cosimo, 2006), 194 – 95.

²⁵⁷ Chapter Five explores this further by showing that not only was there a marked contrast between the culture of worship of rigorist lay women and the devotional life of the court, there were also some active steps taken by female rigorist penitents to differentiate the way they observed feasts, celebrated mass and received other sacraments.

²⁵⁸ McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, 11.

of salvation in the first decade after their conversions had a similar effect on the female rigorist friendship network. The evidence considered in this chapter shows that, after conversion, the demands of penitential regimes stimulated the need for sources of spiritual support. Pious women who were committed to painstaking routines shared sometimes intense spiritual bonds which were superior to their broader social connections.

The evidence for the importance of spiritual friendships to pious sociability allows this chapter to make an important departure from the work of John Bossy and other historians who have argued that lay devotion was made antisocial after the Council of Trent.²⁵⁹ Bossy himself acknowledged that, for the pious, the scrupulousness of post-Tridentine Catholicism had the same effect that ‘sacramental solidarity’ had before the Reformations, but it is his narrative of the antisocial, individualism of early modern Catholicism that has endured.²⁶⁰ According to this historiography, the solidarity fostered by medieval communal devotions, confraternities and the sacraments was destroyed by the introduction of the confessional box and the interiorization of worship; even the mass became ‘individualist and asocial.’²⁶¹ Not only does this narrative privilege the social performance of traditional Catholicism, it fails to consider how lay devotion evolved in response to Trent. Prescriptively, a fundamental transition did occur in the social experience of religion after the Reformation. By design, rigorist devotion was a testament to the interiority and individualized nature of piety after the Council of Trent.²⁶² The emergence of this severe moral theology desacralized friendships, removed networks of spiritual support and attached a stigma to the types of sociable

²⁵⁹ Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*; Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*.

²⁶⁰ Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 128.

²⁶¹ Bossy, ‘The Mass as a Social Institution,’ 60.

²⁶² Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 97 – 120; Bossy, ‘The Counter Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe’; Bossy, ‘The Social History of Confession,’ 21; Bossy, ‘Moral Arithmetic.’ A similar argument was made by Thomas. N. Tentler in *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

engagements associated with aristocratic femininity.²⁶³ In practice however, this stimulated and in turn, shaped the need for networks of spiritual support among lay women: the rigorist friendship network being one case in point.

This chapter has also demonstrated that the rigorist friendship network took on an increasingly cliquish quality as some spiritual friends regulated each other's friendship choices and expressed a desire to associate almost only with other penitents.²⁶⁴ The pursuit of exclusivity has been considered as a sign that this pious network had grown tired of profane court rituals and that they perceived themselves as God's elect. The next chapter will explore more evidence for the distinctive culture of worship practised by the 'spiritual elite.'

²⁶³ Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, 97.

²⁶⁴ Longueville, Liancourt and Maure in particular.

PART TWO:

A Spiritual Affinity?

The Rigorists and the Early Christians

CHAPTER THREE

The Material Culture of Piety c.1660 – 1679

‘Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath; or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God.’
*Exodus 21: 4 -5*¹

The material austerity of Port-Royal has become a historical truism. Many scholars have shown convincingly how devotional stimuli was contemptible to the rigorists; ex-votos were seen as superstitious; ‘external’ kinds of worship were regarded as devoid of interiority; church ornaments were an insult to the poor; and a taste for beauty was evidence of a ‘lascivious’ soul.² Exactly how this asceticism was reconciled with the affluence of lay aristocratic rigorist penitents is more uncertain, however. This chapter will redress this. By exploring the material culture of domestic devotion it reveals that the rigorist friendship network shared a coherent culture of worship. The indulgent Parisian aristocratic lifestyle ensured that their grand residences could never have faithfully reproduced the modesty of Port-Royal. Yet this chapter argues that their attempts to translate rigorist abstemiousness into their chapels and cabinets resulted in a distinctive material culture of piety which reacted against the Baroque and may have been modelled upon the practices of the early Christian community.³

¹ *Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 90.

² Alain Besançon, *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 192 – 93; Châtellier, *L’Europe des dévots*, 174; Tallon, *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, 89; Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 246; Von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 103. The convent building itself was also a modest one; see Jones, *Paris*, 172. As one other historian put it: ‘Port-Royal stood in stark opposition to the Baroque,’ David Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: Batsford, 1970), 195.

³ As noted in the Thesis Introduction, Tallon and Châtellier have both raised the question of an anti-Baroque reaction among *dévots*; see Tallon, *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, 89; and Châtellier, *L’Europe des dévots*, 174.

1. Material Culture: An Approach to Aristocratic Piety

In recent decades, the ‘material turn’ has profoundly affected the way historians approach past societies. Methodologically, the material environment is no longer seen as a passive reflection of values, but an active force which could ‘construct, maintain, control and transform social identities and relations.’⁴ The early modern European convent has been an important site in these studies. Art historians have shown how conventual architecture reinforced the strictures which the post-Tridentine Church placed on the female religious.⁵ Research on the interaction between pious lay women and the domestic material environment is still in its early stages, and this chapter will aim to make one contribution to these efforts using notarial documents.⁶

The notarial archive is a rich repository for the history of the material culture of aristocratic religion in early modern Paris.⁷ Descriptions of devotional objects, paintings and

⁴ Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1997), 15; Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, ‘Introduction,’ in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, eds. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 1 – 23.

⁵ On the early modern convent, see for example: Evangelisti, ‘Monastic Poverty and Material Culture,’ 1 – 20; Sandra Cavallo and Silvia Evangelisti, eds., *Domestic Institutional Interiors in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Helen Hills, ‘Nuns and Relics: Spiritual Authority in Post-Tridentine Naples,’ in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Van Wyhe, 11 – 38; Helen Hills, *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). On gender and material culture more generally, see Jennie Batchelor and Cora Kaplan, eds., *Women and Material Culture 1660 – 1830* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Amanda Vickery and John Styles, *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America 1700 – 1830* (London: Yale University Press, 2007); Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, eds., *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650 – 1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); and Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁶ That is not to say the existing scholarship on lay devotion and material culture has been lacking, just that there is more to do. This made a valuable contribution to the Italian context: Caroline Corisande Anderson, ‘The Material Culture of Domestic Religion in Early Modern Florence c. 1480 – c. 1650,’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2 volumes, University of York, 2007). A study of the material culture of devotion is currently being carried out by Mary Laven and is entitled: ‘Objects of Devotion: The Material Culture of Renaissance Piety, 1400 – 1600.’ Thanks to Simon Ditchfield for these references.

⁷ French historians working on early modern Paris have demonstrated the usefulness of probate inventories within the notarial archive for reconstructions of the early modern material environment, not just devotional culture. One of the most important works is Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), which I use for comparative purposes in

jewellery (or, in this case, the absence thereof) in probate inventories add another dimension to the accounts of religious experiences that women gave in their correspondence.⁸ Notaries were legally authorized to write marriage contracts, loans, leases, wills and inventories of possession, and they usually kept copies of these transactions.⁹ The problem with using probate inventories as sources for the history of material culture is that they were often drawn-up after possessions had already been distributed as gifts.¹⁰ Consequently, the most cherished items may never have been inventoried.¹¹ The documents also deny any sense of chronology. A static impression of the material environment is problematic for studies of aristocratic residences which we know were fluid; it was even customary for the elite to change their furniture with the season.¹² Sources which permit the changes in the material culture of rigorist *hôtels* to be measured over time will be discussed in due course.¹³ This chapter commences with an analysis of seven inventories taken at the residences of four

this chapter. See also: Daniel Roche, *Le peuple de Paris: essai sur la culture populaire au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1981); Daniel Roche, *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France 1600 – 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Pierre-Denis Boudriot, 'Une source pour l'étude de l'habitat parisien au début du XVIIe siècle: Pierre Le Muet,' *Histoire, économie, et société*, 4, no. 1 (1985): 29 – 41; Pierre-Denis Boudriot, 'La maison à loyers: étude du bâtiment à Paris sous Louis XIV,' *Histoire, économie et société*, 1, no. 2 (1982): 227 - 36. There are also a number of aristocratic probate inventories in the Archives Privées which have been more neglected by historians. This chapter uses AN, 4 AP, 315, 27 Janvier 1667: 'Inventaire des effets restez apres le deceds de Messire Henry Auguste de Loménie et de Madame Louise de Beon de Luxembourg son espouse.'

⁸ Such as the descriptions of the experience of penitence and solitude in the cabinet considered in the last chapter; see above, p. 86.

⁹ Copies were kept within his *étude*; William Ritchey Newton and J. Maarten Ultée, 'The Minutier Central: A Research Note,' *French Historical Studies*, 8, no. 3 (Spring, 1974): 489. Notarial contracts were also registered and can be found in Série Y at the Archives Nationales; see Christophe Levantal, *Ducs et pairs et duchés-pairies laïques à l'époque moderne: 1519 - 1790: dictionnaire prosographique, généalogique, chronologique, topographique et heuristique* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1996).

¹⁰ I encountered this problem with the probate inventory of the marquise de Gamaches; see below, p. 143.

¹¹ Janine Marie Lanza, *From Wives to Widows in Early Modern Paris: Gender, Economy and the Law* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 79.

¹² Albert M. Lythgoe, 'French Furniture of the Period of Louis XIV and his Successors,' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 2, no. 11 (November, 1907): 177.

¹³ See below, pp. 160 - 61.

spiritual friends and two of their rigorist acquaintances.¹⁴ It is interested not in the *cave*, *cuisine* or *écurie*; neither is it concerned with everyday objects such as *tourne broche*,¹⁵ *rateliers*¹⁶ or *chenets*.¹⁷ Instead, the focus will be the contents of rooms which were conducive to rigorist worship.

2. Domestic Devotional Spaces: (i) The Cabinet

The late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries saw a ‘revolution’ in Parisian urban architecture which transformed quarters such as the Marais and the faubourg Saint-Germain.¹⁸ New residences were built close to the Louvre and Palais Royal on the rues Fromenteau, de Beauvais, des Orties and Saint-Thomas du Louvre: the Hôtels de Longueville, Chevreuse and Rambouillet were among them.¹⁹ The *hôtel* was essentially an urban town house where the ‘corps de logis’ was separated from the street by a ‘cour d’honneur.’²⁰ Seventeenth-century *hôtels* were much larger than their sixteenth-century

¹⁴ The residences of the duchesse de Liancourt (two inventories are used), the duchesse de Longueville, the princesse de Guéméné and the comtesse de Brienne. These are compared with inventories taken at the residences of the duchesse de Schomberg and the marquise de Gamaches. There are no surviving probate documents for the princesse de Conti, comtesse de Maure or marquise de Sablé or their properties - to my knowledge, at least. The inventory of Marie-Louise de Gonzague is archived in Poland and would not make a suitable comparison, given her royal status at her death. There are three Marie-Louise de Gonzague inventories in the Archives Nationales, one is of her jewellery, one of the contents of chests belonging to her at her death and the other her belongings at the house of the Filles de Sainte-Marie at Warsaw: AN, Série K, 1314, ff. 161 – 64; 27 September 1667: ‘Inventerre des pierreries de la Reyne de Pologne Varsovie’; AN, Série K, 1314, fo. 165, 27 September 1667: ‘Inventaire des Meubles de la Reine de Pologne Varsovie’; and AN, Série K, 1314, fo. 168, 27 September 1667: ‘Memoire de ce qui est demeure dans le couvent des Religieuses de S[ain]te-Marie de Varsovie.’

¹⁵ AN, MC, ET XCVIII/251, 16 July 1674, roasting spit.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, haystack.

¹⁷ AN, MC, ET XXXVI/202, 12 June 1663, fire-dog.

¹⁸ Gady, ‘Paris au XVIIe siècle,’ 160 – 61.

¹⁹ Natacha Coquery, *L’hôtel aristocratique: le marché du luxe à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), 204; Jones, *Paris*, 163.

²⁰ Monique Eleb and Anne Debarre, *Architectures de la vie privée: maisons et mentalités XVIIe – XIXe siècles* (Paris: Hazan, 1999), 25.

counterparts and were often referred to as ‘palaces.’²¹ These larger dwellings were usually reserved for the aristocracy, judges or financiers.²²

Stylistically, most seventeenth-century aristocratic *hôtels* followed the prototype designed by Catherine de Vivonne, marquise de Rambouillet at the start of the century.²³ Decorative ‘harmony’ between interior spaces was achieved with the use of one particular colour scheme or textile: Rambouillet’s *chambre bleue* being the most famous example.²⁴ Like the Hôtel de Rambouillet, many of the aristocratic residences in fashionable areas of the city such as the Richelieu district, the Marais, the Île-Saint-Louis and the faubourg Saint-Germain were opulently appointed.²⁵

Usually situated on the first floor, the cabinet was traditionally part of the series of rooms comprising individual apartments in the aristocratic *hôtel*. It was usually located next to the antechamber, chamber and garderobe, and it could be used variously as a space for display, a place for small gatherings, for work, or prayer.²⁶ The *Académie Française* defined

²¹ Jones, *Paris*, 165; although the format of the Parisian *hôtel* remained largely unchanged; see Pierre Couperie and Madeleine Jurgens, ‘Le logement à Paris aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles,’ *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 17, no. 3 (1962): 494.

²² Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, 46 - 7. There were 49 rooms in the Hôtel de Créqui on the rue de la Cerisaie occupied by the Duc de Lesdiguières, for example, and 51 rooms in the Hôtel de Guise on the rue de Chaulme in 1688. In addition to this survey, I also make use of three comparative aristocratic inventories in this chapter, as outlined in the Thesis Introduction: AN, MC, ET/CV/904, 29 May 1684, the probate inventory of the Anne de Poussart de Fors, duchesse de Richelieu; AN, MC, ET/XCII/0247, 3 August 1684, the probate inventory of Anne de Gonzague, princesse Palatine; and AN, R⁴, 1056, March 1688, the probate inventory of Marie de Lorraine, duchesse de Guise.

²³ According to Donna Bonahan, ‘Color Schemes and Decorative Tastes in the Noble Houses of Old Regime Dauphiné,’ in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture can tell us about the European and American Past*, eds. Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg (London: Routledge, 2011), 118.

²⁴ ‘Harmony’ was an Italian principle of interior design, *Ibid*, 118.

²⁵ Jones, *Paris*, 165.

²⁶ Michel Le Moel, *L’architecture privée à Paris au Grand Siècle* (Paris: Commission des Travaux Historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1990), 103; Eleb and Debarre, *Architectures de la vie privée*, 53. These separate apartments permitted members of the household to live almost independently; see Alain Mérot, *Retraites mondaines: aspects de la décoration intérieure à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Le Promeneur, 1990), 11; Courtin, ‘L’art d’habiter,’ vol. 1, 76; Beugnot, ‘Vie mondaine et retraite,’ 13 – 32; Bernard Beugnot, ‘Morale du repos et conscience du temps,’ *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 13, no. 3 (1976): 183 – 96; Beugnot, ‘Y a-t-il une

the cabinet as a place of retreat in which to work, converse privately, or keep papers, books and pictures.²⁷ French cabinets were imitations of the Italian *studiolo* in Renaissance palaces.²⁸ As art historian Fabio Barry's study of the Palazzo Farnese revealed, these were often situated next to the private chapel which made the space a 'one-man cloister.'²⁹ In Baroque Roman palaces, special rooms known as *romitorio* were designed with similar functions in mind.³⁰

In France, the demand for the cabinet was in part due to the 'semi-public' nature of the chamber in the seventeenth-century; it would provide the privacy that the chamber lacked.³¹ The use of the cabinet for the composition of letters could also render it a sociable space.³² The last chapter argued that letter writing was instrumental in the formation of spiritual friendships and for sharing the emotions that penitence induced. Often, the furniture inventoried in these rooms alludes to these functions. Dena Goodman has been the first to explore the culture of consumption that the vogue for letter writing generated, including the

problématique féminine de la retraite?' 38; Bernard Beugnot, *Le discours de la retraite au XVII^e siècle: loin du monde et du bruit* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), 95; Fosseyeux 'Les retraites spirituelles,' 45 – 59; Natacha Coquery, 'Les hôtels parisiens du XVIII^e siècle: une approche des modes d'habiter,' *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 38, no. 2 (1991): 217.

²⁷ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*; cited in Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters*, 199. For other definitions, see Orest Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy,' in *A History of Private Life*, eds., Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, vol. III, 'Passions of the Renaissance,' ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 211, 228; and Mérot, *Retraites mondaines*, 12. The cabinet is understood in all of these works as a small closet used for work, study, prayer, or intimate conversations.

²⁸ Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy,' 225.

²⁹ Fabio Barry, "'Pray to thy Father which is in Secret.'" The Tradition of Coretti, Romitorii and Lanfranco's Hermit Cycle at the Palazzo Farnese,' in *Barocke Inszenierung, Akten des Internationalen Forschungs colloquiums an der Technischen Universität Berlin*, eds. F. Neumeyer, J. Imorde, T. Weddigen (Zurich/Emsdetten: Edition Imorde, 1999), 197.

³⁰ Patricia Waddy, 'Inside the Palace: People and Furnishings,' in *Life and the Arts in the Baroque Palaces of Rome: Ambiente Barocco*, eds. Stefanie Walker and Frederick Hammond (New York: Yale University Press, 1999), 31.

³¹ Barbara R. Woshinsky, *Imagining Women's Conventual Spaces in France, 1600 – 1800: The Cloister Disclosed* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 145.

³² Dena Goodman, 'Letter Writing and the Emergence of Gendered Subjectivity,' *Journal of Women's History*, 17, no. 2 (Summer, 2005): 14.

supply of commodities such as porcelain inkstands, veneered writing desks and decorated paper.³³ The importance of the cabinet for epistolary interaction reinforces the argument that the penitent's entrance into these rooms did not necessarily signal her desire for privacy or interiority; letters connected pious women to an 'imagined community' of the spiritual elite and a tangible epistolary network.³⁴

The interiors of the rooms which rigorist penitents used for retreat are depicted by their probate inventories, but the terminology that notaries used to delineate them was not always consistent: 'oratoire' and 'prie-dieu' were used as frequently as 'cabinet.' The notaries may sometimes have been differentiating between larger reception rooms which could also be termed a 'cabinet' and the smaller spaces used for prayer and study; they even used the term to describe individual pieces of furniture. The presence of the same kinds of moveables within these spaces suggests that, for the most part, the terms were being used interchangeably. The historiographical definitions of the 'cabinet' and its pious functions outlined above are therefore still relevant to these rooms.³⁵

The duchesse de Liancourt's 'oratoire' in the Hôtel de Liancourt, on the rue de Seine is the first to consider.³⁶ The *hôtel* was bought by the duke and duchess in 1631 and became the

³³ Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters*, 10, see also 161 – 244; Dena Goodman, 'Furnishing Discourses: Readings of a Writing Desk in Eighteenth-Century France,' in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, eds. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), 71 – 88.

³⁴ I consider the notion of an 'imagined community' in chapter four.

³⁵ For example, art historians have shown that oratories were also used to store collections of devotional objects; see Sheila ffolliott, 'The Ideal Queenly Patron of the Renaissance: Catherine de Medici Defining Herself or Defined by Others?' in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, ed. Cynthia Miller Lawrence (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 109.

³⁶ See Map 1.3 in Appendix C; there is an extant plan of the Hôtel de Liancourt, reprinted in M. Louis Hautecœur, ed., *L'architecture française: réimpression de l'édition originale de 1727*; publiée par les soins avec une introduction et une table des matières de M. Louis Hautecœur (Paris: G. Van Oest, 1929).

hub for rigorist intellectual gatherings.³⁷ The inventory describes the contents of Liancourt's oratory as it was discovered on 20 July 1674:

Table 1.1 The duchesse de Liancourt's oratory in Paris³⁸

Dans la petite oratoire de madit deffunte dame	
Item une petite table quarrée, ³⁹ Un petit Tapis vieil damas dessus avec une petite frange autour d'or faux, trois petits fauteuils couverts de vieux velours a ramage, ⁴⁰ trois carreaux ⁴¹ de vieux satin a fleurs et un autre petit fauteuil pareil a ceux cy dessus, Deux petites rideaux de fenestre de vieille serge rouge avec leur tringles, deux viel et petits draps de toile de chanure ⁴² a demye use et rompue, Un miroir a glace de Venize avec une bordure de petite glaces, quatre morceaux de vieil damas vert servant de tapisserie a ladite oratoire, quatre petites tablettes garny de petites glaces et cristaux, deux petits bras de cuivre dore aussy garny de cristaux, Deux petites benistiers de cuivre dore, un autre aussy de cuivre dore avec des cristaux, et un autre petit chandelier de carte couvert de canetille ⁴³ , vingt trois images enluminees et peintes tant sur veslin sur verre et papier avec leurs bordures de bois dore, un autre petit en oval representant l'Enfant Jesus, un autre representant le Sacrifice d'Abraham, deux autres petits tableaux peint sur veslin avec leurs bordures de cuivre emaille, quarante trois autre tableaux petits a bordure de bois noircy dont quinze esmaille, vingt sur verre, et deux sur marbre, deux sur cuivre, et deux autres sur ecaille, un autre sur verre representant la Visitation de la Vierge, et deux Vierges de terre cuite et deux autres sur argent, prise cinquante huit livres.	lviii ll ⁴⁴
Item Une petite oratoire de bois noircy avec plusieurs petits tiroirs, Un petit prie Dieu aussy de bois noircy, Deux petits chandelliers de bois noircy, Un tableau representant Un crucifix, Deux petits bras de cuivre avec des Cristaux, Cinq images enluminees Deux a bordure d'oreé, dont	

³⁷ Lesaulnier, *Port-Royal Insolite*, 43; as discussed in the last chapter, see above, p. 92.

³⁸ AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/251, the inventory was commenced on 16 July 1674 as part of the execution of the duchesse de Liancourt's will by her testamentary executors Le Nain and De La Houssaye. 'Dans la petite oratoire de madit[e] deffunte dame' was taken on 20 July 1674. Her apartment included a garderrobe, a chamber described as 'la chambre aux miroirs,' and the 'petitte oratoire.'

³⁹ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Squared,' n.p.n.

⁴⁰ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Ramage: il n'a guère d'usage que pour signifier une représentation de rameaux, branchages, feuillages, fleurs sur un étoffe,' vol. 2, 531.

⁴¹ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: Cotgrave defines this as variously 'a little square, a paving tile, a bed in a garden, the square of a pillar, a Taylor's pressing yron, a cushion,' n.p.n; the latter seems most likely.

⁴² *Ibid*: Chanure is chanvre; or hemp, n.p.n.

⁴³ *Ibid*: Canetille is gold or silver needle work, n.p.n.

⁴⁴ The abbreviation used to denote 'livres.'

deux sur verre, Et Quarante trois autres images sur veslin a bordures de bois noircy, et deux autres sur marbre, Deux petites sieges ployant ⁴⁵ couverts de vieil damas vert, Une petite chaise de bois tourne couverts de jonc, ⁴⁶ Un carreau de vieil brocart a fleurs dessus prise ensemble avec quatre morceaux de vieille Tapisserie d'estoffe de soye rayée trente livres.	xxx II
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As Table 1.1 shows, the room was furnished with a square table, three velvet armchairs, one satin armchair, two smaller green damask seats, one wooden chair, an *oratoire* of blackened wood with several drawers and a prie-dieu of the same material. These were placed over an old piece of fringed damask. The prie-dieu was a piece comparable to a church pew which could be knelt at and was often used for reading; it usually had a shelf upon which to store books or to rest the arms during prayer.⁴⁷ It may have been that in the duchess' oratory, the *oratoire* was a larger piece serving as a desk for reading, writing or storage, whereas the prie-dieu was a smaller, simple kneeling stool for prayer.⁴⁸ The description of two small, red baize curtains hint at the presence of a small window, and the walls were decorated with a mirror and four lengths of old green damask, which was used to prevent damp.⁴⁹ The devotional paintings displayed in the oratory included scenes of the Infant Christ, the Visitation of the Virgin, the Crucifixion and the Old Testament story of the Sacrifice of Abraham. The description of three copper-coloured holy-water fonts, one decorated with crystal, is also indicative of how this room may have been used. The modest valuation of all of its contents

⁴⁵ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Siège: meuble fait pour s'asseoir,' vol. 2, 724; Cotgrave, *A French - English Dictionary*: 'seat, bench or stoole,' n.p.n; in this case a folding stool.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*: 'Jonc: plante qui croît le long et même dans les eaux...les semences du jonc sont astringentes et bonnes pour arrêter le cours de ventre et les pertes de sang des femmes,' vol. 1, 967.

⁴⁷ Anderson, 'The Material Culture of Domestic Religion,' vol. 1, 31; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'sorte de pupitre qui est accompagné d'un marche-pied,' vol. 2, 468.

⁴⁸ This is evidence of how notaries used the same terms interchangeably; here 'oratoire' denoted an item of furniture and not a room.

⁴⁹ Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, 147.

was 88 *livres* and the frequent use of adjectives such as ‘old’ to describe furnishings within it may also be an indication that the room had not been refurbished for some time.

An inventory of the properties occupied by the duchesse de Longueville was produced after the death of the duc de Longueville in 1663: proceedings which were governed by Parisian customary law. An inventory was carried out in order to allow wills or contracts which distributed the goods or properties of the deceased to be implemented.⁵⁰ On the death of her spouse, a widow had several economic rights: the return of her lineage properties (usually those she had brought to the marriage from her parents), one-half of the marriage ‘community’ properties, and a subsistence right called a dower, which was the usufruct of half of the husband’s lineage properties.⁵¹ Marriage contracts might have made amendments to these laws. Barbara Diefendorf has shown that, in practice, the surviving parent continued to manage and administer the properties of the deceased even after the children had reached a majority.⁵² This was intended to ensure the widow could maintain her lifestyle, support the heirs and manage their estates.⁵³ This was also the case in the Longueville household. Regardless of the fact that, at the duke’s death, neither of Longueville’s two sons had reached a majority at the ages of 14 and 17, the duchess never remarried. She also continued to live in and administer the family properties.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Lanza, *Wives and Widows*, 4.

⁵¹ Barbara Diefendorf, ‘Women and Property in Ancien Régime France: Theory and Practice in Dauphiné and Paris,’ in *Early Modern Conceptions of Property*, eds. John Brewer and Susan Staves (London: Routledge, 1995), 177; Jonathan Spangler has discussed the financial burden that these customary laws could have in ‘Benefit or Burden? The Balancing Act of Widows in French Princely Houses,’ *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 31 (2003): 65 – 83.

⁵² Barbara Diefendorf, ‘Widowhood and Remarriage in Sixteenth-Century Paris,’ *Journal of Family History*, 7, no. 4 (Winter, 1982): 385.

⁵³ Diefendorf, ‘Women and Property in Ancien Régime France,’ 178 – 79.

⁵⁴ MC, Chantilly, 1 – A – 008; in the marriage contract dated 1642, Trie was designated as the property she might continue to live in, if widowed. In June 1664 she received 950,000 *livres* out of the estate and on 16

At her *hôtel* in Saint-Ouen the duchesse de Longueville had recourse to a similar room to Liancourt's oratory.⁵⁵ Adjacent to her chamber, a second 'petit chambre' and a garderobe, was a room which was also described as an 'oratoire.' It contained three paintings: a Crucifixion, Christ carrying the cross and another of a garden. There was also one seat described as an old wooden chair, and two pieces of grey and white tapestry were used to decorate the room. The total valuation for its contents was only 45 *livres*, which may have been a result of its size. The lack of curtains suggests there was no window and the presence of only one chair also indicates a shortage of space.⁵⁶ South-east of Paris at Coulommiers in the Brie, the duchess similarly withdrew into a small prie-dieu in the family château.⁵⁷ This refuge was part of a series of rooms in her apartment:

Table 1.2 The duchesse de Longueville's apartment at Coulommiers⁵⁸

Dans le Cabinet de Madame	
Une paire de gros chenets de cuivre, pelle, fourshette, une tenaille de feus, garnie d'une pomme de cuivre, chacun prisé en semble vingt livres ⁵⁹	xx ll

January 1671, when the duc de Longueville reached a majority of 25 years old, the properties were partitioned between the heirs.

⁵⁵ AN, MC ET/XXXVI/202, 12 June 1663, 'en l'oratoire de sa dicte altesse madame s'est trouvé.' The inventory produced at the Longueville residences did not describe the presence of a cabinet belonging to the duchess in the Hôtel de Longueville in 1663 but this is probably an indication of the low value of items within it, rather a complete absence of the room.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*: 'Un tableau ou est représenté un crucifix et deux autres tableaux ou est représenté en l'un N[otre] S[eigneur] portant sa croix, et en l'autre un jardin desolles prisez ensemble xxx ll; Item deux petites pieces de tapisserie de droguet gris blanc... doubles de toile de cotton servant de toute au dict oratoire; et une vieille chaise de bois couverte de moucade prisez xv ll[ivres].'

⁵⁷ I consider the material environment of other rigorist châteaux below, p. 178, and in chapter five. At Coulommiers, the estate was inherited by the duc de Longueville from his mother Catherine de Gonzague who built it in 1613; Anatole Dauvergne, *Notice sur le château neuf et l'église des capucins de Coulommiers* (Paris: Derache, 1853), 21. In 1616 the Capuchins came to Coulommiers and work began on a Capuchin church close to the château in 1617, which was consecrated on 13 July 1625. A description of the château was offered by Martial Cordier: 'Le château était couvert en ardoises et en plomb... Le bas était l'ordre ionique et au-dessus regnait l'ordre corinthien'; Ernest Dessaint, *Histoire de Coulommiers des origines à nos jours* (Coulommiers: n.p, 1925), 113 – 19.

⁵⁸ AN, MC, ET/XXXVI/202, 12 June 1663.

⁵⁹ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Pelle: instrument de fer ou de bois large et plat qui a un long manche,' vol. 2, 338; 'Fourshette: se dit aussi un instrument de même figure (trois ou quatre pointes ou dents par le bout) mais plus long et plus gros,' vol. 1, 773; 'Tenailles: instrument de fer composé de deux pièces attachées

Item vingt-deux aunes de Tapisserie de cuir de holande a fonds vert sur trois aunes deux tiers de hault, prise en semble la somme de sept cent cinquante livres ⁶⁰	vii C l ll
Item deux tapis de Turquie, scavoir un grand et un petit servant a l'estrade ⁶¹ prisez en semble six vingt livres	vi xx ll
Item une petite Table carrée, et une autre table brisée, prisez ensemble soixante solz	lx s
Item douze carreaux de Toille d'argent, six a fleures d'or icelles, garnis dun passement ⁶² dor et d'argent, plus un lit de repos rembourre garny dun matelas de Toille Rouge, avec la housse ⁶³ de Toille d'argent a fleurs d'or, plus six sieges pl[o]yant, et deux fauteils, garnis et couverte de toille d'argent a fleurs dor, garnis de frange et mollet ⁶⁴ or et argent, Plus un tapy de taffetas incarn[a]t rayé d'un dor, garny de frange et mollets de faux or, et trois rideaux de taffetas Rouge cramoisy contenant trois lezs, ⁶⁵ chacun garny de petit dentelle dor et d'argent, et un petit escran, ⁶⁶ le compris en semble la somme de deux cens livres.	ii C ll
Dans la chambre de sadite altesse Madame cest trouve ce qui ensuit	
Premier une paire de gros chenets de cuivre, pelle, pincette, ⁶⁷ tenailles, et fourchettes, garny de chacun leur pommes de cuivre, prisez ensemble seize livres.	xvi ll
Item un bois de lit a hault pilliers, garny d'un sommier de crain, ⁶⁸ deux matelas de futaine remplis de Bourre laine, ⁶⁹ une chevet ⁷⁰ de futaine ⁷¹	

l'une à l'autre par une goupille,' vol. 2, 811; 'Pomme: se dit encore de divers ornemens de bois de métal faits en forme de pomme,' vol. 2, 416.

⁶⁰ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Aulne: an ell, the measure so called, the most common one in France is 3 foot 7 inches and 8 lines in length,' n.p.n.

⁶¹ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Estrade: il signifie aussi un assemblage d'ais posé dans une partie de la chambre et un peu élevé que le reste du plancher,' vol. 1, 670.

⁶² *Ibid*: 'Passement: tissu plat et un peu large de fil d'or, de soie, de laine; qu'on met par ornement sur des habits et sur des meubles,' vol. 2, 316.

⁶³ *Ibid*: 'Housse: se dit de certaines étoffes légères dont on se sert pour couvrir les meubles de prix,' vol. 1, 890.

⁶⁴ Mollet is a narrow fringe of silk; see Louis Harmuth, *Dictionary of Textiles* (New York: Fairchild, 1915), 106; according to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* it was used specifically for beds or chairs: 'Petite frange qu'on met aux lits, aux sieges,' vol. 2, 159.

⁶⁵ An abbreviation for a measurement of length; it could be 'Laise: the breadth of a piece of cloth,' Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*, n.p.n.

⁶⁶ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Écran: sorte de meuble dont on se sert l'hiver pour se parer l'ardeur du feu,' vol. 1, 587.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*: 'Pincette: utensile de fer dont on se sert pour accomoder le feu,' vol. 2, 378.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*: 'Sommier de Crin signifie un matelas de crin servant de paillasse,' vol. 2, 739.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*: 'On appelle Bourre Lanice, la partie la plus grossière qui provient de la laine; matelas de bourre-lanice,' vol. 1, 203; 'Laine: ce qui couvre la peau des moutons et de quelque autres bêtes,' vol. 2, 6.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*: 'Chevet: long oreiller sur lequel on appuise sa tête quand on est dans le lit,' vol. 1, 298.

plein duvet, deux couvertures de laine blanche, plus un lit de velours rouge cramoisy en broderie dor et d'argent, et bandes de gros de nappe blanc avec broderie en or, et argent, et soie, et tout au tour dudit meuble est encore une petite bordure dor, argent, et soie, et ledit meuble concistant en trois pentes, ⁷² quatre quatonniers, ⁷³ tapis de table le tout en broderie, trois rideaux de damas a fleurs d'or, trois pentes de dedans, fondes, dossier, ⁷⁴ deux fourreaux de pilliers en la courte point, ⁷⁵ et quatre pommes, le tout de damas rouge cramoisy a fleurs dor, Plus six chaises de vellour ramagé, deux fauteils, douze sieges ployant le tout de velour ramagé, dont moitie a fondez d'argent, et l'autre moitie a fonds d'or, Trois soubassemens du lit, ⁷⁶ cy dessus de broderie pareilles cy dessus, ledit lit garny de crespine aux six pentes et trois soubassemens, et le dossier, et a la courtepointe, et mollets au tour du lit or et argent, et autour des sierges franges or et argent, et dessus les pommes y a un gland ⁷⁷ or et argent, et un petit galon ⁷⁸ dor, une housse de futaine au tour du lit, une table brisée, un tapy de cuir gauffre, ⁷⁹ prisé et estimé le tout ensemble la somme de trois mil six cens livres	iii vi C II
Item deux rideaux d'alcauve de petit taffetas incarnat, avec un petit lit d'or la pente de pareil taffetas et fil dor, les deux rideaux garnis dun mollet dor, et la pente dune petite crespine ⁸⁰ dor, prise ensemble la somme de quarente livres tournois ⁸¹	xl II
Item un tapy persien de deux aulnes de lang et de quatre aulnes un tiers	

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 'Futaine: étoffe de fil et de coton,' vol. 1, 793.

⁷² *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Pente: se dit aussi une bande qui pend autour du ciel du lit sur le haut des rideaux,' vol. 2, 344.

⁷³ *Cantonnière*; or a pelmet for a curtain.

⁷⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Dossier: partie d'une chaise ou d'un banc qui sert à appuyer le dos. On appelle aussi dossier d'un lit une pièce de bois fort large qui joint les deux colonnes de derrière. C'est encore la pièce d'étoffe qui couvre le derrière du lit,' vol. 1, 560.

⁷⁵ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: A 'courte pointe' was a quilt or quilted counterpoint, n.p.n.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*: 'Soubassement de lict: the bases of a bed which being downe to the ground and the feet of some statelie beds,' n.p.n.; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Soubassement: espèce de pente que l'on met au bas du lit,' vol. 2, 744.

⁷⁷ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Gland: certain ouvrage de fil qui a été d'abord en forme de gland et dont on se servoit ou pour attacher les collets ou pour mettre au coin des mouchoirs et au bout des cravates,' vol. 1, 821.

⁷⁸ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*, Galoone lace, n.p.n.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*: 'Gauffre' was embossed skin, hide or leather, n.p.n.

⁸⁰ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Crépine: sorte de frange qui est tissée et ouvragée par le haut,' vol. 1, 439.

⁸¹ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Tournois: the pound Tournois is the most ordinary French pound which amounts to 2s Sterling,' n.p.n.

de long, prisé la somme de deux cens cinquante livres tournois	ii C I ll
Dans le Prie-dieu de mad[ite] dame attendant de sa chambre s'est trouvé	
Une tanture de tapisserie d'estoffe de nisme, rayee d'une couleur blanche, doublee d'une toille Boucassines, ⁸² contenant une aune trois quarts de hault, trois sieges ployant, et un fauteille de pareille estoffe, plus un lit de repos garny et couvert de toille grise, un matelas couvert de toille grise, trois carreaux de pareille estoffe, et une housse de lit de repos garny d'une frange mollet de soye de pareille couleur a l'estoffe, prise le tout ensemble la somme de six vingt livres.	vi xx ll
Dans la garderobbe de sadite altesse	
Douze aunes de vieille tapisserie de Rouen, avec une vieille forme prise ensemble dix sept livres	xvii ll
Dans l'antichambre de sadite altesse Madame	
Deux petites tables carres de bois de chesne, ⁸³ prisez quatre livres	iiii ll
Item un dais ⁸⁴ de vellour vert a doubles le fonds en la quoue chamarée ⁸⁵ dun passément or et argent, crespine et mollet or et argent, garny de franges de soie vert dessous, prisez la somme de deux cens cinquante livres tournois	ii C I ll

The presence of six folding seats and two armchairs in Longueville's cabinet suggests it may have been a larger room used for more sociable gatherings and the antechamber a place to greet visitors. The prie-dieu contained a *lit de repos*, which was a bed used for daily rest, and its cover which had a grey silk fringe; there was also a mattress covered in grey linen, three folding seats, an armchair, and three cushions.⁸⁶ A piece of lined white tapestry one ell and three-quarters in length may have served to insulate the room, or for decoration.⁸⁷

⁸² *Ibid*: 'Boccassin: a kind of fine buckram that hath a resemblance of taffeta much used for lining,' n.p.n.

⁸³ *Chêne*; or oak.

⁸⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Dais: espèce de poêle fait en forme de ciel de lit, avec un dossier pendant que l'on tend dans les appartements des Princes, des Ducs et des Ambassadeurs,' vol. 1, 458.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*: 'Chamarrer: orner un habit, un meuble, de passemens, de dentelles, de galons, de bandes, de velours,' vol. 1, 270.

⁸⁶ Courtin, 'L'art d'habiter,' vol. 1, 202.

⁸⁷ Bonahan, 'Color Schemes and Decorative Tastes,' 119.

Liancourt's oratory and Longueville's prie-dieu were the quarters of the *hôtel* which were to be their penitential sanctuaries from the world. The princesse de Conti's cabinet also exempted her from most forms of worldly interaction:

Je passeray agreablement dans mon cabinet la plus grande partie de mon tamps a lire, a prier, a m'occuper de N[otre] S[eigneur]. Je nay poin de conversation au moins qui puisse toucher mon cœur car je ne parle comme lon dit que de la pluye et du beau tamps.⁸⁸

The last chapter recovered the way spiritual friends 'transcended the boundaries of solitude' and convened in these spaces to occupy themselves with devotions.⁸⁹ The material environment of the cabinet, or 'oratoire' and 'prie-dieu' as it was designated here, is generally assumed to have functioned to stimulate contrition during these moments. Françoise Bardon used contemporary paintings of the Magdalene experiencing penitence in her cabinet to illustrate how devotional stimuli could arouse repentance. In Champaigne's 'La Pénitence Fermée' (1651) the penitent woman was seated in a cabinet whilst a *tête de mort* symbolized the vanity of her worldly life.⁹⁰ In Le Brun's 'La madeleine repentante' (1656), an elite woman is depicted experiencing penitence as she gazed up to the heavens in a cabinet, surrounded by devotional jewellery.⁹¹ Another art historian Alain Mérot observed that in the seventeenth century: 'le cabinet se double souvent d'un oratoire orné de tableaux ou parfois entièrement décoré de sujets propre de la dévotion.'⁹²

⁸⁸ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, ff. 196 – 98, princesse de Conti to the abbé de La Vergne, 25 August, undated, l'Isle-Adam.

⁸⁹ We also know from Longueville's letters to Sablé that she spent lengthy periods of time at Coulommiers in these very rooms; see BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, fo. 169, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 31 December, undated; BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, fo. 102, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 13 November, undated; and BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, fo. 157, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 30 October, undated.

⁹⁰ Bardon, 'Le thème de la madeleine pénitente,' 304.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 305. Saint Thais, who the princesse de Conti apparently felt an affinity with, was painted in a similar way by Jusepe de Ribera (1591 – 1652); see above, p. 47.

⁹² Mérot, *Retraites mondaines*, 114.

The portraits of rigorist penitents' cabinets provided by their inventories are not entirely compatible with these historiographical sketches. They were not rooms for display and, with the exception of Liancourt's paintings, were deficient in the types of objects we might expect to find in a period when Catholics used the 'glory of the physical' as stimulus for spiritual meditation.⁹³ The duchesse de Longueville's prie-dieu at Coulommiers was quite puritanical: hardly a room which could have excited the senses or induced mystical encounters. In both Liancourt and Longueville's cabinets, there was also a complete absence of portable devotional aids which could be handled during prayer, such as rosary beads, *agnus-deis*, medallions, and statuettes.⁹⁴ The absence of rosaries in particular is significant given their importance to post-Tridentine lay piety.⁹⁵ The fingering of beads during the recitation of the rosary was encouraged by the Jesuits for the laity.⁹⁶ The rosary also seems to have been a typically feminine devotional exercise, as inferred by a Jesuit preacher who remarked in 1559 that 'women should stick to their rosary and not worry about other forms of devotion.'⁹⁷ The sources potentially obscure the presence of some of these items because notaries often

⁹³ Hamling and Richardson, 'Introduction,' 5. The paintings rigorist penitents owned are discussed below, pp. 159 - 60 and see especially pp. 172 - 77. Liancourt also owned three holy-water fonts but these may have been a rigorist influence, as Pascal sanctioned the private use of holy-water for blessings in order to help the penitent 'believe'; see A. J. Krailsheimer, ed., *Blaise Pascal: Pensées* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 125. Thanks to Professor Robin Briggs for this reference.

⁹⁴ *Agnus-deis* were little wax pendants with the image of the Lamb of God (*agnus dei*) on them. On these types of objects, see Lisa McClain, 'Using What's at Hand: English Catholic Reinterpretations of the Rosary, 1559 - 1642,' *The Journal of Religious History*, 27, no. 2 (June, 2003): 174. In France, Jean-Pierre Camus also recommended the rosary; see Thomas Worcester, *Seventeenth-Century Cultural Discourse: France and the Preaching of Bishop Camus* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), 78. The only mention of a rosary in the Hôtel de Liancourt is as a marginal note listed in the inventory of the 'chambre du trésor,' where a wooden rosary was kept in a chest.

⁹⁵ Several historians have shown the importance of the rosary to the Marian cult after the Council of Trent: Bergin has examined the confraternity of the rosary and its prominence in France; see *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 240 - 41, 354; as has Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 225. Historians of English Catholicism have shown how rosary beads became important markers of the Catholic confessional identity; see Anne Dillon, 'Praying by Number: The Confraternity of the Rosary and the English Catholic Community,' *History*, 88, no. 291 (July, 2003): 451 - 71; and McClain, 'Using What's at Hand.'

⁹⁶ Patricia M. Crawford, *Women and Religion in England 1500 - 1720* (London: Routledge, 1993), 80; Crawford shows how Molina even devised methods for saying the rosary using beads.

⁹⁷ Alison Weber, 'Counter-Reformation Misogyny,' in *The Counter Reformation: The Essential Readings*, ed. Luebke, 155.

discounted the contents of small rooms which were regarded as inexpensive.⁹⁸ Yet, as this chapter will show, the pious female elite typically owned more valuable pieces which we would expect to be documented.⁹⁹

The duchesses were not the only rigorist women to worship without mnemonic devotional aids in sober cabinets. Even if the princesse de Guéméné did relapse in the 1660s by returning to the world, an account of her cabinet taken at Louis de Rohan's death in 1667 suggests that she was still observing the rigorist style in the Hôtel de Guéméné. The notary differentiated between a larger cabinet adjacent to her chamber and a 'petit cabinet' located next to the household chapel, which overlooked the gardens at the Place Royale.¹⁰⁰ This room was generously furnished with a table made of pear-wood, six chairs, a wooden *tablette* (usually for writing upon) and a painting of the assumption of the Virgin valued at eight *livres*, but there is no evidence of smaller trinkets, statues, or other moveable devotional objects which might have aided Guéméné's devotions.¹⁰¹

The notary did not identify the comtesse de Brienne's cabinet in the probate inventory of the Hôtel de Brienne on the rues des Saints-Pères but this was possibly because it was carried out two years after her death, by which time the room was probably being used by

⁹⁸ Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, 203.

⁹⁹ Something considered in more detail below, see pp. 162 – 68.

¹⁰⁰ AN, MC, ET/LXXXVII/207, 25 February 1667, 'Dans le petit cabinet dorée a costé du Grand Cabinet dorée'; Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (3 volumes, Paris: chez Charles Moette, 1724), vol. III, 4. See Map 1.4 in Appendix C.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*: 'Item une table ployant de bois de poires...item six sieges ployant...item une tablette de bois doree...item un tableau representant l'assomption de la vierge.' The Guéméné inventory also lists a separate collection of jewellery which included a cross of the *Ordre du Saint-Esprit* valued at 1800 *livres*, a 'collier' or broad necklace of pearls valued at 1500 *livres*, and a diamond necklace valued at 2000 *livres*, but there are no pieces of devotional jewellery appearing in this collection either.

another member of the household.¹⁰² Two cabinets used by Brienne's daughter a number of years later, reveal a similar level of austerity to her rigorist acquaintances Longueville and Liancourt:

Table 1.3 The marquise de Gamaches' cabinet¹⁰³

Deux Tabourets ¹⁰⁴ de bois de noyer remply de Crin, ¹⁰⁵ couverts de Tapisserie a fond rouge rayé blanc et noir, prisez cent sous, ¹⁰⁶ avec un pied de bois dore	v ll
Item cinq petits tableaux de devotion, et un autre encore de mesme, prisez ensemble dix sous	x s
Item quatre petits morceaux de drap gris, faisant le tour dud[it] cabinet, prisez six livres	vi ll
Item l'histoire de l'eglise en quatre volumes in quarto, reliez et couverts de veau, prisez quatre livres	iiii ll
Item la vie de St Barthelemy de matins en un volume in quarto, relié et couverts de veau, prisé trente sous ¹⁰⁷	i ll x s
Item l'histoire de Louis XI en deux volumes, relies et couverts de veau, prisez quarente sous	ii ll
Item la deffense du traité de Mr le Prince de Conty, relié et couverts de maroquin, prisé vingt sous ¹⁰⁸	i ll
Item l'histoire des Iconoclastes en un volume in quarto, couvert de veau, prisé vingt sous ¹⁰⁹	i ll

¹⁰² AN, 4 AP, 315, 27 January 1667: 'Inventaire des effets restez apres le deceds de Messire Henry Auguste de Lomenie et de Madame Louise de Beon de Luxembourg son espouse.'

¹⁰³ AN, MC, ET/XCI/564, 12 January 1705. See Map 1.5 in Appendix C. The last chapter explained that although her surviving correspondence is unrevealing about her relationships with the rigorist friendship network, her presence at Conti's deathbed suggests she was a more intimate friend; see chapter two, footnote 52.

¹⁰⁴ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Tabouret: a little low stoole for a woman or child to sit on,' n.p.n; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Tabouret: sorte de petit siege à quatre pieds, qui n'a ni bras ni dos,' vol. 2, 793.

¹⁰⁵ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Crin: poil long et rude qui vient au cou et à la queue des chevaux,' vol. 1, 443.

¹⁰⁶ 1 livre is equivalent to 20 solz, or sous.

¹⁰⁷ *La Vie de dom Barthélemy des Martyrs, religieux de l'ordre de S. Dominique, archevesque de Brague en Portugal, tirée de son histoire, écrite en espagnol et en portugais, par cinq auteurs dont le premier est le P. Louis de Grenade, par P. Thomas Du Fossé et I. L. Le Maistre de Sacy* (2nd edn, Paris: P. Le Petit, 1663).

¹⁰⁸ *La Défense du traité de Mgr le prince de Conti touchant la comédie et les spectacles, ou La Réfutation d'un livre intitulé 'Dissertation sur la condamnation des théâtres', par le sieur de Voisin* (Paris: J. B. Coignard, 1671).

¹⁰⁹ *Histoire de l'hérésie des iconoclastes et de la translation de l'Empire aux Français, par le P. Louis Maimbourg* (Paris: S. Mable-Cramoisy, 1674).

Item deux volumes de livres in quarto, relies en veau, dont un Intitule divins, ¹¹⁰ et l'autre histoire du schisme des grecs, ¹¹¹ prisés ensemble trente sous	i ll x s
Item un Breviare en quatre parties, relié en maroquin rouge, prisé quatre livres	iiii ll
Item la Bible en neuf Tomes, couverts de veau, prisee quatre livres	iiii ll
Item quarante volumes de livres in octavo et in douze, Traitans de differentes matieres de devotion, prisez ensemble douze livres	xii ll
Item quarante cinq volumes tant in douze qu'in seize de devotion, couverts de veau et de maroquin, priséz ensemble neuf livres	ix ll
Dans un petit cabinet en forme de prie dieu joignant la chamb[re]	
Item cinq aunes ou environ de brocatelle de venise a fleurs incarnat, prise vingt cinq livres	xxv ll

The smaller 'prie-dieu' seems to have been very austere, although the notary did issue a qualification that some of the items found within it were not being listed because they had already been distributed as gifts. However, judging by the contents of the larger cabinet, which only contained books (something we will come to in the next chapter) and six small images equivalent to half a *livre*, the marquise de Gamaches shared her acquaintances' indifference towards extraneous devotional materials.¹¹² The larger cabinet, which was clearly also being used for devotional reading and prayer, was located next to the chapel and near to the chamber in which the marquise de Gamaches died. Within her chamber, incidentally, hung a portrait of the duchesse de Longueville: further indication of Gamaches' proximity to the rigorist friendship group.

¹¹⁰ This could be: *Les Divins paradoxes de l'Eucharistie, octave du Très-Saint Sacrement de l'autel, prêchée en l'église principale de Bruxelles par le R. P. Léon* (Bruxelles: J. Mommart, 1663).

¹¹¹ *Histoire du schisme des Grecs, par le P. Louis Maimbourg* (Paris: Imprimerie de S. Mable-Cramoisy, 1677).

¹¹² AN, MC, ET/XCI/564, 12 January 1705; there were no pieces of devotional jewellery listed in the *vaisselle d'argent* of the *hôtel* either.

At her Parisian *hôtel*, Marie de Hautefort, duchesse de Schomberg, also kept her prie-dieu simple.¹¹³ Similar to her sister-in-law's (the duchesse de Liancourt's) cabinet, it was simply decorated with four small paintings and a crucifix:

Table 1.4 The duchesse de Schomberg's prie-dieu¹¹⁴

Dans le Prie Dieu	
Item trois chaises couverts de pail, ¹¹⁵ avec les carreaux couverts de serge grise, un sierge ployant couvert de brocard a fleurs, deux vieiles carreaux couverts de cuir d'ore, un grand fauteuil couvert de serge verte, un carreau couvert de mesme serge, deux autres petites carreaux couverts de brocatelle de laine fil, prisé et estimé ensemble la somme de quatre livres	iiii ll
Item environ six aulnes de vieil cuir dore, et aussy environ neuf a dix aulnes de serge verte, le tout servant de tapisserie aud[it] prie dieu, et quatre rideau dun led[it] chacun servant a la fenestre ayant veue sur l'eglise des madelonetes et de portier, prisez ensemble douze livres	xii ll
Item une croix de bois de noyes, sur laquelle est altashé un couronne d'Epine, et quatre petites tableaux peintre scavoir un sur toile representant st bernard garny de sa bordure noir, le deux[iem]e peint sur bois representant un teste de mort sans bordure, et les deux autres d'Estampes l'un representant la vierge tenant jesus entre ses bras garny de sa bordure de bois, et l'autre representant la scene ¹¹⁶ de notre seigneur et garny de sa bordure noir, prise le tout ensemble la somme de quarente solz	xl s

The last chapter showed how the duchesse de Schomberg welcomed audiences of the spiritual elite into her Parisian *hôtel* to hear sermons. This evidence reveals that she had also applied some degree of rigorist stylistic restraint there, which may have earned her more favour with Longueville and her spiritual friends.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ The location of the Hôtel de Schomberg is shown in Map 1.6 in Appendix C.

¹¹⁴ AN, MC, ET/CVIII/219, 20 August 1691, 'Dans le prie-dieu.'

¹¹⁵ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Poil: ce qui croit sur la peau de l'animal,' vol. 2, 407.

¹¹⁶ *La cène de Notre Seigneur*.

¹¹⁷ The last chapter showed how Longueville was surprised by the duchesse de Schomberg's piety in 1664, see above, p. 73. A more comprehensive study of probate inventories would probably confirm the way the rigorist style came to be adopted by Port-Royal sympathizers. For example, the probate inventory of the duchesse de Liancourt's half-sister and later the daughter-in-law of the princesse de Guéméné, Jeanne-Armande de Schomberg, duchesse de Montbazou, describes a sober cabinet and chamber where the duchess died, see: AN, MC ET/CXIII/221, 5 August 1706.

Rigorist penitents' cabinets did not conform to contemporary depictions or to modern historiographical definitions of the space. In some cases, the paucity of their cabinets may have compensated for the grandeur that typified other rooms in the aristocratic Parisian *hôtel*. For example, in the Hôtel de Liancourt the character of the duchess' oratory can be contrasted with the 'chamber of mirrors' which contained a number of valuable paintings, one of which was estimated at 500 *livres*.¹¹⁸ Crucially, when a penitent wrote to her spiritual friends to communicate her experience of penitence in the oratory, cabinet, or prie-dieu where she pursued solitude, she knew her recipient was reading the letter in a similar environment. The coherence of the rigorist friendship network was therefore not only reinforced through friendship choices and exclusive sociability, but also through the material culture of their domestic devotional spaces.

As well as providing evidence of the distinctive aristocratic, rigorist material culture, these inventories also permit us to rule out the types of devotional practices that were not part of female penitents' pious regimes. Perhaps the absence of rosary beads, relics and devotional figurines in their cabinets reinforced their identity as the spiritual elite who did not require these tools to advance their spiritual progress? The next part of the chapter will consider further evidence for their spiritual superiority by examining the contents of rigorist chapels.

3. Domestic Devotional Spaces (ii) The Chapel

Rigorist women used private chapels alongside parish churches for worship. Their relationships with the convent churches were outlined in the last chapter and their testaments

¹¹⁸ AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/251, 'Dans la chambre aux miroirs.'

also reveal attachments to various Parisian parishes.¹¹⁹ The duchesse de Longueville was a parishioner of one of the most ‘rigorist’ churches in Paris: Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas. She made donations to the poor of the parish as well as a bequest to the church which facilitated its completion in 1684.¹²⁰ Her entrails were later moved to a chapel within the church accompanied by the following dedication:

Anne Geneviève de Bourbon princesse du sang, duchesse douairière de Longueville souveraine de neufchastel, triste mais précieux dépôt, dieu la conduist par une providence particulière en cette paroisse et lui fit trouver dans la maison des carmélites qui lui avoit toujours été chere, la solitude qu’elle cherchoit dans une grande multitude de pauvres un exercice perpetuel à sa charite et dans cette église ruinée une occasion d’élever un temple au seigneur, monument éternel de sa piété et de sa foi; enfin pleine du mérite et de bonnes oeuvres detachée de toutes choses de la vie même et toute occupée des pensées de l’éternité elle mourust le 15 avril 1679 agée de 59 ans 7 mois.¹²¹

The princesse de Conti worshipped at Saint-André-des-Arts where her tomb was built after her death and later removed in 1793.¹²² For Liancourt and Brienne, despite its anti-‘Jansenist’ reputation, Saint-Sulpice was their preferred parish and the frequent recipient of their charity.¹²³ The company of priests established by Olier at Saint-Sulpice was probably part of

¹¹⁹ See Appendix B.

¹²⁰ Jules Goddé, *Histoire et description de l’église de Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1883), 131.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 131.

¹²² See Figure 1.2 in Appendix C, taken from Dean Walker, ‘Decorative Panels by François Girardon from the Tomb of the princesse de Conti,’ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 15 (1980): 143 – 48; Patricia Ranum, ‘Un ‘foyer d’Italianisme’ chez les Guises: quelque réflexions sur les oratorios de Charpentier,’ in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: un musicien retrouvé*, ed. Catherine Cessac (Liège: Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles 2005), 86.

¹²³ The testaments of the comtesse de Brienne and duchesse de Liancourt demonstrate this connection; see Appendix B transcriptions of AN, 4 AP, 168 and AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/0250, 8 June 1674. The Liancourts also had a contract with the Parish *fabrique* drawn up on 30 January 1646 to regulate the use of a chapel within the church; AN, MC, ET/XLIII/47, 30 January 1646. The terms were that the Confraternity of Saint-Michel were permitted to their customary services each Sunday and then ‘en sorte qu’a huit heures du matin de chacun dimanche lad[i]te chapelle soit laissée libre aud[it] seigneur et dame.’

the attraction.¹²⁴ Parish priests were not always accommodating to rigorists however, as the duc de Liancourt found when he was refused absolution by the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice until he agreed to renounce Jansen's 'Augustinus.'¹²⁵

The private, domestic chapel was probably used more regularly than the parish church for daily devotions. Expenses entered in the household accounts of the princesse de Conti demonstrate the services habitually celebrated at her chapel in Paris.¹²⁶ Payments began in 1655 to the chaplain Ricard for the celebration of 30 masses at the Hôtel de Conti and to one *père* Martin for 40 masses in the same chapel.¹²⁷ Regular payments were made by the Conti's for masses, candles and other related costs throughout the sixteen years covered by the accounts.¹²⁸ Most residences inhabited by the early modern European elite contained private chapels and the Council of Trent delegated responsibility for their supervision to bishops.¹²⁹ Jean-François de Gondi (1584 – 1654), archbishop of Paris, permitted the prince and

¹²⁴ *La compagnie des prêtres de Saint-Sulpice: histoire, mission et esprit* (Paris: Compagnie des Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice, 1985).

¹²⁵ Geoffrey Treasure, *Mazarin: The Crisis of Absolutism in France* (London: Routledge, 1997), 296. On the episode at Saint-Sulpice, see Antoine Arnauld, *Lettre d'un docteur de Sorbonne à une personne de condition sur ce qui est arrivé depuis peu dans une paroisse de Paris à un seigneur de la cour* (Paris: n.p., 1655).

¹²⁶ The location of the Hôtel de Conti is shown in Map 1.7 in Appendix C.

¹²⁷ AN, R³, 101, ff. 56 - 7: 'Faict despence le dict sieur Jasse a la somme de huit livres quil a payée au sieur Ricard prestre pour trente messes quil a celebrée en la chappelle de l'hostel par le commandement de son altesse serenissime madame suivant l'ordonnance et quit[t]ance du dix huitiesme jour de May mil six cens cinquante et cinq'; 'la somme de trente livres payée au pere Martin cordeler pour quarente messes quil a aussy celebrees en ladicte chappelle suivant l'ordonnance et qui[t]tance du douziesme jour de septembre mil six cens cinquante cinq.'

¹²⁸ For example: AN, R³, 102, fo. 208: a payment of 144 livres to an *abbé* from the cordeliers for masses said in the Hôtel de Condé throughout 1656; AN, R³, 103, ff. 225 – 26: a payment of 90 livres to the princess' chaplain monsieur Tesnières for candles for the chapel between 1 April and 31 December 1657. Similar expenses can be found between 1658 and 1667: AN, R³, 105, ff. 324 – 25; AN, R³, 106, ff. 270 – 71; AN, R³, 108, fo. 414; AN, R³, 111, fo. 242; AN, R³, 112, fo. 327; AN, R³, 113 ff. 39 – 41; AN, R³, 114, fo. 106.

¹²⁹ Banner, 'Private Rooms,' 82; Annabel Ricketts with Claire Gapper and Caroline Knight, 'Designing for Protestant Worship: The Private Chapels of the Cecil Family,' in *Defining the Holy*, eds. Spicer and Hamilton, 116; Philippe Loupes, 'Villégiature et dévotion privée: les chapelles domestiques en Bordelais au XVIIIe siècle,' in *Homo Religiosus autour de Jean Delumeau* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 108.

princesse de Guéméné to celebrate mass in their chapel at the Hôtel de Guéméné in the parish of Saint-Paul, for example, in a letter dated 14 July 1652.¹³⁰

The Church issued guidelines to regulate the interiors of places of worship.¹³¹ Parish churches were monitored by local Bishops. Borromeo's regulations for his diocese of Milan insisted that parishes respected proprieties.¹³² In France, visitation records show that statues of saints in chapels that were deemed too 'familiar' or 'indecent' were to be removed.¹³³ After the Council of Trent, the high altar was to be the focal point as an affirmation of the doctrine of the real presence.¹³⁴ The Body of Christ was to be kept on the altar in a tabernacle, which would often have been made of wood or *bronze doré*.¹³⁵

The Catholic Church did not discourage 'plus démonstrative' devotions nonetheless.¹³⁶ Paintings and sculptures were not just limited to the High Altar; other 'ornements immeubles, fresques, stucs and bas-reliefs' could be displayed throughout the church interior.¹³⁷ The veneration of relics and devotional images were sanctioned by the Church Fathers at Trent so long as they 'moved to adore and love God and cultivate piety,' and their usage became one

¹³⁰ AN, 273 AP, 145, Paris, 14 July 1652: 'Concession de droit de chapelle: Lettre de Jean-François de Gondi archevêque de Paris au prince Louis de Rohan prince de Guéméné lui donnant la permission de faire célébrée la messe et différents offices dans la chapelle de sa maison à Paris dans la paroisse de saint-paul, lieu propre et convenable au culte selon la visite qu'en a faite l'archevêque.'

¹³¹ J. Vanuxem, 'La querelle du luxe dans les églises après le Concile du Trent,' *Revue des Arts* (1974): 48 – 58.

¹³² Christian Michel, 'Art religieux et représentation du divin,' in *Histoire du Christianisme*, vol. IX, 'L'âge de raison, 1620 – 1750,' ed. Venard, 1036.

¹³³ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 241.

¹³⁴ Michel, 'Art religieux et représentation du divin,' 1036.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 1038.

¹³⁶ Tallon considered 'plus démonstrative' devotions to typify the Baroque; see Tallon, *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, 89.

¹³⁷ Michel, 'Art religieux et représentation du divin,' 1038.

of the essential elements of European Baroque Catholicism and the Jesuit missions beyond Europe.¹³⁸ The procedure for the authentication of relics was reformed by the post-Tridentine Church.¹³⁹ Archaeological excavations were to be carried out under a papal official (the prefect of the cemeteries), or under the instruction of a private individual with a papal permit, and relics were submitted to local ordinaries for authentication certificates.¹⁴⁰ It was often pious widows who were able to devote the time and resources to these processes. For example, Anna Barberini, who was the wife of Pope Urban VIII's (1568 – 1644) nephew Taddeo Barberini, requested papal permission to acquire some of Philip Neri's body to present to the Oratory in Naples.¹⁴¹ Relics were often donated to religious institutions in this way and were also exchanged among the social elite as gifts.¹⁴² The possession and display of holy artefacts such as relics in private chapels was also a reflection of social superiority and had been a fashionable practice for the Christian elite since the late fourth century.¹⁴³ Philip II

¹³⁸ H. J. Schroeder, ed., *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (Rockford: Tan Books and Publishers, 1978), 219; Von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 46. See, for example, the importance of relics in Jeffrey Chipps Smith, 'Salvaging Saints: The Rescue and Display of Relics in Munich during the Early Catholic Reformation,' in *Art, Piety and Destruction in the Christian West, 1500 – 1700*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 24 – 43.

¹³⁹ The rediscovery of the relics in the Roman catacombs of Priscilla in 1578 had revived the cult of relics since Constantine first opened the tombs in the fourth century; see Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 86; and Aviad Kleinberg, *Histoires de saints: leur rôle dans la formation de l'Occident*; traduit de l'hébreu par Moshé Méron (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 53.

¹⁴⁰ Trevor Johnson, 'Holy Fabrications: The Catacomb Saints and the Counter Reformation in Bavaria,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 47, no. 2 (April, 1996): 276.

¹⁴¹ Marilyn Dunn, 'Piety and Patronage in Seicento Rome: Two Noblewomen and their Convents,' *The Art Bulletin*, 76, no. 4 (December, 1994): 645. On Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Vincenzo Barberini), see *Dictionnaire historique de la paupauté*; sous la direction de Philippe Levillain; comité composé de Philippe Boutry et al. (Paris: Fayard, 1994), 1683 – 86.

¹⁴² Cynthia J. Cupples, 'Plus que l'exemple de ses saintes vertus': Catholic Women and the Communication of Relics in Seventeenth-Century France,' *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 31 (2003): 19.

¹⁴³ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 93.

collected a colossal number of relics during his rule; the figure is usually estimated at around seven-thousand.¹⁴⁴

The rigorists were not critical of relics *per se*. The miracle cure of Pascal's niece Marguerite Périer after her contact with a relic from Christ's Crown of Thorns was celebrated at Port-Royal in Paris.¹⁴⁵ Even Longueville commented upon this:

Dieu est le maistre de tout cela il faut s'en remettre a la providence nous venons de voir un miracle de la s[ain]te espine devant nos yeux.¹⁴⁶

It was the 'plus démonstrative' kinds of devotion that relics were used for which the Port-Royalists detested.¹⁴⁷ Art historians have demonstrated how they had similar views about paintings and their place in cabinets.¹⁴⁸ Pascal denounced the image in his 'Pensées' when he ruminated: 'How vain painting is, exciting admiration by its resemblance to things of which we do not admire the originals!'¹⁴⁹ The rigorists also discouraged church ornamentation and there is probably some truth in the assertion that it was only their 'fastidious Catholicism' ... 'which prevented them declaring themselves iconoclastic.'¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴ Anderson, 'The Material Culture of Domestic Religion,' vol. 1, 113. On the royal collection and its symbolism, see Guy Lazure, 'Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60, no. 1 (Spring, 2007): 58 – 93.

¹⁴⁵ Doyle, *Jansenism*, 29. I discuss the presence of relics at the château de La Roche-Guyon below, pp. 178 – 82.

¹⁴⁶ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 87 – 8, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 14 October 1661.

¹⁴⁷ Tallon, *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, 89; see above, footnote 136.

¹⁴⁸ Lorenzo Pericolo, *Philippe de Champaigne: Philippe, homme sage et vertueux, essai sur l'art et l'oeuvre de Philippe de Champaigne* (Tournai: Renaissance du Livre, 2002), 231.

¹⁴⁹ Krailsheimer, ed., *Blaise Pascal: Pensées*, 8; also cited in Besançon, *The Forbidden Image*, 190.

¹⁵⁰ Besançon, *The Forbidden Image*, 193.

Aristocratic penitents could not always adhere to this rigorist material stringency in their chapels. Unlike the more modest, private space of the cabinet, its interior was more likely to have been shaped by social and cultural norms as much as personal spirituality.¹⁵¹ Aristocratic chapels exhibited family coats of arms, emblems, and religious heirlooms such as paintings. Relics were also required for any officially consecrated altar.¹⁵² The inventories also betray how chapel furnishings and colour schemes corresponded with prevailing trends, as we will discuss shortly. Nevertheless, the evidence shows that even elite rigorists were compliantly moderate in their use of devotional ornamentation:

Table 1.5 The chapel at the Hôtel de Liancourt ¹⁵³

Item deux petits prie Dieu couverts de moquette, ¹⁵⁴ avec chacun un orillier ¹⁵⁵ aussy couverte de moquette, Un fauteuil garny d'un vieux brocard bleui, Un carreau dessus de Brocatelle ¹⁵⁶ d'un coste a fond jaulne et fleurs rouge, Un tapis de petite estoffe de fil laine a fond blanc servant a couvrir l'Autel, Une chasuble ¹⁵⁷ de taffetas rouge doublée de taffetas blanc garnye destolle, ¹⁵⁸ et manipulle, ¹⁵⁹ Un Voil de calice de pareille taffetas rouge et doublé de taffetas blanc, avec Une petite	
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¹⁵¹ A point made by Anderson in 'The Material Culture of Domestic Religion,' vol. 1, 225.

¹⁵² Arthur Urbano, 'Donation, Dedication and Damnatio Memoriae: The Catholic Reconciliation of Ravenna and the Church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo,' *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 13, no. 1 (Spring, 2005): 89. The types of relics that rigorist women did own are discussed below, p. 181.

¹⁵³ AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/251, 16 July 1674, 'Dans la chapelle.'

¹⁵⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Moquette: espèce d'étoffe de laine dont le tissu et semblable à celui du velours,' vol. 2, 169.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*: 'Oreiller: cousin servant à soutenir la tête,' vol. 2, 264; here probably a cushion for the arms or knees.

¹⁵⁶ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Brocatel: tinsel, or cloth of gold or silver,' n.p.n.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*: 'Chasube: a fashion of cape that opens only in the sides and is worn at Mass both by the priest and his deacons who have it square in the bottome,' n.p.n.

¹⁵⁸ Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*: 'Stole: a liturgical vestment consisting of a long narrow strip of coloured material. In the Western Church it is typically worn by a deacon but is also a vestment worn by a priest around the neck. It is worn at the Eucharist and when administering other sacraments and when preaching,' 1545.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*: 'Maniple: a strip of silk two to four inches wide and a little over a yard in length, sometimes worn over the left arm by the ministers at Mass...in post-Tridentine times it came to be confined to those who had attained at least the rank of subdeacon,' 1028.

dantelle or et argent autour dud[it] Voille, Un petit orillier de vieille tapisserie, une aube ¹⁶⁰ detoille blanche, avec led[it] cordon ¹⁶¹ et houpe de fil, ¹⁶² et Un amicque ¹⁶³ aussy de toille, prisé en semble avec une petite sonnette ¹⁶⁴ de cuivre et deux nappes d'autel vingt huit livres	xxviii ll
Item une moyenne croix et deux petits chandelliers, Deux burettes, ¹⁶⁵ Un petit bassin a laver, et un callice, ¹⁶⁶ avec sa patene, ¹⁶⁷ garny de son estuy le tout d'argent, prisé a raison de vingt six livres	
Item Un tableau Representant une nativite du Bassan, ¹⁶⁸ avec sa bordure dorée, prisé et estimé Deux cens livres	iiC ll
Item deux reliquaires de Cuivre d'oré, prisez avec un missel Romain Quatre livres dix solz	iiii ll xs

Two 'small' prie-dieu with kneeling cushions and one chair constituted the moveable furniture in the Liancourt chapel. Many of the other items listed were apparatus used or worn by the chaplain or cleric delivering services: A Roman Missel, a red chasuble lined with white taffeta and a matching chalice cover fringed with gold lace, a white cassock made of

¹⁶⁰ Maral, *La chapelle royale*: 'Aube: longue robe de toile blanche portée par le prêtre, le diacre et le sous diacre à la messe,' 436; also defined by Cotgrave as a priest's 'albe' or alb, Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*, n.p.n; and by the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* as: 'vêtement ecclésiastique qui est fait de toile blanche et qui descend jusqu'aux talons,' vol. 1, 126.

¹⁶¹ Maral, *La chapelle royale*: 'Cordon: ceinture formée d'une tresse qui sert à retenir l'aube autour des reins,' 441.

¹⁶² *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Houpe: assemblage de plusieurs filets de laine ou de soie liés ensemble comme par bouquets...la houpe d'un cordon,' vol. 1, 889.

¹⁶³ Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*: 'Amict, or amice; a square or oblong linen cloth with strings attached worn by the celebrant of the Eucharist,' 52; Courtin did not identify this in his transcription at http://www.centrechastel.paris-sorbonne.fr/publication_sources_corpus/inventaires-hotels-paris/14_Liancourt.pdf [accessed November 13, 2011].

¹⁶⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Sonnette: espèce de clochette fort petite dont on se sert pour appeler ou pour avertir,' vol. 2, 741.

¹⁶⁵ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Burette: a little cruet, violl, or bottle for ayle or vinegar,' n.p.n; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Burette: il se dit particulièrement des petits vases où l'on met le vin et l'eau pour dire la messe,' vol. 1, 226.

¹⁶⁶ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Calice: a chalice, or drinking cup,' n.p.n; Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*: 'Chalice: the cup used to contain the wine consecrated in the Eucharist,' 316; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Calice: le vase sacré où se fait la consécration du vin dans le sacrifice de la messe,' vol. 1, 235.

¹⁶⁷ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: A 'patine' is a cover of a chalice, n.p.n; also called 'discus,' see Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 489, and 1230 on 'paten.'

¹⁶⁸ Probably Francesco da Ponte Bassano the Elder (1475 – 1530).

cloth, two cruets, a chalice and paten, a water font and a white altar cloth. This *paramentique* was among the items sanctioned by the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent for celebrating mass.¹⁶⁹ Although it conformed to traditional Catholic iconography, the art in the chapel (one painting of the Nativity) was not the rich ‘visual expression of faith’ that typified Baroque spaces.¹⁷⁰

The chapel in the Hôtel de Schomberg is not documented, but the remaining inventories show that other women in the friendship network worshipped in similar spaces to Liancourt. In the Guéméné chapel, a prie-dieu covered in crimson velvet placed over a white carpet was adorned with three black cushions. On the wall was a piece of tapestry embroidered with the arms of the household and two gold chandeliers. Another wooden *tablette* was probably used to rest books upon or for writing.¹⁷¹ There were more paintings in the marquise de Gamaches’ chapel but they were simple pieces which reached a total valuation of just 12 *livres*.¹⁷² Besides one crucifix, there were no other objects described within it which were not ecclesiastical vestments, and even in the *vaisselle d’argent*, a chalice, paten, bell, water stoup and two *burettes* were the only objects designated for use in the chapel.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Schroeder, ed., *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 149.

¹⁷⁰ John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 189. The duchesse de Liancourt may also have limited the devotional ornaments in the parish churches surrounding her estates to ‘les ornements les plus necessaires’ according to her testament; see Appendix B, p. 345, below.

¹⁷¹ AN, MC, ET/LXXXVII/207, 25 February 1667, ‘En la chapelle,’ taken 2 March 1667: ‘Item un morceau de tapisserie faisant le tapis de lad[ite] chapelle...item un prie dieu de velours rouge cramoisy...garny d’un passement d’or d’argent...item trois carreaux scavoir deux de draps noir... item une petite tablette de bois...item deux chandeliers de bois dore.’

¹⁷² AN, MC, ET/XCI/564, 12 January 1705, ‘En la chapelle.’ The paintings listed were: ‘Item un tableau peint sur toile estans au devant de l’autel representant la vierge av[ec] son fils, garny d’or sa bordure de bois doré, un autre tableau representant aussy la vierge, avec sa bordure de bois doré, un autre representant St Jean, un autre la vierge et son fils et St Joseph, tous avec leurs bordures de bois doré prisé le tout ensemble douze livres.’

¹⁷³ *Ibid*: The crucifix was described as ‘Un Christ de plomb bronze sur une croix de bois noircy prise vingt sous.’ The *vaisselle* described: ‘item un calice avec sa patene d’argent d’ore, deux burettes, une sonnette, un bassin.’

Religious decoration was also conspicuously absent from Longueville's chapel. Located on the rue Saint-Thomas du Louvre in the parish of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, the Hôtel de Longueville was later sold by the duchess after the death of her son Charles-Paris in 1672. Longueville spent the majority of her final years either at the Carmelite convent on the rue Saint-Jacques or away from the city altogether, so it is unlikely that the chapel was being used by her regularly in the 1670s. Even if it was, it had probably altered in appearance after Longueville was widowed in 1663. Usefully however, the document does permit a glimpse into the material environment of the *hôtel* nine years after Longueville had converted:

Table 1.6 The chapel at the Hôtel de Longueville ¹⁷⁴

Item un parem[en]t de velours noir, ou Il y a une croix de satin blancq, Un aultre parement de velours noir, ou Il y a une croix de moire ¹⁷⁵ dargent aud[it] ornem[en]t tant du hault que de bas de lhostel, garny dune petite dentalle frange et mollet dargent, plus le chasube, le voile, fanon, ¹⁷⁶ et la bourse, ¹⁷⁷ deux orilliers de velours de pareille parrure, une vierge sur un petit pied debenne noire, le tout prisé ensemble a la somme de trois cens Cinquante livres	iii C L II
Item une croix, deux chandelliers, Un au[tre] benitier, le coupillon, ¹⁷⁸ une boette a mettre le pain, Une sonnette, Un calice avecq sa patenne, deux burettes, et le bassin, le tout de vermeil doré, le tout prisé a la somme de neuf cens trente livres	ix C xxxII

¹⁷⁴ AN, MC, ET/XXXVI/202, 12 June 1663. The location of the Hôtel de Longueville is shown in Map 1.8 in Appendix C.

¹⁷⁵ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Moire: étoffe ordinairement toute de soie et qui à le grain fort serré,' vol. 2, 157.

¹⁷⁶ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Fanon: a scarf like ornament worne in the left arm of a sacrificing priest,' n.p.n; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Fanon signifie encore cet ornement de la larger d'une étole que les prêtres et les diacres portent au bras et qu'on appelle ordinairement un manipule,' vol. 1, 719; Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*: 'Fanon: the word has been applied to several accessories of religious worship, apparently common to all being the fact that they are made from an embroidered piece of stuff,' 598.

¹⁷⁷ Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*: 'Burse: a cover consisting of two squares of stiffened material' used to cover the Eucharist,' 255.

¹⁷⁸ Aspergillum; see *Ibid*: 'Asperges: in the Western Church, the sprinkling of holy water over the altar and people after the entrance rite at Mass on Sundays,' 108.

Resembling Liancourt’s chapel, many of the items described were requisite for services, rather than superfluous decorations or instruments for personal worship. Although the total valuation is far greater in the Longueville than Liancourt chapel, the statue of the Virgin on a black ebony base and a crucifix are the only clear adventitious pieces which were not of necessity for the mass or the canonical hours. Even within the *gardemeubles*, there was little evidence that Longueville’s personal devotions were mediated through, or aided by, material objects:

Table 1.7 The sacristy at the Hôtel de Longueville ¹⁷⁹

Item deux parem[en]ts dautel scavoir le hault et le bas, avecq une chasuble, estolle, et fanon, la bourse, et levollet, avecq un grand sacq et deux petits orriliers, Un grand tapis de pied de quatre lez, avecq deux grande Carreaux garnye de houppes, deux rideaux de damacs, et un voile de satin le tout en broderye d’or garny de frange mollets et crespine d’or d’étincelle, ¹⁸⁰ avecq les armes de mondit seigneur son altesse de long[ue]v[i]lle prisé le tout a la somme de deux mil cinq cens livres	ii 9 v ^c ll
Item deux au[tres] parem[en]ts d’autel, dont lun hault et lautre bas, ou sont rep[resen]tez en l’un un crucifix, et lau[tre] une n[ot]re dame depitié, avecq soleils ¹⁸¹ et escussons, ¹⁸² le tout en broderye, le chasuble de mesme avecq estoyes mesme broderye, Les escussons, lestolle, le fanon, le tout de velours rouge cramoisy, prise le tout a la so[mme] de deux cens livres	ii c ll
Une chasuble, estoile, fanon, la bourse, et le vollet, avecq un petit orillier, le tout de damacs, le chasuble garny de dentelle et petit mollet en argent, et les escussons aux armes de la maison, et le voile de tafetas avecq une croix en broderye or et argent, prise le tout a la somme de quatre vingt dix livres	iiii ^{xx} x ll
Item un chasuble de toile dor a fleurs de soye feuillemort, avecq une croix de toile dargent a fleurs de soye incarnat, la bourse, et le vollet de	

¹⁷⁹ AN, MC, ET/XXXVI/202, 12 June 1663, ‘En suivent les ornements du chappelle trouvez dans le gardemeubles.’

¹⁸⁰ *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*: ‘Étincelle: en termes de Blason on appelle écu étincelle,’ vol. 1, 678.

¹⁸¹ ‘Soleil’ could refer to a type of gold, according to Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*, n.p.n. Another possible translation might be a sunflower.

¹⁸² ‘Escutcheon,’ or a heraldic badge or coat of arms; *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*: ‘Ecusson: écu d’armoiries se dit qu’en termes de Blason,’ vol. 1, 590.

toille dor, et le voile de toille dargent, et deux petits orilliers estoille, et fanon, et le devant d'autel ¹⁸³ de toille dargent a fleurs couleurs de Citron, et une croix de mesme celle du chasuble, prise le tout ensemb[le] a la somme de Soix[an]te livres	lx ll
Item trois devans dautel, lun de toille dargent en broderye dor, un au[tre] detoille dargent a fleurs d'or, et l'[autre] de toille argent et soye verte avecq fleurs or et soye, prise la tout a la somme de six vingts livres	vi xx ll
Item un Parem[en]t dautel de velours rouge cramoisy chamarré dun grand passm[en]t a jour, et une Croix du St esprit de pareil passm[en]t armoye des armes de la maison, avecq des mollets le tout or et argent led[it] par[e]m[en]t content le hault et bas de lautel, prisé a la somme de cent quatre vingts livres	Ciiii ^{xx} ll
Item un au[tre] parem[en]t dautel de velours de roze sache, content hault et bas de lautel, ou sont rep[resen]tez un crucifix et n[otr]e dame depitie, armoiriez [en les] ¹⁸⁴ armes de la maison, prisé le tout a la somme de soix[an]te et quinze livres	lxxv ll
Item une grande chaise de commodité ¹⁸⁵ renversee, garnye de velours rouge, cont[enant] une Imperiale ¹⁸⁶ garnye de velours dessus, et dedans de damacs avecq sept rideaux de damacs, avecq son siege ployant, et planchette, aussy de velours, garny par quelque endroits de mollet or et argent, prisée a la somme de deux cens livres	ii c ll
Item une piece de tapisserye de trois lez de satin blancq et noir, et trois lez de brocatelle, prisé a la somme de vingt livres	xx ll

Rigorist women may not have translated the austerity of Port-Royal into their *hotels*. The chasubles, altar cloths and other textiles used to celebrate the mass in the Hôtel de Longueville were clearly lavish and many were embellished with the arms of the House of Orléans. The chapel was also decked-out in fashionable colours; ‘citron’ was a pale yellow which had been used at Nicolas Fouquet’s (1615 – 1680) Vaux-le-Vicomte, and the ‘vibrant pinkish-red shade’ ‘incarnat’ was very much in vogue.¹⁸⁷ Crucially however, like the Port-

¹⁸³ *Ibid*: ‘Devant d’autel’ is cited as an altar cloth, vol. 1, 136.

¹⁸⁴ This word is unclear.

¹⁸⁵ *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*: ‘Chaise de commodité’ is listed but not defined specifically, vol. 1, 269.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*: ‘Impériale: le dessus d’un carrosse, on dit aussi l’imperiale du lict,’ vol. 1, 908.

¹⁸⁷ Bonahan, ‘Color Schemes and Decorative Tastes,’ 118.

Royalists they did reject the experiential forms of worship which historians like Tallon and Châtellier found were ‘traits caractéristiques de la piété baroque.’¹⁸⁸

Framing this devotional culture as ‘anti-Baroque’ presents problems. The term itself was not used as a stylistic category until the nineteenth century and its application to France is even more contentious.¹⁸⁹ Louis XIV’s finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert’s (1619 – 1683) efforts to elevate the French classicist style over the European Baroque were unremitting in this period.¹⁹⁰ French classicism was always competing against its influences, nevertheless. Many French artists were inspired by Venetian and Roman art, and Louis XIV and his court certainly succumbed to its charms. As the last chapter noted, court music was directed by the Italian-born Lully and devotions there replicated the theatricality of the Spanish and Italian Baroque cultures of worship.¹⁹¹ The absence of musical instruments, Baroque artistic oeuvres, or any other expressions of its extravagance, suggests that this was not reproduced in rigorist chapels.

¹⁸⁸ Châtellier, *L’Europe des dévots*, 170.

¹⁸⁹ The term was coined in Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und barock: eine untersuchung über wesen und entstehung des Barockstils in Italien, Bearbeitung und Kommentar von Hans Rose 1888* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1926). On the concept, see also Robert N. Nicolich, ‘Classicism and Baroque in ‘le bourgeois gentilhomme,’’ *The French Review*, Special Issue, no. 4 (Spring, 1972): 21; René Wellek, ‘The Concept of the Baroque in Literary Scholarship,’ *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 5, no. 2 (December, 1946): 80 – 81; and W. Frederich, ‘Late Renaissance, Baroque or Counter Reformation?’ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 46, no. 2 (April, 1947): 132 – 43. Claims that the material output of the entire Baroque period (1600 – 1750) was ‘Catholic-Reformation art’ are also mistaken, even the Popes of the sixteenth century would have been shocked by the sensuousness and liveliness of the High Baroque; see Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600 – 1750*; revised by Joseph Connors and Jennifer Montagu (3 volumes, 6th edn, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), vol. 2, ‘High Baroque, 1625 – 1675,’ 3.

¹⁹⁰ This was exemplified by Colbert’s decision in 1665 to recruit Claude Perrault (1613 – 1688) to make the changes to the Louvre, not Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598 – 1680); see Isherwood, ‘The Centralization of Music,’ 158; Andrew P. Trout, *Jean-Baptiste Colbert* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 179; and Maland, *Culture and Society*, 240 – 50.

¹⁹¹ Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700* (5th edn, London: Yale University Press, 1999), 138.

The evidence of rigorist penitents' probate inventories reinforces this thesis' argument that the style of court worship may have impelled their dislocation from it in the years after their conversions.¹⁹² Just as their correspondence shows little sign of their interest in public displays of piety, such as 'processions and pèlerinages', the absence of devotional apparel in notarial lists of their possessions suggests that Baroque and its modes found no place in rigorist *hôtels*.¹⁹³ The next part of this chapter will evaluate how unique their culture of worship and its material expression was.

4. An Alternative Devotional Style?

Most of the evidence in the inventories points to a generational shift in the forms of worship that rigorist penitents practised compared to those of the *dévots*. Their apparent reluctance to use the rosary, relics and other effects suggests they too rejected the 'easy devotions' that were ridiculed by Pascal in his 'Provincial Letters':

salute the Holy Virgin when you come upon images of her; recite the little rosary of the ten pleasures of the Virgin; frequently utter the name of Mary; charge the angels with paying her our respects; desire to build more Churches to her name than all the monarchs of the world put together have done; greet her every morning and evening; and say the Ave Maria every day.¹⁹⁴

A comparison of rigorist penitents' inventories with those of their antecedents might highlight further changes in their material cultures of devotion.¹⁹⁵ There are some signs of a

¹⁹² This argument was made in the last chapter, see above, pp. 114 – 21.

¹⁹³ The epistolary evidence for their attitude towards these kinds of devotions were discussed in the last chapter. Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots*, 170; Tallon, *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, 89.

¹⁹⁴ Blaise Pascal, *The Provincial Letters*; translated with an introduction by A. J. Krailsheimer (London: Penguin, 1982), Letter IX, 132.

¹⁹⁵ For example, an inventory of Longueville's mother's appurtenances highlights this shift; see MC, Chantilly, 1 – A – 006, 'Extraic[t] de l'inventaire fait après le décès de deffunt très haulte très excellente très puissante princesse madame Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, le neufiesme jour de janvier mil six cens cinquante un.' She owned devotional 'aids' such as 'une petite medalle d'or representant l'an[n]onciation...prise cinq

*dévo*t heritage in rigorist inventories however, which must not be disregarded. Images of the Virgin, the Holy Family and the Nativity in rigorist cabinets and chapels show a degree of attachment to traditional cults.¹⁹⁶ *Dévo*t piety was characterized, according to Châtellier, by ‘les dévotions traditionnelles comme le culte de la Vierge...et la révérence particulière envers les saints personnages qui ont conservé la sainte innocence.’¹⁹⁷ The legacy of these devotions is also traceable in the probate inventory of the Briennes:

Table 1.8 The chapel at the Hôtel de Brienne¹⁹⁸

Dans la chappelle de ladite maison	
Item un tableau peint sur cuivre represent[ant] nostre seigneur dans le jardin des olliviers, avec sa bordure doree, prise la somme de quinze livres	
Item un tableau peint sur marbre, ou est represente une annonciation garny des bordures de bois de venice en facon de chappelle, ou il y a deux figures sur ce fronton, ¹⁹⁹ prise la somme de seize livres	
Item un grand tableau peint sur toille representant saint catherine de sienne, garny de sa bordure dore, prise la somme de seize livres	
Item une crucifix de saint lucie, garny de sa bordure de mesme sur un fond debenne noir, prise la somme de vingt quatre livres	
Item un autre tableau peint sur toille, representant une resurrection garny de sa bordure doree, prise la somme de dix livres	
Item un autre tableau peint sur toille, representant une saint agnes avec sa bordure dorée, prisé la somme de quatre livres	
Item deux autres petite tableaux de miniature, representant saint laurent avec chacune une petit bordure de bois noir, prise pareille somme de huit livres	

livres.’ One approach might be to identify surviving inventories for the *Dames de la Charité* and Parisian women that Diefendorf identified as *dévots* in her prosopography; *From Penitence to Charity*, 253 – 64.

¹⁹⁶ As evident in Tables 1.1, 1.4 and 1.5; Liancourt owned at least three images of the Virgin in her oratory, and one of the Nativity in her oratory and chapel respectively; Schomberg owned one image of the Virgin and one of St Bernard; there was a depiction of the assumption in Guéméné’s cabinet; and there were several images of the Virgin and Holy Family in Gamaches’ chapel. Longueville’s paintings were not listed according to room, but the collection is discussed in its entirety below, p. 172. On what constituted traditional Counter-Reformation iconography, see Émile Mâle, *L’art religieux après le Concile de Trent: étude sur l’iconographie de la fin du XVI siècle, du XVIIe, du XVIIIe siècle: Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres* (Paris: A. Colin, 1932), 229 – 95.

¹⁹⁷ Châtellier, *L’Europe des dévots*, 188 – 89; Gutton briefly discussed the piety of the *confréries* in *Dévots et société*, 27.

¹⁹⁸ AN, 4 AP, 315, 27 January 1667: ‘Inventaire des effets restez apres le deceds de Messire Henry Auguste de Lomenie et de Madame Louise de Beon de Luxembourg son espouse.’

¹⁹⁹ *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*: ‘Fronton de croisée,’ which is an architectural pediment, vol. 1, 376.

Item une teste de veronique, peinte en miniature avec un petit [] dessus garnie de filigranne ²⁰⁰ dor, prisee la somme de seize livres	
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This should not be regarded as a concession which undermines the coherence or distinctiveness of the rigorist friendship network's culture of worship. Rigorist penitents grew-up in *dévo*t *hôtels* and inherited traditional practices, if not individual pieces of art. Additionally, the comtesse de Brienne was one of the older women in the network and may, as chapter one argued, have been more attached to *dévo*t expressions of piety than some of her younger spiritual friends.²⁰¹ An inventory of the jewellery which formed part of her marital dowry also describes a small number of valuable rosaries and one figure of Our Lady, encrusted with diamonds: an exception to the trend in other rigorist *hôtels*.²⁰² It is impossible to know how, or if, Brienne used these but perhaps they would have been less important as she became increasingly rigorist.

There is some evidence to support the hypothesis that rigorist penitents disposed of such items as their piety became more austere. The transformation that might have occurred in rigorist residences in the decades after conversion is charted by the updates the duchesse de Liancourt made to her paintings at the Hôtel de Liancourt. The duchess was renowned for having been an art enthusiast and when John Evelyn (1620 – 1706) visited Paris in 1644, he took notes on the paintings, 'chapelets' and other curiosities that he saw at the *hôtel*:

In one of the rooms of state there was an excellent painting of Poussin, being a satyr kneeling over the chimney, the coronation of the Virgin by Paolo Veronese, another

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*: 'Filigrane: ouvrage d'orsèvrerie travaillé a jour et fait en forme de petit filet,' vol. 1, 745; the subject is illegible.

²⁰¹ See chapter one, above, p. 58.

²⁰² AN, 4 AP, 167, 'Inventaire des Bagues Joyaux et pierreries apporteres par dam[oise]lle Louise de Beon du masses au Messire Henry Auguste de Lomenye son futue espoux en consequent du contract de mariage': 'Item une petit figure de nostre dame en chasee entre deux christaux garnier dore entoures dun chapelle dor esmaille...croix de diamans prise ensemble la somme de cens cinq livres,' 'Item une rozaire damatiste...prise trois cens livres.'

Madonna over the door, and that of Joseph by Cigali, in the Hall a Cavaliero di Malta, attended by his page said to be of Michael Angelo; the Rape of Proserpine, with a very large landscape of Correggio. In the next room are some paintings of Primaticcio especially the Helena, the naked lady brought before Alexander, well-painted, and a Ceres; in the bed chamber a picture of the Cardinal de Liancourt of Raphael, rarely coloured. In the cabinet are divers pieces of Bassano, two of Polemburg, Four of Paulo Brill, the skies a little too blue; a madonna of Nicholao, excellently painted on a stone; a Judith of Mantegna, three women of Jeronimo, one of Stenwick, a Madonna after Titian and a Magdalene of the same hand, as the count esteems it; two small pieces of Paulo Veronese being the martyrdoms of St Justina and St Catherine; a Madonna of Lucas Van Leyden sent them from our King; six more of old Bassano; two excellent drawings of Albert, a Magdalen of Leonardo de Vinci; four of Paulo, a very rare Madonna of Titian given him also by our King, the Ecce Homo shut up in a frame of velvet for the life and accurate finishing exceeding all description...some curious agates and a chaplet of admirable invention, the intaglios being all on fruit stones...the count was so exceedingly civil that he would needs make his lady go out of her dressing room that he might show us the curiosities and pictures in it.²⁰³

Many of these things were not mentioned in the Liancourt inventory of 1674 which suggests that there was a purging of the material environment at the Hôtel de Liancourt in the intervening years. We already know that sometime during this period, the Liancourts sold paintings to the value of 50,000 *écus* and gave the money to the poor.²⁰⁴ The duchess' commitment to rigorist piety and the duke's subsequent conversion perhaps necessitated the sale of these works. The comtesse de Brienne died two years before her probate inventory was produced; had she survived another decade we might expect to see a similar pattern in the Hôtel de Brienne. These sources therefore allow us to measure the transition in Parisian female spirituality from *dévots* to 'penitents': a shift which this thesis takes as its premise.

This chapter has argued thus far that rigorist women were not only distancing their devotions from the simple practices of the *dévots*; the material culture of their Parisian *hôtels* also exhibited their overwhelming indifference towards the devotional practices which came

²⁰³ John Forster, ed., *John Evelyn: Diary and Correspondence: A New Edition, Corrected, Revised and Enlarged* (4 volumes, London: Henry Colburn, 1850), vol. 1, 1 March 1644, 59 – 60; also used by Lesaulnier in 'Les Liancourt, leur hôtel et leurs hôtes.'

²⁰⁴ Barthélemy, *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé*, 224.

to typify Baroque Catholicism. This is not something which other scholars have found. Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun examined 3,000 Parisian inventories produced between 1600 and 1790, and found devotional objects in 45% of households.²⁰⁵ The majority were reliquaries in the form of small vases or boxes made of varnished wood, silver or gold, and other religious figurines.²⁰⁶ The social composition of Pardailhé-Galabrun's sample makes its use here problematic, however.²⁰⁷ Only 2.5% of the inventories analysed itemized aristocratic properties and this is reflected in the findings.²⁰⁸ For example, the study found *prie-dieus* to be a piece of furniture 'rarely' listed, when it was clearly more commonplace in aristocratic *hôtels*.²⁰⁹ A consideration of some non-rigorous, aristocratic inventories might be more relevant to this chapter.²¹⁰ The probate inventory of Anne de Gonzague, princesse Palatine, provides one point of reference.²¹¹ Mother-in-law of Henri-Jules de Bourbon, duc d'Enghien and later prince de Condé (1643 – 1709), the princesse Palatine was also a correspondent of her cousin the duchesse de Longueville in the 1650s.²¹² Unlike her sister Marie-Louise de

²⁰⁵ Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, 2, 202.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 205 – 7.

²⁰⁷ See above, p. 33; I refer to a small sample of three non-rigorous inventories in this chapter to provide a more accurate point of comparison.

²⁰⁸ Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, 23.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 207.

²¹⁰ I identified other non-rigorous inventories which might be used comparatively, but limited the focus to those where the women also had converted or had a reputation for piety; see footnote 88, p. 33, in the Thesis Introduction. My approach was originally to use five comparative inventories as a control sample, but the constraints of space means I have limited this to three; two are used directly here, the other is used later in this chapter. Thanks to Professor Bill Sheils for suggesting the use of a 'control' sample.

²¹¹ AN, MC, ET/XCII/0247, 3 August 1684. Daughter of Catherine de Mayenne (d.1618) and Charles de Gonzague (1580 – 1637), Anne was the younger sister of Marie-Louise de Gonzague (1611 – 1667) who would later become the Queen of Poland. She married Édouard de Bavière in 1645; see AN, MC, ET/LXXIII/379, 1 May 1645. One of their daughters Anne-Henriette married Longueville's nephew and Condé's son Henry-Jules de Bourbon, duc d'Enghien in 1663; See AN, Série K, 541, fo. 29, for the marriage contract dated 28 July 1663. She was also related to the Longuevilles as Henri II d'Orléans' cousin because his mother Catherine de Gonzague (1568 – 1629) and Anne's father Charles de Gonzague (1580 – 1637) were siblings. She was widowed in 1663, converted during the 1670s, and died in 1684.

²¹² BnF, Ms. Clair, 460, ff. 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 205 – 211, 237.

Gonzague, the princess was not a Port-Royal sympathizer nor can she be considered ‘rigorist.’ She defended Molière’s ‘Tartuffe’ in 1664 against Guillaume de Lamoignon (1617 – 1677) and the *dévots* after a performance at her estate at Raincy, only six months after it had been staged at Versailles and censored by the King. Her outlook on the worldly life also diverged from theirs; the princess frequented the court after the marriage of her daughter to Condé’s son. The princesse Palatine did experience a pious conversion in the 1670s which dictated her behaviour in the last decade of her life and makes her a suitable candidate for this comparative discussion.²¹³

An inventory commenced on 3 August 1684 documents the princesse Palatine’s estates at Asnières and Raincy, as well as her Parisian residence on the rue Sainte-Genève in the parish of Saint-Sulpice.²¹⁴ Within this *hôtel*, alongside two chandeliers, a chest, a mirror, several segments of baize fabric and other mundane items, the princess’ cabinet was filled with devotional images and articles which included: a holy-water font, an oratory, an image of ‘The Flight into Egypt’ (probably by Nicolas Poussin), a crucifix, two sets of rosary beads, two marble crucifixes – one decorated with the nails and crown of thorns of Christ - a brass figurine of the Magdalene, a silver-gilt *tête de mort*, an ebony crucifix and three other sets of marble, glass and enamel rosary beads.²¹⁵ Rosary beads were venerated as relics: something which the princess also owned a large collection of.²¹⁶ Regrettably the notary did not specify

²¹³ *Écrit de Mme Anne de Gonzagues de Clèves où elle rend compte de ce qui a été l’occasion de sa conversion, avec l’oraison funèbre de cette princesse, prononcée par feu M. Bossuet* (n.p, n.d.). Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627 – 1704), in his sermon at the princess’ funeral at the Carmelite church in the faubourg Saint-Jacques on 9 August 1685, gave an account of her life and conversion; see BnF, Ms. Fr, 15512, ff. 494 – 594.

²¹⁴ Its location is indicated by Map 1.9 in Appendix C.

²¹⁵ AN, MC, ET/XCII/0247, ‘Dans l’armoire de bois de noyer estans dans le premier cabinet de mad[ite] dame princesse.’

²¹⁶ D. Macculloch, Mary Laven and Eamon Duffy, ‘Recent Trends in the Study of Christianity in Sixteenth-Century Europe,’ *Renaissance Quarterly*, 59, no. 3 (Fall, 2006): 711. The inventory lists a number of reliquaries, the contents of which are not always specified. The size of the collection hinted at by the inventory

where in the *hôtel* her relics were kept but it is clear that they were used frequently as the princess often travelled with them.²¹⁷ The codicils attached to her testament also refer to a number of other relics in her possession. These included a nail from the passion of Christ and various parts of Saints Casimir, Stanislas and Farefont, which had all been authenticated in 1673.²¹⁸ The princess had also acquired a fragment of the True Cross which she received from the King of Poland, Jan Kazimierz (1609 – 1672), and later bequeathed to the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près.²¹⁹ The reliquary was decorated with 242 diamonds, 43 pearls, 49 rubies and 39 amethysts.²²⁰ It is clear that the princesse Palatine only began to collect these objects in the last two decades of her life and thus after her conversion because an inventory produced after her husband's death in 1663 does not describe any devotional kitsch in her rooms.²²¹ These items are also absent from household accounts documenting the years between 1667 and 1672.²²² After her conversion and before her death in 1684, the princesse Palatine had therefore acquired an impressive corpus of devotional materials which strengthened her identity as a truly converted woman, and allowed her to perform the devotions compliant with her status as a pious, female aristocrat.

was almost comparable to those found in royal inventories; see, for example, Vicomte de Grouchy, 'Inventaire après décès de la Reine Anne d'Autriche 1666,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et l'Île de France*, 19 (1891): 175 – 86.

²¹⁷ *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la translation d'une portion considérable de la vraie croix, d'un clou de Notre Seigneur, du sang miraculeux, et de quelques reliques apportées de l'hostel de madame la princesse palatine a l'abbaye de saint germain des prez* (Paris: n.p, 1684), 8.

²¹⁸ Jacques Bouillart, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Germain-des-Prez par dom Jacques Bouillart* (Paris: G. Dupuis, 1724), 178.

²¹⁹ The relic is now held in Notre-Dame de Paris.

²²⁰ Léonce Raffin, *La Croix Palatine: une insigne relique de la vraie croix au trésor de Notre Dame de Paris, étude historique et descriptive* (Paris: J. de Gigord, 1939), 24. The princess allegedly tested the authenticity of the relic by holding it in a flame: 'Je leur donne encore ma croix de pierreries avec la ste vraye croix que jateste avoir veu dans les flames sans bruller,' AN, MC, ET/XCII/0247, 6 July 1684.

²²¹ MC, Chantilly, 2 – A – 010, 5 November 1663, 'Biens: Edouard de Bavière rue de Cley, paroisse st Eustache.' Again, this rests on the assumption that the notary listed all of the items in these rooms.

²²² MC, Chantilly, 1 – A – 22, 1667 – 1672, 'Biens de la maison d'Anne de Gonzague princesse palatine.'

The cabinet is not the only space where rigorist material culture was at variance with non-rigorist, aristocratic convention. The extravagant chapel at the Hôtel de Guise, for example, was near to the apartment of Marie de Lorraine, duchesse (known as mademoiselle) de Guise. The duchess’ ‘court’ at the *hôtel* has been expertly reconstructed by Patricia Ranum, who showed how Marie de Lorraine refurbished its interior, organized balls and coordinated the musical performances of her client Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643 – 1704).²²³ Although the duchess is said to have preferred her ‘court’ to the royal one and began to associate with ‘rigorist’ clerics such as Gabriel de Roquette in the later years of her life, it is clear that the devotional spaces in her *hôtel* remained tenaciously excessive and were replete with her instruments of worship:

Table 1.9 The chapel and sacristy at the Hôtel de Guise ²²⁴

Dans la chapelle haulte proche le grand sallon	
Item un devant d’autel de brocard de soye dans son chassis de bois dore, et au milieu une croix de malthe dargent, deux chandelier et un crucifix de bois dore, deux Reliquaires debene remplys de reliques dessus dautel de toile peint en un puce, d’un de bois de noyer, prise le tout ensemble la somme de quinze livres	xv ll
Dans la chapelle a costé de l’apartement de l’adit feue damoiselle duchesse de Guise	
Item deux petites tables en séchiquier ²²⁵ de bois de merisier et Calembour, estimé la somme de douze livres	xii ll
Item une autre petite table de bois de cedre, une garnye de son tiroir, prisé la somme de quatre livres	iiii ll
Item trois petits gueridons dont le dessus de bois de raport, un prie	

²²³ Patricia Ranum, ‘A Sweet Servitude: A Musician’s Life at the Court of Mlle de Guise,’ *Early Music*, 15, no. 3 (August, 1987): 357, 360.

²²⁴ Marie de Lorraine was the daughter of Charles de Lorraine, duc de Guise (1571 – 1640) and Henriette-Catherine de Joyeuse (1585 – 1656). Her niece was Anne-Marie Louise d’Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier. Part of the inventory at AN, R⁴, 1056, March 1688 has been printed in ‘Inventaire des meubles précieux de l’hôtel de Guise,’ *Revue de l’art français*, 12 (1896): 156 – 246. Two important historians of the Lorraine-Guise have also used the document, see: Jonathan Spangler, *The Society of Princes: the Lorraine-Guise and the Conservation of Power and Wealth in Seventeenth-Century France* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 90 – 91; and Ranum, ‘A Sweet Servitude,’ 357, 360. There is no full transcription of the Guise chapel in any of these documents however, and so I have transcribed it in Table 1.9. The location of the Hôtel de Guise is shown in Map 2.0 in Appendix C.

²²⁵ *Échiquier*.

dieu, avec son ecran de satin bleu sur son pied de pareil bois, prise ensemble la somme de vingt livres	xx ll
Item deux petits pupitres lun de bois de cedre et lautre de bois de Calembour, dont un garny dun encrier et poudrier ²²⁶ d'argent, et lautre aussy garny dun encrier de son poudrieu d'argent, prisez ensemble la somme de huit livres cy	viii ll
Item un petit coffre ²²⁷ fort de bois de noyer ferré double de satin vert par dev[ant] autel prise dix livres	x ll
Item une autre petite cassette ²²⁸ de bois de menuisier, double par dedans de bois de noyer, une autre petite casette de pareil bois, prisez ensemble la somme de huit livres	viii ll
Item quatre petites cassettes dont deux de bois de menuisier, et les deux autres de bois de Calembour, prisez ensemble la somme de six livres	vi ll
Item une autre cassette de bois de merisier ferré fermant a clef, prise la somme de quatre livres	iiii ll
Item un petit lustre de cristail de roches, ²²⁹ prise la somme de quatre vingt livres cy	iiii xx ll
Item le dais de la petite chapelle au fond duquel est un saint esprit d'argent, garny d'une dentelle d'or fin, prisé la somme de soixante livres	lx ll
Item deux rideaux de velour bleu, doublé de damas orore ²³⁰ et blanc avec sa pente, garny dune dentelle dor fin, estime la somme de vingt livres	xx ll
Item un crucifix divoire une vierge aussy de bois, enversy de perles et diamans, prise la somme de quatre vingts livres	iiii xx ll
Item deux reliquaires, deux autres petits reliquaires, estimes quarente livres	xl ll
Item deux orloges ²³¹ de sable, ²³² prisees et estimes comme sols quels quatre livres	iiii ll
Item un dessus dautel, un nape de moire bleu garnye dune dantelle dor, fait prisee la somme de douze livres	xii ll

²²⁶ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Pupitre: sorte de machine ou de meuble dont on se sert pour écrire plus commodément ou pour poser des livres,' vol. 2, 499; 'Encrier: petit vase où l'on met de l'encrier,' vol. 1, 620; 'Poudrier: petite boîte d'argent de cuivre et de fer blanc qu'on emplit de poudre pour mettre sur l'écriture fraîche,' vol. 2, 434.

²²⁷ *Ibid*: 'Coffre: sort de meuble à serrer et à enfermer des hardes,' vol. 1, 326.

²²⁸ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*, n.p.n. 'Cassette: a little shallow box, case or vessel made of boards to put flowers, branches or small trees in, also a small chest or cabinet, also a box, till or drawer.' In this context, it was probably being used as chest or casket.

²²⁹ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Cristal: pierre transparente; le cristal de roche est blanc et transparente comme de l'eau,' vol. 1, 444.

²³⁰ *Ibid*: 'Aurore: on appelle couleur d'aurore une espèce de jaune d'ore,' vol. 1, 135.

²³¹ *Ibid*: 'Horloge: sorte de machine qui marque et qui fonne les heures,' vol. 1, 886.

²³² *Ibid*: 'Horloge de Sablé: une certain petite machine compose de deux fioles de verre où il y a du sablé qui en coulant de l'une dans l'autre,' vol. 1, 886.

Item douze reliquaires dans leurs chasses de cristail de roches dans leurs estoyes, scavoir dix de chagrin, et deux de cuir, qui seront cy apres inventoire par un joulhier qui sera nommé	
Item sept petites orloges de sable, dont cinq sont d'ivoire, deux petits pieds de chasses lun de bois de calembour et saint lucie, avec quatre christaux enchassé dedans d or, six petits cabares ²³³ de bois de la chine, prise en semble la somme de dix livres	x ll
Item une boette de la chine, prise la somme de six livres	vi ll
Item une tablette ²³⁴ couverte de chagrin, ²³⁵ avec sa plume dor, prise la somme de douze livres	xii ll
Item un crucifix de bois de saint francois, estime quatre livres	iiii ll
Item un pepitre de la chine, prise six livres	vi ll
Item une boete fermant a clef de bois, prise trois livres	iii ll
Item une boete de velour rouge cramoisy, prise la somme de quatre livres	iiii ll
Item deux paquets de la chine, prise cinquante solz	l s
Dans le sacristie a costé de la chapelle et de la salle a manger	
Item deux tableaux dun regard de nostre seigneur et la vierge dans leurs cadres ²³⁶ debeine, avec quelques pierres d'agate, prisez la somme de vingt livres	xx ll
Item un crayon de bois avec marqueterie destaint, prisé quatre livres	iiii ll
Item une petite tapisserie de la porte de paris en six morceau, faisant le tout de la dite sacristie, prisée six livres	vi ll
Item cinq petits rideaux de taffetas blanc, et un autre rideau de pareil taffetas, prise trois livres	iii ll
Item un carreau de vellour rouge garny d'un gallon dor et d'argent, et quatre houppes, et un drap de pied de pareil velour rouge de quatre lez avec un molet dor et argent faux, doublé de toille, prise le tout ensemble la somme de soixante livres	lx ll
Item un petit coffre ferré de bois de calembour fermant a clef, prise quatre livres	iiii ll
Item une petite chaise de paille de bois, peint avec une petite housse de velours rouge prise quarente solz, avec une petit boette de bois de chine	xl s
Item un ornement violet composé d'une chasube, l'estolle, manipulle, poisle, ²³⁷ et bourse, garny d'un petit galon d'argent, un ornement complet de brocard verte a fleurs dore et soye avec une dantelle dor et argent, un autre ornement complet de brocard rouge a fleurs dor garny	

²³³ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'On appelle aussi cabaret une espèce de petite table ou plateau,' vol. 1, 229.

²³⁴ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: A 'tablette' is a little writing table or board, n.p.n.

²³⁵ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Chagrin: espèce de cuir fait ordinairement de peau de Mulet,' vol. 1, 268.

²³⁶ *Ibid*: 'Cadre: bordure de bois de marbre etc, dans laquelle on enchasse de tableaux,' vol. 1, 231.

²³⁷ Worn on the head by the priest during Mass.

<p>dune dantelle en galon dor et argent, Un autre ornement complet dont il y a deux chassubes de toile d'argent a fond blanc fleurs dor et argent soie, avec une dantelle autour or et argent et laine, Un autre ornement complet de damas rouge et garny dun galon et molet d'or et argent, Un autre ornement blanc d'or et argent brodé et de soie avec un petit galon aussy or et argent, tous lesd[its] ornements ayans leur devant d'autel exepte la chasube blanche de toile qui na point de devant d'autel, une autre chasube etoll, manipulle de velour noir, garny d'un passement noir et blanc, et un dessus de calice noir et blanc garny dun passement d'argent, prise le tout en semble la somme de trois cens livres</p>	<p>iii C II</p>
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The Guise chapel was beautified with more than fifteen reliquaries, some decorated with crystal. It housed devotional figurines such as a Virgin decorated with pearls and diamonds, and an ivory crucifix. The duchess' collections of holy paraphernalia even extended beyond the chapel, as Patricia Ranum and Jonathan Spangler have already shown. In her 'music room' were a host of devotional paintings depicting scenes such as the Virgin, the marriage of Saint Catherine and the descent from the Cross, as well as a holy-water font and various percussion instruments.²³⁸ According to Spangler, the value of all of the religious pieces in the *hôtel* came to 24,329 *livres* and even included a wooden model of 'The House of the Virgin of Loreto' encrusted with gold, rubies and diamonds.²³⁹ Not only was the Guise chapel more luxurious than those of Longueville, Liancourt and Guéméné, it was also a receptacle for the devotional instruments which had fallen out of use in rigorist *hôtels*.

This brief, tangential discussion has hopefully helped to bring the rigorist friendship network's distinctive culture of worship into sharper focus. The spirituality of the pious duchesse de Guise and the converted princesse Palatine was, in contrast to that of rigorist penitents, expressed through the types of material objects that the post-Tridentine Church sanctioned. The pious effects they amassed in their cabinets and chapels were not only more

²³⁸ AN, R⁴, 1056, March 1688, 'Dans le cabinet appellé de la musique à costé du grand salon.'

²³⁹ Spangler, *The Society of Princes*, 91.

abundant, they were more characteristic of Baroque, experiential devotions. For the Church the ‘experiential nature’ of religion was to be its device for elevating Catholic worship above the Puritan focus on Scripture.²⁴⁰ It is entirely possible that these women formed an exception and not the rule to the devotional material culture of the Parisian female, pious elite. The extravagance of the Guise chapel is almost certainly a more extreme example of the way the devout aristocracy expressed their religiosity. A more comprehensive comparative study would be needed to either disprove or confirm this. This was a period when women played a role in the spiritual life of early modern Europe through their role as cultural patrons however, and I suspect these results are representative of a broader pattern among the elite female devout laity.²⁴¹ The research of art historians such as Erin Griffey, who found a ‘treasure trove’ of devotional jewellery, jewelled reliquaries and intricately carved rosaries in Henrietta Maria’s letters and inventory, also adds weight to this hypothesis.²⁴²

The lack of devotional tools in rigorist cabinets and chapels provides an alibi for their absence from letters. These objects were not mentioned, even in the most detailed and personal accounts of religious experiences, because they were unimportant to the practice of penitence. It was their absence, not their presence, which was the signature material culture of the spiritual elite. Yet, the relative sobriety of the cabinets and chapels described in rigorist inventories must not tempt us to write a history of lay piety which disregards the importance of social status, especially during a period when the aristocratic *hôtel* and its interior was an

²⁴⁰ Cordula Van Wyhe, ‘Reformulating the Cult of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel: Marie de Medici and the Regina Pacis Statue in Cologne (1635 – 1645),’ *The Seventeenth Century*, 22, no. 1 (Spring, 2007): 44.

²⁴¹ Cynthia Miller Lawrence, ‘Introduction,’ in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs*, ed. Miller Lawrence, 16.

²⁴² Erin Griffey, ‘Devotional Jewellery in Portraits of Henrietta Maria,’ in *Henrietta Maria*, ed. Griffey, 176. See a recent article by Erin Griffey and Caroline Hibbard, ‘Henrietta Maria’s Inventory at Colombes: Courtly Magnificence and Hidden Politics,’ *Journal of the History of Collections*, 23, no. 1 (January, 2012): 1 – 23. This pattern is detectable beyond France; see Anderson, ‘The Material Culture of Domestic Religion,’ vol. 1, 62 – 114.

important marker of rank.²⁴³ Even rigorist women were accustomed to worshipping in richly decorated churches: the church appended to the Carmelite convent on the rue Saint-Jacques was one of the most lavishly ornamented in Paris.²⁴⁴ The next part of this chapter will consider some instances where rigorist women were able to fuse aristocratic fashions with the pious practices of the spiritual elite.

5. Inconspicuous Consumption?

Riches were not an obstacle to salvation, according to Antoine Arnauld's 'Renversement de la morale de Jésus-Christ', as long as the penitent could overcome their attachment to worldly possessions.²⁴⁵ Unlike Port-Royal, lay rigorist *hôtels* were not bastions of asceticism. As this thesis has tried to show thus far, elite rigorist penitents were not able to shun the luxuriousness of aristocratic life in the way that their spiritual directors instructed them to. Chapter two showed how rigorist penitents' predisposition for spiritual privileges and confidence in their spiritual election was at odds with the unassuming nature that rigorist spiritual directors wanted them to maintain.²⁴⁶ It also highlighted the way rigorist spiritual directors' outlook on aristocratic habits prevented the confessor-penitent relationship becoming as intimate as female spiritual friendships.²⁴⁷ A similar incompatibility can be found in the material culture of lay rigorist devotion. Female penitents could never adopt the monastic poverty of the female religious at Port-Royal. Even if they modelled small cabinets

²⁴³ On the importance of the *hôtel* as a signifier of social status, see Coquery, *L'hôtel aristocratique*, 19; and Bonahan, 'Color Schemes and Decorative Tastes,' 118.

²⁴⁴ Michel, 'Art religieux et représentation du divin,' 1041.

²⁴⁵ Antoine Arnauld, 'Renversement de la morale de Jésus-Christ,' in *Oeuvres de messire Antoine Arnauld docteur de la maison et société de Sorbonne* (38 volumes, Paris: Lausanne, 1775 – 1783), vol. XIII, 42; cited in Tavenaux, 'Jansénisme et vie sociale,' 44.

²⁴⁶ See chapter two above, p. 111.

²⁴⁷ See chapter two above, pp. 83 - 4.

and oratories on the austerity of the conventual cell and tried to observe rigorist restraint in their family chapels, aristocratic penitents continued to live in the state of refinement which was regarded as fitting for women of their status. Their affluence was reflected in many of their belongings. Accounts and inventories of the *vaisselle d'argent* and *gardemeubles* list the jewellery, ornaments and furnishings owned by rigorist women. The descriptions of colours such as 'incarnat' and 'citron' in the inventories show that rigorist *hôtels* were 'current', as we have seen. This probably also motivated the colour choice of red for most of the soft furnishings in the Hôtels de Longueville and Liancourt, which was one of the most fashionable shades for aristocratic interiors in Paris during the period.²⁴⁸

This chapter has found the clearest infringement of rigorist rules on devotional decorations in aristocratic *hôtels* to be the ownership of paintings. This has been explained, at least in part, as a reflection of rigorist attachment to some *dévo*t traditions such as the cult of the Virgin. Certainly they tended to be modest pieces with low valuations but over 60 images in Liancourt's oratory and several smaller collections elsewhere testify to the fact that aristocratic, rigorist penitents did not share Port-Royal's iconophobia. The task of reconciling female penitents' ownership of religious imagery with their rigorist spirituality is aided by the findings of scholars working on Protestant domestic visual culture in early modern Britain. Tara Hamling's recent research carefully showed that despite the Protestant dedication to the Second Commandment against graven images, the 'middling sort' in Britain filled their homes with devotional art, plasterwork and engraved pieces of furniture.²⁴⁹ These

²⁴⁸ Bonahan, 'Color Schemes and Decorative Tastes,' 119.

²⁴⁹ Hamling has argued this in her own monograph: *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2010); and in several other articles; see Tara Hamling, 'Reconciling Image and Object: Religious Imagery in Protestant Interior Decoration,' in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, eds. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 321 – 44; Tara Hamling, 'To see or not to see? The Presence of Religious Imagery in the Protestant Household,' *Art History*, 30, no. 2 (April, 2007): 170 – 97; Tara Hamling, 'Guides to Godliness: From Print to Plaster,' in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter,

embellishments were far more than decorative, she argues, but were rarely intended for ‘prolonged’ and ‘engaged’ pious viewing.²⁵⁰ Instead, the possession of certain kinds of images and their concentration in particular domestic spaces was a mark of their godliness in the building of ‘gorgeous but godly houses,’ and could have also been intended for the spiritual edification of a morally upright household.²⁵¹ Biblical images, especially Old Testament scenes, were permissible outside of the chapel in rooms where they were unlikely to lead to idolatrous viewing.²⁵²

Hamling’s conclusions about the types of paintings and other visual forms that amounted to a specifically Protestant category of domestic material culture, or ‘visuality’ as she calls it, raises questions about whether the same may be said of rigorist residences.²⁵³ The recurrence of traditional Catholic iconography in rigorist inventories has already been dealt with, but there were other recurring spiritual themes in their collections:

Table 2.0 Paintings at the Hôtel de Longueville ²⁵⁴

Ensuivent les tableaux	
Item trois tableaux representant trois grandes paysages, prisez par led[it] s[ieu]r Ludmand a la somme de quarente cinq livres	xxxxv ll
Item un aut[re] tableau peint sur bois ou est repre[sen]te la tour de babel garny de sa bordure doree, prise a la somme de quatre vingt livres	iiii xx ll
Item un au[tre] tableau peint sur bois garny de sa bordure doree repre[sen]tant le ravissent des sabines, prise a la somme de cent livres	C ll

(Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2010), 65 – 86; Tara Hamling, ‘The Appreciation of Religious Images in Plasterwork in the Protestant Domestic Interior,’ in *Art Re-formed: Reassessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, eds. Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), 147 – 67; on the commandment from Exodus 21: 4 – 5, see above, p. 125.

²⁵⁰ Hamling, ‘To see or not to see?’ 179.

²⁵¹ Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*; Hamling, ‘To see or not to see?’ 187.

²⁵² Hamling, ‘Guides to Godliness,’ 81.

²⁵³ Hamling, ‘The Appreciation of Religious Images,’ 147.

²⁵⁴ AN, MC, ET/XXXVI/202, 12 June 1663, ‘Ensuivent les tableaux.’

Item un au[tre] tableau sur bois repr[esen]tant l'embrasant de troje bordé d'une platte bande ²⁵⁵ dorée, prise a la somme de quarente livres	xxxx ll
Item un au[tre] tableau peint sur bois repre[sen]tant le jugement de salomon, avec une bordure debene avec fille dor, prise a la somme de cinqte livres	L ll
Item un au[tre] tableau sur de cuivre avec sa bordure noire repre[sen]tant un pillage de village, prise a la somme de cent livres	C ll
Item un au[tre] tableau sur de cuivre avec sa bordure doree repre[sen]tant une bataille, prise a la somme de soisante et quinze livres	L xxv ll
Item un au[tre] paysage avec sa bordure noire ou sont des paysans qui coupent du bois, prise cen cinquante livres	C L ll
Item un au[tre] tableau sur cuivre bordre dune platte bande noire repre[sen]tant une annoncia[ti]on, prise la somme de soix[an]te livres	L x ll
Item un au[tre] tableau sur du bois avec sa bordure noire repre[sen]tant andromede, prise a la somme de cent livres	C ll
Item un au[tre] tableau sur dubois repre[sen]tant une vierge entouree de fleurs borde de noir, prise a la somme de trente livres	xxx ll
Item deux au[tre] paysages peinte sur bois garny dune bordure noir, prisee a la somme de six vingts livres	vi xx ll
Item un au[tre] tableau repre[sen]tant une colla[ti]on dun grand plat de raisines peint du bois garny dune bordure noire, prise a la somme de trente livres	xxx ll
Item trois au[tres] tableaux peint sur bois repre[sen]tant une adoration une mag[de]ne, et une descent de crois, dont dun ont leurs bordures, prisez a la somme de dix huit livres	xviii ll
Item dix petits tableaux dans un cadre, prise a dix livres	x ll
Item un au[tre] tableau peint sur marbre representant une vierge avec des fleurs, prisez a trois livres	iii ll
Item quatre grandes tableaux sur du marbre avecq leurs bordures ou il y a deux petis tableaux dans leurs bordures, l'un desq[uelles] repre[sen]tant le mariage de st euthene, l'au[tre] les quatre penitences, au[tre] une vierge ou il y a st estienne et st laurens et l'au[tre] jesus crucifix, une annonci[ati]on, une nativitte de n[ot]re seigneur au jardin, lun desquelles tableaux ou est represente st laurens est cassé, prise le tout a cent soixante livres	C l x ll
Item quatre au[tres] petits tableau peint aussy sur marbre ou sont repre[sentan]t st louis, st helenne, ste dorothee, et une vierge, prisez a la somme de douze livres	x ii ll
Item un au[tre] tableau peint sur marbre sont rep[resen]tant une nativitte, prise a six livres	vi ll
Item un au[tre] tableau sur du marbre tout aussy repre[sen]tant les innocents avecq sa bordure, prise a la somme de six livres	vi ll
Item une vierge peint sur du cuivre ou il y a une dame d'ange, prise a la somme de vingt livres	xx ll
Plus une au[tre] vierge peint sur du cuivre dore, prise a la somme de trente livres	xxx ll
Item un au[tre] tableau peint sur bois ou est rep[resenté] cleopatre, prise	

²⁵⁵ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Plate-Bande: espèce de terre de quelque largeur que règne autour d'un parterre on appelle aussi en termes d'architecture,' vol. 2, 393.

a la somme de quinze livres	xv ll
Tous les tableaux avecq leurs bordures	
Item un au[tre] tableau paysage sur du bois avecq sa bordure noire, prisez la some de cent livres	C ll
Item un au[tre] tableau peint sur bois en paysage rep[resen]tant Priame et tisbe ²⁵⁶ avecq sa bordure, prises la somme de quatre vingt livres	iiii xx ll
Item un au[tre] tableau ou il y en a treize dans une mesme bordure avec sa bordure, prise a la some de trente neuf livres	xxx ix ll
Item un au[tre] tableau peint sur marbre ou est rep[resentan]t st veronique avecq sa bordure, prise a la somme de trois livres	iii ll
Item deux petits tableaux peint sur marbre sont il y en a une bordure representant une vierge et st catherine de sienne, prisez trois livres	iii ll
Item six petits tableaux avecq leurs bordures peintre sur divoire, prises a la somme de douze livres	xii ll
Item deux petits tableaux peint sur marbre avecq leurs bordures, representant un st anthoine et une ste margueritte, prisez a la somme de quinze livres	xv ll
Item dix tableaux sur du marbre av[e]lc leurs bordures r[e]p[resentant] plusieurs figures, prisez a la some de trente livres	xxx ll
Item quatre p[e]ti[te]s tableaux avecq leurs bordures en mignature representans plusieurs devotions, a la somme de douze livres	xii ll
Item un au[tre] petit tableau peint sur marbre dont la bordure est argent de cuivre rep[resentant] une vierge, prise a la somme de quinze livres	xv ll
Plus deux au[tres] tableaux peint en mignature avecq leurs bordure cuivre et bois ou sont rep[resentan]t une vierge et une nativitte, prisez a la somme de douze livres	xii ll
Une au[tre] tableau aussy en mignature avecq sa bordure rep[resentant] une vierge, prise a la some de huict livres	viii ll
Item un petit tableau peint sur cuivre representant une vierge, avecq sa bordure cuivre et argent, prise a huict livres	viii ll
Un autre tableau aussy en mignature avecq sa bordure rep[resentant] un vierge, prise a la somme de douze livres	xii ll
Item un aultre tableau de pareille facon repr[esen]tant l'anno[ciati]on, prise a douze livres	xii ll
Item un aut[re] tableau peint sur bois avecq sa bordure dore rep[resentan]t un petit crist, prisez a la somme de trois livres	iii ll
Item le portraict dun pape en mignature avecq son pied et bordure, prise a la somme de douze livres	xii ll
Item une petite vierge dalbast avec son pied et sa bordure, prise a la somme de douze livres	xii ll
Item deux au petis tableaux dalabatstre rep[resentan]t adam et eve et un crucifix avec leurs bordures doree, prise a la some de deux livres	ii ll

It is not specified where in the *hôtel* this large collection was exhibited, if at all. It is possible that some of the paintings were displayed in the Longueville chapel but given its size and

²⁵⁶ Pyrame et Thisbé.

aesthetic, this seems unlikely. Perhaps she did the same as her spiritual friend Liancourt and limited the iconography in her chapel to one painting. Even if these images were being gazed at for spiritual stimulation there was clearly something ‘rigorist’ about them. Like the Protestant specimens Hamling found in Britain, many of the paintings depicted Old Testament or historical scenes. The collection included depictions of the Tower of Babel, the Abduction of the Sabines, the Judgement of Solomon, the Massacre of the Innocents and Adam and Eve. Pardailhé-Galabrun found that Old Testament images were less common in Parisian inventories because of their allegorical themes.²⁵⁷ Other studies of the ownership of religious art in seventeenth-century France have yielded similar results.²⁵⁸

The absence of any contemporary ‘Baroque’ artists in Longueville’s collection is also marked and reiterates some of the earlier points this chapter has made about the types of devotional images rigorist women selected. A cursory examination of contemporaneous, non-rigorist inventories confirms that Longueville (and her spiritual friends’) divergence from the prevailing trends was untypical of the art collections owned by the pious female aristocracy.²⁵⁹ Despite being the first lady-in-waiting to the Queen and Dauphine, Anne Poussart de Fors, duchesse de Richelieu was, according to the *curé* of Saint-Symphorien a

²⁵⁷ Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, 201.

²⁵⁸ Philip Benedict, ‘Towards the Comparative Study of the Popular Market for Art: The Ownership of Paintings in Seventeenth-Century Metz,’ *Past and Present*, 109 (November, 1985): 100 – 117. Benedict found in a sample of 270 inventories registered in Metz between 1645 – 1647 and 1667 – 1672, that 60% owned images of the Virgin and 77% owned images of the saints, but only 15% owned Old Testament images; see 110.

²⁵⁹ AN, MC, ET/CV/904, 29 May 1684: The inventory of the duchesse de Richelieu’s residences is the third of the three comparative sources I use in this part of the thesis. The duchess was the daughter of François Poussart, baron du Vigeant and Anne de Neubourg (d.1682); see AN, MC, ET/XLVI/21, 12 June 1641. During her youth, she and her sister Marthe du Vigeant (1622 – 1665) had been close friends with the duchesse de Longueville due to their mother’s friendship with Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency. On 16 October 1644, she married François-Alexandre d’Albret, sire de Pons and comte de Marennes, but was widowed in 1648. She remarried in 1649 with Cardinal Richelieu’s great-nephew, Armand-Jean de Vignerot du Plessis, duc de Richelieu (1629 – 1715). Her marriage contract was signed at the Longueville residence at Trie; see Béguin, *Les princes de Condé*, 434 – 35.

‘pieuse duchesse’ and an example to the court.²⁶⁰ Her conventional piety was reflected in the contents of her inventory. She owned 17 original works by Peter Paul Rubens (1577 – 1640) ranging in value from 300 to 8,000 *livres*.²⁶¹ A comparison with the inventory of paintings at the princesse Palatine’s residence in Paris suggests that the duchesse de Richelieu’s collection was not an exceptionally large or modish one, but a typically fashionable collection of Baroque art that a non-rigorist pious female aristocrat might own. She possessed copies of Poussin’s and Michel Corneille’s (1642 – 1708) works alongside more typical Baroque artists such as Rubens and his apprentice Antony Van Dyck (1599 – 1641).²⁶² Artists such as Rubens exemplified a new style characterized by movement, drama and sometimes a ‘propagandistic theatricality’, which was intimately associated with the Baroque.²⁶³

Fashionable, Counter-Reformation pieces were clearly undesirable as far as rigorist women were concerned. Paolo Veronese (1528 – 1588), one of the artists that the duchesse

²⁶⁰ *Oraison funèbre de M[ada]me Anne Poussart de Fors, duchesse de Richelieu, prononcée dans l'Eglise des nouvelles catholiques le 14 juillet 1684, par M. le Curé de Saint-Symphorien* (Paris: D. Thierry, 1684), 16, 24.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, ‘En suivent les tableaux prisez par le dit Charles de la fosse peintre des bastiments du Roy.’ The location of the Hôtel de Richelieu is shown in Map 2.1 in Appendix C. Most of the paintings can be identified from the title given: ‘une chasse aux lions...prisé a la some de huit mil livres; neptune original de Rubens...prisé a la some de huict mil livres; la Magdelaine au pied de nostre seigneur chez simony original de Rubens...prisé a la some de huict mille li[vres]; l’histoire de saint georges...original de Rubens...prisé a la some de quatre mil livres; veue de la dix paysage...original de Rubens...prisé a la some de trois mil livres; la decol[la]tion de saint jean original de rubens...prisé a la some de cinq mil livres; paysage original de Rubens...prisé a la some de deux mil livres; suzanne entre deux vieillards original de Rubens...prisé a la some de quinze cens livres; deux flore avec des fleurs...original de Rubens prisé a la some de quinze cens livres; une teste de femme original de rubens...prisé a la some de trois cens livres; un tableau representant une Reveuse jusques au [genouise] original de Rubens...prisé a la some de six cens livres; un autre representant une au[tre] corps de femme...original de Rubens...prisé a la some de cinq cens livres; une teste de vieille dans un oval original de Rubens...prisé a la somme de quatre cens livres.’

²⁶² AN, ET/XCII/0247, 3 August 1684. ‘Ensuivent les tableaux et estampes trouvet dans led[it] hostel.’ Some of the identifiable paintings included: ‘un tableau dun pied ou environ dun saint ignace qui gueri des malades coppie de Rubens prise trois livres, une flagelation ovale coppie apres antoine Wandick avec sa bordure doree prise douze livres.’

²⁶³ Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Rubens* (London: Phaidon Press, 1998), 63. Rubens’ study of Italian art, specifically Caravaggio’s work, influenced his use of dramatic techniques, such as the contrast of light and dark. He was also connected with the Jesuits in Antwerp; see Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 161; and Lee Palmer Wandel, ‘The Reformation and the Visual Arts,’ in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 6, ‘Reform and Expansion, 1500 – 1660,’ ed. Po-Chia Hsia, 363.

de Liancourt preferred, was actually censored by the post-Tridentine Church. In 1573, Veronese was brought before the Venetian Inquisition to account for the non-historical, extraneous figures in his depiction of the Last Supper.²⁶⁴ Most of the other paintings the duchesse de Liancourt owned (apart from Poussin) were Renaissance works by artists such as Michelangelo (1475 – 1564), Primaticcio (1504 – 1570), Raphael (1483 – 1520), Andrea Mantegna (1431 – 1506) and Paul Brill (1554 – 1626). These renaissance paintings did not appeal to the perceiver's emotions in the same way as the Baroque style intended to.²⁶⁵

In summary, rigorist women did decorate their residences with paintings but they were cautious about their use and display, and were discerning about the spiritual meanings and styles of the religious art they owned. The evidence of the probate inventories should nuance our understanding of the material culture of lay penitents' devotion and how it hybridized aristocratic 'interior' fashions with a rigorist critique of the Baroque.

One final example of the way rigorist penitents' spiritual identity was encoded in the material culture of aristocratic residences is the chapel at the château de La Roche-Guyon.²⁶⁶ The chapel was dedicated to Notre-Dame-des-Neiges and had possessed, since 1563, the permission to display the Holy Sacrament and keep the canonical hours.²⁶⁷ The chapel was described within an inventory taken in 1672, two years before the duchesse de Liancourt's death:

²⁶⁴ Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 159.

²⁶⁵ Belkin, *Rubens*, 111.

²⁶⁶ Lesaulnier, 'Le châteaux de La Roche-Guyon et les Liancourt,' 73; Émile Rousse, *La Roche-Guyon châtelains, château et bourg* (Paris: n.p, 1892), 6; See Map 2.6 in Appendix C.

²⁶⁷ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 62, 'Notes historiques et pièces originales diverses concernant La Roche-Guyon.'

Table 2.1 The chapel at the château de La Roche-Guyon ²⁶⁸

dans laditte chapelle	
Trois prie dieu, sur l'un desquels il y a un tapis de tipe de soye verte et sur les [] de serge de mouy rouge, trois carreaux de brocard violet a fleurs de la chine, et un autre couvert de mocquette, et un plus petit de damas avec un petit rideau de basin, estimé le tout ensemble a la somme de quinze livres	xv ll
Item deux b[] avecq leurs planches, deux pupitres, deux petites tables, sur lune desqueles il y a une chasse d'argent ou sont plusieurs reliques de saint thomas, st laurens, Sainte Pience, sainte Eslizabet[h] Reine de hongrie, et autres Laditte chasse couverte desq [] estimée non compris laditte cha[sse], la somme de six livres	vi ll
Item une croix d'argent, six chandeliers de divers grandeurs, les d[eu]x calices et patines d'argent, les deux burettes a mettre le pain, Le bassin, La sonnette, La lampe, et Le benetier, le tout d'argent pesant trente sept marcs six onces six gros, estimees a vingt six livres, Le marc a la somme de neuf cens quatre vingt trois livres dix huit sols neuf deniers	ix C iiiixx iii ll xviii s ix d
Item deux estaignoirs ²⁶⁹ d'argent, armoiree des armes de la maison de Silly et de la Rocheguion, et autres et sur le tout des armes de la maison de pont qui sont trois planches, estant iceux estaignoirs au bout de deux battons de [], pesant les deux environs et marc estimées a vingt six livres	xxvi ll
Item deux tableaux de bois enbosse de la passion, de la resurreccion de Jesus Christ, Le regard de Jesus, et de la sainte vierge sur toille ornée de leur bordure de bois noir, Un ecce homo de bois avec sa bordure, un petit tableau de cruxifix sur bois, deux Tableaux de la nativité de nostre seigneur, et de ladoration des Rois sur bois, Le bastime ²⁷⁰ de Jesus Christ par saint Jean aussy de bois, La decolation de saint jean sur bois et sans cadre, Jesus tenant sa croix sur Toille [garny de sa] bordure, deux petits tabl[eaux] en cuivre sans cadre et sans chassis, Un tableau de la sainte v[ierg]e tenant son fils Jesus sur bois avec sa bordure, Image de la saint vierge de marbre en bosse avec son [chas]sis figuree, et douze paysages de papier Venisse a[vec] [l]eur bordeures doree, avec un Tableau de fleurs peint sur bois avec sa bordure de bois noircy, le tout estime ensemble a la somme de deux cens cinquante livres	xx c l ll
Item deux Psaltiers in folio, un breviare, et un missel a lusage romain aussy in folio, le martirologe romain in quarto, le canon pour Chante, et l'evangile de saint jean, estime le tout a dix huit livres	xviii ll
Item sur lautel de laditte chapelle est un petit tabernacle <u>ou est le saint sacrement</u> ²⁷¹ dans un ciboire ²⁷² vermeil doree, et une croix vermeil doree	

²⁶⁸ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 31, 'Inventaire après décès,' 1672. Damage to the manuscript obscures some words. I have used square brackets to indicate missing words.

²⁶⁹ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Éteignoir: instrument creux en forme d'etonnir pour éteindre la chandale,' vol. 1, 675.

²⁷⁰ *Baptisme*.

²⁷¹ Underlined on the manuscript.

hauteur de huit pousus ²⁷³ ou environ, dans laquelle il y a du bois de la vraye croix en fasson de croix, ce qui est escrit pour mémoire les partyes nayant pas creu en debvoir faire prisée.	
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The chapel at La Roche-Guyon boasted some valuable religious instruments and paintings, including a substantial relic collection: something which this chapter has found to be largely untypical of rigorist residences in Paris. More liberties were taken with devotional embellishment at the estate as they were visited periodically by the King, and perhaps also because it was more fitting to display relics in a consecrated seigneurial chapel. None of the relics were kept in the kinds of bejewelled vessels that were common in the Hôtels de Guise and Palatine however, and there are other indications that the collection was doggedly ‘rigorist.’²⁷⁴ An episcopal visitation by the archbishop of Rouen in October 1656 and a document detailing the transfer of a relic to the chapel both reveal these qualities of the *vestigia*:

...visite des Reliques de la chapelle du chasteau de la roche guyon par monsieur larchevesque de Rouen. Francois par la permission divine Archevesque de Rouen Primat de Normandie a tous ceux qui presentes lettres verrons, salut et Benediction, scavoir faisons que au cour de nostre visite du vicariat de Pontoise faisant partie de nostre diocese de Rouen estant au Bourg de la roche guyon nous aurions visite les Reliques qui sont dans une chasse d’argent dans la chappelle du chasteau dudit lieu de la rocheguyon ou il s’en est trouvé suivant les billets anciens de saint thomas, de st Mathias, et de St Bernabe Apostres, de st laurens martyr, de ste catherine, ste barbe vierges et martires, de saint marie salome...Et en presence de plusieurs personnes nous avons pose en lad[ite] chasse une partie dun doigt de sainte Pience martyre.²⁷⁵

²⁷² Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*: ‘Ciborium: a chalice shaped vessel with a lid used to contain the sacramental bread of the Eucharist,’ 353.

²⁷³ *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*: ‘Pouce: se dit aussi d’une mesure qui fait la douzième partie d’un pied,’ vol. 2, 433.

²⁷⁴ It is difficult to compare the kinds of relics rigorist and non-rigorist women owned because notaries invariably did not identify the saints encased in reliquaries; this is a particular problem with the relics listed in the Guise inventory in Table 1.9.

²⁷⁵ ADVQ, fonds privées, 10 J, 747, ‘Reliques: certificats et visites’; the visitation was probably to verify the authenticity of the relics.

Nous Nicolas Dauvanne prestre prieur du prieuré Saint Nigaise au fort de Meulent...ordre St Benoist diocese de Chartres...pour agreer a la devotion de monsieur le duc de Liencourt et Madame son espouse seigneur de la Rocheguyon nous leur avon octroyé et delivré lossement d'un doigt de ste pience.²⁷⁶

In 1654, the duke and duchess were presented with a finger of Saint Pience by Nicolas Davanne, the prior of Saint-Nicaise at Meulan.²⁷⁷ Saint Pience was a figure associated with the earliest histories of La Roche-Guyon; she was a noble widow and virgin who was converted to Christianity in the third century by Saint Nicaise.²⁷⁸ Nicaise came to Rouen and began converting the Pagans after he miraculously defeated a dragon at Vaux-sur-seine, but he was martyred some time later.²⁷⁹ After his death, Pience gave him a Christian burial and on that site she built an oratory before being martyred herself. The troglodytic chapel that belonged to Pience then became part of the château de La Roche-Guyon.

The initiative to memorialize Pience in the chapel may have been the duke's. Yet since it was not untypical for husbands to delegate the administration of properties to his wife, and given the evidence for the duchess' authority in managing the family estates, it is probably reasonable to assume that these were her acquisitions.²⁸⁰ The procurement of Pience's relic may have been part of her attempt to revere a saint with some local relevance: something

²⁷⁶ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 747, 'Reliques de St Pience apportées aux chapel de la chasteau de la Roche Guyon'; see also *Recueil d'actes et contracts faits par M Nicolas Davanne ancien prieur du prieuré St Niglaise au fort de Meulent, en encore par autres personnes, par fondations et decorations audit prieuré et ailleurs avec un brève description dudit prieuré selon son état en l'année 1656* (Rouen: Imprimerie de Le Boulenger, 1656).

²⁷⁷ He reformed the priory of Saint-Nicaise, Meulan in 1648.

²⁷⁸ See the website of the château de La Roche-Guyon on 'La légende de Saint-Nicaise et de Sainte-Pience' at: <http://www.chateaudelarocheGuyon.fr/content/content14687.html>, [accessed July 6, 2011] which hints that these origins of the château are mythical. This document shows that it was part of the seventeenth-century version of its history, at least. On the story of their presence in the Vexin, see Caraffa, Morelli, et. al, eds., *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. IX (Rome: Città Nuova editrice, 1967), 858 – 59.

²⁷⁹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Octobris V, 513, Dies XI Octobris, <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk> [accessed March 7, 2011]

²⁸⁰ Diefendorf, 'Women and Property in Ancien Régime France,' 183.

which historians have found to be an important aspect of post-Tridentine cults in Italy.²⁸¹ Pience was, as a noble woman who established a pious sanctuary at La Roche-Guyon, also someone that the duchess would have been able to identify with, given her own commitment to creating a spiritual oasis at Liancourt.²⁸²

The relic collection at La Roche-Guyon was not simply a display of family and political gifts like the Princesse Palatine's Polish relics were; neither was it a shrine to the architects of the Counter Reformation like Anna Barberini's. Saint Pience's finger was symbolic of La Roche-Guyon's earliest Christian origin - as were many of the other relics in the chapel.²⁸³ Marie Salomé is described in the Bible as a follower of Jesus and variously as Mary's sister, wife of Zebedee, mother of disciples James and John, and the midwife at the birth of Jesus who physically examined Mary for signs of her virginity.²⁸⁴ Barnabé, or Barnabas, was a first-century Jewish Cypriot who converted to Christianity shortly after the Pentecost and was the subject of one of Veronese's paintings.²⁸⁵ According to the Golden Legend, his relics

²⁸¹ Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 134.

²⁸² Something explored in chapter five below, pp. 275 – 77. As Simon Ditchfield wrote some years ago, the significance of the early Christian virgin martyrs to the history of Counter-Reformation female devotion is 'largely unwritten'; see *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*, 183.

²⁸³ Nicolas Davanne, *La vie et martyre de saint Nigaise, premier archeveque de Rouen, S Quirin, prestre, S Scuviculle, diacre, ses compagnons et de sainte pience, jadis dame de La Roche Guyon ensemble le recueil de la translation de leurs saintes reliques* (Paris: Le Locu, 1628). Elizabeth of Hungary (1207 – 1231) is probably the exception. She was a queen and daughter of King Andrew II of Hungary who renounced the court in 1228 to live a life of austerity. Her premature death at the age of 24 was caused by the severe spiritual direction of Conrad of Marburg; see David Hugh Farmer, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (5th edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 169. We will see below, p. 196, that Conti also possessed a relic of 'Faustine' who was probably Faustina, a sixth-century Italian martyr; see Caraffa, Morelli, et. al, eds., *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. V (Rome: Città Nuova editrice, 1964), 479.

²⁸⁴ Gillian Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Lifestyles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 75. In the *Acta Sanctorum*, 'Salome' is identified as the mother of Zebedee, *Acta Sanctorum*, Octobris IX, Dies 22 Octobris, 436, <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk> [accessed March 7, 2011].

²⁸⁵ Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1, 318 – 21; Farmer, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 42; *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii II, Dies 11 Junii, 424, <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk> [accessed March 7, 2011].

were secretly buried by one of his disciples after he had been martyred.²⁸⁶ Thomas was the ‘doubting’ apostle at Jesus’ resurrection and Matthias was another apostle who took the place of Judas Iscariot after his suicide and was later martyred.²⁸⁷ Other martyrs’ relics also helped to historicize the chapel. Lawrence was one of seven deacons martyred during the persecutions of Valerian in 258; Barbara was a Christian convert who was imprisoned in a tower by her father and martyred in the persecution of Maximian in 303; Catherine of Alexandria was a fourth-century noble woman who was persecuted for her Christianity and tortured on the wheel before being beheaded.²⁸⁸ The pertinence of the sufferings of these early Christians to the rigorist material style will be discussed in the next and final part of this chapter.

6. ‘Idolum aliquamdiu retro non erat’²⁸⁹: Material Culture and the Early Church

It is difficult to pinpoint the influences upon the material culture this chapter has observed in rigorist domestic devotional spaces because it is not something which spiritual friends tended to discuss in their correspondence. There were a number of possible sources of inspiration. It may simply have been lay women’s responses to the advice about material culture they encountered in rigorist writings.²⁹⁰ Art historian Bernard Dorival showed how critical the

²⁸⁶ Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, 321.

²⁸⁷ On Thomas, see Caraffa, Morelli, et. al, eds., *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, vol. XII (Rome: Città Nuova editrice, 1969), 536 – 43; and Farmer, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 502. On Matthias, see Farmer, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 359; and Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1, 166;

²⁸⁸ On Lawrence, see *Acta Sanctorum*, Augusti II, Dies 10 Augusti, 518, <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk> [accessed March 7, 2011]. On Barbara, see Farmer, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 41. On Catherine, see Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 334 – 41.

²⁸⁹ Tertullian, *De idololatria* (Turnhout: Brepolis Publishers, 2010), CL. 0023, CSEL, 32, line 14: ‘Idolum aliquamdiu retro non erat, priusquam huius monstri artifices ebullissent, sola templa et uacuae aedes erant’; which translates as: There were no idols in ancient times, before the artifices of this monstrosity had bubbled into being, temples stood solitary and shrines empty.

²⁹⁰ See, for example, Pierre Tressan de La Vergne, *Examen général de tous les états et conditions et des péchez que l'on y peut commetre* (Paris: G. Desprez, 1670).

Port-Royalists were of certain paintings and other forms of devotional art.²⁹¹ There is also evidence that spiritual directors warned rigorist penitents about being seduced by the material environment. Saint-Cyran advised his anonymous aristocratic penitent to ‘rentrancher les choses superflues’, and ‘toutes les autres choses exterieures qui vous environnent.’²⁹² Angélique Arnauld discussed the issue of ornaments in churches and cabinets with Marie-Louise de Gonzague.²⁹³ Rigorist penitents may have also been trying to imitate the environment at Port-Royal. The *constitutions* of the convent relate the austerity of its cells which were also depicted in Champaigne’s paintings.²⁹⁴ This chapter has also argued that the infrequency, and in some cases total absence, of devotional aids and ornamentation in rigorist *hôtels* might be understood as a shift away from *dévot* ‘easy devotions’ and a reaction to the ostentation and extravagance of Baroque Catholicism sanctioned by the establishment.

The material culture of the chapel at La Roche-Guyon also points towards another complementary explanation. Rigorist penitents’ rejection of the Baroque might also be interpreted as an expression of their desire to adopt a simpler, understated culture of worship, which was reminiscent of early Christianity.²⁹⁵ This thesis has already found some signs of rigorist women’s affections for their forbears: chapter one revealed how the princesse de

²⁹¹ Bernard Dorival, *Philippe de Champaigne 1602 – 1674: la vie, l’œuvre* (2 volumes, Paris: Léonce Laget, 1976).

²⁹² *Lettres chrestiennes et spirituelles de messire Jean du Vergier de Hauranne*, Saint-Cyran to ‘une dame de très-grande condition,’ 1641, 462 – 95, 477.

²⁹³ BSPR, Ms. PR, 75, fo. 298, Angélique Arnauld to Marie-Louise de Gonzague, undated.

²⁹⁴ Woshinsky, *Imagining Women’s Conventual Spaces*, 210 – 12.

²⁹⁵ Early modern historians interested in the influence that the Church Fathers had on seventeenth-century French rigorism or English Puritanism can profit from the shift in the scholarship from ‘Patristics’ to ‘Early Christian Studies’ pioneered by Elizabeth A. Clark. As well as permitting a focus on the history of women in Late Antiquity, this shift has meant that scholars working outside of theology have brought new perspectives to the subject such as Peter Brown, Gillian Clark and Robin M. Jensen. See Elizabeth A. Clark, ‘From Patristics to Early Christian Studies,’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, eds. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 16. Thanks to Simon Ditchfield for this reference.

Conti identified with Saint Thais of Alexandria; and chapter two showed the way Athanasius' invective on the singing of the psalms seems to have resonated with the duchesse de Liancourt. This chapter has also discovered that the duchesse de Liancourt made the chapel at La Roche-Guyon a shrine to its early Christian history.

The new evidence that this thesis presents for the rigorist friendship network's affinity with the early Christians fits in with the work of other scholars who have shown how rigorist clerics at Port-Royal attempted to reapply the practices of Augustine and generate interest in patristic works.²⁹⁶ Historian Bruno Neveu's research into the intellectual life of seventeenth-century Paris showed that even outside of Port-Royal, the rigorists idealized the first centuries of the Christian Church which became 'le culte du passé chrétien.'²⁹⁷ Jean-Louis Quantin has shown that rigorist authors argued that reading the fathers would allow 'the true spirit of the Church to be rediscovered.'²⁹⁸ Joseph Bergin also commented upon the rigorist efforts to 'uncover the actual practices of the early Church and to strip away the accretions of subsequent ages.'²⁹⁹

The rigorists were not alone in their appropriation of the history of the Eastern and Western Church.³⁰⁰ As other historians have persuasively argued, these narratives became important to the Catholic Church in its defence against heresy in the sixteenth century.³⁰¹

²⁹⁶ Neveu, *Erudition et religion*, 451 – 72, see especially 454 – 55.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 455.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 979.

²⁹⁹ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 411.

³⁰⁰ Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London: University of California Press, 1989), 166 – 95 outlines the differences between Eastern and Western Christendom and the usefulness of this division; Brown shows that in the East, Christianity found more harmony with classical Greek culture.

³⁰¹ Ralph Keen 'The Fathers in the Counter-Reformation Theology in the Pre-Tridentine Period,' in *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, ed. Irena Backus (2 volumes, New York, Brill, 1997), vol. 1, 702 – 703. The Jesuits also wrote prolifically on the subject; see Dominique Bertrand, 'The Society of Jesus and the Church Fathers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century,'

Discipline and penance characterized the piety of fourth-century theologians however, just as it did the Port-Royalists.³⁰² Along with other Greek Fathers such as Athanasius, the Cappadocians pioneered Christian asceticism which was based on the theology of the Incarnation: the principle that God came to live on earth as a human who resisted worldliness.³⁰³ Neveu showed that the rigorists idolized this form of worship: ‘de sa pureté de foi et de discipline, bref, la volonté de retour aux sources, purent parfois apparaître par leurs implications morales, pastorales, ou liturgiques surtout, comme un prurit de modernité, une fièvre de changement, en tout cas un blâme à la hiérarchie et à son chef, l’évêque de Rome.’³⁰⁴ Rigorist women also shared the early Christians’ experiences of instability and persecution through their association with Port-Royal, which could only have attuned their empathy with those who were also ‘martyrs’ in an immoral and impious society.³⁰⁵

The rigorist affinity with the early Christians extended beyond Port-Royal. In their cabinets and chapels female penitents may too have been simulating early Christian unconventionalism which rejected the ways of Roman society, just as the rigorists resisted the Baroque.³⁰⁶ The Latin Church Fathers condemned congregations who were more interested in wealth and ‘fashionable display’ than penitence, and Tertullian called Roman culture

in *The Reception of the Church Fathers*, ed. Backus; and Jean-Louis Quantin, ‘The Fathers in Seventeenth-Century Roman Catholic Theology,’ in *The Reception of the Church Fathers*, ed. Backus, 967.

³⁰² Particularly the works of the Cappadocian fathers Basil, his younger brother Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus; see Morwenna Ludlow, *The Early Church* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 126. Rigorist penitents also read the works of Athanasius and the Cappadocian Fathers, see below, pp. 239 – 41. On patristics and rigorism see Quantin, ‘The Fathers,’ 979 – 80.

³⁰³ Ludlow, *The Early Church*, 146.

³⁰⁴ Neveu, *Erudition et religion*, 455.

³⁰⁵ Other historians have also shown that the rigorists were influenced by patristic theology; see, for example, Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France*, 25. On the third century persecutions ordered in late 249 by the emperor Decius, see Ludlow, *The Early Church*, 99; and on the Valerian persecutions of 257 – 258, see Ludlow, *The Early Church*, 100.

³⁰⁶ Ludlow, *The Early Church*, 149; Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 428.

‘idolatrous.’³⁰⁷ The women of late antiquity were instructed to create their own ‘desert’ within the home.³⁰⁸ The Roman *cubiculum* was, like the rigorist cabinet, supposed to facilitate encounters with the divine, psalm-chanting and a ‘radical seclusion from worldly influences’, according to authors such as John Cassian, Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome.³⁰⁹ Narratives of pagan converts in fifth-century Rome also told of the material transformation of the *cubiculum*, where the removal of idols reinforced a Christian conversion.³¹⁰ The next chapter will consider more evidence for lay rigorist women’s receptiveness to these ideas by evaluating the importance of patristic works to their devotional reading.

Conclusion

This chapter has revealed that the domestic devotional spaces of rigorist penitents were materially coherent. Their *hôtels* conformed to aristocratic social norms: they owned fashionable furniture and used ‘predictable’ contemporary colours and designs to decorate their apartments.³¹¹ The presence of the relics in the chapel at La Roche-Guyon, the paintings at the Hôtels de Liancourt and Longueville, and a smattering of crucifixes and holy-water fonts also showed that it would be unwise to suggest that rigorist penitents adopted the austerity and minimalism of Port-Royal. Of course, highlighting the absence of certain objects from rigorist *hôtels* rests on the assumption that the notaries itemized everything within them: a position which we know is problematic. But the way that devotional aids,

³⁰⁷ Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, condemned the love of wealth and extravagance; see Ludlow, *The Early Church*, 104; and Robin. M. Jensen, ‘Towards a Christian Material Culture,’ in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 1, ‘Origins to Constantine,’ eds. Margaret N. Mitchell and Frances M. Young (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 569. Tertullian’s point of view is outlined in *De idololatria*.

³⁰⁸ Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity*, 102.

³⁰⁹ Kristina Sessa, ‘Christianity and the Cubiculum: Spiritual Politics and Domestic Space in Late Antiquity,’ *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 15, no. 2 (Summer, 2007), 180.

³¹⁰ Sessa, ‘Christianity and the Cubiculum,’ 188.

³¹¹ Bonahan, ‘Color Schemes and Decorative Tastes,’ 118.

expensive Baroque paintings and other vestiges of experiential worship rarely showed-up in rigorist inventories is more than coincidental, especially when we consider their visibility in comparable contemporary Parisian inventories and in other historical studies. Rigorist inventories show that there was a distinctive and aristocratic rigorist material culture of devotion which rejected the forms of worship concurrent with the Baroque.

Rigorist penitents' drive to practice superior forms of worship has to be understood in relation to the Catholic Reformation which was largely motivated by the desire to purge 'popular' devotions of 'superstition.' There are few histories of the Catholic Reformation in France which fail to mention the vain efforts of the *curé* Christophe Sauvageon to reform the parishioners of Sennely-en-Sologne.³¹² Rigorist bishops were even more hard-hitting. Nicolas Pavillon instructed the parish priests of Alet in Languedoc to keep registers recording the 'qualités' and 'défauts' of each of their parishioners.³¹³ Gabriel de Roquette's reforms in Autun made him an exemplary *Tartuffe*.³¹⁴ The signs that rigorist women were engaging in a more challenging culture of worship reinforces the arguments put forward in this thesis thus far. The indications are that the spiritual elitism of the rigorist friendship network, shown in chapters one and two, was reflected in and reinforced by the material culture of their piety; this elevated them above the 'simple and naïve' piety of their *dévot* predecessors, and beyond empty Baroque devotions.³¹⁵

³¹² Gérard Bouchard, *Le village immobile: Sennely en Sologne au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1972).

³¹³ Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 357.

³¹⁴ Bergin, *Crown, Church and Episcopate*, 472.

³¹⁵ Châtellier called *dévot* piety 'simple and naïve' in *L'Europe des dévots*, 188.

The rigorist distaste for extraneous devotions may also have been a reaction to the Jesuit-led, Italianate worship which flourished at the French court.³¹⁶ This was plausibly a continuation of the criticism levelled at Mazarin after the Fronde, which was exacerbated by his management of the controversies at Port-Royal.³¹⁷ As more Italians came to court during Mazarin's ministry, anti-court rhetoric also became more specifically anti-Italian; the French directive to 'parler plus masle' was to speak in the French, not Italian, style.³¹⁸ Madame de Sévigné even commented on the 'profane' way the *fête-dieu* was observed in parts of France because Italian archbishops allowed it.³¹⁹ Certainly, the origins of the princesse de Conti do limit how far the rigorist culture of worship can be seen as anti-Italian.³²⁰ Mazarin's niece came to France from Rome in 1648 and only married a Frenchman in 1654 as part of an act of political diplomacy.³²¹ The lack of a surviving probate inventory makes it near impossible to establish whether she brought Italianate, Baroque culture into the Hôtel de Conti. As the last chapter showed, however, the princess came to France at the age of eleven and was accepted into a family of Frondeurs in a way that even the Great Condé's wife never

³¹⁶ Von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 101; Henry Heller, *Anti-Italianism in Sixteenth-Century France* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 173. The numbers of Italians in the royal household did go into decline; see Dubost, *La France Italienne*, 271

³¹⁷ Treasure, *Mazarin*, 292 – 300. The rigorist opposition to 'luxury' was reminiscent of the criticism of Mazarin's 'covetousness' in the *Mazarinades*; see Todd Olson, *Poussin and France: Painting, Humanism and the Politics of Style* (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 295. On the *Mazarinades*, see as an example, 'Récit de ce qui s'est fait et passé à la marche Mazarine depuis sa sortie de Paris jusqu'à Sedan' (1651), in Joëlle Garcia, *Les représentations gravées du Cardinal Mazarin au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), 71 – 5. On anti-Italianism, see Winfried Schleiner, 'Linguistic "Xenophobia" in Sixteenth-Century France: The Case of Henri Estienne,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 34, no. 3 (Fall, 2003): 747 – 60. The unpopularity of Mazarin has been discussed by historians who have used the *Mazarinades* to examine attitudes towards the Italian-born minister, whom the *Parlement* called 'a disciple of Machiavelli' in 1652, see Bonney, 'Cardinal Mazarin and his Critics'; and Bonney, 'Cardinal Mazarin and the Great Nobility,' 819.

³¹⁸ Katherine Ibbett, *The Style of the State in French Theater 1630 - 1660: Neoclassicism and Government* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 7, 10. Staging operas in French, not Italian, is another example of this; see Trout, *Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 185; and Heller, *Anti-Italianism*, 172.

³¹⁹ *Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné: correspondance*, vol. 1, 274.

³²⁰ The comtesse de Maure also had Italian heritage but had been resident in France throughout her life.

³²¹ Barthélemy, *Une nièce de Mazarin*, 3 – 9.

was. The Conti household accounts also verify that the princess adhered to a rigorist, Gallican culture of worship, not an Italian one. The princesse de Conti was an Italian by birth but it was the Italianate *zeitgeist*, which Mazarin had represented and which the rigorists detested, that the princess had clearly left behind.

This thesis is not a study of the material culture of aristocratic piety and this chapter has therefore been necessarily restricted in the number of inventories it uses.³²² Despite the silence of the correspondence on rigorist penitents' attitudes towards different forms of devotion, the inventories have permitted the distinctiveness of the lay rigorist culture of worship to be gauged. These sources show that at least three members of the increasingly cliquish rigorist friendship group and two of their rigorist acquaintances were not only bound by the experience of conversion and the exercise of penitence, but also by the style and material expression of their piety. There is also some evidence that rigorist penitents' domestic devotional spaces underwent material transformations after their conversions, just like the earliest Pagan-Christian converts. Beyond the unique social and religious features of pious sociability then, was an important cultural one where a 'shared culture' was 'distinguished through [its] material practices.'³²³ Whether anti-Italian, anti-Baroque, or simply anti-establishment, rigorist penitents' worship was unconventional for a female pious network, especially when assessed against most accounts of the 'unfolding of feminine devotion' during the Baroque era.³²⁴ The next chapter will explore this contrast in more detail in an examination of how this high-minded spirituality determined the reading practices of the duchesse de Liancourt.

³²² By which I mean the availability of inventories taken at rigorist residences and the number of non-rigorist comparative inventories it was able to use as part of a comparative discussion.

³²³ Hamling and Richardson, 'Introduction,' 5.

³²⁴ Gabriella Zarri, 'From Prophecy to Discipline 1450 – 1650,' in *Women and Faith*, eds. Scaraffia and Zarri, 112.

CHAPTER FOUR

Devotion made easy? The duchesse de Liancourt's pious reading

‘All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.’ 2 *Timothy* 3: 16.¹

In 1845 George Eliot slammed the ‘dead-wall stupidity’ of the duchesse de Longueville which she discovered in the writings of Sainte-Beuve:

I [the abbé St Pierre] one day asked Monsieur Nicole what was the character of Madame de Longueville's intellect; he told me it was very subtle and delicate in the penetration of character, but very small, very feeble; and that her comprehension was extremely narrow in matters of science and reasoning, and on all speculations that did not concern matters of sentiment...He added, I one day said to her that I could demonstrate that there were in Paris, at least two inhabitants who had the same number of hairs...I said :- I take it for granted that the head which is most amply supplied with hairs has not more than 200,000 and the head which is least so has but one hair. Now, if you suppose that 200,000 heads have each a different number of hairs, it necessarily follows that they each have one of the numbers of hairs which form the series 1 to 200,000...Supposing that these inhabitants have all a different number of hairs, if I add a single inhabitant...it necessarily follows that this number of hairs, whatever it may be, will be contained in the series from 1 to 200,000 and consequently will be equal to the number of hairs on the head of one of the previous inhabitants....as there are nearly 800,000 inhabitants in Paris, you see clearly that there must be many heads which have an equal number of hairs. Still madame de Longueville could never comprehend that this equality of hairs could be demonstrated and always maintained that the only way of proving it was to count them.²

Eliot was never confident about the intelligence of the women of her day either, as she revealed in her observations on ‘silly novels by lady novelists’ in 1856.³ Scholars of female Puritan culture have found a similar ‘residual prejudice’ that early modern women were

¹ *Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 264.

² George Eliot, ‘Woman in France: Madame de Sablé,’ in *George Eliot: Selected Essays, Poems and Other Writings*, eds. A. S. Byatt and Nicolas Warren, with an introduction by A.S. Byatt (London: Penguin, 1990): 35 – 6.

³ Although she was more optimistic about the intellectual capacity of madame de Sablé; see *Ibid*, 36; see also Eliot, ‘Silly Novels by Lady Novelists,’ in *George Eliot: Selected Essays*, eds. Byatt and Warren, 140 – 63.

excluded from intellectual discourses, and along with French historians, have begun to challenge this legacy.⁴ In line with this recent scholarship, this chapter will argue that contrary to what historians, and indeed George Eliot, have supposed about the ‘Belles Amies’, the piety of rigorist penitents was based on their comprehension of complex casuistry and doctrinal principles.⁵ A case-study of the duchesse de Liancourt’s books will show that there was a typology of female, rigorist reading which was conditioned by, and helped to shape, their high-minded spirituality and erudite culture of devotion.

1. The Histories of Reading and the Book

Robert Darnton posed the question ‘Reading has a history, but how can we recover it?’ twenty-five years ago.⁶ Since then, a range of approaches have been used to recover the reading experiences of historical actors, to establish book ownership patterns and to write the material history of the book.⁷ Early modernists were the first to show how readers ‘actively

⁴ Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, ‘Introduction,’ in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558 – 1680*, eds. Johanna Harris and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 2; Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes*; Bernos, *Femmes et gens de l'église*, 28: ‘la liberation des femmes est préparée par leur progressif accès a l’instruction et à la culture.’ Elaine Viennot has also attempted a study of the cultural, political and intellectual role of women in France: *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir* (2 volumes, Paris: Perrin, 2008), vol. 2, ‘Les résistances de la société: XVIIe – XVIIIe siècle.’

⁵ They have been presented, as they were by nineteenth-century historians, simply as protectresses of the *cause célèbre* at Port-Royal. There is rarely any reference to their theological or doctrinal understandings in works such as: Thomas M. Carr, Jr. *Voix des abbesses du Grand Siècle: la prédication au féminin à Port-Royal: context rhétorique et Dossier* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2006), 66 – 9; Lillian Rea, *The Enthusiasts of Port-Royal* (London: Methuen, 1912); and Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*. Cousin even said of Longueville’s conversion: ‘Dans les ardents repentirs, les continuelles alarmes, les troubles intérieurs de madame de Longueville, il n’y a pas l’ombre d’un système de théologie,’ Cousin, ed., ‘Lettres inédites,’ *Journal des Savants* (1852): 249. Barthélemy said something similar about the comtesse de Maure’s indifference towards the nuances between religious doctrines; Barthélemy, *La comtesse de Maure*, 49.

⁶ Robert Darnton, ‘First Steps Towards a History of Reading,’ *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 23, no. 1 (1986): 5 – 30; Stephen Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695 – 1870* (London: Palgrave, 2007), 1.

⁷ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*; translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994); Roger Chartier and Guglielmo Cavallo, eds., *A History of Reading in the West*; translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999); Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*; translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Roger Chartier, *Frenchness in the History of the Book: From the History of Publishing to the History of Reading* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1988);

interpreted their texts' just as we do, and different theories on reader response have helped them to understand encounters with texts.⁸ Scholars have also used surviving marginal annotations such as the 'manicule' to reconstruct the reading process.⁹ The 'privatization' of reading has been regarded by historians as one of the key cultural developments of the period: one which not only affected book production but also transformed reading experiences.¹⁰

Early modern women's access to books was determined by the level of education they received.¹¹ The French female aristocracy were highly-literate and often learned Latin as well

Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (London: Allen Lane, 1984). The history of print culture and literacy has been pioneered by scholars of early modern England; see Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981); David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550 – 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993).

⁸ Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," *Past and Present*, 129 (November, 1990): 30. For a useful outline of these theories, see William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 54. Theories have been proposed, among others, by Stanley Fish, 'Interpreting the "Variorum",' *Critical Inquiry*, 2, no. 3 (Spring, 1976): 465 – 85; and Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).

⁹ Jardine and Grafton, "'Studied for Action,'" Anthony Grafton, 'Is the History of Reading a Marginal Enterprise? Guillaume Budé and his Books,' *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 91, no. 2 (June, 1997): 139 – 57; Kevin Sharpe, 'Uncommon Places? The Reading Notes of Sir William Drake,' in *The Reader Revealed*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron et. al. (Washington: Folger Library, 2001), 59 – 65; William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

¹⁰ Roger Chartier, 'The Practical Impact of Writing,' in *A History of the Private Life*, eds. Ariès and Duby, vol. III, 'Passions of the Renaissance,' ed. Chartier, 125; Susan Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade in Sixteenth-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 28.

¹¹ Harris and Scott-Baumann, eds., *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women*. I have also found these useful: David McKitterick, *Women and their Books in Seventeenth-Century England: The Case of Elizabeth Puckering* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2000); Heidi Brayman Hackel, 'The Countess of Bridgewater's London Library,' in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, eds. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 138 – 59; Heidi Brayman Hackel, "'Boasting of Silence": Women Readers in a Patriarchal State,' in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, eds. Kevin M. Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101 – 21; Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly, 'Introduction,' in *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship and Culture in the Atlantic World*, eds. Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2008), 1; Chantal Grell, 'France et Angleterre: l'héritage du Grand Siècle,' in *L'éducation des jeunes filles nobles en Europe XVIIe – XVIIIe siècles*, eds. Chantal Grell et Arnaud-Ramière de Fortanier (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 11.

as other languages.¹² They were usually formally educated with home tutors or in the cloister: a place which provided the young female elite with access to devotional and liturgical texts.¹³ At Port-Royal, the ‘little schools’ had been established for this purpose and the convent produced a number of pedagogic works.¹⁴ Their exposure to extensive manuscript collections in religious houses meant that elite women also commissioned the transcription, production and printing of texts.¹⁵

In sixteenth-century Europe, more people owned books than ever before.¹⁶ Henri Brémond showed that the Catholic Reformation gave rise to an explosion of devotional literature in France.¹⁷ In Paris, books on religious subjects increased from 30% to 50% of the total number produced.¹⁸ The publishing industry expanded dramatically.¹⁹ Around forty towns in France already had printing presses by 1550 and at least sixty did by 1600; Paris, Lyon, Rouen, Reims, Avignon and Toulouse were the centres of the French book trade in the seventeenth century.²⁰ Publishers also began to specialize. Sébastien Cramoisy monopolized

¹² Bernos, *Femmes et gens de l'église*, 103.

¹³ Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, 18.

¹⁴ On Jacqueline Pascal's ‘Règlement pour les enfants,’ see *A Rule for Children and Other Writings*, edited and translated by John J. Conley (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003). An example of another pedagogic work is Guillaume Le Roy, *Du Devoir des mères avant et après la naissance de leurs enfants* (Paris: G. Desprez, 1675).

¹⁵ Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, 32.

¹⁶ Chartier, ‘The Practical Impact of Writing,’ 128.

¹⁷ Brémond, *Histoire littéraire*, see especially vol. III and vol. IV; others have since agreed, see Delumeau, *Le catholicisme*, 83 – 4.

¹⁸ Dominique Julia, ‘Reading and the Counter Reformation,’ in *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. Chartier and Cavallo, 259.

¹⁹ David T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500 – 1791* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958), 189.

²⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), 193; Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 333.

Church publications, Jesuit devotional guides and anti-Jansenist diatribes in Paris.²¹ Antoine Vitré headed the group dedicated to rigorist publications which consisted of Muguet, Léonard, Desprez, Roulland, Savreux and Le Petit.²² Desprez, Savreux and Le Petit were actually imprisoned for certain periods for publishing ‘heretical’ rigorist works.²³ The Parisian rue Saint-Jacques, which became a haunt for rigorist penitents as we saw in chapter two, had no less than 71 bookshops by the end of the sixteenth century.²⁴

2. ‘...je feray lire quelque bon livre quand je le pourray’²⁵ : Reading in the Cabinet

The role of reading in the Counter Reformation has attracted less historiographical interest than the relationship between the printing revolution and the growth of the Reformation into a mass movement.²⁶ It would be useful to know how print culture impinged upon the piety of the *dévots* who led the Catholic Reformation in cities such as Paris. Reading was certainly

²¹ Henri-Jean Martin, ‘Un grand éditeur Parisien au XVIIe siècle,’ *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1957): 179 – 80.

²² Pottinger, *The French Book Trade*, 188, 199.

²³ *Ibid*, 209.

²⁴ Phillips, *Church and Culture*, 263.

²⁵ *Règlement*, 198.

²⁶ As Po-Chia Hsia remarked, there is still no comprehensive study of book production in Catholic Europe; Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 172. Richard A. Crofts made a good start on print culture in Counter-Reformation Germany; see ‘Printing, Reform and the Catholic Reformation in Germany,’ *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 16, no. 3 (Autumn, 1985): 369 – 81; and Alexandra Walsham has shed some light on the English context; see ‘“Domme Preachers”? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print,’ *Past and Present*, 168 (August, 2000): 72 – 123. Eamon Duffy considered the use of Books of Hours in the sixteenth-century in England; see Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240 – 1570: The Riddell Lectures 2002* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 121 – 40. On Print and Protestantism, see Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book and the European World* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Andrew Pettegree and Matthew Hall, ‘The Reformation and the Book: A Reconsideration,’ *The Historical Journal*, 47, no. 1 (March, 2004): 1 – 24; R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); and Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (2 volumes, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). For an excellent new exploration of Puritan reading ‘communities,’ see Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England 1580 - 1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

central to their devotional lives and this was also the case for rigorist women.²⁷ Passages in female penitents' spiritual autobiographies demonstrate how reading helped to structure the daily devotional regimen. According to the duchesse de Liancourt's text, a substantial part of her day was allocated to reading in the cabinet, punctuated by prayers such as the Act of Resignation and the 'Benedicte':

Après m'être vetue, j'entreray dans mon cabinet pour y faire demi-heure d'oraison... Après, je regarday mon memoire, pour voir ce que j'ay a faire et ordonner ce jour-la. Je considereray bien si tout est selon Dieu et quel profit j'en puis tirer pour mon salut. Je mettray toutes mes affaires entre les mains de Dieu, me rapportant a sa providence de ce qui en reussira. Et apres avoir fait un acte de resignation et de confiance, je donneray mes commissions et je regleray les heures pour ce que j'aurai a faire. Avant diner, je feray l'examen du matin et si j'ay le loisir, j'entreray dans mon cabinet pour cela...J'ecouteray et diray le Benedicte avec attention, damandant a Dieu ma part des viandes que sa providence a destinées pour notre table, ne me les attribuent pas plus qu'aux autres, pour etre la maitresse de la maison...Quand je ne feray point obligée d'etre en compagnie l'apres dinee je me retiray quelque temps pour lire, ou pour quelque autre chose utile pour ma conscience ou pour nos affaires.²⁸

The duchess' chambermaids were also intended to profit from her reading:

Durant que je me peigneray je feray lire quelque bon livre quand je le pourray, afin que les personnes qui sont a monhabiller en puissent profiter, et tacheray de les faire parler sur ce qu'on lira, pour voir si elles l'entendent et de leur dire quelque mot sur les endroits ou il faudra qu'elles fassent plus de reflexion.²⁹

Reading and prayer also ordered the duchesse de Longueville's routine. She vowed to recite the Seven Penitential Psalms at different hours and to spend 15 minutes reflecting on each.³⁰

²⁷ Linda Timmermans has shown that the religious life of women after 1660 has been even more neglected by historians; *L'accès des femmes*, 394; as noted in the Thesis Introduction, see above, p. 12, footnote 8.

²⁸ *Règlement*, 197 – 98, 200; Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*: 'Benedictio mensae: a liturgical form of grace developed in monastic circles from verses of the psalms, reference to it is found as early as Cassian and Saint Benedict,' 187.

²⁹ *Règlement*, 198.

³⁰ BnF, Ms. Fr, 19411, fo. 1.

Identifying the books that rigorist women chose to study during these periods is difficult. The Conti household accounts indicate the categories of books the princess procured but rarely individual titles, and even these seem to have been selected for her. For example, payments to a Parisian bookseller on the 28 and 29 October 1658 of 128 *livres* were for four saints' lives, a number of catechisms and a penitential work, although these do seem to have been for her household and not her personal use.³¹ The accounts also show payments for a breviary in four volumes in 1664, a selection of works purchased by Armand de Conti's chaplain Voisin in 1663 and 1667, and works provided by Trouillas in 1668.³² Conti also purchased devotional texts for her domestics and paid for copies of manuscripts to be produced, which was regarded as a 'meritorious and godly act.'³³ Between January and March 1667, she also had bound (and one presumes, read) her husband's dissertation.³⁴

³¹ AN, R³, 105, fo. 323: 'Au sieur Josse marchand librairie a Paris la somme de cent vingt huit livres pour le prix de quatre vies des saints et huit volumes guides pecheurs et un cent de catechisms quil a fournie pour la maison de son Altesse serenissime...quittance des vingt huit et vingt neuf octobre lannee mil six cent cinquante huit.'

³² AN, R³, 111, fo. 249: 'Monsieur Vidonne l'un des ausmoniers de son altesse serenissime la somme de cinquante cinq livres quil a fournies pour faire authentiques les Reliques de S[ain]te Faustine, pour un breviaire en quatre volumes pour son altesse serenissime madame... quitt[an]ces de cinq janvier et vingt cinquiesme avril mil six cens soixante quatre'; R³, 110, ff. 166 - 67: 'A Monsieur Voisin la somme de trente livres cinq solz pour des livres quil a acheptez pour son altesse serenissime suivant un memoire et trois quittances des quatriesme Janvier septiesme avril et sixiesme aoust mil six cens soixante trois,' 'A [Mon]sieur Voisin la somme de neuf livres pour l'achapt de deux livres pour son altesse serenissime suivant la mesme ordonnance et quittance du septiesme decembre mil six cens soixante trois'; R³, 113, fo. 21: 'A M[onsieu]r Voisin premier ausmosnier de feu S[on] A[ltesse] S[erenissime] Monseigneur la somme de soixante six livres quinze solz pour plusieurs livres qu'il achettés pour S[on] A[ltesse] S[erenissime] Mad[ame]'; AN, R³, 114, fo. 33: 'A Monsieur Voisin premier aumosnier de feu son Altesse serenissime mon seign[eu]r la somme de sept livres cinq solz pour un livre qu'il achepete pour son Altesse serenissime et pour la relieure d'un autre suivant deux quittances de douz[i]eme may mil six cents soixante sept'; AN, R³, 115, fo. 25: 'A Mons[ieur] du Trouillas la somme de vingt trois livres pour des livres qu'il a achetté pour S[on] A[ltesse] S[erenissime] Madame suivante une memoire.'

³³ AN, R³, 111, ff. 249 - 50: 'Au sieur Froslin la somme de dix huit livres pour deux livres de devotion qu'il achepete pour les Domestiques de leurs altesse serenissimes et une clochette pour la chapelle suivant lad[ite] ordonnance et deux quittances du quinziesme septembre mil six cens soixante quatre'; AN, R³, 116, fo. 52: 'Au S[ieu]r Bauge la somme de vingt une livre pour avoir fait coppier les status et reglemans des bernardines du precieux sang suivant l'ordonnance de s[on] a[ltesse] s[erenissime] et quittance des 10e mars et 24e avril 1669'; see Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 33 (1983): 72.

³⁴ AN, R³, 114, fo. 101: 'Au [Mon]s[ieu]r du bois marchand relieur la somme de cent livres pour avoir relié en maroquin quarente livres intitule le devoir de grands sont son altesse serenissime a fait'; 'Au [Mon]s[ieu]r prome aussy libraire la somme de soixante deux livres pour plusieurs livres exemplaires du traite de la comedie qui ont este pareilles donnees par son altesse serenissime.'

Occasionally, rigorist penitents disclosed information about their devotional reading to their spiritual friends, borrowed titles from each other and gave books as gifts.³⁵ On 2 September 1662, the princesse de Conti paid Voisin 19 *livres* for a leather-bound missel to be given to the duchesse de Longueville, for example, and the marquise de Sablé promised her copy of the psalms to the duchess.³⁶

Probate inventories are generally more informative about female, aristocratic book ownership than household accounts or letters. The inventory taken after the duc de Longueville's death is too problematic to use because it attributes an enormous corpus of books in their *hôtel* at Saint-Ouen to the duc (not duchesse) de Longueville and smaller collections in their other residences as his.³⁷ Books are not mentioned at all in the other surviving rigorist probate inventories, but this was probably because they were not expensive enough to be valued.³⁸ Apart from the corpus at the Hôtel de Gamaches, the only documented collection which was actually ascribed to the female head of the household was that of the duchesse de Liancourt.³⁹ There are obvious caveats which apply when interpreting Liancourt's books as 'typical' of rigorist female reading, but this chapter will also present some evidence that her spiritual friends' books correlated with the patterns revealed by her

³⁵ Something which other historians have found to be more common among early modern women, when books were given through public dedications, informally as casual presents, or bequeathed in testaments; Davis, 'Beyond the Market,' 69 – 88; Davis, *The Gift*, 59; Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters*, 257.

³⁶ AN, R³, 109, ff. 121 - 22: 'A M[onsieu]r Voisin la somme de dix neuf livres pour un missel rellié en maroquin qu'il en donné a madame la duchesse de longueville par ordre de s[on] a[ltesse] s[erenissime] Madame suivant sa quittance du deux septembre mil six cens soixante deux'; BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, fo. 78, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 25 August, undated.

³⁷ Even in 1663 his collection did show signs of being 'rigorist,' which may indicate that his conversion and piety was influenced by his wife; AN, MC, ET/XXXVI/202, 12 June 1663, 'des livres estans dans la Bibliothèque de feue mondict seigneur.'

³⁸ Such as the Guéméné and Schomberg inventories: AN, MC, ET/LXXXVII/207, 25 February 1667; and AN, MC, ET/CVIII/219, 20 August 1691.

³⁹ See Table 1.3 in chapter three above for the marquise de Gamaches' collection, p. 142.

inventories. The findings of this case-study are also contextualized within wider book ownership patterns in mid-to-later seventeenth-century Paris.⁴⁰

The function of a probate inventory was to assess value and not to record minutiae, and this often meant that the titles of books were irrelevant.⁴¹ In early modern Parisian inventories, Pardailhé-Galabrun found that when the volumes were small (in-12, or in-16) the titles were not usually mentioned.⁴² The binding could also have dictated the notary's attention to detail. In this period, books were still handmade by artisans who would sew the leaves into protective covers, usually made of leather.⁴³ The wealthiest patrons had their prized books bound in a more expensive material with intricate decoration.⁴⁴ If books were not bound, they may therefore not have been listed at all.

In most instances, the inventories used here supply enough information for titles and authors to be identified; sometimes the publishers can also be deciphered. Most of the Liancourt's books were 'livres de poche,' usually in-12 or in-16, which were easily stored

⁴⁰ My discussion of book ownership patterns in Paris is based on Henri-Jean Martin's, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII^e siècle 1598 – 1701* (2 volumes, Genève: Droz, 1999). Martin researched 600 libraries in Paris in this period: 200 libraries inventoried between 1601 and 1641, 200 between 1642 and 1670 and 200 between 1671 and 1700, using the notarial archive in the Archives Nationales. His findings do not reveal much about the reading done specifically by the high female aristocracy, given that the titles he examined were from libraries owned by people from a range of social groups. But his study is useful for establishing how the duchesse de Liancourt's reading may have differed from wider book ownership patterns in mid-to-later seventeenth century Paris. Below I discuss the books owned by the same three women as were discussed in chapter three (the duchesse de Richelieu, princesse Palatine and duchesse de Guise), as a point of comparison with a female, aristocratic, non-rigorist sample.

⁴¹ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 334.

⁴² Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, 177.

⁴³ David Pearson, *Books as History: The Importance of Books Beyond their Texts* (London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2008), 141.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

and portable. There are two probate inventories documenting these texts; the first was produced at the Hôtel de Liancourt:

Table 2.2 Books in the library at the Hôtel de Liancourt ⁴⁵

Ensuivant les livres estant dans la Bibliotheque	
Item Une bible latine Ediction de Paris reliée en Veau noire Impretion de Paris, prisé quatre livres	iiii ll
Item l’histoire des juifs fait par Joseph Traduction de Mr D’andilly relie en Veau, avec Un autre Tome de la Guere des juifs la mesme traduction, Preisez six livres ⁴⁶	vi ll
Item l’histoire de Joseph Traduit par Gennebroud Impretion de Paris, avec Un autre livre intitule les oeuvres Philon le juif, prisez ensemble quatre livres ⁴⁷	iiii ll
Item Dix Volumes De St Augustin imprestion de Basle, prisez cinquante livres	L ll
Item trois Volumes de St Gregoire Le grand impretion de Paris, couvert de Veau fort, prisez seize livres ⁴⁸	xvi ll
Item quatre volumes De St Hierosme de l’impretion de basle, couverts de veau, prisez douze livres ⁴⁹	xii ll
Item trois volumes de Tertulien impretion de Paris, couverts de Veau fort, prisez quinze livres ⁵⁰	xv ll

⁴⁵ AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/251, 16 July 1674. Where possible, I have identified editions that the duchess may have owned in the footnotes. These estimations are based upon the dates that translations were produced, their authors/editors and publishers. There is not enough information for all of the titles to be identified; in some instances I have suggested possible works, otherwise unidentified titles are not footnoted.

⁴⁶ Josèphe Flavius, *Histoire des Juifs traduite sur l'original grec par M. Arnauld d'Andilly* (Paris: n.p, 1668); *Histoire des Juifs écrite par Flavius Joseph sous le titre de 'Antiquités judaïques', traduite sur l'original grec revu sur divers manuscrits, par M. Arnauld d'Andilly* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1668).

⁴⁷ *Histoire de Flavius Josèphe, mise en françois, reveuë sur le grec et illustrée de chronologie, figures, annotations et tables, tant des chapitres que des principales matières, par D. Gilb. Genebrard* (Paris: J. Viret, 1656); Philon d'Alexandrie, *Les Œuvres translâtées de grec en français par Pierre Bellier reveuës, corrigées et augmentées de trois livres traduits sur l'original grec* (Paris: C. Chappellain, 1612).

⁴⁸ Possible editions include: *Les morales de S. Grégoire, pape, sur le livre de Job traduites en françois* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1666 - 1669); *Les quarante homélies ou sermons de St Grégoire le grand, sur les évangiles de l'année traduit en françois par Delaval* (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, 1665).

⁴⁹ I have not been able to identify this edition; there were several others, including: *Épistres familières de saint Hiérosme traduites de latin en françois par Jean de Lavardin* (Paris: A. Drouart, 1596); and *Les Vies et les miracles des saints pères hermites traduites du grec et recueillies des anciens autheurs par saint Hiérosme, mises en françois par René Gautier et recorrigées par le sieur Rault* (Rouen: Veuve de P. de La Motte, 1677).

⁵⁰ This could be a number of titles in various editions: *Apologétique, ou Défense des chrestiens contre les accusations des gentils, ouvrage de Tertullien, mis en françois par Louis Gyri* (4th edn, Paris: Veuve J. Camusat, 1641); *Les Prescriptions contre les hérétiques, traduites du latin de Qu. Septim. Flor. Tertulian, par le sieur de La Brosse* (Paris: P. Lamy, 1641); *Livre de Tertullien, du Manteau, traduction nouvelle* (Paris: P. Promé, 1665). The publishers makes one of these seem likely: *Apologetique de Tertullien ou défense des chrétiens contre les accusations des Gentils, trad. du latin en franç. par Louis Gyri* (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, 1660); *De la Chair de Jésus-Christ, et de la Résurrection de la chair, ouvrages de Tertullien, De la traduction de Louis Gyri* (Paris: P.

Item Deux Volumes Epitome de Baronius impretion de Paris, couvert de Veau noir in folio, prisez cont sols ⁵¹	C s
Item Deux volumes in folio oeuvres de st Francois de Salle, et deux autre volumes in folio de l'impretion de 1641, prisez huit livres ⁵²	viii ll
Item Les oeuvres de St Bernard impretion de Colloque in folio, prisé dix livres	x ll
Item Un livre Intitule locis communes Conradi, avec l'imitation de Jesus Christ de l'impretion du Louvre, et l'appologie de l'Evangille fait par l'archevesque de Rouen, prisez sept livres ⁵³	vii ll
Item deux volumes in folio des hommes illustre fait par Anthoine du Verdier impretion de Lion, avec les œuvres de Ronsard, prise neuf livres ⁵⁴	ix ll
Item Les Edites et ordonnances des Roys de France impretion de paris, prisez six livres ⁵⁵	vi ll
Item les oeuvres de tertulien en deux Tomes in folio, La cosmographie universelle in folio imprimie en 1552, avec les œuvres de Loiseau impretion de Paris, Un livre intitulé les treize livres des Parlemens de France impretion de Bordeaux, L'histoire Romanie par Coeffeto couvert de maroquin, prisez douze livres ⁵⁶	xii ll

Le Petit, 1661); *Histoire de Tertullien et d'Origenes, Qui contient d'excellentes apologies de la foy contre les payens & les heretiques, par le sieur de La Motte* (Paris: chez Helie Josset, ruë saint Jacques, à la Fleur-de-Lys d'or, 1676).

⁵¹ The earliest Parisian edition I have identified is: *Quelques Propositions recueillies de l'Epitome des Annales ecclesiastiques de Baronius faite par M. Henry Sponde imprimé à Paris, chez La Noue, l'an 1613, et arrêts des parlemens de Paris, Thoulouse et Rouen, et édicts des roys d'Espagne qui condamnent semblables propositions et ceux qui les oublient* (Paris: La Noüe, 1613).

⁵² One edition was: *L'Esprit du B. François de Sales, évesque de Genève, représenté en plusieurs de ses actions et paroles remarquables, recueillies de quelques sermons, exhortations, conférences, conversations, livres et lettres de M. Jean-Pierre Camus* (Paris: G. Alliot, 1639 - 1641); a 1641 edition was: *Les Œuvres augmentées de pièces qui n'ont jamais paru avant cette édition, Tome second, Publié par Noël Brulart de Sillery* (Paris: n.p, 1641).

⁵³ *Loci communes theologici reverendi viri D. Conradi Clingii, ex ipsius authoris monumentis, dupla accessione supra priorem editionem locupletati* (Paris: G. Jullian, 1565); *De l'Imitation de Jesus Christ Divisé en quatre livres, par Thomas a Kempis, chanoine regulier, traduits en françois du latin pris sur le ms. original de l'auteur, de l'an 1441* (Paris: de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1652); *Préface de l'apologie de l'Évangile pour tous les catholiques, adressée au sérénissime roy de la Grand'Bretagne, par l'illustrissime et révérendissime messire François de Harlay, archevesque de Rouen, traduite de latin en françois par M. le marquis de Bréval, son frère* (Paris: A. Estienne, 1625).

⁵⁴ Antoine du Verdier, *Prosopographie, ou Description des hommes illustres et autres, depuis la création du monde jusques à ce temps, enrichie de plusieurs figures et médailles* (Lyon: P. Frelon, 1605). It could be a number of editions of Ronsard: *Les œuvres de Pierre de Ronsard, rev. et augm. et ill. de commentaires et remarques* (Paris: N. Buon, 1623); or *Les œuvres de P. de Ronsard gentil-homme vandomois, reveuës et augmentées* (Paris: M. Hénault, 1629).

⁵⁵ *Les Édits et ordonnances des très chrestiens roys François Ier, Henry II, François II, Charles IX, Henry III, Henry IV, Louis XIII et Louis XIV, sur le fait de la justice et abréviation des procez, avec annotations par M Pierre Néron et Estienne Girard* (Paris: G. Alliot, 1647).

⁵⁶ There were Latin and French collections of Tertullian, including: *De la Patience et de l'Oraison* (Paris: Veuve J. Camusat, 1640); and *Apologétique, ou Défense des chrestiens contre les accusations des gentils, ouvrage de Tertullien, mis en françois par Louis Giry* (4th edn, Paris: Veuve J. Camusat et P. Le Petit, 1646);

Item L'histoire de Charles Sixiesme en deux tomes in folio couvert de Veau, avec l'histoire de France par Froissard, couvert de Veau marbre, les œuvres de Xenophon en français, prisez dix livres ⁵⁷	x ll
Item les œuvres Dappien alexandrie de L'impression de Lion, avec les memoires de Commine, et le second tome de l'histoire des guerres Civiles de France par Davila, Les memoires destat en deux volumes in folio par Mr Ribier, prisez sept livres ⁵⁸	vii ll
Item œuvres Crestiennes de Mr Arnauld D'andilly, La vie du Père de Gondran, Deux volumes du Pont in quarto, Un livre intitule l'homme Crestien et de l'homme Criminel par le Père Senault in quarto, Les œuvres de Ste Thereze in quarto, Le commentaire de Gensenius sur les Evangilles aussy in quarto couvert de parchemin, poemes de St Prospere contre les ingrats aussy in quarto couvert de Veau prisez sept livres. ⁵⁹	vii ll

she may have also owned a much earlier edition. The 1552 edition was: *La Cosmographie universelle de Sébastien Munster translattée en françois* (Basle: Henri Pierre, 1552); *Treze livres des parlemens de France, esquels est amplement traicté de leur origine et institution et des présidens conseillers, gens du roy, greffiers, secrétaires et de leur charge, devoir et jurisdiction par M. Bernard de La Roche-Flavin* (Bordeaux: S. Millanges, 1617); *Histoire romaine Avec l'Épitome de L. A. Florus Par N. Coëffeteau* (Lyon: J. Huguetan, 1662).

⁵⁷ *Histoire de Charles VI, roi de France et des choses mémorables advenues depuis 1380 jusques à 1422 par Jean Juvénal Des Ursins, Augmentée en cette seconde édition de plusieurs mémoires, journaux, observations historiques et annotations contenans divers traictés, contracts, testamens et autres actes et pièces du mesme temps non encore imprimées par Denys Godefroy* (Paris: de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1653). There were many editions of the histories of Jean Froissart (1337 – 1405) in Latin, French and English including: *Histoire et chronique mémorable de messire Jehan Froissart: reveu et corrigé sus divers exemplaires par Denis Sauvage de Fontenailles en Brie* (Paris: C. Gautier, 1574); I have only been able to identify two French editions of the works of Xenophon: *Les Oeuvres de Xénophon nouvellement traduites en françois, recueillies toutes en un volume, et dédiées au Roy par Pyramus de Candole* (Cologne: par P. Aubert, pour la Société Caldorienne, 1613); and *Les Oeuvres de Xénophon nouvellement traduites en françois, recueillies toutes en un volume, où l'origine de l'exercice et l'art militaire practiqué à présent est extrait* (Yverdon: Imprimerie de la Société Helvétiale Caldoresque, 1619).

⁵⁸ The only Lyon edition of Appian Alexandrin I could identify was an earlier one: *Appian Alexandrin, historien grec. Des guerres des Romains livres XI traduit en françois par feu M. Claude de Seyssel* (Lyon: A. Constantin, 1544); there was also: *Des Guerres des Romains traduit de grec en françois par Me Odet-Philippe, sieur Des Mares* (Paris: A. de Sommaville, 1660); *Les Mémoires de messire Ph. de Commines* (Paris: Imprimerie de Mauroy, 1661); Enrico Caterino Davila, *Histoire des guerres civiles de France, contenant tout ce qui s'est passé de mémorable en France jusqu'à la paix de Vervins, depuis le règne de François II, écrites en italien par Davila, mises en français par Baudoin* (Paris: Rocolet, 1644); *Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat des roys, princes, ambassadeurs et autres ministres sous les règnes de François Ier, Henry II et François II, contenant les intelligences de ces roys avec les princes de l'Europe contre les menées de Charles Quint les intrigues de quatre conclaves et le pouvoir qu'y avoient nos roys, avec diverses pratiques sur Naples, Gennes et Sienna ; les causes de la guerre de Parme et autres particularitez inconnues dans nos histoires, ouvrage composé de pièces originales rangées selon l'ordre des temps par Messire Guillaume Ribier* (Paris: F. Clousier, 1666).

⁵⁹ There were several editions of Andilly's work: *Oeuvres chrestiennes de M. Arnauld d'Andilly* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1644, 1645, 1649, 1659, 1669, 1679). I could not identify a life of *Louis Henry de Gondrin* (1620 – 1674) or the Dupont text. *L'Homme chrestien, ou la Réparation de la nature par la grâce, par le R.P. Jean-François Senault* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1655); *L'Homme criminel, ou la Corruption de la nature par le péché, selon les sentimens de S. Augustin, par le R.P. J.-F. Senault* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1663); *Les Oeuvres de la sainte Mère Thérèse de Jésus, nouvellement traduites d'espagnol en françois, par le R.P. Cyprien de la Nativité de la Vierge* (Paris: D. de La Noüe, 1644); *Poème de S. Prosper contre les ingrats, où la doctrine catholique de la grâce est excellemment expliquée et soustenue contre les erreurs des Pélagiens et des Semipélagiens, traduit en françois en vers et en prose par Isaac-Louis Le Maistre de Sacy* (Paris: Veuve M. Durand, 1647).

<p>Item un autre livre Intitulé appologie de Jensenius en deux volumes, appologie de Mr Arnauld, appologie des Sts pere, Appologie de l'abbé de Crozil, Deux volumes en l'Esglise par Mr Bourzeis, La vie des sts père des deserts, L'hautorite de St Pierre et De St Paul, La traduction de l'Esglise sur la Penitence par Mr Arnault, La grace Victorieuse de Jesus Christ, Un livre intitule S. Sanctorum Patrum de Gratia Trias, Presez Dix huit livres⁶⁰</p>	<p>xviii ll</p>
<p>Item trois volumes de St Augustin in quarto, Deux tomes des omelies pour la feste des Sts, œuvres de St Augustin contre Julien in quarto, Un Breviare Romain impretion de Paris, L'histoire de la Guerre Civile de France Davilla en Espagnol, Le theatre d'histoire imprimé Bruxelles, histoire d'henry le grand par Mr de Rodes, Un livre intitulé Renati Rapini hortorum libri quator impretion du Louvre, Remonstrances au Roy de la grand Bretagne, des histoires et croniques, les moralles de St Gregoire, Un livre intitulé Vindicie Pro Augustino, destoutes des prelates de France sur la frequente communion, Livre de la vie de St Bernard in quarto, Responce au livre de M de la Vau, Lettres du père de Gondran, Un livre intitulé Delle Vitae de Piu excellenti scultori en deux tomes, Traduction de St Augustin des Moeurs de l'Esglise, Traduction de St Augustin de la conviction et de la grace, La Destruction du Duelle, Philostrate de la vie d'apollon in quarto, presez quinze livres⁶¹</p>	<p>xv ll</p>

⁶⁰ Antoine Arnauld, *Apologie de Monsieur Jansenius evesque d'Ipre & de la doctrine de S. Augustin, expliquée dans son livre, intitulé, Augustinus, contre trois sermons de Monsieur Habert, theologal de Paris, prononcez dans Nostre-Dame, le premier & le dernier dimanche de l'advent 1642 & le dimanche de la septuagesime 1643, Seconde apologie pour Monsieur Jansenius eveque d'Ipre & pour la doctrine de S. Augustin expliquée dans son livre, intitulé, Augustinus, Contre la responce que Monsieur Habert, theologal de Paris, a faite a la premiere Apologie, & qu'il a intitulée, La Defense de la foy de l'Eglise* (n.p: n.p, 1644); *Apologie de l'abbé de Crosilles* (Paris: T. Quinet, 1643). The work of Bourzeis could be: *Propositiones de gratiâ, in Sorbonae Facultate propediem examinandae* (n.p: n.p, n.d); *Discours à monseigneur le prince palatin pour l'exhorter à entrer dans la communion de l'Église catholique, par M. Amable Bourzeis* (Paris: Veuve de H. Blageart, 1646); *Apologie du concile de Trente et de saint Augustin contre les nouvelles opinions du censeur latin de la Lettre françoise d'un abbé à un evesque; où est refutée aussi dans une preface une autre censure latine de la preface françoise de la Lettre d'un abbé à un president* (Paris: n.p, 1650); *Conférences de deux théologiens molinistes sur un libelle faussement intitulé: Les sentiments de saint Augustin et de toute l'église* (n.p: n.p, 1650); Antoine Arnauld, *Apologie pour les saints peres de l'Eglise defenseurs de la grace de Jesus-Christ, contre les erreurs qui leur sont imposées dans la traduction du Traicté de la vocation des gentils, attribué à S. Prosper, & dans les reflexions du traducteur dans le livre de Mr Morel, docteur de Sorbonne, intitulé les Veritables sentimens de S. Augustin & de l'Eglise et dans les escrits de Mr Le Moine docteur de Sorbonne, & professeur en theologie, dictez en 1647 & 1650* (Paris: n.p, 1651); Antoine Arnauld, *Les vies des saints Peres des deserts, et de quelques saintes, écrites par des Peres de l'Eglise, & autres anciens auteurs ecclesiastiques, traduites en françois par Mr Arnauld d'Andilly* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1653); Martin de Barcos, *De l' autorité de S. Pierre, et de S. Paul, qui reside dans le Pape successeur de ces deux apostres. Où sont representez les sentimens des Escritures, pour servir de responce aux accusations atroces & injurieuses qu'on a formées contre cette proposition du livre De la frequente communion* (n.p: n.p, 1645); *La Tradition de l'Église sur le sujet de la Pénitence et de la Communion, représentée dans les plus excellens ouvrages des SS. Pères grecs et latins et des auteurs célèbres de ces derniers siècles, traduits en françois par M. Antoine Arnauld* (Paris: A. Vitré, 1644); Noel de La Lane, *De la Grâce victorieuse de Jésus-Christ, ou Molina et ses disciples convaincus de l'erreur des pélagiens et des semi-pélagiens par le sieur de Bonlieu* (Paris: n.p, 1651, or 2nd edn, n.p, 1666); Saint Prospere, *Sanctorum Patrum de gratia Christi et hominis arbitrio adversus in gratos dimicantium trias, Augustinus Hipponensis, Prosper Aquitanicus, Fulgentius Ruspensis, adversus Pelagium, Cassianum, Faustum collectore* (n.p: n.p, 1648).

⁶¹ There were a large number of seventeenth-century Parisian editions of Augustine's works. The homilies may have been: *Les Homélie du Bréviaire, avec les leçons des fêtes des Saints mises en français* (Paris: P. Rocolet, 1640). I have not been able to identify a seventeenth-century edition of Augustine's polemic against Julian of Eclanum. For an early eighteenth-century edition, see: *Les six livres de saint Augustin contre Julien, défenseur*

Item un livre intitulé della guerra defiandra, Un livre Intitulé minus lius felix, abbrege de la Doctrine de St Augustin suivant la grace, Sensure de la faculte de Theologie, Traitté touchant les chevaux impretion de Paris par Cezard Fiasqui, Livres des Princes, Un autre livre intitulé catequismus ad Parocos, Vingt autres petites in seize reliez tous en Veau, quatre livres estampes, prisez ensemble neuf livres.⁶²

ix ll

de l'hérésie pélagienne, traduits en françois sur l'édition des PP. BB de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur par l'abbé François de Villeneuve de Vence (Paris: F. Babuty, 1736); On Davila, *Histoires des guerres civiles en France*, see note 58 above; *Histoire du roy Henry le Grand, composée Par Messire Hardouin de Perefixe Evesque de Rodez, cy-devant Precepteur du Roy* (Amsterdam: n.p, 1661); Renati Rapini, *Hortorum libri IV, cum disputatione de cultura hortensi* (Paris: n.p, 1665); *Remonstrances faictes par l'ambassadeur de la Grande-Bretagne, Sir T. Edmondes, au roy Louis XIII et à la reyne sa mère en juin 1615* (n.p: n.p, 1615); *Response du Roy Louis XIII faicte aux remonstrances présentées à Leurs Majestez par le Sr Edmondes, ambassadeur du Roy de la Grande Bretagne* (n.p: n.p, 1615). I have not been able to identify 'histoires et chroniques.' *Les Morales de S. Grégoire, pape, sur le livre de Job traduites en françois par le sieur de Laval Louis-Charles-Albert, duc de Luynes* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1666 - 1669); *Vindiciae quadripartitae pro D. Augustino et Augustinianis, sive Epitome omnium quae disputari hactenus solent circa D. Augustini opera quaedam, monachatum, habitum, regulam opera F. Caroli Moreau* (Antwerp: G. Lesteenium, 1650); Arnauld, *De la Fréquente Communion*; Antoine le Maistre, *La Vie de S. Bernard, premier abbé de Clairvaux et Père de l'Église, divisée en 6 livres, dont les trois premiers sont traduits du latin de trois célèbres abbés de son temps et contiennent l'histoire de sa vie ; et les trois derniers sont tiréz de ses ouvrages et représentent son esprit et sa conduite* (Paris: A. Vitré, 1648). I have not been able to identify a contemporary edition of Gondrin's letters, but there were several of his letters that were published, see, for example: *Lettre circulaire des membres de l'assemblée générale du clergé de France, condamnant six propositions hérétiques Signé: Louis-Henry de Gondrin, président. 23 mai 1656* (n.p: n.p. n.d); *Delle vite de' piu excelenti pittori, scultori ad architectori scritte da M. Giorgio Vasari, Pittori et architetti* (Bologna: n.p, 1648-1653); *Traduction du livre de S. Augustin des Moeurs de l'Église catholique* (Paris: A. Vitré, 1652); *Traduction du livre de S. Augustin de la Correction et de la grâce avec des sommaires de la doctrine contenuë en chaque chapitre par M. Annoine Arnauld* (Paris: A. Vitré, 1652); *La Destruction du duel, par le jugement de Messieurs les mareschaux de France, sur la protestation de plusieurs gentilshommes de marque et quelques réflexions sur ce sujet, par le R. Père Cyprien de la Nativité de la Vierge* (Paris: J. Roger, 1651).

⁶² *Della Guerra di Fiandra, descritta dal Cardinal Bentivoglio, parte prima* (Venice: Giunti e Baba, 1645). Minus Felix might refer to the early Christian apologist Marcus Minucius Felix. For Cyprian's commentary on Felix, see: *Sancti Caecilii Cypriani opera ad vetustissimorum exemplarium fidem sedulo emendata, diligentia Nic. Rigaltii, cum ejusdem adnotationibus integris, Pamelii et aliorum commentariis seorsim antea editis. Accedunt Marci Minucii Felicis Octavius, de idollorum vanitate; Arnobii Afri adversus gentes libri VIII; Julii Firmici Materni, de Errore profanarum religionum; Commodiani Instructiones adversus Gentium deos, cum ejusdem N. Rigaltii notis integris et variorum commentariis uno conspectu dispositis, Ph. Priorius argumenta, notas in libros omnes de novo adjecit* (Paris: J. Du Puis, 1666); *Abrégé de la doctrine de S. Augustin touchant la grâce par Florent Conrius, traduit de son livre intitulé Peregrinus Jerichuntinus par Antoine Arnauld* (Paris: n.p, 1645); Joseph Desmares, *La Censure de la Faculté de théologie de Reims contre le libelle d'un Jésuite sur le sujet de Gothescalc, envoyé au R. P. dom Pierre de S. Joseph, fueillant, par un ecclésiastique de Reims* (n.p: n.p, n.d); *Censure de la sacrée Faculté de théologie de Paris contre un livre intitulé 'Seconde Lettre de M. Arnauld, docteur de Sorbonne, à un duc et pair de France pour servir de réponse à plusieurs écrits qui ont été publiés contre sa première lettre sur ce qui est arrivé à un seigneur de la cour dans une paroisse de Paris'* (Paris: Meturas, 1656); Cesare Fiaschi, *Trattato dell'imbrigliare, atteggiare et ferrare cavalli di Cesare Fiaschi, Et in questa quarta impressione aggiuntovi il trattato di mescalzia di Filippo Scalco, Nel quale sono contenute tutte le infermità de' cavalli, Trattato di mescalzia di M. Filippo Scacco* (Venice: V. Somasco, 1614). The only Parisian edition I have been able to identify is: *Traicté de la manière de bien embrider, manier et ferrer les chevaux faict en langage italien par le S. César Fiaschi et naguères tourné en françois* (Paris: C. Perrier, 1564); *Le Livre des princes, contenant plusieurs notables discours, pour l'instruction des roys, empereurs et monarques, par P. de Lancre* (Paris: N. Buon, 1617). There were a number of editions of the catechismus, including: *Catechismus ex decreto concilii Tridentini ad parochos, Pii quinti, pont max, jussu editus auctoribus Julio Poggiano, Mutio Calino et Petro Galesinio* (Rome: P. Manutium, 1566).

The problem with using these sources as indicators of lay reading is that the possession of a title did not mean it was used frequently or even read at all.⁶³ Libraries may have held books which served the interests of a number of figures in a household, or simply been family collections. Mary Sheriff has shown that in the eighteenth century, book collecting was a fashionable pursuit; it was a display of knowledge comparable to the exhibition of coins and natural history specimens.⁶⁴ This methodological problem also exists in reverse: a book read was not necessarily a book owned.⁶⁵

The storage of books in rooms other than the library can be interpreted as a sign of their more regular use. Patricia Waddy observed that in seventeenth-century Roman palaces, books could be kept and read in almost any room, not just the library.⁶⁶ The contents of a tall, hinged and shelved cupboard, or *armoire*, kept in the duchesse de Liancourt's oratory in the Hôtel de Liancourt suggests this was also the case in Paris:

Table 2.3 Books in the duchesse de Liancourt's oratory⁶⁷

trouvé dans une petite armoire les livres qui ensuivent	
Un Psautier escript a la main sur Veslin in quarto, couvert de Velours bleu	
Un autre petit livre d'Esglise aussy escript a la main sur Veslin	
Un grand livre in folio intitule les figures De La Bible ⁶⁸	

⁶³ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 334.

⁶⁴ Mary Sheriff, 'Decorating Knowledge: The Ornamental Book, the Philosophic Image and the Naked Truth,' *Art History*, 28, no. 2 (2005): 151.

⁶⁵ Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 19; Broomhall, *Women and the Book Trade*, 26.

⁶⁶ Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 55.

⁶⁷ The definition of an 'armoire' as a hinged cupboard with shelves is in Alexandre Pradere, *French Furniture Makers: The Art of the Ebeniste from Louis XIV to the Revolution*; translated by Perran Wood (Malibu, California: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1989), 433. AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/251, 16 July 1674; compare this with Table 1.1 in Chapter Three, p. 132.

⁶⁸ There were several editions of this printed in Paris, see for example: *Figures des histoires de la sainte Bible, accompagnées de briefs discours, contenant la plus grande partie des histoires sacrées du Vieil & Nouveau Testament pour l'instruction & contentement des ames devotes & contemplatives* (Paris: chez Guillaume Le Bé, 1643).

Le martirologe romain en francais, couvert de Veau ⁶⁹	
Un autre livre de l'Esglise escript a la main sur Veslin, covert de vieil Velours fave ⁷⁰	
La Doctrine des jesuistes en deux tomes	
Les conferences De Casion en deux tomes ⁷¹	
Un Vieil manuscrit en verre d'antion langage	
L'appologie de St Augustin, couvert de parchemin	
Un autre livre allemand avec des figures imprimé en 1671	
Un autre livre allemand avec figures	
Un autre livre de pareille langue	
Un autre livre in folio l'heucaristie du Cardinal du Peron ⁷²	
Trois autres livres in quarto, couverts de Veau	
Sept autres couverts de parchemin aussy in quarto	
Un livre d'image representant la passion de Jesus Christ	
Un autre livre intitule Concordia Evangelica ⁷³	
Le Nouveau Testament de Villeloin ⁷⁴	
Un autre livre intitule moralles de St Bazille ⁷⁵	
La vie de Monsieur de Ranty ⁷⁶	
Les Pseaumes de David en francais et latin ⁷⁷	

⁶⁹ One of the earliest French, revised editions was: *Le Martyrologe romain distribué pour tous les jours de l'année suivant la nouvelle réforme du calendrier et nouvellement tourné en françois* (Lymoges: H. Barbou, 1599). Three of Baronio's corrected versions were printed in Lyon. I have not been able to find a contemporary Parisian edition; see: *Le Martyrologe romain pour tous les jours de l'année traduit en françois par un père de la compagnie de Jésus, et de nouveau revu et corrigé conformément à celui de l'illustrissime cardinal Baronius par un père de la même compagnie* (Lyon: P. et C. Rigaud frères, 1644).

⁷⁰ Fauve.

⁷¹ There were five editions printed in Paris. It seems likely that it was one of the two published by Savreux; see: *Les Conférences de Cassien, traduites en françois par le Sr de Saligny* (2 volumes, Paris: C. Savreux, 1663, 1665).

⁷² There were a number of Parisian editions of this, see: *Traicté du Saint Sacrement de l'Eucharistie contenant la réfutation du livre du sieur Du Plessis Mornay contre la messe et d'autres adversaires de l'Église par l'illustrissime cardinal Du Perron* (Paris: A. Estienne, 1622).

⁷³ *Concordia evangelica per Cornelium Jansenium cum III indicibus et ejusdem Concordiae ratione et Evangelica historia V partibus, per compendium comprehendens quae de Christo sunt in IV evangeliis, juxta ordinem in Concordia evangelica observatum* (Antwerp: J. Bellerum, 1558).

⁷⁴ *Le Nouveau Testament de N.S.J.C. traduit par M. de Marolles* (Lyon: chez la vèuve de Jacques Carteron, 1664).

⁷⁵ *Les Règles de la morale chrestienne, recueillies du Nouveau Testament, par saint Basile le Grand et accompagnées d'explications par Guillaume Le Roy* (Paris: C. Savreux, 1661).

⁷⁶ *La Vie de M. de Renty, par le P. Jean-Bapt. Saint-Jure* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1653). Her ownership of the life of Jesuit Gaston de Renty (1611 – 1649) can be explained when we consider that he was a correspondent of hers in the late 1640s. It seems likely that he was an acquaintance acquired through her husband, Roger du Plessis, who was a director of the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* in Paris during Renty's membership; see *Correspondance Gaston Jean-Baptiste de Renty; texte établi et annoté par Raymond Triboulet* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1978), 796 – 97, 842 – 44; and Tallon, *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, 48.

Ouvrages choisies de St augustin en latin	
La tradition de l'Eglise sur le sujet de la penitence ⁷⁸	
Instruction de St Charles aux confesseurs ⁷⁹	
Poemes de Saint Prospere en latin et francais ⁸⁰	
Un autre livre intitule Pervian	
Traduction de St augustin sur les misteres de l'Eglise ⁸¹	
Vingt autres petites livres tant in seize qu'inoctavo	
Total	xxx livres

Liancourt's Parisian oratory was stocked with 55 titles in total, not including texts of more than one volume. The cumulative valuation of the books explains why binding details were not recorded. A similar cluster of works occupied the shelves in her dressing room at the château de La Roche-Guyon:

Table 2.4 Books in the duchesse de Liancourt's apartment at La Roche-Guyon⁸²

Dans le Cabinet ou s'habilloit feu Madame	
Trois piesses de tapisserye de toile de Coton Inprimee, de hauteur d'aulne et demye, et du courant cinq aulnes, deux sieges ployant garnies de leurs housses depareille tapisserie, une chaise paree de bois denoyer tournee couverte de serge de mouy Rouge, une autre chaise de bois tourné couverte de damas de la chine, pareil autour de lit de monseigneur avec molet, un carreau de velour Rouge, le tout estime a dix livres.	x ll
Dans le passage de la chambre feu madame aller au cabinet au mirrors	

⁷⁷ *Les Pseaumes de David en latin & en francois avec les onze cantiques dont l'Eglie se sert dans l'office pour toute l'année et quelques prieres & veritez catholiques tirées des Pseaumes & des Cantiques; enrichis de tables* (Paris: n.p, 1651).

⁷⁸ *La Tradition de l'Église sur le sujet de la Pénitence et de la Communion, représentée dans les plus excellens ouvrages des SS. Pères grecs et latins et des auteurs célèbres de ces derniers siècles, traduits en François par M. Antoine Arnauld* (Paris: A. Vitré, 1644).

⁷⁹ *Instructions de S. Charles Boromé aux confesseurs de sa ville et de son diocèse, traduites d'italien en François, ensemble la manière d'administrer le sacrement de Pénitence, avec les canons pénitentiels et l'ordonnance du mesme saint sur l'obligation des paroissiens d'assister à leurs paroisses, imprimées par le commandement de l'Assemblée générale du clergé de France* (Paris: A. Vitré, 1665).

⁸⁰ Isaac-Louis le Maistre de Sacy, *Poème de S. Prosper contre les ingrats, où la doctrine catholique de la grâce est excellemment expliquée et soutenue contre les erreurs des Pélagiens et des Semipélagiens, traduit en François en vers et en prose* (Paris: M. Durand, 1647).

⁸¹ Antoine Arnauld, *Traduction du livre de S. Augustin de la Correction et de la grâce, avec des sommaires de la doctrine contenue en chaque chapitre par M. Antoine Arnauld* (Paris: A. Vitré, 1644).

⁸² ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 31, 'Inventaire après décès,' 1672.

Un tableau Ecce Homo avec sa bordure doree, estimee a vingt livres	xx ll
Item trois autres Tableaux a pareil bordure fond de papier sur toile, estimez a quatre livres dix solz	iiii ll x s
Item quatre autres Tableaux en papier bordes de bois de noyer sans fasson, estimes a trois livres	iii ll
Item huit petits Tableaux representant les veus du chasteau de Liancour, et dix huit autres petits Tableaux rep[resentant] plusieurs peisage, le tout a borduree, et encor[e] trois autres petits Tableaux a bordure de bois de noyer, estimes le tout a dix livres	x ll
Item une tanture de tapisserie de trois pentes de beugammes, ⁸³ estimes a trois livres	iii ll
Dans le Cabinet a miroir de Madame	
Une petite table de bois noircy, et deux tirois, une escritoire ⁸⁴ de bois, avec un cornet d'argent, deux fauxtouilles ⁸⁵ couvert de Mocquette, estimez a douze livres.	xii ll
Item deux petites lits de repos garnis l'un de deux matelas , Un lict de plume et traversin, Une couverture picquée, et une de laine blanche, et sur l'autre un matelas de crin, et une autre de lavecon, Un lit de coushe garny de plume, et une couverture de toile picquée, ⁸⁶ une de laine, un tapis de turquie servant de marche pied denviron trois aulnes, six moreceau de tapisserie raye dont il y en a deux quil servent de rideaux a l'alcove, deux autres pettites piesces de tafetas raye par bande, daulne et deux de hault et quatre aulne et demye decours, quatre Fauteuils et six sieges ployant Tournes, garnis de leurs housses de serges jaunes, quatre Rideaux de serge de mouy Rouge, avec les tringles de fir, le tout estime a la somme de cent six livres.	C vi ll
Dans une des armoires du cabinet ou feu Madame s'habilloit	
L'histoire du Vieux Et du nouveau testament representé avec des figures, Estiméz a dix livres. ⁸⁷	x ll
Deux thomes de Lettres Crestiennes Et Spirituelles de monsieur L'ab[b]é de saint Ciran In quarto, estimé a six livres. ⁸⁸	vi ll
Item La refutation du Catechisme du sieur polfery ministre par monsieur bossuez dedit a monseigneur Le marechal de Schomberg, estimé a trente solz ⁸⁹	xxx s

⁸³ Bergamot Tapestry.

⁸⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Escritoire: ce qui contient ou renferme les choses nécessaires pour écrire,' vol. 1, 588.

⁸⁵ *Fauteuilles*.

⁸⁶ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Piquer: signifier aussi faire avec du fil ou de la soie sur deux ou plusieurs étoffes mises l'une sur l'autre, des points qui les traversent et qui les unissent,' vol. 2, 379.

⁸⁷ *L'Histoire du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament, représentée avec des figures et des explications édifiantes* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1671).

⁸⁸ *Lettres chrestiennes et spirituelles de messire Jean Du Verger de Hauranne, abbé de St Cyran publiées par Arnauld d'Andilly* (Paris: J. Le Mire, 1645 - 1647).

Le Nouveau Testament en deux tomes, estime a quatre livres	iiii ll
Imitatione Christi, estimez a vingt solz ⁹⁰	xx s
Le nouveau testament En latin de L'impression de Vitaux, estimé a quarante solz	xl s
L'imitation de Jesus Christ impression dhure, estimé a quinze solz ⁹¹	xv s
Saint augustini de gratia et libero arbitrio et autres petits ouvrages imprimé a Rouen, estimé a quinze solz ⁹²	xv s
Traduction dun discours de saint Athanase avec des reflections, Estimez a dix solz ⁹³	x s
La sagesse de salomon En francais, L'instructions Chrestiennes, recuilly des sermons de saint augustin, estimée a dix solz ⁹⁴	x s

At La Roche-Guyon, the cabinet of mirrors, situated next to the smaller cabinet where the duchess dressed, seems to have been used as a type of study room, comparable to her oratory in Paris. Indicative of this function are the images of idyllic rural scenes and the rigorist hub at the château de Liancourt adorning the passageway where a transition was made between the chamber and cabinet. The presence of an *Ecce Homo* cycle also hints at this. ‘Ecce Homo’ or ‘Behold the Man’ were the words spoken by Pontius Pilate during the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and traditionally the painting portrays Christ’s Passion.

⁸⁹ This was almost certainly this edition: *Réfutation du Catéchisme du Sr Paul Ferry, ministre de la religion prétendue réformée, par Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, avec dédicace manuscrite de Bossuet* (Metz: Imprimerie de J. Antoine, 1655).

⁹⁰ *De imitatione Christi* (Paris: n.p, 1640).

⁹¹ The only edition of Sebastien Huré I have been able to identify is: *IV livres de l'Imitation de Jesus, qu'aucuns attribuent à Jessen, d'autres à Gerson, & d'autres à Thomas à Kempis, A Paris, chez Sebastien Huré, ruë S. Jacques* (Paris: S. Huré, 1642).

⁹² I could not find a seventeenth-century edition from Rouen. For a Parisian one, see: *Sancti Augustini sententiae de Praedestinatione et gratia Dei et de Libero hominis arbitrio, ante annos DCC ex ejus libris collectae, nunc vero primum editae, studio et opera Jac. Sirmondi* (Paris: S. et G. Cramoisy frères, 1649).

⁹³ Liancourt’s connections with Le Roy make this edition seem likely: *Traduction d'un excellent discours de S. Athanase contre ceux qui jugent de la vérité par la seule autorité de la multitude, avec des réflexions adressées à Dieu sur ce discours, lesquelles représentent les calamités spirituelles de notre siècle par M. Le Roi, abbé de Hautefontaine* (Paris: n.p, 1651); there was, however, an earlier sixteenth-century edition.

⁹⁴ *La Sagesse de Salomon paraphrase par M. N. Guillebert* (Paris: N. Buon, 1635); there was also this edition: *Salomon, ou Explication abrégée du livre de la Sagesse, avec des notes par le R. P. Pierre Gorse* (Paris: P. Ménard, 1654). The ‘Instructions’ were probably Guillaume Le Roy’s, *Instructions chrestiennes recueillies des sermons que S Augustin a fait sur les pseumes* (Paris: S. Piget, 1662 – 1665) or, (Paris: G. Desprez, 1675).

If the deficiency of material stimuli in rigorist devotional spaces shown in the last chapter raised questions about exactly what forms of worship moments in the cabinet were devoted to, these sources permit us to answer them. Both of the Liancourt probate inventories reveal that reading was an appropriate devotional practice for the spiritual elite who rejected experiential ‘Baroque’ worship in favour of a more scholarly approach to salvation.

3. Non-rigorist Reading

The possession of devotional books was certainly not atypical in this period; early modern Parisian private libraries were well-stocked with spiritual literature.⁹⁵ What then, was significant about Liancourt’s books and how were they different to the titles owned by other pious female readers? The books inventoried at the Richelieu estate at Ruel, which had once belonged to Cardinal Richelieu and subsequently his niece the duchesse d’Aiguillon, is the first comparative non-rigorist repository to consider. In the library were a large number of Latin works which may indicate that this was a set of texts inherited from the Cardinal, but the dates of some of the works necessarily show that the collection was being augmented after his death:

Table 2.5 Books owned by Anne Poussart de Fors, duchesse de Richelieu⁹⁶

Dans lad[ite] Bibliothèque	
Deux armoires garny de fil darchal fermante a clefs, dans lesquelles se sont trouvé les livres qui ensuivent	
Premierement Recueil po[ur] servir a l’histoire relie en maroquin, prisé dix livres	x ll
Histoire d’angleterre par du chesne relié prisé ⁹⁷	iiii ll

⁹⁵ Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print*, 141; Henri-Jean Martin, ‘Ce qu’on lisait à Paris au XVIIe siècle,’ *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 21 (1959): 222 – 30; Marie-Hélène Froeschle Chopard, ‘La dévotion du Rosaire à travers quelques livres de piété,’ *Histoire, économie et société*, 10, no. 3 (1991): 299 – 316; Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, vol. 1, 490.

⁹⁶ AN, MC, ET/CV/904, 29 May 1694.

⁹⁷ There were at least two seventeenth-century Parisian editions, see: *Histoire d’Angleterre, d’Escosse et d’Irlande par André Du Chesne* (2nd edn, Paris: G. Loyson, 1634); and *Histoire d’Angleterre, d’Escosse et*

Theologica philippi gamaches opere dici enilly en six volumes, prise vingt quatre livres ⁹⁸	xxiiii ll
Thomo campanella operum relie ⁹⁹	v ll
Un autre cinq livres	v ll
Annales sacry henrici spondany quatre livres ¹⁰⁰	iiii ll
oeuvres de grenades par gautier, prisé trois livres ¹⁰¹	iii ll
Essais de montagne prise trois livres ¹⁰²	iii ll
Perfection Chrestienne par gaultier quarante solz ¹⁰³	xl s
oeuvre spirituelle du mesme, prisé quarante solz ¹⁰⁴	xl s
guide spirituelle du mesme prisé ¹⁰⁵	xl s
Cathechisme de grenade par hardy, prisé trois livres ¹⁰⁶	iii ll
oeuvres spirituelle du père Louis du point, prise quarante solz ¹⁰⁷	xl s
gallica purpurata prisé ¹⁰⁸	vi ll

d'Irlande, contenant les choses les plus dignes de mémoire avenues aux isles et royaumes de la Grande Bretagne, d'Irlande, de Man et autres adjacentes, tant sous la domination des anciens Bretons et Romains, que durant les règnes des Anglois, Saxons, Pictes, Escossois, Danois et Normans, par André Du Chesne, Nouvelle édition continuée depuis mil-six-cens-quarante-un, jusqu'à présent (Paris: chez T. Jolly, 1666).

⁹⁸ There only seems to have been one seventeenth-century edition: Philippi Gamachaei, *Summa theologica 3 tomes en 2 vols* (Paris: R. Chaudière, 1627).

⁹⁹ This is probably Tommaso Campanella's *Disputationum in quatuor partes suae philosophiae realis libri quatuor, pro rep. Literaria ac christiana, id est vere rationali, stabilienda contra sectarios, una cum textu instaurato auctoque post editionem Tobianam. Suorum operum tomus II Physiol., ethica, politica, oeconomica, cum quaest* (Paris: D. Houssaye, 1637).

¹⁰⁰ The earliest latin version printed in Paris was: *Annales sacri Henrici Spondani a mundi creatione ad ejusdem reparationem* (Paris: D. de La Noüe, 1639).

¹⁰¹ One Parisian edition of this was: *Les Œuvres spirituelles et dévotes du R.P.F. Louys de Grenade nouvellement traduites par M. René Gaultier* (Paris: J. Jost, 1635).

¹⁰² There were several editions of this, including: *Les Essais de Michel, seigneur de Montaigne, édition nouvelle enrichie d'annotations en marge, corrigée et augmentée d'un tiers plus la vie de l'auteur extraite de ses propres escrits* (Paris: C. Rigaud, 1608).

¹⁰³ This was almost certainly: *De la Perfection chrestienne ès estats de continence et religion, et en l'observation des conseils évangeliques, par le R. P. Louys Du Pont, mise en françois par M. René Gaultier* (Paris: D. de La Noüe, 1617).

¹⁰⁴ *Les Oeuvres spirituelles du bienheureux P. Jean de la Croix, traduites d'espagnol en françois par M. R. Gaultier, Notes et remarques en trois discours pour donner l'intelligence des phrases mystiques et doctrine des oeuvres spirituelles du B. P. Jean de la Croix* (Paris: M. Sonnius, 1621).

¹⁰⁵ *La Guide spirituelle, où il est traicté de l'oraison, méditation et contemplation, Composé en espagnol par Louys Du Pont, et traduit en françois par M. René Gaultier* (Paris: Veuve G. de La Noüe et D. de La Noüe, 1612).

¹⁰⁶ *Catéchisme, ou Introduction au Symbole de la foy composé en espagnol par le R. P. Louys de Grenade, traduit de nouveau en françois par M. Girard* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1661).

¹⁰⁷ Possibly another copy of: *La Guide spirituelle, où il est traicté de l'oraison, méditation et contemplation, Composé en espagnol par Louys Du Pont, et traduit en françois par M. René Gaultier* (Paris: Veuve G. de La Noüe et D. de La Noüe, 1612).

cartes des pays bas angleterre en nort relie en maroquin, par Burtius cosmographe, prise	xx ll
carte dallemanne du mesme	xx ll
Roma sotteranea di antonio bossio ¹⁰⁹	viii ll
gerardi mercatoris ¹¹⁰	vi ll
Disputationes nicolai Ylamberti 2 vols ¹¹¹	x ll
La triple couronne de la vierge par francois Poire relie en veau prise ¹¹²	i ll
Anales cardinalis bironi par henrici spondani trois volumes, relies en maroquin ¹¹³	xv ll
Epitomé Spondani 2 volumes ¹¹⁴	
Corpus variorum canorum manaserie en velin relie, prise a la some de dix livres ¹¹⁵	x ll
Liberté de l'église gallicane deux vols, prise douze livres ¹¹⁶	xii ll
fortifications du chevalier anthoine de ville en veau, prise vingt solz ¹¹⁷	xx s
Theatrum Magnae britaniae Ioanne spodeo maroquin, prise a vingt solz ¹¹⁸	xx s

¹⁰⁸ *Gallia purpurata, qua cum summorum pontificum, tum omnium Galliae cardinalium qui hactenus vixere res praeclare gestae continentur Epitome omnium conciliorum Galliae, tam veterum quam recentiorum. Nomenclatura magnorum Franciae eleemosynariorum, Opera et studio Petri Frizon* (Paris: S. Le Moine, 1638).

¹⁰⁹ Antonio Bossio, *Roma sotteranea, opera postuma* (Rome: n.p, 1635).

¹¹⁰ *Atlas minor Gerardi Mercatoris, a S. Hondio plurimis aeneis tabulis auctus atque illustratus* (Amsterdam: ex officina J. Janssonii, 1634).

¹¹¹ *Nicolai Ysamberti, Disputationum in tertiam partem S. Thomae tomus secundus. De sacramentis in genere, baptismo, confirmatione et eucharistia* (Paris: D. de La Noüe, 1639); *Disputationes in Secundam Secundae S. Thomae. De tribus virtutibus theologis, fide, spe et charitate, necnon de iudice controversiarum* (Paris: Impensis Societatis Typographicae Librorum Officii Ecclesiastici, 1648).

¹¹² François Poiré, *La Triple couronne de la bienheureuse Vierge Mère de Dieu, enrichie de diverses inventions pour l'aimer, l'honorer et la servir, par le R. P. François Poiré* (Paris: n.p, 1630).

¹¹³ *Annales ecclesiastici ex XII tomis Caesaris Baronii in epitomen redacti, opera Henrici Spondani* (Paris: de La Nouë, 1630).

¹¹⁴ *Epitome Annalium ecclesiasticorum Caesaris Baronii, ab Johanne Gabriele Bisciola, confecta* (Rome: A. Hierat et J. Gymnicum, 1602).

¹¹⁵ This is most probably an edition of Constantine Manassès' (1130 – 1187) *Manassis Breviarium historicum, ex interpretatione Joannis Leunclavii, cum ejusdem et Joannis Meursii notis. Accedit variarum lectionum libellus, cura Leonis Allatii et Caroli Annibalis Fabroti, Item glossarium graeco-barbarum, studio ejusdem Fabroti - Georgii Codini et alterius cujusdam anonymi Excerpta de antiquitatibus constantinopolitanis, edita studio Petri Lambecii, cum latina versione et animadversionibus necessariis. Accedunt Manuelis Chrysolorae Epistolae tres de comparatione veteris et novae Romae et imp. Leonis cognomine Sapientis oracula cum figuris, Addita est etiam Explicatio officiorum sanctae ac magnae Ecclesiae interprete Bernardo Medonio* (Paris: e Typ. regia, 1655).

¹¹⁶ *De la Liberté de l'Église gallicane, par M. J. Bedé, sieur de La Gormandière* (Saumur: I. Desbordes, 1646).

¹¹⁷ *Les fortifications du chevalier Antoine de Ville, contenant la manière de fortifier toute sorte de places avec l'attaque et les moyens de prendre les places, plus la défense* (Lyon: P. Borde, 1640).

histoire du conta de lediguières par videl, trois livres ¹¹⁹	iii ll
histoire du nouveau monde par Jean de Laet ¹²⁰	v ll
Item martirologium franciscanum prise deux livres ¹²¹	ii ll
Traité du Jardinage par Jacques Boisseau vingt solz ¹²²	xx s
anales sacri henrici spondani, prise deux livres ¹²³	ii ll
memoirs index manuscrit servant a l'histoire, prise trente livres	xxx ll
Negotiations de la paix manuscrit deux volumes prisé huit livres	viii ll
Divers traites de paix manuscrit trois volumes prise dix livres	x ll
Trigonmetria henrici brigi en veau prise trois livres ¹²⁴	iii ll
Summa Theologica Philippi Gamaches 2 volumes prise quinze livres ¹²⁵	xv ll
Martirologium gallicanum andrée du saussay prisé douze livres ¹²⁶	xii ll
histoire de la maison de dreux par du chesne prise six livres ¹²⁷	vi ll
Hallier de sacris electionibus prise cinq livres ¹²⁸	v ll
Le roy d'armes de mr Gilbert une livre ¹²⁹	i ll

¹¹⁸ John Speed (1552 – 1629); *Theatrum imperii Magnae Britanniae, exactam regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae geographiam ob oculos ponens Opus nuper quidem a Johanne Spedo, anglice conscriptum, nunc vero a Philemone Hollando, latinitate donatum* (London: J. Sudbury and G. Humble, 1616).

¹¹⁹ Louis Videl, *Histoire de la vie du connestable de Lesdiguières* (Paris: P. Rocolet, 1638).

¹²⁰ Jean de Laet, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde ou description des Indes Occidentales* (Leiden: n.p, 1640).

¹²¹ *Martyrologium franciscanum in quo sancti, beati aliique servi Dei, martyres, pontifices, confessores ac virgines qui tum vitae sanctitate, tum miraculorum gloria claruere in universo ordine FF. minorum toto orbe terrarum recensentur cura et labore P. Arturi a Monasterio* (Paris: D. Moreau, 1638, or Paris: E. Couterot 1653).

¹²² Jacques Boyceau, *Traité du jardinage, selon les raisons de la nature et de l'art* (Paris: M. Vanlochem, 1638, or Paris: A Courbé, 1640).

¹²³ *Annalium Caes. Baronii continuatio, ab anno 1197 ad finem 1646, per Henricum Spondanum* (Paris: Impensis Societatis Typographicae, 1647).

¹²⁴ *Trigonometria britannica, sive de Doctrina triangulorum libri duo, quorum prior continet constructionem canonis sinuum, tangentium et secantium, una cum logarithmis sinuum et tangentium a Domino Henrico Briggio, compositus; posterior vero usum sive applicationem canonis in resolutione triangulorum tam planorum quam sphericorum calculo facillimo exhibet, ab Henrico Gellibrand, constructus* (Gouda: P. Rammasenius, 1633).

¹²⁵ Philippi Gamachaei, *Summa theologica* (Paris: R. Chaudière, 1627).

¹²⁶ *Martyrologium gallicanum, in quo sanctorum beatorumque ac piorum, plusquam octoginta millium, ortu, vita, factis, doctrina in Gallia illustrium, certi natales indicantur ac vindicata eorumdem elogia describuntur studio Andreae Du Saussay* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1636).

¹²⁷ *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de Dreux et de quelques autres familles illustres qui en sont descendues par femmes par André Du Chesne* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1631).

¹²⁸ François Hallier, *Monita ad ordinandos et ordinatos, authore D. D. Francisco Hallier Editio nova, titulis distincta et novis additionibus e volumine 'De Sacris electionibus' ejusdem autoris locupletata* (Paris: P. de Bresche, 1664).

¹²⁹ Marc-Gilbert de Varennes, *Le Roy d'armes, ou l'Art de bien former, charger, briser, timbrer et par conséquent blasonner toutes les sortes d'armoiries Le tout enrichi de discours, d'antiquitez et d'une grande quantité de blasons des armes de la plupart des illustres maisons de l'Europe, et spécialement de beaucoup de*

Martirologium gallicanum du hoursay un vol de pareille prise trois livres ¹³⁰	iii ll
histoire de la guerre de flandres de Chapuis prise neuf livres ¹³¹	ix ll
Paratitla Digestorum quillamo murano prise cinq livres ¹³²	v ll
autre roy darmes du mesme prise vingt solz ¹³³	xx s
Opere patrani en theologiam scholasticum en veau prise trois livres	iii ll
histoire de l'eglise par melin un volume ¹³⁴	
de pareille de l'histoire de syriaque par louis de Mayenne turque, prise deux livres	ii ll
2 volumes de pareille histoire francorum de du chesne prise huit livres ¹³⁵	viii ll
Un volume de pareille biblia sacra gordonni prise trois livres ¹³⁶	iii ll
deux volumes de pareille prise trois livres	iii ll
Un livre de blazon manuscrit prise deux livres ¹³⁷	ii ll
dix volumes in folio reliez en maroquin de blazon, et autres matiere, prisez ensemble dix livres	x ll
Ambassade du defresne 8 volumes en veau prise six livres ¹³⁸	vi ll

personnes de condition qui sont en France, par le R.P. Marc Gilbert Devarenes (2nd edn, Paris: Veuve N. Buon, 1640.)

¹³⁰ *Martyrologium gallicanum, in quo sanctorum beatorumque ac piorum plusquam octoginta millium ortu, vita, factis, doctrina, agonibus, tropaeis, opitulationumque gloria ac caeteris quibusque sacrae venerationis titulis in Gallia illustrium, certi ntales indicantur, triumphus suscipiendi ostenduntur, nitidaque ac vindicata eorumdem elogia describuntur; quae commentariorum apodicticorum tomi quatuor subsequentes uberius recensita, insignitaque multiplici antiquitatis ecclesiasticae indagine, cumulabunt, Opus, in cujus penu constat absoluta christianissimae Ecclesiae historia, pridem ante desiderata, jamque ut ex rebus conserta per sancots divine gestis, sic ex probatissimis quibusque monimentis, ac priscis codd. mss, summa fide collecta studio ac labore Andreae Du Sussay* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1637).

¹³¹ *Histoire générale de la guerre de Flandre contenant toutes les choses mémorables advenues en icelle, depuis l'an 1559, jusques à la trefve conclue en la ville d'Anvers, le 9 avril 1609, par Gabriel Chappuis* (Paris: R. Fouet, 1611).

¹³² *Paratitla in XLII. Digestorum libros, auctore Guil. Marano* (Toulouse: Raimundus Colomezus, 1628).

¹³³ *Le Roy d'armes, ou l'Art de bien former, charger, briser, timbrer et par conséquent blasonner toutes les sortes d'armoiries Le tout enrichi de discours, d'antiquitez et d'une grande quantité de blasons des armes de la plupart des illustres maisons de l'Europe, et spécialement de beaucoup de personnes de condition qui sont en France, par le R.P. Marc Gilbert Devarenes* (Paris: P. Billaine, 1635).

¹³⁴ This is probably a work by Mellin de Saint-Gelais (1491 – 1558).

¹³⁵ *Series auctorum omnium qui de Francorum historia et rebus francicis, cum ecclesiasticis, tum secularibus, scripserunt quorum editionem pollicetur Andreas Duchesnius* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1633).

¹³⁶ *Biblia sacra cum commentariis ad sensum literae, et explicatione temporum, locorum, rerumque omnium quae in sacris codicibus habent obscuritatem. Auctore R.P. Jacobo Gordono Lesmorio in tres tomos divisa* (Paris: S. & G. Cramoisy, 1632).

¹³⁷ A Book of Arms.

¹³⁸ *Lettres et ambassade de messire Philippe Canaye, seigneur de Fresne avec un sommaire de sa vie, et un récit particulier du procès criminel fait au maréchal de Biron, composé par M. de La Guesle* (Paris: E. Richer, 1635 - 1636).

Item vingt deux volumes in folio, partie relie en veau, partie en parchemin de divers auteurs pour la plupart de pareille, prise ensemble vingt deux livres	xx ii ll
Les delices de l'esprit de Desmaretz reliez en maroquin prise six livres ¹³⁹	vi ll
Une tablette de dix sept volumes in quarto, reliez en maroquin d'histoire pour la plupart latin, prisez trente six livres ¹⁴⁰	xxxvi ll
Une autre tablette de vingt trois volumes in q ^o reliez en veau, partie de pareillez quinze livres	xv ll
Une autre de quatorze volumes huit livres	viii ll
Un paquet de trente sept volumes in quarto et octavo, reliez en parchemin ou sans couverture	vi ll
Un autre de trente un volumes in quarto et octavo en parchemin, quatre livres	iiii ll
Un paquet de onze volumes in quarto en veau, prise six livres ¹⁴¹	vi ll
Une tablette de trente trois volumes in q ^o reliez partie en veau partie en bague deux en parchemin, vingt livres	xx ll
Une tablette de trente volumes in octavo en parchemin prise dix livres	x ll
Une autre in quarto prise dix livres	x ll
Quatorze volumes de livres in quarto de differentes auteurs couverts de bahaume, prise huit livres	viii ll
Trente un volumes de livres in octavo de differente auteurs, relié en p[ar]chemin prise quatre livres	iiii ll
Item vingt neuf volumes en deux paquets du differentes auteurs in octavo, relie en parchemin prise trois livres	iii ll
Item vingt trois volumes des livres in folio de differents auteurs, dont quatre reliez en veau, et les autres en p[ar]chemin prisez trente livres	xxx ll
Item quarante un volumes in octavo et in douze en trois paquets de differentes auteurs, reliez en parchemin prise quinze livres	xv ll
Item vingt un volumes de livres de differentes auteurs relies en veau et parchemin in quarto et in octavo oruse dix livres	x ll
Item quatre volumes de livres in quarto reliez en veau et maroquin intitulé l'un Platarin, et un autre hortue, un autre le plan de citie des villes fronteurs de picardie, et l'autre volume fulmine jous ne panis prise trente livres	xxx ll
Item cinq volumes de livre dont deux couverts de velours rouge et trois de maroquin rouge intitulé de la charge des gouverneurs des places, un autre Obsidio corbeiensis dicata Regi, Un autre la cote matime de	

¹³⁹ *Les Délices de l'esprit, dialogues dédiés aux beaux esprits du monde, par J. Desmaretz, divisés en quatre parties* (Paris: A. Courbé, 1658).

¹⁴⁰ A *Tablette* was a table or writing board, see above, p. 166. Here it probably refers to a smaller collection of books; see *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Tablette: planche posée pour mettre quelque chose dessus...dans un Bibliothèque pour y ranger des livres,' vol. 2, 792.

¹⁴¹ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Paquet: small bundle or packet,' n.p.n.

provence, un autre les confessions de saint augustin, et l'autre les familles de la France illustre prise six livres ¹⁴²	vi ll
Un volume des omelies de saint ambroise en latin in folio, prise vingt solz ¹⁴³	xx s
Item opera Jacobi tirini trois volumes in folio, prise quatre livres ¹⁴⁴	iiii ll
Seconde et troisieme volume de Virgil in folio, prise deux livres ¹⁴⁵	ii ll
L'amplian de la bible par Menoche deux volumes in folio, prise quatre livres ¹⁴⁶	iiii ll
Biblia sacra en un volume folio latin, prise deux livres ¹⁴⁷	ii ll
La Sainte bible francais en un volume folio, prise quatre livres	iiii ll
deux autres volumes de la bible folio latin, prise six livres	vi ll
Disputationes theologicae Philippe fabro en veau fo[lio], prise deux livres ¹⁴⁸	ii ll
Un paquet de neuf volumes de livres in quarto francois, prisé dix livres	x ll
Un autre paquet de neuf volumes in quarto francais, prise dix livres	x ll
Un paquet de douze volumes in quarto latin, prise douze livres	xii ll
Cinq paquets de douze livres chacun de differentes autheurs, reliez en veau, huit pareils livres in quarto in octavo et in douze, prenez a la	

¹⁴² There were several editions of this, including: *De la Charge des gouverneurs des places, par Messire Anthoine de Ville, Dernière édition* (Rouen: Imprimerie de L. Maury; et se vend à Paris: par la Compagnie des Marchands Libraires du Palais, 1666); *Obsidio corbeiensis, dicata Regi ab Antonio de Ville, cum figuris a Michaële Van Lochum caelatis et excusis* (Paris: N. Buon, 1637). The confessions could be Andilly's edition: *Les Confessions de S. Augustin, traduites en françois par Monsieur Arnauld d'Andilly* (Paris: Veuve J. Camusat et P. Le Petit, 1649). I have not been able to find the title on Provence. *Histoire généalogique de la maison de France avec les illustres familles qui sortent des roynes et princesses du sang par Scévole et Louis de Sainte-Marthe* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1628).

¹⁴³ I have not been able to identify a seventeenth-century edition of Ambroise's homilies. The following were published in seventeenth-century Paris: *Opera sancti Ambrosii cura Felicis, cardinalis de Monte Alto* (Paris: n.p, 1632); *Trois harangues, une de Symmache, et deux de S. Ambroise, sur le sujet de la démolition de l'Autel de la Victoire* (Paris: J. Camusat, 1639); *Opera sancti Ambrosii (cura Felicis, cardinalis de Monte Alto)* (Paris: Impensis Societatis typographicae, 1661); and one on his life: *La Vie de S. Ambroise, archevêque de Milan, par M. Godefroy Hermant* (Paris: Veuve J. Du Puis, 1678).

¹⁴⁴ R.P. Jacobi Tirini, *Commentarius in Sacram Scripturam, duobus tomis comprehensus primo quidem, post varia prolegomena, Vetus fere Testamentum, altero duodecim Prophetarum minores, Machabaeorum liber uterque, ac Novum Testamentum explanantur Editio novissima prioribus longe emendatior, cum indicibus quinque secundo tomo subnexis* (Lyon: J. Girin et B. Rivière, 1678).

¹⁴⁵ *La Seconde Églogue de Virgile, traduite de latin en françois, avec l'Épigramme d'icelui contre oisiveté* (Paris: Imprimerie de L. Grandin, 1543).

¹⁴⁶ *Biblia maxima versionum ex linguis orientalibus: pluribus sacris ms. codicibus: innumeris fere SS. & veteribus patribus, & interpretibus orthodoxis, collectarum. Earumque concordia cum Vulgata, et ejus expositione litterali; cum annotationibus Nicol. de Lyra joan. Gagnaei Guil. Estii Joan. Menochii, & Jacobi Tirini Additis amplissimis prolegomenis Non omissis Chronico sacro, Tractat. de ponderibus &c. Authore R.P. Joanne de La Haye omnia novemdecim voluminibus comprehensa* (Paris: D. Bechet, & L. Billaine, Bertier, Piget, 1660).

¹⁴⁷ This could be any one of a number of Latin Bibles published in Paris in this period.

¹⁴⁸ *Disputationes theologicae in tertium sententiarum, complectentes materiam de incarnatione, authore F. Philippo Fabro, In hac quarta editione multis additionibus auctae Disputationes theologicae F. Philippi Fabri in librum quartum sententiarum* (Venice: M. Ginammi, 1629).

somme de trente livres	xxx ll
Trente sept livres de differents auteurs en trois pacquets, reliez en veau in octavo, prise douze livres	xii ll
Deux pacquets de livres au nombre de dix sept chacun, reliez en veau in octavo, prise huit livres	viii ll
Item cinquante un petit livres in douze et in seize, reliez en veau en trois pacquets, prise dix livres	x ll
deux pacquets de vingt sept livres les deux couverts de parchemin de differentes auteurs, prise a la somme de six livres	vi ll

The princesse Palatine's books were distributed in various locations at her *hôtel* in Paris and at her estate at Asnières, and provide another perspective:

Table 2.6 Books owned by Anne de Gonzague, princesse Palatine ¹⁴⁹

Ensuivent les livres trouvez au hostel [paris] de mad dame princesse palatine	
Premierement la Sainte Bible in folio, prise cent solz	C s
Item la vie des Sts en deux volumes in folio, prisez cent solz ¹⁵⁰	C s
La Sainte Bible en trois volumes, prisé huit livres	viii ll
Item cinq volumes des annalles de Baronius par Coppie, prise vingt livres ¹⁵¹	xx ll
Item les fleurs de la solitude, prise cent solz ¹⁵²	Cs
Item les controverses de Richelieu, prise cent solz ¹⁵³	Cs
Item les vies des saintes illustres, prisez sept livres ¹⁵⁴	vii ll

¹⁴⁹ AN, MC, ET/XCII/0247, 3 August 1684.

¹⁵⁰ This could be one of the early-seventeenth-century Italian works, such as: *Les Vies des saints et saintes, bienheureux et hommes illustres de l'ordre sacré de S. Dominique, mises en italien par le R. P. F. Seraphin Razzi et traduites en français par le R. P. F. Jean Blancone* (Paris: A. Taupinart, 1616); or Andilly's work *Vie de plusieurs saints illustres de divers siècles choisies et traduites par Monsieur Arnaud d'Andilly* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1664).

¹⁵¹ *Les Annales de l'Église de Caesar, cardinal Baronius* (Paris: P. Chevalier, 1614); *Le Corps des Annales sacrées et ecclésiastiques composées en latin par Baronius et Henry de Sponde, mises en François par Pierre Coppin* (2nd edn, Paris: J. d'Allin, 1655).

¹⁵² *Les Fleurs de la solitude, cueillies des plus belles vies des saints qui ont habité les déserts et qui ont chéry plus expressément la vie solitaire, tant en l'Orient qu'en l'Occident, et particulièrement en France le tout recueilly des SS. Pères de l'Église et des autres auteurs orthodoxes approuvez Par le R. P. F. Simon Martin* (Paris: G. Alliot, 1652); *Les Fleurs de la solitude chrestienne, ou Méditations sur divers sujets de piété propres pour les exercices spirituels des retraites, par Mre Louis Abelly* (Paris: G. Josse, 1673).

¹⁵³ *Défense du 'Traité de controverse' de M. le cardinal de Richelieu, contre la réponse du Sr Martel, ministre de la religion prétendue réformée, par M. Gaudin* (Paris: C. Barbin, 1681).

¹⁵⁴ *Vie de plusieurs saints illustres de divers siècles choisies et traduites par Monsieur Arnaud d'Andilly* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1664); *Les Vies des saints et saintes, bienheureux et hommes illustres de l'ordre sacré de S. Dominique, mises en italien par le R. P. F. Seraphin Razzi et traduites en français par le R. P. F. Jean Blancone* (Paris: R. Le Masuyer, 1616).

Item les œuvres de Jean Davilla, prise sept livres ¹⁵⁵	vii ll
Item les œuvres de saint François de Sales en trois volumes, prise onze livres ¹⁵⁶	xi ll
Item le Cérémonial français en deux volumes, prise sept livres ¹⁵⁷	vii ll
Item l'histoire de la maison de France par sainte Marthe deux volumes prisez ¹⁵⁸	viii ll
Item le trésor chronologique en trois volumes, prise six livres ¹⁵⁹	vi ll
Item l'histoire des plantes en deux volumes, prise six livres	vi ll
Item la chronologie de Gaultier, prise	xxx s
Item les figures de la Bible prise ¹⁶⁰	xxx s
Item la monarchie sainte deux volumes, prise ¹⁶¹	ls
Item l'histoire de Nicéphore, prise ¹⁶²	xxx s
Item la vie des saintes de l'ordre de saint Augustin, prise ¹⁶³	xxx s
Ensuivent les livres trouvés dans lad maison [Asnières] ¹⁶⁴	
Premièrement les fleurs des saints en un vol[ume] in folio, prise huit	

¹⁵⁵ *Oeuvres chrétiennes sur le verset 'Audi, filia, et vide' composées en espagnol par Me Jean d'Avila traduites en français par le Sr Personne* (Paris: E. Couterot, 1662).

¹⁵⁶ There were several versions of this, see for example: *Les Oeuvres du bienheureux François de Sales revues et très exactement corrigées enrichies nouvellement de plusieurs emblèmes et figures symboliques avec un abrégé de sa vie et une table très ample des matières* (Paris: Veuve S. Huré et S. Huré, 1652).

¹⁵⁷ This was the only edition: *Le Cérémonial français recueilly par Théodore Godefroy et mis en lumière par Denys Godefroy* (Paris: chez Sébastien Cramoisy, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, & de la Reyne régente: et Gabriel Cramoisy, 1649); *tome premier contenant les cérémonies observées en France aux sacres & couronnemens de roys, & reynes, & de quelques anciens ducs de Normandie, tome second contenant les cérémonies observées en France aux mariages & festins naissances, & baptesmes majoritez de roys estats generaux & particuliers.*

¹⁵⁸ There were several editions of this printed in the seventeenth century; the earliest one was: *Histoire généalogique de la maison de France avec les illustres familles qui sortent des roynes et princesses du sang par Scévole et Louis de Sainte-Marthe* (Paris: A. Paçet, 1619).

¹⁵⁹ This seems to have been: *Trésor chronologique et historique, par le Père Dom Pierre de S. Romuald* (Paris: A. de Sommaville, 1642 - 1647).

¹⁶⁰ *Figures de la sainte Bible, accompagnées de briefs discours, contenant la plus grande partie des histoires sacrées du Vieil & Nouveau Testament pour l'instruction & contentement des ames devotes & contemplatives* (Paris: chez Guillaume Le Bé, 1635).

¹⁶¹ *La Monarchie sainte, historique, chronologique et généalogique de France, ou les Vies des saints et bienheureux qui sont sortis de la seconde tyge royale de France, composées en latin par le R. Père Dominique de Jésus, traduites et enrichies par le R. P. Modeste de S. Amable* (Clermont: Imprimerie de N. Jacquard, 1670-1677).

¹⁶² *Abrégé de l'histoire byzantine de S. Nicéphore, traduite du grec par le sieur Moret* (Paris: R. J. B. de La Caille, 1684).

¹⁶³ *Histoire de la vie du glorieux Père S. Augustin, et de plusieurs SS. BB. et autres hommes illustres de son ordre des hermites, recueillie par le R. P. S. Saint-Martin* (Toulouse: Imprimerie de A. Colomies, 1641).

¹⁶⁴ There are 54 more entries on books in Paris, but no more titles are identified by the notary. They are listed simply as 'paquets.'

livres ¹⁶⁵	viii ll
Item la cour sainte deux volumes in folio, prisez cent dix solz ¹⁶⁶	c x s
Item les croniques de saint Benoist deux volumes, prisez ¹⁶⁷	viii ll
Item Brevarium Romanum anthepia, prise ¹⁶⁸	xii ll
Item les fleurs des sts deux volumes, prise ¹⁶⁹	vii ll
Item les delices de lesprit, prise ¹⁷⁰	vi ll
Item les annalles et lantiquites de Paris en deux volumes, prise ¹⁷¹	vii ll
Item les œuvres de saint francois de sales, prise ¹⁷²	Cs
Item les œuvres du Cardinal de Berulle, prise ¹⁷³	iii ll
Item l'histoire de Joseph par Genebraud ¹⁷⁴	iiiiillx s
Item les œuvres de grenade en deux volumes par st martin, prise huit	

¹⁶⁵ There were many seventeenth-century Parisian editions of this; the earliest being 1640 and reprints were published in 1645, 1652, 1657, 1667, 1675, 1678, and 1686; see *Les Fleurs des vies des saints et fêtes de toute l'année, suivant l'usage du calendrier romain réformé, recueillies par le R. P. Ribadeneira, auxquelles ont été ajoutées les vies de plusieurs saints de France par M. André Du Val, revues et remises en état de perfection selon la traduction d'espagnol en français de M. René Gautier et augmentées de 365 autres vies par T. Friard* (Rouen: J. de la Mare, 1645 - 1646).

¹⁶⁶ There were several French editions of this; the earliest Parisian edition I have identified was: *La Cour sainte, ou l'institution chrestienne des grands, avec les exemples de ceux qui dans les cours ont fleury dans la sainteté, par le R. P. Nicolas Caussin* (Paris: S. Chappelet, 1624).

¹⁶⁷ I have not been able to find a contemporary edition of this; there is a nineteenth-century version in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: *Chronique des ducs de Normandie par Benoit, trouvère anglo-normand du XIIIe siècle; publ. pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit de musée britannique par Francisque Michel* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1836 - 1844).

¹⁶⁸ There were several editions printed in Paris, including: *Breviarium Romanum, Ex Decreto Sacro sancti Concilij Tridentini restitutum Pii V. pont. max. iussu editum* (Paris: Societas Typographica Librorum Officii Ecclesiastici, 1640).

¹⁶⁹ See above footnote 165.

¹⁷⁰ The first edition of this was: *Les Délices de l'esprit, dialogues dédiés aux beaux esprits du monde, par J. Desmarets, divisés en quatre parties* (Paris: A. Courbé, 1658); there were several reprints in the seventeenth century.

¹⁷¹ Claude de Saint-Lazare Malingre, *Les Annales générales de la ville de Paris, représentant tout ce que l'histoire a peu remarquer de ce qui s'est passé de plus memorable en icelle le tout par l'ordre des années et des règnes de nos roys de France* (Paris: P. Rocolet, 1640); and *Les Antiquitez de la ville de Paris, contenant la recherche nouvelle des fondations et establissemens des églises la chronologie des premiers présidens, advocats et procureurs généraux du Parlement le tout extrait de plusieurs titres et archives* (Paris: P. Rocolet, 1640).

¹⁷² There were several collections of his works, including: *Les Oeuvres du bienheureux François de Sales, reveues et augmentées d'un grand nombre de pièces qui n'ont jamais paru avant cette édition, où est adjoustée la vie de ce parfait prélat composée nouvellement par le P. Nicolas Talon* (Paris: A. Cottinet, 1641).

¹⁷³ This was almost certainly Bourgoing's edition, given that he was connected to the princess: *Les Oeuvres de l'éminentissime Pierre cardinal de Bérulle, augmentées de divers opuscules de controverse et de piété, avec plusieurs lettres, et enrichies de sommaires et de tables, par les soins du R. P. François Bourgoing* (Paris: A. Estienne, 1644).

¹⁷⁴ There were a number of Parisian editions of this, see: *Histoire de Fl. Josèphe, mise en françois, reveuë sur le grec et illustrée de chronologie, figures, annotations et tables, tant des chapitres que des principales matières, par D. Gilb. Genebrard* (Paris: n.p, 1578, 1609, 1616, 1626, 1631, 1639, 1646, 1656, 1663).

livres ¹⁷⁵	viii ll
Item les instructions a la vie devote impression du louvre, prise trois livres ¹⁷⁶	iii ll
Item les vies des sts illustres par mr arnauld ¹⁷⁷	vi ll
Item les moralles chrestiennes du peveynes, prise en quatre volumes ¹⁷⁸	vii ll
Item le theologien francois par marande deux volumes, prisez trois livres ¹⁷⁹	iii ll
Item les peintures sacrees par Girard, prise ¹⁸⁰	iii ll
Item les fleurs de la solitude par s martin, prise trois livres ¹⁸¹	iii ll
Item l'histoire du nouveau testament par le père talon, prise cinquante solz ¹⁸²	L s
Item les œuvres de st Bernard, prise quatre livres ¹⁸³	iiii ll
Item les histoires des payes par duchesne, prise quatre livres ¹⁸⁴	iiii ll
Item les œuvres de Xenophon, prise ¹⁸⁵	xx s

¹⁷⁵ This was reprinted several times in the seventeenth century; the earliest edition I have been able to identify was: *Les Oeuvres spirituelles et dévotes du R.R.F. Louys de Grenade lesquelles sont contenues la doctrine chrestienne divisées en quatre parties et augmentées en ceste dernière édition des épistres de saint Eucher, le tout nouvellement traduit par le R.P. Simon Martin* (Paris: J. Jost, 1645).

¹⁷⁶ *Introduction à la vie dévote du bien heureux François de Sales, évêque de Genève* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale du Louvre, 1641).

¹⁷⁷ This seems to have been the only contemporary edition: *Vie de plusieurs saints illustres de divers siècles choisies et traduites par Monsieur Arnaud d'Andilly* (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1664).

¹⁷⁸ This could be: *Maximes morales et chrétiennes, pour le repos des consciences dans les affaires présentes dressées et envoyées de Saint-Germain en Laye, par un théologien, fidèle officier du roi, à MM. du parlement* (Paris: Cardin Besongne, 1649); or this: *Méditations morales et chrétiennes* (Caen: J. Cavelier, 1667).

¹⁷⁹ This was published first as: *Abrégé curieux et familier de toute la philosophie, logique, morale, physique et métaphysique, et des matières plus importantes du théologien françois, par le sieur de Marandé* (Paris: T. Blaise et G. Alliot, 1642); then in several editions as: Léonard de Marandé, *Le Théologien français* (2nd edn, Paris: M. Soly, 1646).

¹⁸⁰ The earliest edition of this was: *Les Peintures sacrées sur la Bible, par le R. P. Antoine Girard* (Paris: A. de Sommaville, 1653)

¹⁸¹ *Les Fleurs de la solitude, cueillies des plus belles vies des saints qui ont habité les déserts et qui ont chéri plus expressément la vie solitaire, tant en l'Orient qu'en l'Occident, et particulièrement en France le tout recueilly des SS. Pères de l'Église et des autres auteurs orthodoxes approuvez Par le R. P. F. Simon Martin* (Paris: G. Alliot, 1652)

¹⁸² This was the only edition: *L'Histoire sainte du Nouveau Testament, divisée en 2 tomes et en 4 parties, par le R.P. Nicolas Talon* (Paris: S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1669).

¹⁸³ The earliest seventeenth-century French edition I have found is: *Les Oeuvres de S. Bernard mises la plus grande-partie en français par Me Philippes Le Bel* (Paris: M. Soly, 1622).

¹⁸⁴ The earliest edition of this was: *Histoire des papes et souverains chefs de l'Église, depuis S. Pierre, premier pontife romain, jusques à Paul Vaujourn'huy séant par André Du Chesne* (Paris: N. Buon, 1616); it was reprinted in 1645 and 1653.

¹⁸⁵ There were two editions of this, see footnote 57 above: *Les Oeuvres de Xénophon nouvellement traduites en françois, recueillies toutes en un volume, et dédiées au Roy par Pyramus de Candole* (Cologne: par P. Aubert, pour la Société Caldorienne, 1613).

Item l'histoire grec Mareaffin ¹⁸⁶	ii ll xs
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Similar to this smaller corpus was the collection owned by the duchesse de Guise:

Table 2.7 Books owned by Marie de Lorraine, duchesse de Guise¹⁸⁷

Item les lettres de saint augustin traduit en françois par M de Boyes en deux grandes vollumes, priez la somme de trente livres ¹⁸⁸	xxx ll
Item l'histoire de l'eglise en trois volumes par M Godeau, relies en maroquin, priez la somme de dix huit livres ¹⁸⁹	xviii ll
Item la vie monastique en deux volumes in quarto, relié en veau, prisé la somme de six livres ¹⁹⁰	vi ll
Item la vie de saincte Therese en deux volumes, aussy relies en maroquin rouge, priez trois livres ¹⁹¹	iii ll
Item l'histoire de la gaule Belgique par Valbourg, relié en veau, prisé quarente solz ¹⁹²	xl s
Item l'histoire de saint louis en deux volumes in quarto, reliez en maroquin de levant, prise six livres ¹⁹³	vi ll

¹⁸⁶ After this entry, there are 33 more entries on books at Asnières but none of the titles are given. There are also 41 entries for books 'en un corps de tablettes' in a passageway at Asnières. Where the titles in this corpus are given, they are all secular histories and have been omitted here.

¹⁸⁷ AN, R⁴, 1056, March 1688; item 979 onwards; Spangler, *The Society of Princes*, 91, mentions that most of the books mademoiselle de Guise owned were 'devotional,' but does not specify any titles.

¹⁸⁸ The earliest edition of this was: *Les deux Livres de S. Augustin de la Prédestination des saints et du Don de la persévérance, avec les lettres 105, 106 et 107 de ce saint docteur, traduit par Goibaud Du Bois* (Paris: G. Desprez, 1676); it was reprinted in 1680 and in several other later eighteenth-century versions; Philippe Goibaut, sieur du Bois, was her master of the chapel.

¹⁸⁹ The earliest edition was: *Histoire de l'Église, par Mre Antoine Godeau* (Paris: T. Jolly, 1663 - 1678); there were others, including: *Histoire de l'Église, par Mre Antoine Godeau* (5th edn, Bruxelles: E. H. Fricx, 1681).

¹⁹⁰ This could be: *Les Institutions régulières de la vie monastique, divisées en quatre livres, par D. V. La Roche* (Lyon: P. Rigaud, 1626); or *Défense prompte de la vie monastique du grand S. Augustin, et qu'elle est de perfection, ou Factum pour la cause de ses enfans hérémittains, contre certain intimant et autres opposans* (Paris: S. Lefebvre, 1634); or *Cinq Chapitres tirez du livre de la vie monastique* (Paris: F. Muguet, 1682).

¹⁹¹ There are a number of editions of this; see for example: Francisco de Ribera, *La Vie de la mère Térèse de Jesus composée par le R. P. François de Ribera Avec les Advis et exclamations ou Méditations de l'âme à son Dieu, composés par ladite mère Térèse de Jesus* (Antwerp: Typis A. Bacx, 1607); and *La Vie de la sainte et séraphique Mère Térèse de Jésus par elle-mesme composée. Traduit d'espagnol en françois par I. D. B. P. E. I. P. C. D. B. Reveue et corrigée avec l'Advis de la S. Mère Térèse* (Douay: Imprimerie de N. Telu, 1629); and *La Vie de sainte Thérèse écrite par elle-mesme en espagnol traduite nouvellement par le sieur Personne* (Paris: F. Léonard, 1664).

¹⁹² Almost certainly Henri de Valbourg, but I have not been able to find an edition of this title.

¹⁹³ This could be: *Histoire de saint Louis, roi de France, IX du nom, XLVIII du nombre, présentée au roi le jour de la célébration générale et solennelle de sa fête Par Pierre Mathieu* (Paris: B. Martin, 1618); a later possible version is: *Histoire de S. Louis, IX du nom, roi de France écrite par Jean de Joinville enrichie de nouvelles observations et dissertations historiques; avec les 'Établissements de saint Louis', le 'Conseil de Pierre de*

Item deux autres volumes couverts de maroquin de l'histoire de saint louis en deux volumes in quarto, prise cent solz	C s
Item l'histoire de francois premier en deux vollumes in quarto, reliez en veau prise quatre livres	iiii ll
Item l'histoire de Charles neuf en deux volumes in quarto, relies en maroquin, prise cent sols ¹⁹⁴	C s
Item l'histoire de l'ancien testament relie en maroquin in folio, prisé trois livres ¹⁹⁵	iii ll
Item la vie des saints en cinq volumes relies en veau, prisé cent solz cotté a ¹⁹⁶	C s
Item un autre paquet d'Instruction Chrestienne en cinq volumes cotté b, prise cent solz	C s
Item la vie des peres hermites en trois volumes in octavo cotte C, prise quatre livres ¹⁹⁷	iiii ll
Item un paquet de neuf volumes dont un couvert et relie en veau plus autres relies de maroquin rouge cotte D, prise la somme de six livres	vi ll
Item un autre paquet de cinq volumes cotte E de plusieurs histoires, prisé quatre livres dix solz	iiii ll x s
Item un paquet de trois volumes cotte F relié en maroquin rouge de diverses histoires, prisé quatre livres dix solz	iiii ll x s
Item un paquet de douze volumes in douze cotte G, prise quarente solz	xl s
Item deux paquets de vieux livres concernant l'histoire de l'illustre maison de lorraine cotte l'un comme l'autre H, prise six livres ¹⁹⁸	vi ll

Fontaines', et plusieurs autres pièces concernant ce règne tirées des manuscrits, par Ch. Du Fresne, sieur Du Cange (Paris: S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1668).

¹⁹⁴ This could be: *L'histoire des neuf Roys Charles de France: contenant la fortune, vertu, et heur fatal des Roys, qui sous ce nom de Charles ont mis à fin des choses merueilleuses. Le tout comprins en dix-neuf liures, avec la table sur chacune histoire de Roy; par François de Belle-Forest Comingeois (Paris: P. L'huillier, 1572).*

¹⁹⁵ This could be: *Contemplations sur l'histoire de l'Ancien Testament, nouvellement tirées de l'anglois de M. Joseph Hall par Théodore Jaquemot (Genève: P. Aubert, 1628 - 1629);* or a shorter title of: *L'Histoire des dames illustres de l'Ancien Testament qui sont toutes figures expresses de la très-sainte vierge, mère de Dieu par le P. Simon Martin (Paris: L. Boulanger, 1645).*

¹⁹⁶ This could be one of the early-seventeenth-century Italian works, such as: *Les Vies des saints et saintes, bienheureux et hommes illustres de l'ordre sacré de S. Dominique, mises en italien par le R. P. F. Seraphin Razzi et traduites en français par le R. P. F. Jean Blancone (Paris: A. Taupinart, 1616);* or Andilly's work *Vie de plusieurs saints illustres de divers siècles choisies et traduites par Monsieur Arnaud d'Andilly (Paris: P. Le Petit, 1664);* see above, footnote 150.

¹⁹⁷ There were several editions of this; see for example: *Les Vies et miracles des saints Pères hermites nouvellement mises en français par M. R. Gautier (Rouen: n.p, 1659);* and *Les Vies et miracles des saints pères hermites d'Égypte, Scythie, Thébaïde et autres lieux, descrites en partie, traduites du grec et recueillies des anciens auteurs par St Jérôme nouvellement mises en françois, augmentées de plusieurs vies fort approuvées par M. R. Gautier (Paris: J. Laisné, 1668).*

¹⁹⁸ This is probably: *Généalogie de la maison de Lorraine, depuis René II, duc de Lorraine, et Philippes de Gueldres (n.p: n.p, n.d); Les Généalogies des très illustres et très puissans princes les ducz de Lorraine marchis, avec le discours des alliances et traictez de mariage en icelle maison de Lorraine, jusques au duc François, dernier décédé par Emond Du Boullay (Paris: G. Corrozet, 1549);* or *La Clef ducale de la sérénissime, très-auguste et souveraine maison de Lorraine, laquelle donne une ample ouverture à l'antiquité, dignité, excellence et générosité de la noblesse, des alliances, emplois et actions héroïques des ducs et princes du sang lorrain A quoi est joint un catalogue des saints et saintes et des illustres ecclésiastiques de leur dévoute et fameuse*

Item un paquet de cinq volumes in quarto reliez en veau cotte I, prise quatre livres	iiii ll
Item un paquet de cinq vollumes cotte L, prise quarente sols	xl s
Item un paquet de six volumes de prieres cotte M, prise la somme de six livres	vi ll
Item un paquet de cinq volumes cotte N prise trente solz	xxx s
Item l'histoire de la bible relie en veau, prise la somme de six livres ¹⁹⁹	vi ll
Item un paquet de treize volumes des œuvres de Grenades Cotte O relie de maroquin rouge, prise la somme de seize livres ²⁰⁰	xvi ll
Item un paquet de quinze volumes cotte P, prise la somme de quinze livres	xv ll
Item un paquet de dix volumes de livres cote Q, Traduction de la saint bible prise la somme de quinze livres	xv ll
Item un paquet de quatorze volumes cotte R livres de devotion, prise dix huit livres	xviii ll
Item un autre paquet de quatre volumes de livres morale cretienne in quarto cotte S, prise la somme de sept livres	vii ll
Item un paquet de seize volumes in douze et en seize cotte T, prise sept livres	vii ll
Item un autre paquet de sept volumes in seize et une in octavo cotte U, prise sept livres	vii ll
Item un paquet de sept vollumes cotte X, prise trois livres	iii ll
Item un autre paquet de cinq volumes cotte Y, prise la somme de quatre livres dix solz	iiii ll x s
Item un petit de six volumes les Epitres de Saint Augustin cotte Z, prise la somme de douze livres ²⁰¹	xii ll
Item un paquet de sept volumes cotte a a, prise six livres	vi ll
Item un paquet de quatre petits volumes cotte b b, prise vingt solz	xx s
Item un autre paquet de quatre autres petits volumes cotte c c, prise trois livres	iii ll
Item un paquet de quatre volumes cotte d d, prise trente solz	xxx s
Item un paquet de neuf petits volumes cotte e e, prise sept livres	vii ll
Item un paquet de six autres petits volumes de livres cotte ff, prise la	

consanguinité; avec une succinte expliation de l'écu de Lorraine. Le tout recherché par un R. F. mineur de l'observance régulière (Nancy: par A. C. et C. Les Charlot, 1663).

¹⁹⁹ This is a possibility: *Figures des Histoires de la Sainte Bible accompagnées de briefs discours qui comprennent la plus grande partie de l'Histoire Sacrée du Viel et du Nouveau Testament* (Paris: Le Clerc, 1670).

²⁰⁰ There were several editions of this, see footnote 175 above: *Les Oeuvres spirituelles et dévotes du R.P.F. Louis de Grenade lesquelles sont contenues tous les enseignemens nécessaires au vray chrétien traduites de nouveau et augmentées de quelques chapitres, sçavoir: de la venue du Saint-Esprit, de l'Assumption, du Coronement, du Rosaire de Notre Dame et du Rossignol de saint Bonaventure, ensemble de la vie de l'auteur, par Séb. Hardy* (Paris: Imprimerie de P. Le Mur, 1627); *Les Oeuvres spirituelles et dévotes du R.R.F. Louys de Grenade lesquelles sont contenues la doctrine chrestienne; divisées en quatre parties et augmentées en ceste dernière édition des épistres de saint Eucher, le tout nouvellement traduit par le R.P. Simon Martin* (Paris: J. Jost, 1645).

²⁰¹ I have not been able to identify a seventeenth-century edition of this text; it may have been an earlier edition.

somme de quatre livres	iiii ll
Item un paquet de cinq volumes cote g g, prise trois livres	iii ll
Item un paquet de huit autres petits volumes cote h h, prise trois livres	iii ll
Item un paquet de six petits volumes cote ll, prise trente solz	xxx s
Item un autre paquet de cinq volumes in quarto cote MM, prise quatre livres	iiii ll
Item un paquet de douze petits volumes in seize cote NN, prise la somme de huit livres	viii ll
Item un autre paquet de six petits volumes in seize cote oo, prise trente solz	xxx s
Item un paquet de quinze petits volumes de livres de prieres, dont treize couverts de chagrin noir et les deux autres de maroquin rouge, tous garnis de leurs fermoires dor avec croix de lorraine, avec six petits sacsques a mettre partye de ses livres prisez la somme de cent livres	C ll

These collections serve as a reminder that devotional reading was not the preserve of rigorist penitents. There are commonalities in the pious books in all of the five repositories. The inclination to read scripture, both in Latin and in the vernacular, is perhaps the clearest. The duchesse de Richelieu owned French and Latin Bibles; the princesse Palatine similarly used a number of editions of it, one in three volumes; the duchesse de Guise also possessed a French translation.²⁰² The accounts of the duchesse de Liancourt's personal expenditure reveal that she purchased copies of the gospels in 1654.²⁰³ Tables 2.3 and 2.4 also show that she owned translations by Michel de Marolles (1600 – 1681) and an edition of the Book of Wisdom: a biblical volume which was written in Alexandria in the late Ptolemaic period.²⁰⁴ This tendency corresponded with broader patterns; Henri-Jean Martin found Bibles in 47% and 44% of inventories taken between 1642 and 1670, and 1671 and 1700 respectively.²⁰⁵

²⁰² Table 2.5, footnote 146; Table 2.6, above, p. 216; Table 2.7, above, p. 222.

²⁰³ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 389, 'Depuis lad[ite] memoire a esté achetté pour madame,' 'Deux livres des evangiles 3 ll[ivres].'

²⁰⁴ Table 2.3, footnote 74; Table 2.4, footnote 94. On the Book of Wisdom, see John Kloppenborg, 'Isis and Sophia in the Book of Wisdom,' *The Harvard Theological Review*, 75, no. 1 (January, 1982): 57.

²⁰⁵ Martin, *Livre, Pouvoirs et Société*, vol. 1, 494, vol. 2, 928; the figures were 95 libraries in the second period and 88 libraries in the third.

At Port-Royal, Le Maistre de Sacy's New Testament was begun in 1656 at the conferences of Vaumurier and was a continuation of Antoine Le Maistre's (1608 – 1658) work. After his arrest on 13 May 1666, Le Maistre de Sacy began translating the Old Testament during his imprisonment in the Bastille between 1666 and 1668.²⁰⁶ The preface to Le Maistre de Sacy's edition is a witness to the 'scrupulousness' which came to characterize Port-Royal but it became one of the most widely used Bibles in this period.²⁰⁷ The rigorists advocated universal access to Scripture as part of their search for a 'neo-Gallican liturgy', which was at odds with the official Church position that Bible reading should be regulated.²⁰⁸ At the fourth session of the Council of Trent, the Church Fathers compiled a list of canonical Biblical books and established the Latin Vulgate Bible as the authentic version of Holy Scripture.²⁰⁹ Counter-Reformation writers taught that the laity should only access the scriptures via the clergy and defended their arguments with the claim that the Bible did not cover everything needed for salvation.²¹⁰ In France, the importance of limiting access to it was reiterated.²¹¹ The Gallican Church recognized the need for a vernacular translation of the Bible, but no singular version achieved the same kind of authority as they did in England and

²⁰⁶ R. A. Sayce, 'French,' in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, 'Continental Versions to 1600,' ed. S. L. Greenslade (3 volumes, London: Cambridge University Press, 1963 – 1970), 348.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 349. Le Maistre de Sacy also added a summary of biblical texts to the woodcuts of his *Figures de la Sainte Bible*. In these works, which offered histories of the Old and New Testaments, each biblical story was accompanied by a *gravure*. The books were collections of engravings which could be based on the whole Bible, one Testament, or even one biblical book; see Max Engammare, 'Les figures de la Bible: le destin oublié d'un genre littéraire en image (XVIe – XVIIe siècles),' *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: Italie et Méditerranée*, 106, no. 2 (1994): 550.

²⁰⁸ Chédozeau, 'Port-Royal et le Jansénisme,' 122; Alex Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible,' *The Journal of British Studies*, 42, no. 2 (April, 2003): 158; Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 416.

²⁰⁹ Julia, 'Reading and the Counter Reformation,' 239.

²¹⁰ Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book?' 158.

²¹¹ Julia, 'Reading and the Counter Reformation,' 246.

Germany.²¹² Instead, a number of French translations were produced. In 1643, Jacques Corbin (1580 – 1653) published a translation from the Vulgate; between 1647 and 1649 Marolles and François Véron (1575 – 1649) produced new versions of the translated New Testament.²¹³ In 1655, the General Assembly of the Clergy planned a new edition that probably would have become the authorized French vernacular Bible, but the translation of the Old Testament was never completed.²¹⁴

There were other reading preferences that the non-rigorists shared with the duchesse de Liancourt, but the dominant pattern revealed by the inventories is that the duchesses de Richelieu and Guise and the princesse Palatine tended to own similar genres of books, and even some of the same titles, which would never have qualified as the reading materials of the spiritual elite. The next part of the chapter will examine these differences in detail and consider the implications of five characteristics of rigorist devotional reading.

4. **Towards a Typology of Lay, Female Rigorist Reading**

i) *Forbidden Books*

‘Reading,’ Roger Chartier wrote, ‘by definition, is rebellious.’²¹⁵ It was the seditiousness of Protestant texts which first raised the Church’s awareness about the necessity of effective censorship, resulting in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* which prohibited a large number of books.²¹⁶ The 1596 Clementine Index remained in force until the eighteenth century; later

²¹² Sayce, ‘French,’ 113. For a summary of the different vernacular editions, see Bernard Chédozeau, *La Bible et la liturgie en français: l’église tridentine et les traductions bibliques et liturgiques 1600 – 1789* (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 1990), 186 – 96.

²¹³ Sayce, ‘French,’ 348.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, 348.

²¹⁵ Chartier, *The Order of Books*, viii.

²¹⁶ Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 173.

versions were gradually added to until 1948, but it was finally abolished by Pope Paul VI in 1966.²¹⁷ In France, the approach to censorship was more haphazard than in Rome.²¹⁸ The Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne was initially tasked with book censorship and issued the first Index of Prohibited books in 1544.²¹⁹ Six editions of the Sorbonne's catalogue were published between 1544 and 1566.²²⁰ In the seventeenth century, the University was forced to compete with royal censors and the *Parlement* for control, and by 1666 the *Chancelier d'État* and four paid officials regulated access to books.²²¹ A *privilège*, or royal grant, had to be received as an approval for publication.²²² This machinery was not always effective; Jansen's 'Augustinus' even managed to receive a *privilège* and was granted approval by three Doctors at the Sorbonne before being later condemned.²²³ A void in the historiography means that we currently have little idea of the impact of the Roman *Index* in France; however it does seem likely that the books which the Cardinals had earmarked as heretical would become controversial in other Catholic countries.²²⁴

²¹⁷ *Ibid*, 173.

²¹⁸ A large body of scholarship is dedicated to the history of censorship in early modern France. I found this useful: Anne Sauvy, *Livres saisis à Paris entre 1678 et 1701* (La Haye: M. Nijhoff, 1972); see also Phillips, *Church and Culture*, especially chapter 9 'The space of the word,' 262 – 96.

²¹⁹ James K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris 1500 - 1543* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 214 – 16.

²²⁰ Fausto Parente, 'The Index, the Holy Office, the Condemnation of Talmud and Publication of Clement VIII's Index,' in *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Gigliola Fragnito; translated by Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 163.

²²¹ Trevor McClaughlin, 'Censorship and Defenders of the Faith in Mid-Seventeenth-Century France,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 40, no. 4 (Oct – Dec, 1979): 564.

²²² Phillips, *Church and Culture*, 270.

²²³ *Ibid*, 270.

²²⁴ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 414; Briggs, *Early Modern France*, 186. It is not considered in Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*. There is a useful list of prohibited books for the end of our period in Sauvy, *Livres Saisis*, 78 – 351.

The works produced at Port-Royal transgressed several Roman rules on translations and several made their way onto the Roman *Index* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²²⁵ Arnauld, Barcos, Le Maistre, Le Maistre de Sacy and Le Roy - all read by Liancourt - were placed on the *Index* in the 1640s and 1650s, and Arnauld was expelled from the Sorbonne in 1655.²²⁶ The absence of many of these authors and condemned publishers in the non-rigorist, aristocratic sample suggests that a fondness for scandalous books was more peculiar to rigorist penitents. The only banned author in the princesse Palatine's collection was Arnauld d'Andilly, who may also have been among Richelieu's books.²²⁷ There are some hints that the duchesse de Guise may have read some controversial works published by Desprez and Muguet, but again in limited numbers.²²⁸ Where it is possible to identify specific editions, the most common publishers of the books the duchesse de Liancourt owned were, unanimously, Le Petit, Vitré and Savreux.²²⁹

The rigorist movement was a subject of contemporary debate which generated interest in controversial authors and we might therefore expect to find them in seventeenth-century libraries. Martin claims that 'Jansenist' works featured highly in the libraries he researched, and yet his statistics are unconvincing.²³⁰ The most demanding works read by the duchesse de Liancourt were under-represented in his sample. Jansen's 'Augustinus' was only found in

²²⁵ Chédozeau, *La Bible et la liturgie en français*, 212; Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 177; Delumeau, *Le catholicisme*, 174.

²²⁶ *Index Librorum Prohibitorum 1600 – 1966*, ed. J. M. Bujanda (11 volumes, Québec: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, 1984 – 1996), vol. XI, 104 – 105, 527 – 28, 535; see also Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France*, 75.

²²⁷ Table 2.5, footnote 150; Table 2.6, footnote 177.

²²⁸ Table 2.7, footnotes 188, 190.

²²⁹ See, for example, Table 2.2, footnotes 46, 59, 60, 61; Table 2.3, footnotes 71, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81; Table 2.4, footnote 87.

²³⁰ Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, vol. 1, 499.

two libraries (1%) inventoried in the second period (1642 – 1670) and five (2.5%) inventoried in the third (1671 – 1700).²³¹ More intelligible, exoteric oeuvres such as those of Arnauld, Pascal, Saint-Cyran and Pierre Nicole (1625 – 1695) were more common in Martin’s sample but even these were not omnipresent.²³² The ‘Concordia Evangelica’ which was in Liancourt’s Parisian oratory is a testament to the way her reading extended beyond ‘sensational’ rigorist tracts.²³³ Her inventory also reveals a more general proclivity for reading prohibited titles which were not products of Port-Royal scholarship such as the Franciscan monk Konrad Kling’s (d.1556) ‘Loci Communes.’

Liancourt’s spiritual friends seemed to share her partiality for ‘Indexed’ works. It was the princesse de Guéméné who asked Antoine Arnauld to write ‘De la fréquent communion’ in the first place, and she protected Arnauld when Mazarin ordered him to go to Rome.²³⁴ Joseph de Voisin, the cleric that the princesse de Conti obtained books from, had a five-volume translation of the Roman missal condemned in 1660.²³⁵ His production of this text was actually commissioned by the princess and, although censured by Paris and Rome, it was defended by Arnauld in his ‘La Traduction et explication du Missel en langue vulgaire.’²³⁶ Even Trouillas, the tutor of the princes de Conti and *gouverneur* of Longueville’s son, was

²³¹ *Ibid*, 496, vol. 2, 931. Table 2.2 shows that the duchesse de Liancourt read a number of ‘apologies’ of Jansen, see for example, footnote 60.

²³² Arnauld was found in 6% of the libraries in the second period and 18% in the third; Saint-Cyran was found in 5% of the libraries in the second period and 9% in the third; Pascal was found in 8% of the libraries in the third period; and Nicole was found in 11% of the libraries in the third; Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, vol. 1, 496, vol. 2, 931.

²³³ Table 2.3, Footnote 73.

²³⁴ Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism and Jansenism*, 64.

²³⁵ Delumeau, *Le catholicisme*, 174.

²³⁶ Julia, ‘Reading and the Counter Reformation,’ 247.

placed on the *Index*.²³⁷ Longueville also wrote to Gabriel de Roquette asking him for Le Maistre de Sacy's works – another 'indexed' author.²³⁸

ii) 'Devotion made Easy?'²³⁹: *Devotional Literature*

Liancourt and many of her ex-Frondeur spiritual friends' preferment of unauthorized reading was accompanied by their disregard for approved, reputed texts. In his 'Provincial Letters' Pascal satirized the devotional literature that the Jesuits made popular among the Catholic laity when he described Father Le Moyne's book 'Devotion made easy':

The means of winning salvation which I have revealed to you are easy, certain and numerous enough; but our Fathers would not wish people to stop at this first stage, where they only do what is strictly necessary for salvation. As they continually aspire to the greater glory of God they would like to bring men to a life of greater piety. And because worldly people are usually put off piety by the odd idea of it that they have been given, our Fathers have thought it extremely important to destroy this initial obstacle. This is where F[athe]r Le Moyne has won a high reputation by his book on Easy Piety, which he wrote with this in view. He there paints a perfectly charming picture of piety.²⁴⁰

Pascal's lampooning of the 'perfectly charming' piety that the Jesuit Fathers prescribed for the laity has to be placed in context, of course. The mid-seventeenth century saw the outbreak of a bitter dispute about Jesuit laxity, as chapters one and two of this thesis have discussed. Le Moyne's text did exist but Pascal was not critiquing this work specifically. His parody was part of a broader rigorist attack on the deficient moral and spiritual discipline of the

²³⁷ *Index*, 558.

²³⁸ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 875, duchesse de Longueville to Gabriel de Roquette, undated: '...sollicitations que je vous fais pour avoir les escrits des pieté qu'on a trouves a M[onsieu]r de Sacy et sa preface pour le nouveau testament'; see chapter five, below, p. 269.

²³⁹ Pascal, *The Provincial Letters*, Letter IX, 135.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 135.

Jesuits.²⁴¹ Their ‘devotion made easy’ spiritual guides had become staple reading material by the seventeenth century and were aimed at pious women.²⁴²

The popularity of Jesuit authors was at least in part due to their entrenchment at court.²⁴³ The relationship between the Society of Jesus and the French monarchy had not been problem-free; the Jesuits were expelled from France in 1594.²⁴⁴ The early-seventeenth century saw the restoration of relations however, and the Jesuit relationship with the court was made official when Pierre Coton became Henry IV’s confessor in 1604. By the second-half of the century, the Jesuit confessor and preacher had become ‘part of the Baroque furniture’, as Van Kley puts it.²⁴⁵

The Jesuits used texts for edification and contributed vast numbers of pedagogic, theological and devotional works to the Catholic cause.²⁴⁶ Thirty-thousand Jesuit titles were published before 1773 and many of these were translated into several languages.²⁴⁷ Surprisingly some Jesuit authors were censored, such as the French and Italian versions of

²⁴¹ Richard Strier, ‘Sanctifying the Aristocracy: ‘Devout Humanism’ in François de Sales, John Donne, and George Herbert,’ *The Journal of Religion*, 69, no. 1 (January, 1989): 36 – 5. As Strier points out, Le Moyne’s book actually did exist, 38; see Pierre Le Moine, *La dévotion aisée* (Paris: A. de Sommerville, 1652).

²⁴² Bernos, *Femmes et gens de l’église*, 111. As Bernos noted, ‘la société du XVIIIe siècle à des idées bien arrêtées sur les lectures opportunes pour les femmes.’

²⁴³ Carolyn Valone, ‘Piety and Patronage: Women and the Early Jesuits,’ in *Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance*, eds. E. Ann Matter and J. Coakley (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 157 – 84; Hufton, ‘Altruism and Reciprocity,’ 328 – 53.

²⁴⁴ Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France 1590 – 1615* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2005), 240 – 41.

²⁴⁵ Dale K. Van Kley, ‘Jansenism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits,’ in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 7, ‘Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660 – 1815,’ eds. Stewart J. Brown and Timothy Tackett, 308. Van Kley argues that the Jesuit ‘Devout humanist spirituality’ was ‘a necessary religious buttress for the notion of the divine right of Kings’ in Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 53.

²⁴⁶ Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 180.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 180; Julia, ‘Reading and the Counter Reformation,’ 259.

Jean-Joseph Surin's (1600 – 1665) 'catechisme spirituel', but most were sanctioned for pious and compliant lay persons.²⁴⁸ The use of images and other optical stimuli, which we know the rigorists strived to avoid, was advocated by many of these Jesuit devotional guides.²⁴⁹

The Spanish Dominican Louis of Granada's (d. 1588) 'Guide for Sinners' was recommended to French *curés* and his works were used frequently by the Jesuits.²⁵⁰ The Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1526 – 1611) was another Spanish author favoured by the court aristocracy.²⁵¹ His biography of Estefanía Manrique was a model for señoras who lived in the world 'only in body' and 'with the heart live[d] in heaven' and earned him an elite female readership.²⁵² Ribadeneyra spent the latter years of his life writing on a wide range of topics and composed his 'Flos Sanctorum,' which was first published in 1599 in Madrid and quickly translated across Europe.²⁵³ Nicolas Caussin (1583 – 1651) was a French Jesuit who achieved a similar popularity among the elite. Confessor of Louis XIII, Caussin used his oratorical skill to compose 'La Cour Sainte,' from 1624.²⁵⁴ This text was based on the sermons he delivered

²⁴⁸ *Index*, 865; Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 177; Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 314. It is interesting that Surin's text was dedicated to, and published by, Armand de Bourbon, prince de Conti in 1654. See this later edition: *Catechisme spirituel, contenant les principaux moyens d'arriver à la perfection* (Paris: chez Claude Cramoisy, 1664).

²⁴⁹ Besançon, *The Forbidden Image*, 179; Besançon mentions Loyola's 'Spiritual Exercises' and Louis of Granada's texts; see my discussion of Granada below.

²⁵⁰ Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes*, 494; Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 193; Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 44, 183.

²⁵¹ Jodi Bilinkoff, 'The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52, no. 1 (Spring, 1999): 180; *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, vol. XIII, 526.

²⁵² Bilinkoff, 'The Many 'Lives' of Pedro de Ribadeneyra,' 188.

²⁵³ *Ibid*, 181.

²⁵⁴ Thomas Worcester, "'Neither Married nor Cloistered': Blessed Isabelle in Catholic-Reformation France,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30, no. 2 (Summer, 1999): 459; *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, vol. II (Paris: Beauchesne, 1953), 371.

at the Jesuit church of Saint-Louis in Paris.²⁵⁵ In these oraisons, using a range of historical examples largely borrowed from Baronius' 'Annales,' Caussin assured the French courtiers that a daily pious routine could reconcile the public and devout life and claimed that courtly piety would help to 'sanctify the world.'²⁵⁶ Madame de Maintenon attributed a similarly prophylactic role to these books. She believed that reading the works of Granada and others could prevent young women being drawn to the 'parti janséniste.'²⁵⁷

The dearth of this category of devotional guides in Liancourt's oratory, cabinet and *hôtel* library bucked the general trend. Table 2.5 shows that the duchesse de Richelieu owned copies of Granada, Campanella and a host of other Spanish and Italian works; Table 2.6 reveals that the princesse Palatine owned the works of Caussin, Ribadeneyra, Granada and François de Sales; Table 2.7 shows that the duchesse de Guise possessed the works of Granada.²⁵⁸ All of the non-rigorist women also read versified devotional literature. The duchesse de Richelieu and the princesse Palatine both possessed copies of Jean de Saint-Sorlin-Desmarets (1595 – 1676) 'Délices de l'esprit', and the former also owned Jesuit versions of these compositions such as François Poiré's (1584 – 1637) 'Triple couronne de la Vierge.'²⁵⁹ In the Guise inventory, books indiscriminately described as 'livres de devotion' probably belonged to this genre. Jesuit works were also consistently represented in Martin's

²⁵⁵ Marc Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence: rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), 362; Stephen F. Campbell, 'Nicolas Caussin's 'Spirituality of Communication: A Meeting of Divine and Human Speech,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, 46, no. 1 (Spring, 1993): 45.

²⁵⁶ Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism*, 181; Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence*, 364; Worcester, "'Neither Married nor Cloistered'," 459; Erica Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court Entertainments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 77. Baronius' *Annales* are discussed below, pp. 236 – 37.

²⁵⁷ Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes*, 496.

²⁵⁸ See, for example, Table 2.5, footnotes 99, 101; Table 2.6, footnotes 166, 175; Table 2.7, footnote 200.

²⁵⁹ Table 2.5, footnotes 112, 139; Table 2.6, footnote 170. On Desmarets, see *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, vol. III, 624. On Poiré, see *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, vol. XII, 1830 – 31.

sample. He found Granada in 33 libraries inventoried between 1642 and 1670, and in 24 libraries inventoried between 1671 and 1700.²⁶⁰ Caussin was present in 14 libraries in both periods, François de Sales in 18 and then 17 libraries, and the ownership of Thomas À Kempis' 'Imitation of Christ' grew from 6 libraries in the second period to 16 in the third.²⁶¹

The duchesse de Liancourt's apparent objection to Jesuit works may have been a result of her reluctance to accept the promise of universal salvation that was presented within them. Robert Bireley showed that this advice on how Christians might 'live in the world' was one of the most important transformations of early modern Catholicism, but as he rightly says, the rigorists could never accept this.²⁶² Liancourt did own a copy of some 'bestsellers.' She kept a copy of the 'established favourite' the 'Imitation of Christ' at La Roche-Guyon and the 'Introduction à la vie dévote' was in her *hôtel* library.²⁶³ François de Sales (himself a former Jesuit student) shared the Jesuit conviction that all men could achieve salvation and his 'devout humanism' downplayed the rigorous side of Catholic devotion, as we have noted.²⁶⁴ The fact that the 'Introduction' was not in her oratory does beg the question as to how regularly it was used, and the 'Imitation' may simply have been one of the texts Liancourt vowed to read to her chambermaids.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, vol. 1, 496, vol. 2, 931.

²⁶¹ *Ibid*, vol. 1, 496, vol. 2, 931.

²⁶² Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism*, 189.

²⁶³ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 313 – 14, 334; Table 2.4, footnote 90; Table 2.2, footnote 52.

²⁶⁴ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 321; Veevers, *Images of Love and Religion*, 22. See the Thesis Introduction on devout humanism, above, p. 15.

²⁶⁵ It may have been Le Maistre de Sacy's edition which was published under the pseudonym 'Beuil.'

The absence of a Breviary in Liancourt's Parisian oratory (Table 2.3) and in her dressing room at La Roche-Guyon (Table 2.4) also requires explanation. The Roman Breviary contained the hymns, prayers, lessons, psalms and responses to be recited during the seven daily offices.²⁶⁶ We already know the princesse de Conti purchased a Breviary in 1664 (even if the Conti chaplain did instigate it), the marquise de Gamaches kept a copy in her cabinet and, as we shall see shortly, there are clues that the duchesse de Longueville had one.²⁶⁷ Although there was a copy in the Liancourt *hôtel* library, given its importance to the devotional routine, we might expect to find it in the duchess' cabinet.²⁶⁸ The Roman Breviary was only adopted by a limited number of dioceses in France, so it may have been Liancourt's adherence to a rigorist, neo-Gallican model of domestic piety which justified its exclusion from her daily pious readings.²⁶⁹

The absence of the most acclaimed works from Liancourt's oratory, dressing room and, in most cases, her library disproves a recent biographer's claim that she 'interiorize[d] Salesian spirituality' and was influenced by Jesuit pedagogic literature.²⁷⁰ Liancourt's books

²⁶⁶ Simon Ditchfield, 'Giving Tridentine Worship Back its History,' in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*; papers read at the 1997 Summer Meeting and the 1998 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, ed. R. N. Swanson (*Studies in Church History*, 35. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 210. It had been subject to reform by the Church in 1568 and the 'pruning-back' of the calendar of saints was an important element of this; see Simon Ditchfield, 'Tridentine Worship and the Cult of Saints,' in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 6, 'Reform and Expansion, 1500 - 1660,' ed. Po-Chia Hsia, 202. For a summary on this, see also Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, History*, 30.

²⁶⁷ See chapter three above, p. 143 on Gamaches; see above, p. 196 on Conti; see below, p. 240 on Longueville.

²⁶⁸ Table 2.2, footnote 61.

²⁶⁹ Ditchfield, 'Giving Tridentine Worship Back its History,' 203; see also Denis Pallier, 'Les impressions de la contre-réforme en France,' *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 31 (1981): 261 - 69. In the diocese of Paris there were a number of French editions of the Breviary in 1636, 1640, 1643 and 1653; see Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, vol. 1, 106.

²⁷⁰ Winn, *Règlement donné par une dame*, 12. Colette H. Winn's inaccurate assumption that Jesuit literature informed Liancourt's piety is the reason why I chose to return to an earlier edition of her *Règlement* here and in chapter one, instead of using her critical edition which references these texts throughout. See also Colette H. Winn, 'La fille à l'image de la mère: Jeanne de Schomberg Règlement donné par une dame de haute qualité à sa petite fille (1698),' *Papers on Seventeenth-Century French Literature* 43 (1995): 359 - 67.

highlight the difference between a *dévot*, or a conventionally pious woman's reading, and that of a rigorist penitent in search of a more exclusive form of worship. As Erica Longfellow recently found in her study of Elizabeth Isham's Puritan library, an avoidance of books that were designed to instruct early modern women gave them some intellectual independence.²⁷¹

iii) *Hagiography and 'Historia Sacra'*

If the duchesse de Liancourt was not a *dévot* occupying her time with 'devotion made easy' guides, neither were the simple narratives of saints lives likely to pacify her.²⁷² Some historians have suggested that the rigorists had a lukewarm attitude towards the Virgin and Saints, but Saint-Cyran was already recommending the 'vies des saints' to his female penitents in the 1640s and the scholars at Port-Royal produced revised versions of the 'lives.'²⁷³ Rigorist women's testaments also reveal some personal attachments to individual cults, as we have noted.²⁷⁴ Yet the duchesse de Liancourt's deathbed veneration of the Virgin, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist was not the result of a familiarity with their 'vitae.' Patristic works aside (these will be addressed shortly) there were no saints' lives or works in Liancourt's Parisian oratory, or in her dressing room at La Roche-Guyon.²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ Erica Longfellow, 'Elizabeth Isham and Puritan Cultural Forms,' in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558 – 1680*, eds. Harris and Scott-Baumann, 125.

²⁷² An important collection on *Historia Sacra* will be published next year: Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield and Howard Louthan, eds., *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, due May/June 2012). Thanks to Simon Ditchfield for copies of the preface to the collection and the chapter on 'The Lives of the Saints in the French Renaissance, c.1500 – 1640,' by Jean-Marie Le Gall, 368 – 408.

²⁷³ Quantin, *Le catholicisme classique et les pères de l'église*, 386. Historians such as Von Greyerz have perpetuated this view of Port-Royalist devotion in *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 99 – 103. Kostroun has recently shown that actually this view of the piety of Port-Royal is a remnant of seventeenth-century anti-Jansenist polemic; see *Feminism, Absolutism and Jansenism*, 47.

²⁷⁴ See Appendix B and above, p. 47.

²⁷⁵ There were the works of Saint Teresa in the *hôtel* library, Table 2.2, footnote 59.

Hagiography was a favourite for non-rigorist women. Between them, Richelieu, Guise and the princesse Palatine owned a number of hagiographical anthologies and some individual saints' lives, such as those of Teresa of Avila and Saint Louis.²⁷⁶ The 'Flos Sanctorum' of Ribadeneyra reoccurs in the princess' collection.²⁷⁷ Translated from the Spanish, this was a compendium of saints' lives which was intended to replace works such as the 'Golden Legend.'²⁷⁸ Hagiography was also well-represented in Martin's study. Saints' lives appeared in 61 inventories (31%) taken in the second period (1642 – 1670), and 41 inventories (21%) in the third period (1671 – 1700).²⁷⁹ Among the most common compilations were those edited by Ribadeneyra.²⁸⁰

Liancourt's devotions were not channelled by individual 'lives' or Ribadeneyra's 'Florilegia.'²⁸¹ Instead, her veneration of the saints was structured by meticulous and scholarly histories of the persecuted early Church in the Roman Martyrology. The edition she owned was most probably a French translation of the librarian of Vallicelliana's (Cesare Baronio's) revised version of the text.²⁸² This historical martyrology contained details of martyrs' deaths in addition to outlines of their lives.²⁸³ The revision of the Martyrology was,

²⁷⁶ Table 2.6, footnotes 150, 152, 154; Table 2.7, footnotes 191, 193, 196, 197.

²⁷⁷ Table 2.6, footnotes 152, 165.

²⁷⁸ Le Gall, 'The Lives of the Saints,' 372.

²⁷⁹ Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, vol. 1, 496, vol. 2, 931.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, vol. 1, 496; Martin does not give this information for the third period.

²⁸¹ Le Gall, 'The Lives of the Saints,' 372.

²⁸² Table 2.3, footnote 69. Given that there were few other translations and what we know about her preference for history, it seems likely that this was: *Le Martyrologe romain pour tous les jours de l'année traduit en français par un père de la compagnie de Jésus, et de nouveau revu et corrigé conformément à celui de l'illustrissime cardinal Baronius par un père de la même compagnie* (Lyon: P. et C. Rigaud frères, 1644).

²⁸³ Simon Ditchfield, 'Reading Rome as a Sacred Landscape, c. 1586 – 1635,' in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 173 – 75; Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 306.

like the Breviary, another product of the Church's desire to correct the material in its texts. Tridentine 'Historia Sacra' reinforced earlier Humanist critiques of 'miraculous' medieval collections such as Voragine's 'Golden Legend.'²⁸⁴ Chronological accuracy and trustworthy sources were to be the foundation for the Tridentine 'cleaning-up' of hagiography.²⁸⁵

The duchesse de Liancourt's decision to read the Martyrology rather than other 'lives' would not only have been influenced by her connections with the Port-Royal scholars, but also her connections with Oratorians who were important figures in the writing of 'historical bibliography.'²⁸⁶ Her fascination with the history of Christianity in the first few centuries is also illustrated by other historical works in the Liancourt *hôtel* library, including the histories of Coeffeteus, Appian of Alexandria, and Titius Flavius Josephus.²⁸⁷

An interest in ecclesiastical history was also evident in non-rigorist book collections. André du Saussay's (1589 – 1675) edition of the Martyrology was present in the Richelieu library, as was 'Roma Sotteranea,' which was a description of some of the Catacombs written by the 'Columbus of the Catacombs' Antonio Bosio (1575 – 1629).²⁸⁸ Liancourt, Richelieu and the princesse Palatine's possession of texts such as Baronio's 'Annales Ecclesiastici', and

²⁸⁴ Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity, History*, 119.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 134.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 123. Rigorist penitents' links with the Oratory were discussed in chapter two, see above, p. 80.

²⁸⁷ Table 2.2, footnotes 46, 56, 58.

²⁸⁸ Table 2.5, footnotes 109, 126. There was not a Martyrology among the reading materials of either the duchesse de Guise or the princesse Palatine, however. On Bosio, see Johnson, 'Holy Fabrications,' 279; and Simon Ditchfield, 'Text before Trowel: Antonio Bosio's Roma Sotteranea Revisited,' in *The Church Retrospective*; papers read at the 1995 Summer Meeting and the 1996 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, ed. R. N. Swanson (*Studies in Church History* 33, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 343 - 60.

the works of his successor Henri de Sponde (1568 – 1643), are also testaments to the importance of sacred histories.²⁸⁹

Liancourt's interest in 'Historia Sacra' therefore correlated with broader trends in the post-Tridentine Church.²⁹⁰ But it is clear that even if she shared the desire to recover the historical origins of Catholicism, the duchesse de Liancourt's reading provided ample material for strengthening a rigorist penitent's conviction in their exclusive status. Early Christian martyrs had a special pertinence to rigorist penitents, as the last chapter argued, so it may have been that the efforts of figures such as Baronio to reconnect the post-Tridentine Church to its early traditions appealed to the spiritual elite.

There is little indication as to whether Liancourt's spiritual friends shared her preference for scholarly martyrologies and her indifference towards simple 'lives.'²⁹¹ Given what we already know about their attitude towards the prevailing 'devotion made easy' ethic, the duchesse de Liancourt's abstinence from reading saints lives as well as many of the 'bestsellers' of the century was probably more typical of rigorist penitents' reading. This

²⁸⁹ Table 2.2, footnote 51; Table 2.5, footnote 113, 114; Table 2.6, footnote 151. Johnson, 'Holy Fabrications,' 280; Cyriac K. Pullapilly, *Caesar Baronius: Counter-Reformation Historian* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), 49; Eric Cochrane, 'Caesar Baronius and the Counter Reformation,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, 66, no. 1 (January, 1980): 53 – 8.

²⁹⁰ Kirstin Noreen, 'Ecclesiae Militantis Triumph: Jesuit Iconography and the Counter Reformation,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29, no. 3 (Autumn, 1998): 697. Simon Ditchfield has bridged the gap between history and hagiography, and shown the importance of the Christian past to the Tridentine Church; see Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History*; and 'Historia Magistra Sanctitatis: The Relationship between Historiography and Hagiography in Italy after the Council of Trent,' *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, Third Series, 3 (2006): 159 – 84. Scholars have also shown that an interest in ancient martyrs rather than 'modern' saints was more commonplace in France during this period: only 7 of the 346 early modern French saints were canonized before 1789; see Le Gall, 'The Lives of the Saints,' 388 – 89. The French reluctance to embrace newer saints might explain Liancourt's and her non-rigorist peers' lack of interest in those canonized after the Catholic Church's 65-year lull: The lives and/or works of saints such as Philip Neri and Maria Magdalena de Pazzi are absent from all of the collections, including Liancourt's.

²⁹¹ We know that the princesse de Conti purchased the lives of four saints in 1658, but these seem to have been purchased for her household and not her personal use; see above, p. 196, footnote 31.

outlook may have been a result of their faithfulness to the rigorist movement's aloofness from Jesuit and Italian spirituality and their lax definitions of sanctity. It should also be understood as a confirmation of their commitment to the high-minded culture of rigorist devotion that we began to observe in the last chapter. Just as the spiritual elite did not need the rosary beads or figurines idolized by the *dévots*, neither did they need the edificatory texts popularized by orders such as the Jesuits.²⁹² The next part of the chapter will explore how the duchesse de Liancourt replaced 'devotion made easy' guides with high-brow, esoteric works.

iv) *'In other words, Father, your arrival has meant the disappearance of St Augustine, St Chrysostom, St Ambrose, St Jerome and the others': Reading the pères de l'église*²⁹³

The picture of female penitents' bookish culture of worship presented so far in this chapter not only upholds historical assumptions about the scholarly nature of rigorism; it also shows that this intellectual culture extended far beyond Port-Royal to the oratories and libraries of the lay, female aristocracy.²⁹⁴ There is more to be said on the matter, however. The evidence for aristocratic, rigorist book ownership shows that female penitents' reading charged rigorist claims about their identity as the spiritual elite, both in terms of their elected salvation and their affinity with the early Christians.

The Roman Martyrology was not the only text which familiarized rigorist penitents with their history. The works of the Greek and Latin Church Fathers were also instructive.

²⁹² Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy*, 207.

²⁹³ Pascal, *The Provincial Letters*, Letter V, 86.

²⁹⁴ Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 362; Neveu, *Érudition et religion*, 455; Bernard Chédozeau, 'La publication de l'écriture par Port-Royal: première partie, 1653 – 1669,' in *Chroniques de Port-Royal: Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Port-Royal*, no. 33, 'Le Maître de Sacy' (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1984): 35 – 42; Bernard Chédozeau, 'La publication de l'écriture par Port-Royal: deuxième partie, l'ancien testament de la Bible de Sacy 1672 – 1693,' in *Chroniques de Port-Royal: Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Port-Royal*, no. 35, 'Port-Royal en exil' (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1986), 195 – 203.

The duchesse de Longueville was enlightened by the texts of one of the Greek Cappadocian fathers in 1659, as she wrote in a letter to the *sous-prieure* at the Carmelite convent on the rue Saint-Jacques:

A propos de pénitence, J'ai trouvé un passage de saint Grégoire qui définit admirablement ce que cest. Je vous l'envoie pour mettre dans votre breviare.²⁹⁵

Bernard Hours' research has revealed how there tended to be large quantities of patristic works in Carmelite libraries which might explain Longueville's early exposure to them.²⁹⁶ The selection of works of the Latin Fathers' in the Liancourt *hôtel* library was also extensive and included several editions of Tertullian, the writings of two of the Doctors of the West Augustine and Gregory, as well as the oeuvres of Jerome and Bernard.²⁹⁷ The works of the *pères de l'église* therefore acquainted her with the intellectual cultures of Alexandria, Antioch, Cappadocia, Carthage and Rome between the second and fifth centuries.²⁹⁸

The rigorists were neither the first nor the sole promoters of the Church Fathers. In his study Henri-Jean Martin found some strong evidence for the broader readership of the writings of the Church Fathers in private libraries.²⁹⁹ Among the most commonly owned were

²⁹⁵ MC, Chantilly, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque, Ms. 167, ff. 88 – 90, duchesse de Longueville to the *sous-prieure* of the Carmelite convent on the rue Saint-Jacques, 1659.

²⁹⁶ Bernard Hours, 'Les pères de l'église dans la culture des carmélites françaises aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles,' in *Les pères de l'église au XVIIe siècle; actes du colloque de Lyon* (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 1993), 474.

²⁹⁷ See my argument in chapter three about the influences of the early Christians such as Tertullian on rigorist devotional material culture, above, pp. 183 – 86.

²⁹⁸ These are discussed in Ludlow, *The Early Church*, 73 – 4, 119 – 44, 160 – 65, 167 – 88.

²⁹⁹ Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, vol. 1, 496, vol. 2, 928 – 29. Jean-Louis Quantin has also written on the importance of Christian antiquity to the Church of England in the seventeenth century in *Le catholicisme classique et les pères de l'église*, 379; and Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity*; see footnote 29 in the Thesis Introduction.

Augustine and Bernard, and Basil and Jerome were also listed in many inventories.³⁰⁰ The Fathers were also among the books in non-rigorist residences. The duchesse de Guise read the letters and works of Augustine and an edition of the lives of the hermits; the Princesse Palatine owned Andilly's work on saints and the works of Saints Bernard and Augustine; the duchesse de Richelieu possessed the sermons of Ambrose of Milan.³⁰¹ When the duchesse de Liancourt retired into her oratory to read patristic sources however, the indications are not that she was simply conforming. Jean-Louis Quantin showed how seldom such an interest in patristics truly was, when he cited Pierre Jurieu's (1637 – 1713) response to Arnauld:

Les peuples de la communion romaine ne sont point scavants non plus dans l'antiquite, et ainsi leur citer saint chrysostome, saint basile, saint Jerome et le venerable bede cest les mener dans un pays inconnu.³⁰²

In Paris, the duchesse de Liancourt read the works of Augustine, Prosper of Aquitaine, and the conferences of John Cassian which derived from conversations he had in the Egyptian desert; at La Roche-Guyon she read Athanasius and Augustine's 'Libero Arbitrio.'³⁰³ Neither Prosper nor John Cassian appeared in either of Henri-Jean Martin's samples, and Athanasius only appeared in 8 libraries inventoried between 1642 and 1670.³⁰⁴ Augustine was the only one of these authors to appear in the non-rigorist inventories.

³⁰⁰ Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, vol. 1, 496, vol. 2, 928 – 29. Augustine was found in 20% of libraries in the second period and 22% in the third; Bernard was found in 14% of libraries in the second period and 4% in the third; Basil was found in 7.5% of libraries in the second period and 6% in the third; Jerome was found in 9% of libraries in the second period and 8% in the third.

³⁰¹ Table 2.5, footnote 143; Table 2.6, footnotes 154, 163, 183; Table 2.7, footnotes 188, 197.

³⁰² Pierre Jurieu, *L'ésprit de mr Arnauld tiré de sa conduite et des écrits de luy et de ses disciples* (n.p: n.p, 1684), 104; cited in Quantin, 'The Fathers,' 981.

³⁰³ Table 2.3, footnotes 71, 80, 81; Boniface Ramsey, ed., *John Cassian: The Conferences*; translated and annotated by Boniface Ramsey (New York: Paulist Press, 1997), 7; Farmer, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 444.

³⁰⁴ Table 2.4, footnote 92, 93; Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, vol. 1, 496, vol. 2, 928 – 29.

More significant than the rarity of the individual titles Liancourt owned however, is their coherence as a collection of texts. They reveal that she was evaluating the theology underpinning rigorist devotion and its origins in the semi-Pelagian or ‘Augustinian’ controversy (c.420 – 529).³⁰⁵ In fifth-century Rome, a debate erupted after Pelagius objected to Augustine’s statements on conversion. Pelagius believed that Christians could choose whether or not to lead a good, moral life, and he understood divine grace as a gift which allowed humans to do so.³⁰⁶ Augustine defended the position that the only humans who had the ability to choose between good and evil were Adam and Eve. According to him, after the Fall, all humans were corrupted by their defiance which ensured they were always predisposed towards sin.³⁰⁷ Augustine argued that God had chosen (or elected) some humans for salvation, but that His decision would bear no relationship to individual actions. In other words, salvation was not a reward for ‘good works.’

Pelagius was declared a heretic in 418 but the controversy resurfaced in Marseille when Augustine’s opponents challenged his view on free will, grace and salvation.³⁰⁸ John Cassian’s interpretation of Scripture (Timothy 2:4) defied Augustine’s.³⁰⁹ His thirteenth *collatio* taught that men could not attain to the summit of perfection without the grace of

³⁰⁵ Alexander Y. Hwang, *Intrepid Lover of Perfect Grace: The Life and Thought of Prosper of Aquitaine* (Washington D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 3; see also *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, vol. XIV, 555 – 67.

³⁰⁶ Ludlow, *The Early Church*, 182.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 184.

³⁰⁸ Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France*, 6.

³⁰⁹ Hwang, *Intrepid Lover of Perfect Grace*, 152. On the differences between Augustine, Prosper and Cassian’s concepts of grace, see Alexander Y. Hwang, ‘Manifold Grace in John Cassian and Prosper of Aquitaine,’ *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 63, no. 1 (2010): 96. Timothy 2: 2 – 4 ‘For Kings and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour; who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth,’ *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 259. On this theology, see also Marcel Bak, ‘Lectrices de Port-Royal,’ in *Lectrices d’Ancien Régime; actes du colloque, 27 - 29 juin 2002*, ed. Isabelle Brouard-Arends (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 49.

God, but that man would not receive grace until he believed. Cassian therefore argued for the existence of a ‘saving’ faith.³¹⁰ Prosper’s polemical poem ‘De ingratis’, which was which was translated into the vernacular by Le Maistre de Sacy, aimed to disprove opponents of Augustine’s concept of predestination.³¹¹

Liancourt’s reading on the *pères de l’église* was, unlike other pious readers, not only an expression of her interest in the Catholic Church’s battle against heresy. It was a product of her concern with the grace she may or may not have received at her conversion, and its role in securing her salvation. Chapter one presented the evidence for this preoccupation among Longueville, Brienne and Conti after their conversions; this corpus of works shows that the duchesse de Liancourt had the same fixation as many of her spiritual friends. Liancourt’s interest in rigorist, neo-Augustinian theology perhaps also motivated her to read texts such as the Oratorian Jean-François Senault’s (1601 – 1672) summaries of the Augustinian position on sin in the ‘Corruption of Nature by Sin,’ and the works of the abbé and theologian Amable de Bourzeis (1606 – 1672).³¹² In her oratory in Paris she also owned a text which would have been instrumental for the exercise of penitence for any rigorist: Borromeo’s ‘Instructions to Confessors.’³¹³ As noted in chapter two, after Borromeo’s position was formally adopted by the Assembly of the Clergy in 1657, the rigorist movement ‘hijacked’ it in their defence of the rigorist position on the sacraments.³¹⁴ The ‘Instructions’ consisted of Borromeo’s advice

³¹⁰ Nigel Abercrombie, *The Origins of Jansenism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), 49.

³¹¹ Hwang, *Intrepid Lover of Perfect Grace*, 121.

³¹² Table 2.2, footnotes 59, 60. On Senault’s Augustinianism, see Peter Harrison, ‘Original Sin and the Problem of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe,’ *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 63, no. 2 (April, 2002): 255. On Bourzeis’ works, see Laurent Avezou, ‘Autour du testament politique de Richelieu,’ *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes*, 162 (2004): 430. On Senault, see *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, vol. XIV, 568.

³¹³ Table 2.3, footnote 79.

³¹⁴ Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, 304.

to Milanese confessors and *curés* about confession and penitence. Liancourt probably kept the guide in her oratory not only to structure the practice of penitence, but also because she was curious about the contemporaneous debate surrounding the sacraments.

The Church Fathers did not celebrate the piety of women or their capacity for reading and understanding theology. Elizabeth A. Clark has examined the representation and ‘stereotyping’ of ‘woman’ in patristic literature and showed that authors such as Jerome described women as ‘fickle-minded.’³¹⁵ The Port-Royalists were equally patronizing. Saint-Cyran announced that theological controversies should not be a concern of lay women and ‘gens de cour,’ and Arnauld doubted a woman’s ability to grasp theology.³¹⁶ When the duchesse de Liancourt read these works, she was probably also disregarding the advice of her spiritual director. Female penitents were not supposed to read books that their spiritual directors had not recommended, or those with which they were unfamiliar.³¹⁷ Linda Timmermans showed how male clerics produced guides which instructed pious women in the types of devotional reading they should do and intended to regulate the books women accessed.³¹⁸ It would be interesting to know whether Liancourt and her spiritual friends were the only pious women in Paris who read beyond the lists prescribed for them.

In which ever way the duchesse de Liancourt evaluated these controversies, the collection shows that she immersed herself in a debate about spiritual election, grace and free will. Liancourt’s reading on the Church Fathers and the history of warring intellectual

³¹⁵ Elizabeth A. Clark, ‘Ideology, History and the Construction of ‘Woman’ in Late Ancient Christianity,’ *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 2, no. 2 (Summer, 1994): 166.

³¹⁶ Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes*, 673, 721.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, 487.

³¹⁸ *Ibid*, 441 – 96. One example is Jean-Pierre Camus, *Acheminement à la dévotion civile* (Toulouse: n.p, 1624).

factions in fifth-century Gaul may have also served to strengthen the identification she felt with the primitive Church. Among Liancourt's reading materials, for example, was Le Roy's edition of the works of Saint Basil. Saint Basil was born in 329 in Caesarea, Cappadocia, where he later became Bishop in 370.³¹⁹ The 'Forty Martyrs' were an important part of Basil's orations because his grandparents had also suffered during the persecutions of the Emperors.³²⁰ Texts such as these lent themselves to the idea that the rigorists were a persecuted community of the faithful and thus kindred spirits with the early Christians.³²¹ The last chapter argued that the duchess' acquisition of the relics of Pience for her chapel at La Roche-Guyon was an indication of female penitents' desire to forge links between the rigorist culture of devotion and the simplicity of primitive Christian worship. This evidence uncovers the reading which may have informed this spiritual affinity. The next and final part of the chapter will explore how the psalms might also have shaped the collective identity of the 'spiritual elite.'

- v) *'But the salvation of the righteous is of the Lord: he is their strength in the time of trouble'³²²: The Psalms*

Historians have shown how psalm-singing was synonymous with Calvinism.³²³ Natalie Zemon Davis has argued for its importance to the Calvinists as a form of worship and its role

³¹⁹ Table 2.3, footnote 75; Thomas Merton, *Cassian and the Fathers: Initiation into the Monastic Tradition*; edited with an introduction by Patrick F. O'Connell; preface by Columba Stewart (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Liturgical Press, 2005), 45.

³²⁰ Raymond Van Dam, *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 138, 2.

³²¹ Merton, *Cassian and the Fathers*, 7. For a useful discussion of the early Christian martyrs, see Kleinberg, *Histoires des Saints*, 30 – 49; see also Brian E. Strayer, *Suffering Saints: Jansenists and Convulsionnaires in France 1640 – 1799* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008); and Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence*, 629.

³²² Psalm 37: 39; *Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 659.

³²³ And Protestantism more generally; on English Protestants, see Danielle Clarke, 'The Countess of Pembroke and the Practice of Piety,' in *The Intellectual Culture of Puritan Women, 1558 – 1680*, eds. Harris and Scott-Baumann, 31.

in the provocation of the religious riot in sixteenth-century France.³²⁴ The psalms had been an integral part of Calvinist prayer since they were versified by Clément Marot (1496 – 1544) in the sixteenth century and set to music. When Calvin first arrived in Geneva he devoted all of his energies to the publication of the psalms; it was there that they were first published as a compilation of 35 psalms in 1542 and then as 49 psalms one year later.³²⁵

There was an important psalmic Catholic tradition however, which has often been obscured by their historiographical association with Calvinism.³²⁶ The potential for psalm-singing to arouse passions was avoided by the rigorists who recited the daily offices soberly without music, just as Athanasius advised.³²⁷ Rigorist spiritual directors conveyed their importance to female penitents in their correspondence:

Là-dessus que ces paroles amplius lava me [Psalm 51: 2] par tous vos exercices de piété et la peine que vous allez souffrir dans ce grand chaud qui est une pénitence commune que Dieu impose à tous les hommes par une qualité des saisons, mais dont peu de personnes font réflexion pour ménager cette pénitence.³²⁸

³²⁴ Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, 86 – 7.

³²⁵ Barbara Pitkin, 'Imitation of David: David as a Paradigm for Faith in Calvin's Exegesis of the Psalms,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 24, no. 4 (Winter, 1993): 845; Kate Van Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms in Early Modern France* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 127.

³²⁶ Stuart Carroll showed that even in the sixteenth century, evangelical Catholics continued to use vernacular translations for psalm-singing; see *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 40, 95.

³²⁷ See chapter two, above, p. 121.

³²⁸ Josse, ed., *Lettres d'Antoine Singlin*, Singlin to the duchesse de Longueville, undated, 479; Psalm 51: 2 'Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity and cleanse me from my sin,' *Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 667.

In the Psalter of Antoine Le Maitre and Le Maistre de Sacy the authority of the psalms was emphasized and they were also prominent in other genres of French prose.³²⁹ Antoine Godeau edited a paraphrased French anthology of psalms in Paris in 1648, for example.³³⁰

The sources indicate that rigorist penitents shared this enthusiasm for the psalms – something which is not replicated in any of the non-rigorist inventories or in Martin’s broader study.³³¹ Table 2.3 shows that Liencourt read a Psalter and a separate edition of the psalms of David; the duchesse de Longueville received copies of the psalms from the marquise de Sablé and intended to recite the Seven Penitential Psalms daily: five of which are identified in the scriptures as the psalms of David.³³² These are essentially sacred songs on penitence and salvation and are characterized by the types of sentiments we observed within rigorist penitents’ spiritual autobiographies and letters in chapters one and two of this thesis. Indeed, David was himself regarded as the ‘archetypal penitent’ and ‘moral prophet’ of a spiritual community.³³³

³²⁹ Chédozeau, ‘Port-Royal et le Jansénisme,’ 11; Jean de Viguerie, ‘Les psaumes dans la piété catholique,’ in *Actes du colloque international de musicologie sur le grand motet français, 1663 – 1792*; organisé par la Centre d’Études de la Musique Française aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles; sous la direction de Jean Mongrédien et Yves Ferraton (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1986), 9; Bilinkoff, ‘The Many ‘Lives’ of Pedro de Ribadeneyra,’ 194.

³³⁰ Viguerie, ‘Les psaumes dans la piété catholique,’ 9. Historians have highlighted the importance of psalms to female piety; see the ‘Workshop Summary,’ in *Culture and Change: Attending to Early Modern Women*, eds. Mikesell and Seeff, 284 – 85.

³³¹ There is no mention of the psalms in Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société*, vol. 1, vol. 2.

³³² Table 2.3, footnote 77. The Seven Penitential Psalms are: 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142. See above, p.195 and p.197 on Longueville.

³³³ Michael, P. Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song: The Psalms as Moral Discourse in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), xx, 20, 24. On Psalm 22 in particular, see Bernard Roussel, ‘John Calvin’s Interpretation of Psalm 22,’ in *Adaptations of Calvinism in Reformation Europe: Essays in Honour of Brian G. Armstrong*, ed. Mack P. Holt (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 9 – 20.

The psalms appealed to rigorist penitents because they described the human love for God and showed the strength of ‘interpersonal affections.’³³⁴ They also reinforced the way the ‘righteous’ would be saved. The rigorists shared the Calvinist perception of David as ‘the anointed of God’ who was able to withstand the persecution exacted upon him.³³⁵ The importance of the psalms to Liancourt and her spiritual friends’ reading is therefore one final attestation to the cultic nature of rigorist reading.

5. Reading for Salvation?

The aim of this case-study has been to consider what the duchesse de Liancourt’s books reveal about rigorist devotional reading and the influence it had upon the forms of worship and sociability which gave coherence to the rigorist friendship network. The issue of interpretation is problematic here. The sources only allow us to glimpse the books Liancourt had been reading when the inventories were produced, when the books she kept in her oratories and cabinets probably changed frequently. It is also impossible to be certain about how she read the texts and whether she agreed with, or believed in, the sentiments within them. For instance, the presence of a copy of the doctrine of the Jesuits in her oratory does not mean that she empathized with the order or their attitudes to salvation (indeed, we would expect the opposite to be true of her).³³⁶

³³⁴ McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, xx; Kuczynski, *Prophetic Song*, xx.

³³⁵ Barbara Diefendorf, ‘The Huguenot Psalter and the Faith of French Protestants in the Sixteenth Century,’ in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Diefendorf and Hesse, 54.

³³⁶ As well as the doctrines of the Jesuits she also owned Duperron’s text, which dealt with the use of the Holy Sacrament. But even in Duperron’s text, he tried to show that decisions of the Church on the doctrine of the real presence reflected the belief of the early Church and used the writings of the Church Fathers, among other sources, to make his case; see Susan Rosa, ‘Il était possible que cette conversion fut sincère: Turenne’s conversion in context,’ *French Historical Studies*, 18, no. 3 (Spring, 1994): 640.

The types of books she owned do reveal the theological controversies the duchess was reading about, if not her opinion on them. This investigation has also uncovered the low-brow titles which rigorist penitents such as Liancourt might have avoided. The duchess' attitude to such texts was probably the most severe in the rigorist friendship network; she was the only person who dared to critique Sablé's maxims.³³⁷ She also advised her grand-daughter Jeanne-Charlotte to avoid the novel:

Le demon vous presentera aussy des romans, qui auront de la vogue, et que vous verrez meme lire et louer a des gens qui ont la reputation d'etre sages et vertueux selon le monde; mais il y a un venin dans ces sortes de livres, que l'on n'apperçoit que quand il a fait impression; et alors on se sent si froid pour la priere et pour la lecture spirituelle et si fort en gout pour les folies du monde.³³⁸

As well as her severity, Liancourt's intelligence probably exceeded that of her spiritual friends.' Rapin noted her superior wit in his memoirs:

Elle avoit l'esprit grand, aisé, solide mais la trop grande facilité qu'elle avoit à comprendre les choses les plus difficiles dans les sciences luy donnoit une avidité d'apprendre et une trop grande curiosité de savoir les questions les plus abstraites de la théologie et d'en pénétrer le fond.³³⁹

Rapin's observations on Liancourt's inquisitiveness upholds the level of aptitude hinted at by her book collections.

There are other indications that the attitudes of other women in the network towards reading may not have been quite as steadfast. Chapter one showed that the comtesse de Maure may have found the severity of the Augustinian position on grace and predestination

³³⁷ Barthélemy, *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé*, 226.

³³⁸ *Règlement*, 34.

³³⁹ Léon Aubineau, ed., *Mémoires du P. René Rapin sur l'église et la société, la cour, la ville et le jansénisme, 1644 - 1669, publiés pour la première fois, d'après le manuscrit autographe, par Léon Aubineau* (3 volumes, Paris: Gaume frères et J. Duprey, 1865), vol. 1, 99; cited in Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes*, 694.

discomforting.³⁴⁰ Henri-Auguste de Loménie's gift to his wife the comtesse de Brienne also suggests that her reading may have been more conventional:

Vous vous imaginez sans doute qu'un homme de sa naissance et de son age luy envoya ou quelque boete de portrait enrichie de diamans, ou quelque filet de perles, ou quelque pendant d'oreilles, ou enfin quelque précieux bijoux, qui témoignast son estime et son amour; Mais la pieté qui conduisoit mesme ses amours, luy inspira une galanterie spirituelle, qui fit bien connoistre à sa maistresse qu'il estoit solidement devot et qu'il vouloit luy inspirer la pieté avec son affection. Car il luy envoya les oeuvres de Grenade, oeuvres qui ont répandu la devotion dans l'Eglise, qui ont enseigné la vertu à tous les fidelles, et qui ont operé autant de miracles, qu'ils ont converty des pecheurs.³⁴¹

Of course, Senault's oraison had an obvious polemical function and this may simply be another example of a male, clerical attempt to demarcate the types of works that pious women 'ought' to read. When it came to the science of salvation, the indications are that the external perception of Brienne and her spiritual friends was as 'femmes savantes' who stood out from their theologically-ignorant peers.³⁴² According to Rapin, the princesse de Guéméné 'prend gout aux questions de la grâce' and her fellow penitents were equally as conversant in these matters:

Les dames qui se piquoient d'esprit estoient charmées de voir la princesse de Guéméné, la comtesse de Brienne, la marquise de Liancourt parler d'un air decisif de la doctrine de Molina et celle de saint Augustin, s'enfoncer dans les abîmes les plus profonds de la prédestination, citer l'histoire des semi-pélagians, le concile d'Arles, le seconde concile d'Orange et elles se persuadaient aisément qu'il ne falloit que devenir jansénistes par devenir savantes.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ See chapter one above, pp. 50 - 51. I did suggest however, that her beliefs must have become increasingly rigorist in the following decade.

³⁴¹ *Oraison funebre de Messire Henry Auguste de Loménie Comte de Brienne Secetaire et Ministre d'Estat Prononcée dans l'eglise de S. Magloire Par le R. P. Jean François Senault, superieur general de la Congregation de L'Oratoire de Jesus* (Paris: n.p, 1667), 24 – 5.

³⁴² Briggs pointed out that Louis XIV had no interest in theology; see Robin Briggs, *Early Modern France, 1560 – 1715* (2nd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 155.

³⁴³ Aubineau, ed., *Mémoires du P. René Rapin*, vol. 1, 96 and 402; cited in Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes*, 694 - 95.

Guéméné, Brienne and Liancourt could all speak confidently about Molinism and Augustinianism, and cite the history of the early theological controversies. Madame de Maintenon similarly summarized the intellectual capital that the practice of a morally and spiritually superior form of worship could confer when she said they were regarded as ‘femme[s] élevée[s] au dessus du commun.’³⁴⁴

The calibre of spiritual reading that rigorist penitents did certainly helped them become ‘femmes élevées.’ Arduous theological works were to be preferred over ‘accessible’ devotional guides and saints lives. This ‘élististe’ attitude to reading is comprehensible when we remember how a sense of spiritual superiority shaped the unique, aristocratic rigorist culture of worship.³⁴⁵ Just as Andrew Cambers recently found in his study of Puritan devotional culture in seventeenth-century England, the spiritual elite, like the ‘godly’, sought to ‘set themselves apart from the spiritually lack lustre or openly hostile.’³⁴⁶ On 2 May 1662, Longueville was exhorted to read the Eighth Letter to the Romans, which must have only strengthened these convictions:

The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God. And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified together. For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us...Who shall lay anything to the charge of God’s elect? It is God that justifieth.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes*, 698.

³⁴⁵ Henri-Jean Martin called rigorist reading ‘élististe’ in *La naissance du livre moderne XIV – XVIIe siècles: mise en page et mise en texte du livre français*; avec la collaboration de Jean-Marc Chatelain, Isabelle Diu, Aude le Dividich (Paris: Éd. du Cercle de la Librairie, 2000), 408.

³⁴⁶ Cambers, *Godly Reading*, 22.

³⁴⁷ Romans 8: 16 – 18, 33; *Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 197.

It seems that reading was another way that ‘God’s elect’ could be distinguished.³⁴⁸

Conclusion

The first part of this thesis argued that the sense of spiritual superiority felt by rigorist penitents after their respective conversions informed the quickening of an exclusive network of ‘spiritual friends’ and influenced their sociability. The last chapter showed that they also shared a distinctively ‘rigorist’ lay aristocratic material culture of devotion. It suggested that this may have been the result of their aversion to the Baroque and an aspiration towards the early Christian unadulterated culture of worship. The case-study explored in this chapter has substantiated these arguments. The duchesse de Liancourt shunned the genre of ‘devotion made easy’ guides pitched to women of her rank and replaced these works with texts that had not been sanctioned by the Jesuits or the Church.

The book collection in Liancourt’s Parisian oratory is also compelling evidence for the importance of the history of the Church and the doctrines of grace and predestination to rigorist penitents. The semi-Pelagian controversy was significant to Liancourt beyond its pertinence to the ‘Jansenist’ controversies: it allowed her to contemplate the likelihood of her salvation. Liancourt’s preference for patristic works not only suggests that the early Christian culture of worship could have influenced rigorist piety but, along with her fondness for the psalms, shows that reading was part of an important spiritual claim to orthodoxy and authority for Christ’s ‘elect.’ Engaging with complex theological debates and the history of the early Christian Church was part of a quotidian routine for women like the duchesse de Liancourt: something that George Eliot might even have been impressed by.

³⁴⁸ On books as culturally distinguishing, see Pierre Bourdieu and Roger Chartier, ‘La lecture: une pratique culturelle,’ in *Pratiques de la lecture*, ed. Roger Chartier (Marseille: Rivages, 1985), 218 – 39. On how readers ‘appropriate’ texts, see Michel de Certeau, ‘Reading as Poaching,’ in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, ed., Michel de Certeau (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984): 165 – 76.

The evidence considered in the second part of this thesis has shown that the penitential programmes that the rigorist friendship network observed were dominated by the withdrawal into their oratories to read scholarly works. Crucially, the experience of reading could foster sociability.³⁴⁹ Not only were rigorist penitents part of a ‘real’ community of the spiritual elite who shared books and the experiences of solitude; they were also part of a centuries-old ‘imagined’ community of the faithful.³⁵⁰ This part of the thesis has also shown how intellectually and culturally liberating rigorist worship could be to female penitents.³⁵¹ The last chapter will consider one final way that rigorist women were able to defy convention by recovering the history of their retreat to the estate.

³⁴⁹ Again, this ought to combat the traditional historical view of post-Tridentine lay religion as antisocial in works such as: Evennett, ‘Counter-Reformation Spirituality,’ 58; Bossy, *Christianity in the West*; and Bossy, ‘The Counter Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe,’ 62.

³⁵⁰ Historians have argued for the existence of ‘reading communities,’ which could be spiritual, political, professional or scholarly; see Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 5; and Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, ‘Introduction: Discovering the Renaissance Reader,’ in *Reading, Society and Politics*, eds. Sharpe and Zwicker, 18. The concept of an ‘imagined community’ was coined by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (3rd edn, London: Verso, 2006), where it is used to describe how ‘nations’ are imagined political communities, 6. It has also been used by Cambers in *Godly Reading*, 35.

³⁵¹ In line with Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes*; Bernos, *Femmes et gens de l'église*; and more recently, Longfellow, ‘Elizabeth Isham and Puritan Cultural Forms’; and Cambers, *Godly Reading*.

PART THREE

Pious Sociability beyond Paris

CHAPTER FIVE

Spiritual Retreat and the Pursuit of Solitude at the Estate

‘Flee out of the midst of Babylon and deliver every man his soul: be not cut off in her iniquity, for this is the time of the Lord’s vengeance; he will render to her a recompense.’ *Jeremiah 51:6*¹

The pious sociability of the rigorist friendship network was not confined to the cabinet, convent or city. Aristocratic estates in the Paris hinterland provided female penitents with the opportunity to create spiritual and moral sanctuaries which offered respite from the city and court. This chapter will explore the mobility of the rigorist friendship network between 1660 and 1679. It argues that rigorist women’s retreat to their country estates may have been more than just part of the annual aristocratic ‘season,’ but a way for penitents to spurn Parisian pleasure-seeking high-society and instead devote time to the pursuit of salvation with spiritual friends.

1. ‘...un mois a la campagne ma privie de la chose du monde’²: Spiritual Retreat in the Countryside

The aristocratic flight from Paris was motivated, at least in part, by the desire for a vacation from the densely populated city. The population of Paris surged around the middle decades of the seventeenth century and, by 1680, had reached half-a-million.³ Despite Louis XIV’s investment in beautifying Paris during the mid-seventeenth century, he spent increasingly less

¹ *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 892.

² BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 67, mademoiselle de Vertus to madame de Sablé, undated.

³ Jones, *Paris*, 152.

time at the Louvre and preferred his magnificent château at Versailles. From February 1670 until his death, he made the three-hour journey from Versailles back to Paris only 24 times in 44 years.⁴

The King was not alone in his desire to leave Paris.⁵ The countryside was already a privileged space in the search for reprieve from the Babylonian city: bucolic metaphors abounded in the lyrical poetry of the middle ages and the countryside also inspired Montaigne's essay 'On Solitude' in the sixteenth century.⁶ The imagining of the countryside as place for pious contemplation was not simply a literary and artistic motif. According to Trevor Johnson, 'the spiritual colonization of the natural world' typified the Spanish Carmelites' relationship with the landscape.⁷

⁴ *Ibid*, 195.

⁵ Molière, *The Misanthrope, Tartuffe and Other Plays*; a new translation by Maya Slater (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 137 – 38.

⁶ Scarlett Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, *La solitude: XVIIe – XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Belin D.L., 2008), 26. The historiography on rural life in early modern France is rich; several scholars have recognized the importance of the countryside to spiritual repose for contemporaries: Annie Antoine, 'Le seigneurie, la terre et les paysans XVIIe – XVIIIe siècles,' *Bulletin de la société d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 1 - 2 (1999): 15; James B. Collins, 'Translation de domicile: Rethinking Sedentarity and Mobility in the Early Modern French Countryside,' *French History*, 20, no. 4 (November, 2006): 387 – 404; Francis L. Lawrence, 'Time and the Individual Consciousness in Saint Amand's La solitude and La contemplateur,' *The French Review*, Special Issue, no. 5 (Spring, 1973): 32 – 40; Imbrie Buffum, *Studies in the Baroque from Montaigne to Rotrou* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957). Those working on French literature in the 1970s, explained the value placed upon 'solitude' during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a reaction to the growth of the early market economy; see Robert Sayre, *Solitude in Society: A Sociological Study in French Literature* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978), 45. The work of French scholar Bernard Beugnot has been pivotal in the historical understanding of the cultural parallels between femininity and nature; Beugnot, 'Vie mondaine et retraite,' 29; Beugnot, 'Y a-t-il une problématique féminine de la retraite?' 29 – 49. On the relationship between religion and nature, see Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, eds., *Gods Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World: Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*; papers read at the 2008 Summer Meeting and the 2009 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society (*Studies in Church History*, 46. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010). On nature and French literature, see N. H. Clement, 'Nature and the Country in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century French Poetry,' *PMLA*, 44, no. 4 (December, 1929): 1007; and *Michel de Montaigne: The Essays*, 96.

⁷ Trevor Johnson, 'Gardening for God: Carmelite Deserts and the Sacralisation of Natural Space in Counter-Reformation Spain,' in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Coster and Spicer, 194; see also Woshinsky, *Imagining Women's Conventual Spaces*, 14 – 15.

Female rigorist penitents also strived for spiritual contentment during their retreats in the countryside: a practice which was probably modelled on mysticism.⁸ The duchesse de Longueville's prolonged stay at Trie in October 1669 granted her 'grande solitude':

Je voy bien que vous dormiriez tousjours a mon egard pour ne pas dire quelque chose de pis sy je ne vous reveuillois en vous demandant de vos nouvelles et d'ou vient ce profond silence il est sy difficile de le rompre quand on n'a nulle matiere comme Trie n'en fournit point que c'est a ceux qui sont a Paris d'en fournir aux gents qui ne scavent rien du tout comme nous, sy se n'est qu'ils s'ennivest de ne recevoir nulle marque de vostre souvenir et il paroist que vous ne vous soucir guieres de leur en donner...Pour moy je fais celuy de passer encore quelque mois isy, ou je suis en grande solitude, hors despous que m[ademoise]lle de vertu y est, c'est a dire despous trois sepmeine, m[onsieu]r de la lane y est ausy, mais il s'en va dans peu de jours. Coriges vous un peu de vostre silence le reste de ma campagne et croies quon le trouveroit tres importable sy on pouvoit se figurer quil fut causé par quelque diminution d'amitié.⁹

The Counter-Reformation work which did the most to rejuvenate this practice in Europe was Loyola's 'Spiritual Exercises.'¹⁰ The works of the Church Fathers probably had a more direct impact upon rigorist women's pursuit of solitude, however, as the last chapter demonstrated.¹¹ During Longueville's retreat at Trie, it was her spiritual friend Sablé's

⁸ It was also a tradition inherited from ancient texts such as Plato's 'Republic' and Aristotle's 'Protrepticus'; see Beugnot, *Le discours de la retraite*, 229; Brémond, *Histoire littéraire*, vol. II, 'L'invasion mystique, 1590 – 1620,' 488; and Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, *La solitude*, 21. The Augustinian mysticism of Bérulle and Teresa of Avila influenced the practice in France, as did François de Sales' 'Introduction à la vie dévote'; see Krumenacker, *L'école française de spiritualité*, 224, 268 – 69; and E. Allison Peers, ed., *The Complete Works of Saint Teresa of Jesus* (3 volumes, London: Sheed and Ward, 1944 - 1946).

⁹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10585, ff. 8 – 9, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 2 October 1669, Trie; see Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1851): 678 – 79, for part of this letter. Cousin's transcription omits the information about being at Trie ('nulle matière comme Trie'), which tells us much about the role of the estate for Longueville.

¹⁰ The first week of Loyola's 'Exercises,' a period dedicated to correct a soul marred by sin, were thought to be particularly valuable for women and other persons 'in the world'; see Martin E. Palmer, S. J., *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises: The Early Jesuit Manuscript Directories and the Official Directory of 1599* (St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 24 – 5; and E. Mullan, ed., *The Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius of Loyola* (New York: Cosimo, 2007), 44 – 5.

¹¹ The publication of three volumes of 'solitude chrétienne' by Guillaume Le Roy between 1659 and 1667 must also have earned a broader readership among the rigorists for devotional literature on retreat; see also Faugère, ed., *Lettres de la Mère Agnès Arnauld*, vol. 1, 406 – 407, vol. 2, 51 - 2.

responsibility to keep her up-to-date with reports on Paris.¹² Longueville's claim that she had 'nulle matiere' to disturb the silence at Trie suggests that Sablé's bulletins were not only to include her own news, but also the rumours and gossip from the city. Letters therefore became the medium of sociability during these periods of seclusion.

Rural estates such as Trie were precisely where rigorist penitents hoped their encounters with the rustic environment would induce spiritual peace. North-west of Paris and close to the Conti estate at l'Isle-Adam, the château de Trie was inherited by the duc de Longueville but became part of the Longueville 'community' marriage properties.¹³ Although the château was destroyed during the Revolution, the probate inventory produced after the duke's death in 1663 conserves an impression of its structure and appearance. The notaries described the rooms occupied by the duchess as they progressed through the château and announced reaching her 'pavillon' which was an outdoor structure, usually with a domed roof, and used to enjoy views of the landscape or gardens.¹⁴ Longueville's apartment was located in a separate wing and was, like her chapel in Paris, tastefully decorated using fashionable contemporary colours. A cover on the prie-dieu, a chair in the chamber and other items in the antechamber were described by the notary as 'isabelle' in hue, or an off-white colour.¹⁵ 'Citron', also in the Longueville chapel, was the pale yellow that had been made

¹² It is clear from other correspondence that she used her time at the estates to keep abreast of affairs in Paris and beyond; see for example a letter of her chaplain Aubert to Denis Godefroy from Trie, which tells us about the 'Harangue' she had been reading, BIF, Ms. Godefroy, 275, fo. 306, 4 July 1667.

¹³ *Société historique et archéologique de Pontoise et du Vexin: excursion à Trie-château et Gisors* (Paris: n.p, 1884), 2; for its location see Maps 2.3 and 2.4 in Appendix C. The marriage contract is at MC, Chantilly, 1 – A – 008. On the difference between 'lineage' and 'community' properties, see above, p.134.

¹⁴ Woshinsky, *Imagining Women's Conventual Spaces*, 149.

¹⁵ 'Isabelle' took its name from Isabelle of Castile (1451 – 1506) who declared at the siege of Granada (1491) that she would not to change her white linens until the Spanish succeeded; see Bonahan, 'Color Schemes and Decorative Tastes,' 118.

fashionable by Vaux-le-Vicomte.¹⁶ The furnishings in Longueville's apartment provide other clues about her sociability and solitude at Trie:

Table 2.8 The duchesse de Longueville's apartment at Trie¹⁷

Montrés en l'appartement de Madame ou estans et dans l'antichambre a esté trouvé deux petits chenets a pommes de cuivre de deux pieds de hault, l'un desquels chenets est rompu par le bas et le morceau emporté, et une paire de pinsettes, estimé a la somme de sept livres	vii ll
Item deux tables de trois a quatre pieds en quarré estans chacune sur deux tréteaux, ¹⁸ avecq deux autres treteaux sans dessus de table, estimé a la somme de trois livres	iii ll
Item a esté trouvé le dais de damas a fond de couleur de clair destoint en fleurons colleur de citron, et trois pentes dedans de mesme couleur estoffe, avesq une crespine de soye mesles de vert et des divers couleurs, et les trois pentes de des[s]ous de velours vert a grands fleurons, avesq un large passement de couleur isabelle et de clair, avesq la crespine de soye de mesme couleur attache au planche, avecq deux grands cordons de fleurs vert et citron, la queue dudict dais chamarée de demys lais et demys lais dun passement du soye verte et couleur de clair large de deux doigts, avecq un petit mollet de soye de mesme couleurs, la tout doublé de thaille jaune, estime a cinquante livres	L ll
Item onze pieces de tapisserie de cuir doré a fond rouge a grands portiques et fleurons dor, deux desquelles pieces la cheminée sont de differente facon contenant vingt deux aulnes de tous sur trois aulnes de hauteur, estimee la somme de cens quatre vingt livres	C iii xx ll
Entrés dans la chambre de Madame ou a esté trouvé deux chenets a double, pommes de cuivre, et une pelle a feu, estimees a la somme de dix livres	x ll
Item six sieges ployans, six chaises, deux fauteuils avecq leur housses, le tout garny de velours bleu a petits fleurons avesq frange d'or et argent et clous ¹⁹ doréz, le bois du lict de haistre, deux matelas de futeine garnis de bourre Lannise, un traversin de futeine ²⁰ garny de duvet, ²¹ une	

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 119.

¹⁷ AN, MC, ET/XXXVI/202, 12 June 1663.

¹⁸ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Treteau: pièce de bois longue et étroite portée ordinairement sur quatre pieds et qui sert à soutenir des tables,' vol. 2, 876.

¹⁹ *Ibid*: 'Clou: petit morceau de fer ou d'autre métal qui à ordinairement une tête et une pointe...on appelle clous d'or et clous d'argent,' vol. 1, 321.

²⁰ Cotgrave, *A French and English Dictionary*: 'Traversin: a crossbeam used as a 'bed-boulster,' n.p.n; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Chevet: oreiller long qui s'entend de toute la largeur du lit et sur lequel on repose la tête,' vol. 2, 873.

²¹ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Duvet: la menue plume des oiseaux,' vol. 1, 571.

couverture grande d'angleterre passe grande, le lit de damas bleu scavoir, le fond, dossier, les trois pentes de dedans, trois rideaux, la courtepointe, la tapis, et les deux fourraux des pilliers, lesdicts pentes bordes dun gallon et dune crespine or et argent soustienne dune frange de soye chamarée de demys lais, un demis lais dun passement or et argent large dun doigt, et lesdits rideaux bordes dun mollet or et argent et mesmes soye, ladicte courtepointe bordee de trois cotes de frange et soye semblables de trois doigts de hault, les trois pentes du desous, les deux bonne gras ²² , et les deux cantonniers d'un brocard dargent a grands ramages de velours feuille morte de fil dor, sur chacune desquels bonnegras et cantonniers il y a quatre pieces appliquees de brocard dor et fleurons brodees d'or et argent, rayee de velours bleu, doublees de pareil damas que lesdites rideaux et bordees dun mesme mollet, et a chacune desdites trois pentes il y a quatre pieces du mesme brocard rayes et bordees comme celles desdites bonnes graces et cantonniers, lesdictes pentes bordees dun mesme mollet que dessus, les trois souspenser de mesme facon que lesdites pentes, et bordees de mesme mollet et frange, la table brisee de bois de noyer couverts dun cuir figuré tirant dune coulleur oliviastre, par-dessus ledict tapis quatre pommes de mesme estoffe que lesdits pentes, avecq leurs glands et housses de frange dor et argent, ledict brocart fort ancien, le tout estime a la somme de huit cens livres	viii C ll
Item un tapis de pied de tapisserye de savonnerye ²³ par quarente demys aulnes, estime a la somme de quarente cinq livres.	xlv ll
Item trois rideaux de taffetas rouge cramoisy devant les fenestres, chacun a une tringle ²⁴ de fer, et de quatre lais, chacun environ de trois aulnes un quart et de deux aunes et demy de large, estimee en la somme de soizante et quinze livres.	lxxv ll
Item neuf pieces de tapisserye de brocatel a fond rouge et les bordures a fond jaune, avesq fleurons et ramages a fleurs jaune bandés, ²⁵ et bordees dautre brocatel jaune, estime cinq cens livres	v C ll
De la nous sommes entres dans le grand cabinet de madame ou a este trouve une paire de chenets couvert de cuivre, avecq grosses pommes, une paire de tenailles, estime la somme de douze livres	xii ll
Item une table de haistre sur son chassis, un lict de repos garny dun mattelas, un traversin garny de plume, quatre fauteils, trois chaises, et six sierges ployans, dix carreaux de coutil ²⁶ garny de plume, le tout	

²² *Ibid*: 'The uppermost slip of down hanging,' n.p.n; *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Bonne grace: se dit des lez détoffe qu'on attache vers le chevet et vers les pieds d'un lit pour accompagner les grands rideaux,' vol. 1, 190.

²³ Manufacture de la Savonnerie, Les Gobelins, Paris.

²⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Tringle: verge de fer, menue, ronde et longue qu'on passe dans les anneaux d'un rideau,' vol. 2, 879.

²⁵ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Bandés: bent as a bow or tied with strings or laces,' n.p.n.

²⁶ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Coutil: espèce de toile fait fil de chanvre ou de lin qui est lissée et fort serrée propre pour faire des lits de plume,' vol. 1, 431.

couvert en un brocard a fleurs d'argent faux, avecq frange et mollet d'or et argent faux, ledit brocard garny de camelot ²⁷ de la chine, avecq clous doree, un tapis de pied de turquie, le tout estime a la somme de soixante et dix livres	L xx ll
Item trois rideaux de fenestre de taffetas rouge cramoisy faisans huitc lais et demy, dont il y a deux croisée ²⁸ et une demye croisée, ²⁹ sur trois aulnes de haute, ledit taffetas estant peu large que celuy cy devant, estimee en quarante deux livres	xlii ll
Item huitc pieces de tapisserie a fonds de damas vert, et bordures de satin feuille morte a grands ramages et fleurons de velours cramoisy, ledit damas parsemees ³⁰ de fleurs d'or, au milieu de chacun desquelles pi[e]ces sont les armes dun cardinal, le tout sont vieil destoint et rompu en plusieurs endroits, toutes doublées de thaille, faisans vingt a vingt une aulnes de tour sur deux aulnes trois quartes de haulteur, le tout estime a la somme de cent quatre vingt livres tournois	C iiiii xx ll
Et ledict jour deux heures apres midy nous sommes transportes audict pavillon dans la chambre de l'alcove ou a este trouvé a la cheminee deux chenets de cuivre, figures a pommes et piramids de deux pieds et demy de hault, le pied de l'un desquels est moins rompu, avesq une tesnaille aussy garnye de cuivre, estimée a la somme de sept livres	vii ll
Item dans ladicte chambre a este trouvé un lict de bois de noyer, une sommier de bourre de lavecon, un matelas de futaine garny de bourre lanisse, un traversin de futaine plein de duvet, un lict a pentes a la romaine destoille a reseaux ³¹ et pointe coutté d'espagne faits a l'aiguille de fil d'or et argent, et a fleurs meslees de soye, le tapis de table de pareille estoffe que les rideaux, doublee de thaille blanche avesq le dessus de cuir sur le bois de ladite table en forme de chassis, un pillier, quatre pommes de lict garnis de pareille estoffe que dict est avesq chacun un bouquet de dix huit plumes blanches, et une aigrette ³² fort sallis et passes, une couverture de thaille de coton picquée, une couverture d'angleterre blanche fine, tout ledict lit cy mentionne garny de dentelle d'argent du hault, desdite pentes et tout des rideaux est garny de languettes a la Romaine au bas desdits pentes, sousbassemens couverts de parade, ³³ un fauteuil, et une chaise dethoille d'argent a fleurs	

²⁷ *Ibid*: 'Camelot: espèce d'étoffe faite ordinairement de poil de chèvre et mêlée de laine de soie,' vol. 1, 236.

²⁸ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Croisée: a cross-barred window,' n.p.n.

²⁹ *Ibid*: 'Demye croisée: a window that hath but one bar side to side,' n.p.n.

³⁰ *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*: 'Parsemer: il ne se dit que des choses qu'on répand pour orner, pour embellir,' vol. 2, 306.

³¹ *Ibid*: 'Réseau: il se prend plus ordinairement pour un ouvrage de fil, de soie, de fil d'or, ou argent, fait par petites mailles en forme de rets,' vol. 2, 613.

³² *Ibid*: 'Aigrette: se dit aussi d'un bouquet faits de plusieurs sortes de plumes,' vol. 1, 42.

³³ Parade beds were common in great houses in France in the late-seventeenth century; see Anne Ratzki-Kraatz, 'A French Lit de Parade "A la Duchesse" 1690 - 1715,' *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 14 (1986): 81.

<p>de soye isabelle, deux escabeaux³⁴ garnis de coutil et plume, le bois dudit fauteil et chaises sans housses de desous, une autre fauteuil, et une chaise de brocard vert a fleurs et argent, deux escabeaux comme dict est fort deteint de laditte estoffe de brocard, deux rideaux de taffetas cramoisy servans a lalcove de huit lais de large et trois aulnes ou environ de hault, avesq une pente aussy de taffetas garnie de grandes franges au bas dor et argent, et trois rideaux de mollet aussy dor et argent, deux rideaux de fenetre aussy de mesme taffetas de quatre lais de large, un rideaux de taffetas cramoisy servant dedans de lalcove sur deux aulnes de hault et quatre lais de la, un pareil rideau au-dedans pres le prie dieu, un couche rideau come ledictes fenestres du deux lais et un tier de lay, une housse sur le prie dieu destache a fond dargent et soye isabelle et blanc rayee, avesq une dentelle dargent pardevant et doubles dethoile, vingt a vingt aulne de tout de tapisserye de point despagne, et point courtte estant dargent et soye et differentes couleurs, et par bouquests a fleurs doubles de satin de bruges sur trois aulnes et demye ou trois aulnes trois quatre de haulteur, fort endommage et rompue et plusieurs endroits, le tout estimé a la somme de douze cens livres</p>	<p>xii C ll</p>
<p>Dans le cabinet de l'alcove a este trouve un fauteuil garny de thoile gris remply de lavecon, un lict de repos garny de mesmes, un mattelas de thoille gris remply de lavecon, trois oreilliers de coutil remplis de plume, la housse du fauteuil et dudict lict de repos a trois soubassemens tenans en la courte pointe, et trois housses desteintes carreaux galonnés au tour dun gallon d'or et argent estroit, quatre housses en chacun desdictes carreaux dor et argent, autour desquels il y a un petit gallon dor et argent lesdictes housses de couleur bleue, isabelle et blanc, le fauteuil et ladictte housse garnis de frange d'or et argent, et audessous une autre frange de soye de couleur bleue, isabelle et blanc, ladite estoffe de brocard dargent rayé de soye de mesmes couleurs et pardessus de chaque piece cy dessus mentionnée il y a des housses de futeine blanche a grain d'orge,³⁵ ledit cabinet tendre en estoffe dargent et soye ayant de tour onze lais, et de hault deux aulnes et un quart ou environ doublee dethoile gris, un rideau de fenestre de taffetas blanc de deux aulnes demy quart de hault ou environ, et de trois lais de large et deux gueridons vernis de bleu et vert, le tout estimé a la somme de deux cens cinquante livres</p>	<p>ii C l ll</p>
<p>Item dans le vestibulle de l'alcove en la chambre des filles a esté trouve une piece de tapisserye de Rouen de deux aulnes de large sur deux aulnes et demye de haulteur, estimee a la somme de trois livres</p>	<p>iii ll</p>
<p>Item dans le garderobbe de Madame a esté trouvé deux chenets de feu, garnis de deux pommes de cuivre, palletes et pensettes de feu, deux escabeaux garnis de thoille, et une chaise de vieil cuir doré, le tout estimé a quarante cinq sols</p>	<p>xlv s</p>
<p>Item une chaise percee de velours a fleurs, estimée a cinquante sols</p>	<p>L s</p>

³⁴ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'Escabeaux: a stoole,' n.p.n.

³⁵ *Ibid*: 'A grain d'orge, in triangular form,' n.p.n.

Item un bois de lict du haistre, une pailliasse, ³⁶ deux matelas de thoile jaune desthoile, rayee de lautre remplis de layne, un traversin de coutil garny de plume, une couverture rouge a quatre pointcs, un seuil de lict de serge rouge contenant trois rideaux, deux bonnes gras et deux cantonniers, le dossier, et trois pentes, av[ec]q une grande frange de soye rouge, le reste garny de mollet et le found de thoille rouge, le tout estime a la somme de cinquante livres	L ll
Item une aultre petite couche, une pailliasse, deux matelas de thoile et futeine garnis de lavecon, un traversin de coutil garny de plume, une couverture rouge, la housse du lict de serge rouge a frange de soye de plusieurs coulleurs, contenant trois rideaux, deux bonnes graces, et dossier, le tout frange de soye de plusieurs coulleurs, le fond de thoille rouge, le tout estimé a la somme de trente livres	xxx ll
Item un lict du sangles, ³⁷ deux matelas de thoille et futeine garnis de lavecon, un traversin de coutil remply de plume, une couverture verte de quatre pointcs, un pavillon de serge rouge vieil, estimée a la somme de vingt six livres	xxvi ll
Item cinq pieces de tapisserye facon dangleterre barées de vert et autres coulleurs rayées, contenant dix huit aulnes de tour, sur trois aulnes et demye de hault ou environ, fort usées et gastres estimees a la somme de vingt livres	xx ll

The ‘alcove’, demarcated by curtains, was probably an important space at Trie for Longueville’s retreat. It seems to have been a recess within the apartment and was perhaps comparable to the types of spaces used in Parisian salons in the early-seventeenth century. Inside it was a prie-dieu also separated by crimson taffeta drapes and covered with a striped silk fabric. The presence of ‘lits de repos’ to recline upon and a number of armchairs testify to the sociable function of the ‘cabinet’ within it.

Rigorist penitents made many passing references to the remedial properties of estates such as Trie, as this chapter will show. The ‘grande solitude’ yielded by Longueville’s apartment there was also recognized by Longueville’s ‘companion-attendant’ mademoiselle de Vertus, who found her mistress to be more composed at Trie than in the city:

³⁶ *Ibid*: ‘Paillace: a straw bed,’ n.p.n.

³⁷ *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*: ‘Sangles: bande plate; divers usages; sangles pour garnir un lit, sangles d’un chassis de bois de lit,’ vol. 2, 681.

Il ny a pas moyen destre plus longtemps sans vous demander de vos nouvelles je me suis chargée de le faire par madame de Longueville et pour moy mandes nous en donc sil vous plaist il vous faut dire aussi des siennes je la trouve en asses bonne sante dieu mercy et bien plus en repos qu'a Paris.³⁸

Trie clearly had some positive effect on Longueville's health, but the news that she was 'bien plus en repos qu'a Paris' also hints at the spiritual recuperation that Trie induced. Being 'en repos' denoted having attained a spiritual peace as well as a physical rest.³⁹

The reality was that rigorist penitents' observations on nature's tranquility probably referred to the privacy from the world that rural estates provided, rather than some kind of harmony between themselves and the countryside. All of the women in the rigorist friendship network seemed to use their estates periodically for spiritual retreat. The comtesse de Maure's estate was at Attichy, near Compiègne, where she spent time in the 1640s.⁴⁰ The comtesse de Brienne retired to her estate in the west of France at Châteauneuf-sur-Charente where she died in September 1665, and the princesse de Guéméné retreated to her estate at Rochefort:

En arivant isy jay receu la lettre que vous maves faict lhonneur de mescrire si jay este bien heureuse de navoir point sceu v[ot]re maladie et davoit en mesme temps apres v[ot]re guerison dont je loue Dieu de tout mon coeur ausy tost que je pouray sortir je ne manqueray pas de vous aller rendre compte de mon voiage dans lequel je me suis tousjours bien portee encore que jaié presque tous jours marche en diferens pais trouve de petite verole...je vous supplie d'estre bien persuadée que personne ne peut vous honorer et aimer plus que moy.⁴¹

³⁸ The relationships between a mistress and her 'companion attendant' is discussed below, p. 291. BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 144, mademoiselle de Vertus to madame de Sablé, 19 September, undated, Trie; see Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites de mademoiselle de Vertus,' *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 13 (1852): 339, for a version of this letter, with some minor differences to my transcription.

³⁹ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*, n.p.n.

⁴⁰ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 5420, fo. 1379, madame la duchesse d'Espéron to madame la comtesse de Maure, 30 October 1657, Attichy.

⁴¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17051, fo. 27, princesse de Guéméné to madame de Sablé, 2 decembre 1672; this letter was published by Barthélemy in *Les amis de la marquise de Sablé*, 214, with some variations. See also BnF, Ms. Fr,

There are suggestions that some of the network visited the princesse de Guéméné at Sainte-Maure in central France and, as the above letter shows, her correspondence allowed her to keep in touch with them from Rochefort, south-west of Paris.⁴² There is little indication that Brienne or Maure's estates were used collectively by the rigorist friendship network, even if they were important to their individual plans of retreat. Along with Sablé's, Maure's sojourn at Port-Royal had become permanent by 1660 and lasted until her death in 1663; and the distance of Brienne's château from Paris makes it less likely that it was used habitually by her spiritual friends before her death in 1665.⁴³ The sources also deny any sense of if, and how, collective retreat was practised at other estates in the Vexin Français. It is clear that La Roche-Guyon was used regularly and for extended periods by the duchesse de Liancourt, but not whether her spiritual friends stayed there.⁴⁴ The sources on the Longueville châteaux at Coulommiers and Châteaudun are also mute on this.

There are a number of documents which do allow us to evaluate this practice elsewhere. The focus of the remainder of this chapter, as dictated by these sources, will be the activities of the duchesse de Longueville, the princesse de Conti and the duchesse de Liancourt at l'Isle-Adam, Trie, Méru and Liancourt in the Vexin, and Le Bouchet-Valgrand south of Paris.

17057, fo. 25, princesse de Guéméné to madame de Sablé, 'vendredy,' undated, from Rochefort describing a medicinal recipe.

⁴² On Sainte-Maure, see chapter two, above, pp. 100 – 101.

⁴³ There are records left at many of the Archives Départementales of rigorist penitents' lives at the estates, particularly their charitable donations to parish *fabriques*, which I could not consider in this thesis. Section 3 of this chapter does explore charity at some of the estates; see below, pp. 280 – 88.

⁴⁴ There are a number of letters of the duc de Liancourt which were written to the duchesse when she was staying at La Roche-Guyon: ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 371, Roger du Plessis to the duchesse de Liancourt, 3 October 1661, November 1661, 5 December 1661, 7 December 1661, 9 December 1661.

2. **'La separation du monde ou vous estes à la campagne fait la meilleure partie de vostre devotion'⁴⁵ : The Estate and the Pursuit of Solitude**

Rigorist female penitents' desire escape to their own estates is itself evincing evidence of their continuing disillusionment with the world. Their withdrawal to each other's properties is even more remarkable. Sources for the history of collective retreat are not entirely forthcoming in that they are fragmentary and often vague. Traces of communal retreat in letters and household accounts are, nevertheless, valuable affirmations of the ongoing bearing that spiritual friends had on female penitence. They are also signs of the exclusivity of some of the relationships and groups in the rigorist friendship network, which have been hidden by histories of the salon and traditional accounts of the activities of the 'Belles Amies.' These sources show that the likelihood is that at least three figures in the rigorist friendship network spent a substantial amount of time away from Paris and Port-Royal, communicating via letters and appointed messengers. This part of the chapter will present the evidence for what they devoted this time to.

The closest spiritual friends in the rigorist friendship network, Longueville and Conti, were travelling to estates together even before they were widowed. Longueville's letters to Pierre Lenet (d.1671), an old associate of her father's, often uncover the time she spent with her sister-in-law. On one occasion at Rouen she announced, 'nous sommes icy madame ma belle soeur et moy' and on another, 'madame sa [prince de Conti] femme et moy passerons encore ensemble le temps.'⁴⁶ Longueville was more specific about her journeys with Conti in her letters to Sablé:

⁴⁵ *Lettres chrestiennes et spirituelles de messire Jean du Vergier de Hauranne*, Saint-Cyran to 'une dame de grande condition,' 18 February 1642, 775 – 792, 776.

⁴⁶ BS, MSVC. 17, fo. 77, madame de Longueville to Lenet, ce 13, undated, Rouen; MSVC. 17, fo. 78, madame de Longueville to Lenet, ce 27, Rouen, undated.

J'ay receu une lettre de m[adam]e la princesse de conty qui me prie de vous faire de grands compliments sur ce qu'elle ne vous a pas fait responce elle croy que vous recevetes bien les excuses quelle vous fait par moy. Elle mesme d'aller au devant d'elle a une grande journee de paris se sera pour demain, elle et moy y arriverons donc vendredy au soir.⁴⁷

Conti and Longueville were not only travelling together without their husbands, they also stayed at each other's estates:

Madame de Longueville est alle passer l'hiver a merou nous sommes fort bien ensamble et bien mieux que vous ne nous avez pas veues.⁴⁸

After the execution of Henri II de Montmorency (b. 1595) on 30 October 1632, Méru became the property of his sister Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, princesse de Condé, and in 1665 the duchesse de Longueville inherited it.⁴⁹ One testament to Longueville's attachment to Méru is the parish church of Saint-Lucien. In 1678 she gave a donation to assist with the construction of the church, 2,000 *livres* for the establishment of a charity organization there and donations to the church *fabriques*.⁵⁰ Méru was later given to the Contis, and the Tour de Conti which is the only remaining part of château today, stands as a memorial of this.⁵¹

It is difficult to glean from Conti's letter whether Longueville had left her to spend winter at Méru alone, or if the estate was already a Conti property and they were spending the

⁴⁷ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 120 – 21, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 'mercredy,' undated, 1666; Cousin published an extract of this letter in 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1852): 50.

⁴⁸ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, ff. 214 – 15, princesse de Conti to the abbé de La Vergne, 12 December, undated.

⁴⁹ Pierre Bisset, *Meru au fil des ans* (2nd edn, Paris: Le Livre d'Histoire, 2002), 115; MC, Chantilly, 2 - GE – 022, 'Inventaire des titres de la ville et châteltenie de Méru, livrés par le prince de Condé à sa soeur la duchesse de Longueville, le 13 avril 1665.'

⁵⁰ Jean Vanaertenryck, *Église Saint-Lucien de Méru: étude historique et archéologique* (Méru: Bulletin Archéologique de la région de Méru, 1979), 14, 25, Saint-Lucien is also documented in the episcopal registers, after being given a sanction to display the Holy Sacrament on Sundays in January 1668: ADO, Série G, 2353, 626.

⁵¹ Vanaertenryck, *Église Saint-Lucien de Méru*, 14.

time in each other's company. Either way, the sisters-in-law had been happy 'together', even in La Vergne's absence, as Conti wrote. As chapter two argued, they were well-suited as mutual *custos animi*, but they also remained part of the friendship network's sociability and sent updates to their spiritual friends.⁵² On 2 July 1669, when they were at the château de Conti at Le Bouchet-Valgrand, Longueville not only expressed her affection for the princess, but also kept Sablé informed on her condition:

Le mal de ma sœur m'a fait revenir de Montargis plustot que Je n'auerois fait car il n'y avoit pas moien de (ne pas acourir pour voir une telle rencontre) une personne ausy chere que m'est celle la...pour moy je ny puis songer tant une frayeur tres penetrante et par la vraye amitie que j'ay pour elle.⁵³

The château at Le Bouchet-Valgrand, Vert-le-Petit, was located south of Paris.⁵⁴ The princess stayed there frequently after Armand's death in 1666, as household accounts between May and June 1666 show.⁵⁵ That year, expenditure included the wages of the concierge, costs for the Corpus Christi celebrations and maintenance of the château and gardens.⁵⁶ Conti's use of the chapel there is also inferred by entries in the 'Despences extraordinaire.' These included a payment of 20 *livres* 12 *solz* 6 *deniers* for oil for a lamp in the chapel, the provision of the

⁵² Epistolary evidence shows that the news of gatherings at the estate was often circulated within female networks in this way; see BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 5414, fo. 697, comtesse de Maure to the duchesse de Longueville, October 1655, Bourbon à Trie.

⁵³ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 22 - 6, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 3 July 1669, Bouchet; see Cousin, ed., 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1852): 50 – 51.

⁵⁴ Marc Venard, 'Une classe rurale puissante au XVIIe siècle: les laboureurs au sud de Paris,' *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 10, no. 4 (1955): 524.

⁵⁵ AN, R³, 113, ff. 23 – 8.

⁵⁶ AN, R³, 113, fo. 56: 'A anthoine legendre concierge du chasteau du bouchet la somme de deux cents trente trois livres six solz huit deniers pour ses gages depuis le 1er juin 1666 jusquau dernier decembre de la mesme année a raison de quatre cents livres par chacun an suivant sa quittance'; fo. 23: 'A gilbert Charon Tapissier a Paris la somme de vingt deux livres pour plusieurs journées qu'il a Employées a paris et au bouchet pour tendre les meubles y comprise la Broquette qu'il a fournie suiv[an]t son memoire certiffié par le s[ieu]r roullin concierge et quittance du 30e May 1666.'

Eucharist for the mass, and candles.⁵⁷ Regular payments for masses in the latter years of this decade show just how much time the princess began to spend there.⁵⁸

Longueville and Conti were not simply being hospitable sisters-in-law. They also passed the time together engaging in devotional activities considered appropriate for the spiritual elite. In a letter to Gabriel de Roquette, the princesse de Conti explained that she and her sister-in-law had some free-time at Trie and wanted to read Le Maistre de Sacy's Bible translations:

Comme nous avons icy beaucoup de loisir vous me feriez un grand plaisir si vous avies fait transcrire les traductions de m[onsieu]r de sacy sur la Bible de me les envoyer. Mes enfans et moi nous nous portons fort bien icy ; l'air y est fort bon, j'irai passer quelque tems a lisle adam et les morts et les maladies qui sont ches moi feront que je ne retournerais a Paris que plus tard que je pourai je vous prie de vous souvenir des pauvres Carmelites d'Avignon.⁵⁹

Conti's sons were also present at the estate and must have travelled with her between Trie and l'Isle-Adam since she was disinclined to return to Paris. Given the fact that they were at a Longueville estate, the 'nous' that Conti refers to probably denoted herself and her sister-in-law rather than her sons. The great deal of 'loisir' that they had, in contemporary parlance, specifically referred to a freedom from business or other affairs rather than an indiscriminate 'leisure time' as it does in modern French.⁶⁰ This was doubtless a reference to the administration and management of Trie. It is evident that at this time Longueville had also

⁵⁷ AN, R³, 113, fo. 57: 'Sera cy fait despence de la somme de vingt livres douze solz six deniers pour l'huile qui a esté fournie a l'eglise de valpetit pour y tenir une lampe allumée suivant lordre de S[on] A[ltesse] S[erenissime] cy compris trois livres quinze solz pour le sierge et l'ofrande du pain benist.'

⁵⁸ AN, R³, 114, fo. 171: 'A m[onsieur] le vicaire de valpetit la somme de deux cens livres pour avoir dict la messe dans la chapelle du bouchet pendant l'anne mil six cent soixante six.' Similar payments are evident years later; see R³, 118, ff. 111 – 12.

⁵⁹ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 872, princesse de Conti to Gabriel de Roquette, 19 September, undated, Trie, but probably between 1666 and 1668 when the translations were being produced.

⁶⁰ Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary*: 'De loisir: at leisure, not troubled with much businesse,' n.p.n.

requested Le Maistre de Sacy's translation and Bible preface from Roquette, so the pair of them may have been in cahoots in their efforts to obtain a copy during their retreat.⁶¹ The way that Conti and Longueville spent their time at the estate reading and evaluating a typically 'rigorist' book together not only upholds the contentions made in the last chapter; their resourcefulness also shows how godly activities ensured that rigorist retreats remained spiritually and morally productive.

The seclusion of the estate also lent itself to more exclusive forms of collective worship. On one occasion, writing from the château de Conti at Le Bouchet, the abbé de La Vergne revealed the aspirations of Longueville and Conti on the Feast of the Assumption to their spiritual friend Sablé:

Nous sommes icy dans une fort douce et agreable solitude, on ny songe qua lautre monde.⁶²

Not only did La Vergne believe that the 'solitude' was shared by Conti, Longueville and himself, he also stressed the importance of the setting.⁶³ The use of 'on ny songe qu' (there, one thinks only of) emphasized the role of the location in offering them this opportunity for reflection. It was Le Bouchet-Valgrand which afforded them this 'sweet and pleasant solitude' and lent itself to their contemplation of 'the next life.'

Spiritual directors were not the only ones to attribute this role to the estate. Conti's letters similarly conveyed her conviction in the power that the environment could exert upon a spiritual retreat. She closed one letter, also sent from the château de Conti at Bouchet, with the following information:

⁶¹ See above, p. 228, footnote 238.

⁶² BnF, Ms. Fr, 17045, fo. 278, abbé de La Vergne to madame de Sablé, 15 August 1664.

⁶³ The fact that La Vergne was party to this 'solitude' is discussed below, pp. 292 – 93.

Nous avons icy M[adam]e de Longueville. Voila tout ce que l'on vous peut mander d'un lieu, ou l'on ne songe qu'a vivre en solitude.⁶⁴

Similar to La Vergne's letter and her own previous observations at Trie that 'l'air y est fort bon', Conti accentuated how they were at a 'place, *where* one only contemplates living in solitude.' The treatment of the word 'solitude' in these letters reaffirms the way it became sociable among spiritual friends.⁶⁵ Solitude was neither a literal isolation, nor an imitation of the monastic ideal where large communities would achieve this together. For rigorist penitents, it was a state which could be aspired to within a select group or partnership.

'Pursuing solitude' might seem nondescript, but for rigorist women it signified removing themselves from worldly influences and living according to their spiritual status as the elect. There is other, less opaque evidence of how Longueville and Conti nurtured their spiritual friendship. In Conti's letters to La Vergne she often seems to have been in a position to describe the 'interior' of her fellow retreatant during their absences from Paris.⁶⁶ These letters not only uncover more time the pair of them spent together, they also reaffirm this thesis' argument about the types of conversations that spiritual friends engaged in. In one letter, Conti described her older sister in law as both her 'amie' and La Vergne's 'penitante,' and went on to portray the spirit of penitence at the estate, giving a thorough description of Longueville's spiritual condition:

voila des mes nouvelles pour celle dune des mes amies qui est vostre penitante je vous diray quelle et en pais dans le fond du coeur quelle croit que tout ce qui arrive par lordre de dieu luy est meilleur que tout ce quelle voudrais elle mesme, quelle est soumise aux ordres de dieu quelque dur qui puisse estre a sa nature qui sans vivement cependant tout ce quil fait quelle sacrifice a dieu quoy quelle fasse ces offrandes de tout son cœur elle passe son tamps dans une asses grande tristesse a la quelle elle ne

⁶⁴ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 873, princesse de Conti to Gabriel de Roquette, 29 July, undated.

⁶⁵ Discussed above, chapter two, p. 102.

⁶⁶ Conti's letters to the abbé de La Vergne were often undated and without provenance, but they were addressed to Paris. We can therefore deduce that they were sent during periods when she was away from the city.

ce laisse pas aller volontairemen[t] mais bien au contraire elle cherche a se distraire a parler a soulager elle faict bien des fautes mais elle ne panse pas a elle. Elle se laise pour ce quelle est et retourne a dieu come sy elle veneroit de faire des mervelles mais sy elle ne panse pas a ces fautes ce nest pas pour panse a dieu car sans la juger je scay quelle manque beaucoup.⁶⁷

Conti's description was not simply a bland response to an enquiring spiritual director. It was not limited by the familiar tone of obedience and submission that historians have often found in correspondence with confessors, and neither was it a one-sided account of Longueville's spiritual progress. Conti offered a thorough and balanced appraisal of Longueville's retreat, even describing her lamentable attempts to amuse and divert herself. Conti was clearly well-equipped to carry-out this assessment. It is plausible that she had simply been briefed by the duchess or they had composed a letter to La Vergne together, which necessarily involved Longueville divulging her private spiritual experiences. Given what this thesis has already shown about the salvific responsibilities assumed by spiritual friends, it seems likely that they had conversed about their spiritual anxieties and convictions during their retreat. The fact that it was Conti who would tell La Vergne about Longueville's spiritual state upholds the argument that female spiritual friends preferred each other's support to that of their spiritual directors.

Longueville's desire to confide in Conti, again, prompts us to rethink how antisocial and individualistic lay devotion in the aftermath of Trent truly was. The sources reveal that these occasions were not one-offs. Conti later followed-up her letter to La Vergne with another description of Longueville's 'interieur' state during a period when their husbands were at Fontainebleau:

⁶⁷ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, ff. 199 - 200, princesse de Conti to the abbé de La Vergne, 30 December, undated à Paris; see Barthélemy, *Une nièce de Mazarin*, 208 – 209, for some substantial orthographic variations on this letter.

pour la persone donc je vous ay parle dans ma derniere lettre elle me charge de vous dire encore son interieur je vous diray donc que sa principale disposition cest une conviction que tout ce qui arrive par l'ordre de dieu est non seulmen bon et meilleur que tout ce quelle pourroit vouloir elle mesme mais que cest une effet de l'amour que son dieu luy parte et quil fait toutes choses pour la rendre toute sienne cest a dire la plus heureuse creature du monde, elle ne veut pas penetrer ny mesme voir les raisons ny les dessins de dieu sur elle dans les choses qui luy arrive il luy suffit de voir par la foy que cest l'ordre de dieu pour sy soumettre et croire que cella luy est bon elle desire estre fidelle a dieu dans les tamps mesme ou elle sans plus dabatemen et de tristesse.⁶⁸

Longueville had entrusted Conti with this information and asked her to inform La Vergne of her resolutions. The way Conti explained the soothing effect of Longueville's submission to God's will during the time when she felt 'lowest' and 'most distressed' is illustrative of the way collective worship could allay spiritual suffering. This letter is also indicative of how intensive penitence was conceived of as a spiritually superior form of worship; Conti even stated Longueville's conviction that her penitence was more taxing in order for God to save her.

The Bourbon-Condé sisters-in-law's spiritual retreats not only consisted of prolonged withdrawals to Trie or Le Bouchet-Valgrand. They also travelled between estates in the Vexin Français, such as the château de Conti at l'Isle-Adam and the château de Liancourt.⁶⁹ L'Isle-Adam is another estate which was inherited by the princesse de Condé after the execution of her brother.⁷⁰ When her husband the prince de Condé died in 1651, the marriage properties were partitioned and her son the prince de Conti inherited l'Isle-Adam.⁷¹ Like the Conti's château at Le Bouchet-Valgrand, the estate was inhabited more regularly by the

⁶⁸ BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982, ff. 187 – 88, princesse de Conti to the abbé de La Vergne, 3 June, undated; see Barthélemy, *Une nièce de Mazarin*, 217 – 18.

⁶⁹ See Map 2.5 in Appendix C for some indication of their proximity.

⁷⁰ Bernard Baray, *L'Isle-Adam - Parmain: derniers seigneurs et temps nouveaux 1527 – 1945* (Paris: Éd. du Valhermeil, 1990), 37.

⁷¹ *Les trésors des princes de Bourbon-Conti: exposition, L'Isle-Adam, musée d'art et d'histoire Louis-Senlecq* (Paris: Somogy, 2000), 113.

princesse de Conti after Armand's death in February 1666.⁷² Located approximately 30 kilometres north-west of Paris, the seignury was comprised of l'Isle-Adam, Parmain and Valmondois and was part of the 'Jansenist' diocese of Beauvais.⁷³ The chapel of Saints Peter and Paul at the château had been founded on 26 March 1378 by Pierre de Villiers, as revealed by the episcopal registers.⁷⁴

There are no surviving iconographic documents for the estate at l'Isle-Adam, but an account of a fire which occurred at the château on 1 July 1669 gives some impression of its structure:

Nous sommes transportez audit chasteau, et y estans arrivés aurions trouvé la grande porte d'iceluy ouverte...et nous estans avancez vers le grand escalier...nous n'aurions laissé de monter jusques au hault dudit escalier..ou nous aurions veu la premiere des chambres qui estoient au plus hault estage...et le feu gagnant et continuant dans les autres chambres du mesme estage qui toutes, comme cette premiere estoient faittes et construite d'aix et planches de sapin...et estans descendus dans la cour et conoissans que le feu avançoit tousjours du costé de la chapelle et que dans peu de temps tout le grand comble dudit chasteau seroit embrasé.⁷⁵

The fire had reached the chambers, which were situated on the highest floor of the château, and advanced towards the chapel, which was located across from the main edifice via a courtyard. The repairs which were carried out to the building after this fire went on until at least 1671, during which time the nearby village of Jouy-le-Comte became the princess'

⁷² Baray, *L'Isle-Adam-Parmain*, 48.

⁷³ *Les trésors des princes de Bourbon-Conti*, 112; Jean Gaillard, *Un prélat Janséniste: Choart de Buzenval, Évêque de Beauvais 1651 – 1679* (Paris: Imprimerie De Firmin-Didot, 1902), 161 – 217; Eugène Darras, *Les seigneurs châtelains de l'Isle-Adam de 1014 à 1814* (Persan: Société Historique et Archéologique de Pontoise, du Val d'Oise et du Vexin, 1939), 3.

⁷⁴ ADO, Série G, 2353, fo. 599: 'Chapelle de St Pierre et St Paul: au chasteau de L'isle adam fondation 26 mars 1378 par Pierre de Villiers, chevalier seig[neu]r de Lisle adam.'

⁷⁵ *Les trésors des Princes de Bourbon-Conti*, 112; 'Procès-verbal de l'incendie arrivé dans la nuit, au château, 1 Juillet 1669,' *Commission des Antiquités et des Arts Département de Seine et Oise*, 27 (1907): 124 – 25.

refuge.⁷⁶ Her benevolence towards the *curé* there also suggests that she became involved in its parochial life during this time.⁷⁷

Neighbouring the Conti château at l'Isle-Adam was the château de Liancourt, also situated in the Vexin Français, in the valley de la brèche.⁷⁸ Liancourt was inherited by Roger du Plessis from his father Charles in 1620.⁷⁹ Perhaps influenced by her pious mother in law, Antoinette de Pons, marquise de Guercheville (d.1632), the duchesse de Liancourt spent years creating a place of spiritual retreat for her husband at the estate, apparently in a quest to convert him.⁸⁰ Even Saint-Simon detected these efforts to lure the duke from court: 'Madame de Liancourt fit ce beau lieu pour amener M[onsieur] de Liancourt dans sa retraite.'⁸¹ The gardens were to be essential to this spiritual seduction. Thirty-five hectares were landscaped with innumerable parterres and groves and the many fountains that were constructed earned the château the title 'Liancourt les belles eaux.'⁸² A number of engravings of the château visually document this work and estate expenditure reveals the cost of its ongoing

⁷⁶ AN, R³, 125, fo. 29.

⁷⁷ AN, R³, 122, ff. 67 - 8: 'Au S[ieu]r Jacquet p[re]stre curé de la paroisse de Jouy le Comte la somme de cens cinquante livres pour luy donner moyen de subsister dans lad[ite] cure pendant l'année de sa prise de possession...suiv[an]t l'ordonnance de s[on] a[lt]esse s[erenissime] madame et quittance des 20e octobre 1668 et 14e mars 1669.'

⁷⁸ See Maps 2.4 and 2.5 in Appendix C. At Liancourt, the duke was apparently the first to secure the *honneurs du louvre*, or the right to enter a palace courtyard in a carriage; see Treasure, *Mazarin*, 67.

⁷⁹ Three masses per week were to be said at the church according to the foundation by Charles du Plessis, made in November 1605: ADO, Série G, 2353, 596: 'Titre d'une chapelle fondée en l'église paroissiale de Liencourt par M[onseigneur] Charles du Plessis Seigneur de Liancourt a la charge de 3 messes par semaine a dire par la chapelain d'icelle ou faire dire en cas d'absence ou maladie sur une maison effectuée audit chapelain pour son logement, 22 Novembre 1605.' A partial description of the château was offered by 'le Grand Dictionnaire Géographique et Critique' in 1735: 'A gauche il y a un corps de logis dont la principale face donne sur le jardin. Le haut est occupé par une longue galerie couverte ornée sur le devant d'un rang de pilastres et de frontons dont les uns sont à angle et les autres en demi-cercle. Le tout est soutenu par sept arcades des médaillons portent des bustes et des niches ont des statues'; M. Bruzen de La Martinière, ed., *Le Grand Dictionnaire géographique, historique et critique* (Paris: P. G. Lemercier (et Boudet), 1739 - 1741); cited in Lucien Charton, *Liancourt et sa région* (Paris: Office d'Éd. du Livre d'Histoire, 1995), 494.

⁸⁰ Xavier de Courville, *Liancourt, sa dame et ses jardins* (Paris: Le Livre d'Histoire, 2004), 37.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 11.

maintenance.⁸³ In 1666, for example, the upkeep of ‘les cannaux’ incurred payments of 150 *livres* and the waterfall cost a further 50 *livres*.⁸⁴

The ornamental use of water was one of the most important developments in garden design in the seventeenth century.⁸⁵ Italian gardens such as Pratolino in Tuscany influenced French style, as water began to be used in canals, fountains and cascades with architectural statues.⁸⁶ At Liancourt, the rows of fountains falling into ornamental bowls and jets throwing water fifteen metres into the air at the *grand parterre* were described as ‘most unusual’ by Denis Godefroy (1615 – 1681) and ‘deriving from the finest pleasure gardens in Italy.’⁸⁷ The beauty of the gardens there inspired Longueville and her young friends’ to compose a poem during their retreat at Liancourt in the 1640s:

Nous arrivons à Liancour,
Ou regne Flore avec Zephere.
Ou cent promenoirs etendus,
Cent fontaines et cent cascades,
cent canaux epandus...

Nous pensions dans un si beau lieu
Faire un asses long demeure
Mais voicy venir Richelieu

⁸³ See a sample from ADO, 1 Fi 80/1 à 27; and 2 Fi 80/1 à 20 in Appendix C; for the accounts see ADVQ, fonds privées, 10 J, 389: ‘Pièces de comptes relatives à La Roche-Guyon (1638 - 1668) et au domaine de Liancourt (1662 - 1666).’

⁸⁴ ADVQ, fonds privées, 10 J, 389.

⁸⁵ Kenneth Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens: The Origins and Development of the French Formal Style* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 123.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 123. The Italian influence on French garden style was first felt during the sixteenth-century wars with Italy, when Charles VIII and his nobility discovered gardens inspired by humanist principles; see Michel Figeac, *Châteaux et vie quotidienne de la noblesse: de la Renaissance à la douceur des Lumières* (Paris: A. Colin, 2006), 184. Italian mannerism influenced French gardens in this period. This change in style has been explored by scholars elsewhere; see Jean Guillaume, ‘Château, jardin, paysage en France du XV au XVIIe siècle,’ *Revue de l’art*, 2 (1999): 13 – 32; and Stéphane Pincas, *Versailles: The History of the Gardens and their Sculpture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 18.

⁸⁷ Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, 141.

Il en faut partir tout à l'heure.⁸⁸

The references to the aesthetic qualities of Liancourt in the mythological metaphors of Zephyr and Flora in the first stanza allude to the spectacle in its gardens. The extract also shows that even by the early 1640s, Liancourt was not only a refuge from small-pox (ostensibly what motivated their retreat), but a sanctuary from the anti-Habsburg, anti-*dévo*t politics of Richelieu. It had therefore already begun to acquire a reputation as a space for the pious who were disillusioned by court politics and the world.⁸⁹

By the 1660s however, the gardens at Liancourt were not intended to be marvelled at by anybody. A set of instructions which the duchess addressed to the estate gardener between 1660 and 1661 not only demonstrate her role in the administration of the château de Liancourt and her initiative with its landscaping, but also the privacy of the gardens which she regarded as paramount:

Il ne souffrira aucun Bourgeois de ce Bourg ny avec personnes jouer dans n[ot]re Jardin...Ne permettra à aucunes personnes de boire dans le logement que nous luy donnons.⁹⁰

The directions included details of the trees, plants, vegetables and herbs which were to be cultivated and the way the groundsmen were to conduct themselves, and also this access

⁸⁸ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 4116, ff. 851 – 53, fo. 851, ‘Vers sur le champ Estant à Liancourt avec Mademoiselle de Bourbon, et Mesdemoiselles de Rambouillet, de Bouteville, et de Brienne et envoyez à Madame la Princesse, le jour de la Toussaints.’

⁸⁹ Frustratingly little survives in the Chartrier de Liancourt which reveals the specifics of life at the château during the later-seventeenth century: ADO, fonds privées, 6 JP Chartrier de Liancourt. I identified an eighteenth-century inventory of the château library at 6 JP, 10; letters deriving from the late-seventeenth century (1690s) at 6 JP, 36; eighteenth-century correspondence at 6 JP, 13; and documents relating to the Hôpital du Saint-Esprit at 6 JP, 35. But there are some sources deriving from the château de La Roche-Guyon which permit life at Liancourt to be reconstructed, in ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J Chartrier de La Roche-Guyon.

⁹⁰ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 213, ‘Instructions de J[eanne] de Schomberg 1660 – 1661, ordre que nous voulons que nostre Jardinier observe quil sera a nostre service qui sera tant quil nous plaira.’ These were written in her own hand.

clause. Other members of the nobility, such as the Rambouillet family, entertained guests in their gardens and opened them to the Paris bourgeoisie, and the gardens at Versailles were used as stage sets for plays and balls.⁹¹ At Liancourt, access to the grounds was subject to the duchess' strict regulations.

In this respect, the gardens at Liancourt imitated the courtly style yet contravened its culture of display.⁹² Michel Conan described this aptly as an expression of the duchesse de Liancourt's resistance to the 'Baroque politics of garden art.'⁹³ Although the duchesse de Liancourt had devoted time and money to redesigning her gardens which had become decidedly 'Italianate,' she did so according to the rigorist view of the landscape. As indicated by one of her biographers Boileau: 'she avoided all ornaments that call for conspicuous spending such as statues, or that call for costly maintenance such as refined trees and flowers.'⁹⁴ At other estates, such as the Guise property at Meudon, the same restraint was not exercised. The gardens, commissioned by the Cardinal de Lorraine (1524 – 1574), were heavily ornamented and featured a grotto.⁹⁵ There is therefore some potential for comparing the grounds at aristocratic estates in order to gauge whether a rigorist style extended beyond chapels, cabinets and oratories and into the garden.

⁹¹ Michel Conan, 'Promenade, Conversation and Courtship: The Social Construction of Self and Privacy in Seventeenth-Century Gardens in France,' in *Privatheit, Garten und politische Kultur: von kommunikativen Zwischenräumen*, eds. Siegfried Lamnek and Marie-Theres Tinnefeld (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2003), 97; Catherine Cessac, 'Le jardin sonore, conjonction de l'art et de la nature,' in *André Le Nôtre, fragments d'un paysage culturel: institutions, arts, sciences & techniques*; sous la direction de Georges Farhat (Sceaux: Musée de l'Île-de-France, 2006), 222.

⁹² Conan, 'Promenade, Conversation and Courtship,' 109.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁹⁴ Jean-Jacques Boileau, *La vie de madame la duchesse de Liancourt avec le règlement qu'elle donna à sa petite fille pour sa conduite et pour celle de sa maison* (Paris: n.p., 1814), 443.

⁹⁵ Spangler, *The Society of Princes*, 89; Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, 55.

Liancourt's beauty and proximity to l'Isle-Adam is possibly what influenced the itinerary of the duchesse de Longueville and princesse de Conti in summer 1667. On the 3 August 1667, from the château de Conti at l'Isle-Adam, La Vergne wrote to madame de Sablé:

madame de Longueville est icy depuis lundy matin et s'en va demain avec madame la princesse de conty passet trois ou quatre jours a chantilly ou on les attend, dimanche prochain leurs altesses yront a Liencourt ou madame de Longueville veut demeure quelque jours et sen revenir icy passet la feyst de l'assomption.⁹⁶

Longueville and Conti's short stay at Chantilly, a Condé family estate, would have been remarkably different to a sojourn at the increasingly austere Liancourt, and to their retreats at l'Isle-Adam.⁹⁷ It may have been Longueville's obligations to her brother, and Conti's to her brother-in-law, which required them to put-in an appearance at Chantilly. More likely, considering its geographical position, is that Chantilly functioned as a convenient stopover en route to Liancourt from l'Isle-Adam. Their decision to make the trip to Liancourt on a Sunday 11 August might indicate that it was timed with a sermon or service but Longueville's intention was clearly that their stay would be extended over several days until at least Wednesday 14. The sisters-in-law then anticipated their return to l'Isle-Adam to observe a Holy Day of Obligation on Thursday 15. Their route was therefore planned around days of worship and it was, again, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin which they observed together.

Of course, visiting their peers' estates was not unusual for the seventeenth-century aristocracy; even Longueville and Conti's retreat to Liancourt was part of a lengthier travel timetable. Given what we already know about the duchesse de Liancourt's selectiveness

⁹⁶ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17045, ff. 279 – 80, abbé de La Vergne to madame de Sablé, 3 August 1667, l'Isle-Adam.

⁹⁷ The Condé estate at Chantilly is discussed below, p. 316.

about her company at the estate and how she pledged to associate only with ‘les personnes avec qui je suis liée de parente, ou d’amitié, ou d’obligation particulière, ou avec qui je puisse profiter pour mon salut’, it is clear that the Bourbon-Condé sisters-in-law were among her spiritual friends.⁹⁸ Historians of Port-Royal such as Lesaulnier and Orcibal have shown the way in which Liancourt acted as a place of refuge for male clerics who were Jansenist sympathizers in the middle decades of the century.⁹⁹ A feminine presence there has thus far remained elusive in histories of the château. These sources therefore take us into uncharted territory. The château de Liancourt was not simply a satellite of Port-Royal but a venue for exclusive sociability among female spiritual friends.

3. **‘Dieu soit éternellement beny continuant la distribution de vos aumosnes’¹⁰⁰** :

Charity at the Estate

The promise of a pastoral idyll and the seclusion it could afford contributed to the appeal of rigorist châteaux for a spiritual retreat. Away from Paris, female aristocrats could create pious havens and they not only spent time within the privacy of their apartments or gardens, they also actively served as benefactors of local communities and patrons of their churches. Granted, the rigorists were less zealous about charity than the preceding generation of *dévots*.¹⁰¹ The importance of performing good works as part of the Christian life was stressed

⁹⁸ See above, chapter two, p. 100. The ongoing cataloguing of material in the Chartrier de La Roche-Guyon might also reveal other correspondence with signs of a more regular female presence at Liancourt; see Appendix D for other relevant sources which have recently come to light.

⁹⁹ Jean Orcibal, *Études d'histoire et de littérature religieuses: XVIe - XVIIIe siècles*; études réunies par Jacques Le Brun et Jean Lesaulnier (Paris: Klincksieck, 1997).

¹⁰⁰ AN, Série K, 574, fo. 5, A ‘pauvre prestre’ ‘pour m[onsieu]r jasse pour fera voir a son altesse [the princesse de Conti],’ 24 Juillet 1664.

¹⁰¹ Chill, ‘Tartuffe, Religion and Courtly Culture,’ 164. Research on the benevolence of France’s elite has offered a rich and comprehensive picture of the changing nature of charity both during and after the Catholic Reformation (also see footnote 2 in the Thesis Introduction): McHugh, *Hospital Politics*; Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity*; Dinan, *Women and Poor Relief*; Olwen Hufton and Frank Tallett, ‘Communities of

by the Jesuits who reaffirmed the Molinist position on grace. As this thesis has already discussed, the rigorists rejected this outlook on salvation.¹⁰² The way in which charity was sidelined by the rigorists and rarely discussed in female penitents' letters is the reason why it has not been explored at length in this thesis. That said, even if charity was not at the forefront of the piety of Port-Royal, its aristocratic patrons still felt the impulse. Charity at the estate was, arguably, a way for rigorist women to create religious and moral strongholds in the localities surrounding their châteaux. Their role as pious benefactors is therefore an important dimension to the history of pious sociability at the estate.

How female aristocrats chose to distribute charitable funds may have been determined to some degree by their desire to secure stability after tax revolts had caused tension in the localities.¹⁰³ There are letters which reveal that rigorist penitents feared sedition.¹⁰⁴ For ex-Frondeurs like Longueville, charity may also have been intended to rectify the devastation caused to rural societies in the Île-de-France by rebel and royal armies during the Fronde.¹⁰⁵ South-west of Paris at Châteaudun, the estate inherited by the duc de Longueville, the

Women: The Religious life and Public Service in Eighteenth-Century France,' in *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World 1500 to the Present*, eds. Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 75 – 85; Louis Châtellier, *The Religion of the Poor: Rural Missions in Europe and the Formation of Modern Catholicism c.1500 – 1800*; translated by Brian Pearce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*; Colin Jones, 'Sisters of Charity and the Ailing Poor,' *Society for the Social History of Medicine*, 3 (1989): 339 – 48; Colin Jones, 'Charity before c. 1850,' in *Companion Encyclopaedia of the History of Medicine*, eds. W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (2 volumes, London: Routledge, 1993), vol. 2, 1469 – 79; Jean-Pierre Gutton, *La Société et les pauvres: l'exemple de la généralité de Lyon 1534 – 1789*; Thèse de Doctorat d'État soutenue devant la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Lyon, Mai 1971 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971), 370 – 93; Gutton, *Dévots et Société*; Hickey, *Local Hospitals in Ancien Régime France*; Cissie C. Fairchild, *Poverty and Charity in Aix en Provence 1640 – 1789* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1976); Olwen Hufton, 'The Widow's Mite and Other Strategies: Funding the Catholic Reformation: The Prothero Lecture,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 8 (1998): 117 – 37.

¹⁰² McHugh, *Hospital Politics*, 24.

¹⁰³ Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*, 115.

¹⁰⁴ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 879, duchesse de Longueville to Gabriel de Roquette, 13 June, undated, Bordeaux; this letter refers to 'une sedition horrible' there.

¹⁰⁵ Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*, 94.

duchess donated 1,200 *livres* for the foundation of a light to be placed before the image of Our Lady in the crypt of the parish church and her own accounts reveal other long-term commitments and acts of spontaneous charity there.¹⁰⁶ At Coulommiers in May and July 1672, she donated money for her chambermaid Mademoiselle Le Bastier to provide for a ‘pauvre femme’ and a ‘pauvre fille.’¹⁰⁷ Longueville also left charitable legacies at her urban residence at Saint-Ouen. She was a benefactor of the Hôtel-Dieu at Rouen, which had been overstretched since an epidemic in 1650, and also made donations to religious houses in Rouen.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ L. D. Coudray, *Histoire du château de Châteaudun* (3rd edn, Châteaudun: L Pouillier, 1894), 140. ADEL, Série G, 1481. Her accounts also reveal donations: AN, R³, 1064, 7 July 1672: ‘Le 7 juillet a lad[ite] dam[oise]lle le Bastier quinze livres pour des habiles quelle a achetes pour une pauvre fille de Chateaudun suivant son certificat’; R³, 1065, 7 April 1674: ‘Ledit jour a la femme de pierre girault de pathay pour s’en retourner a chateaudun trente sols’; R³, 1066, 29 January 1675: ‘Le 29 Janvier 1675 a Catherine le Guene veuve pierre vien mareschal de chateaudun de la paroisse de saint valerien trois livres suivant le billet dudit sieur de Gauffrecourt’; R³, 1068, 14 January 1677: ‘Le 14e dud[it] mois de janvier au s[ieu]r du Lay pretre a Chateaudun dix livres pour du bois quil a achepte pour ayder a chausser les pauvres dud[it] chateaudun suivant la lettre du sieur de Gauffrecourt secretaire de mad[ite] dame,’ 15 March 1677: ‘Le 15 dud[it] mois donne trente sols a deux pauvres hommes de chateaudun suivant le billet du sieur aubert aumosnier,’ 2 April 1677: ‘Le 2 avril donne trente sols a pierre manger pauvre homme de chateaudun en presence dud[it] sieur aubert,’ 26 May 1677: ‘Le 26 dud[it] mois donne quinze livres au sieur B[] de chateaudun pour faire habiller une pauvre fille dud[it] lieu suivant le billet dud[it] sieur aubert,’ 31 July 1677: ‘Le Dernier dud[it] mois donne six livres a pierre Rousseau pauvre homme de chateaudun suivant le billet dudit sieur aubert aumosnier,’ 23 October 1677: ‘Le 23e octobre 1677 au sieur Cains chanoine de la s[ain]te chapelle du chateau de chateaudun quarante huit livres pour six mois de la pension de trois pauvres petits enfans orphelines de S[ain]t Lubin.’

¹⁰⁷ AN, R³, 1064, 4 May 1672: ‘Le 4 Mai 1672 rendu a lad[ite] dame marguerite le Bastier trente livres quelle avoit donne scavoit treize livres la nomme d[u]chesse pauvre femme de Coulommiers malade a Paris cens sols a la nommee Guiyan pauvre femme de chateaudun et cens sols a une pauvre femme,’ 7 July 1672: ‘Le 7 juillet a lad[ite] dam[oise]lle le Bastier quinze livres pour des habiles quelle a achetes pour une pauvre fille de Chateaudun suivant son certificat.’ We find similar acts of spontaneous charity in Coulommiers up to 1679; AN, R³, 1069, 13 May 1678: ‘Le 13 dud[it] mois donne seize sols a la M[adam]e Possot pauvre femme dud[it] Coulommiers en presence dud[it] sieur aubert aumosnier.’

¹⁰⁸ BS, MSVC. 17, fo. 52, duchesse de Longueville to ‘le révérend père général de la congregation des chanoines de s[ain]t augustin,’ 10 October, undated, Trie: ‘Mon Reverend pere, l’interest que je prands a l’Hotel-Dieu de Rouen, m’oblige a vous envoie la lettre que j’ay receu de la superieure de ce lieu, qui vous fera mieux voir que je ne vous le pourois dire, le besoing que cette maison pretend avoir...’ On the Hôtel Dieu at Rouen, see Charles Terrasse, *L’hôtel dieu de Rouen* (Lyon: Ciba, 1945), 27; and Thérèse Eude, *Le prieuré saint-madeleine de l’hôtel dieu de Rouen* (Rouen: Les affiches de Normandie, 1970), n.p.n. AN, R³, 1067, 22 March 1676: ‘Le 22 mars a la superieure du val de Grace de Rouen cent livres pour une demie annee de la pension des petites bertrand converties a la foy catholique escheve le 30e janvier dernier suivant trois lettres missives dudit sieur Gauffrecourt,’ 1 December 1676: ‘Led[it] jour la superieure des benedictines du val de grace de Rouen deux cens livres pour une annee de la pension de Magdelaine et Anne Bertrand filles converties a la foy cat[h]olique suivant la lettre missive dud[it] s[ieu]r de Gauffecourt.’

Charity was a sign of election for the spiritual elite even if it could never be a route to salvation.¹⁰⁹ Their inclination to reform the moral and religious lives of those inhabiting the land around their châteaux was probably part of the reinforcement of their status as paragons of virtue. Their edification of the rural laity was also part of the implementation of Catholic reform. After the Council of Trent, parish life was to be transformed with the help of an all-improved parish clergy.¹¹⁰ Rural missionary priests often became directors of seminaries and assisted local *curés* wherever possible in the instruction of the laity, especially in the surrounding Parisian countryside.¹¹¹ The foundation of a community of priests at Liancourt in December 1645 to serve the parish church of Saint-Martin was intended to provide cure of souls and alms. The foundation also provided accommodation for the priests :

les prestres assisteront a l'office de leglise dud[it] saint martin de Liancourt aux jours de dimanches, festes et vigiles d'iceux comm'aussy aux ferries des rogations au jour des cendres et quatre dernieres jours de la semaine saint au processions et prieres publiques pour chanter au choeur et faict toutes les autres fonctions que les prestres habitues ont accoutumé de faire aux paroisses.¹¹²

et pour Loger et entretenir les prestres de lad[ite] communaute les seigneur et dame de Liancourt ont delaisse presente a la fabrique de saint martin de Liancourt la maison quelle ont fait bastir proche deglise parochiale dud[it] lieu le petit enclos attenant et lad[ite] maison le tout pour servir a leglise l'usage de lad[ite] communaute de prestres et y vivre.¹¹³

The prince de Conti played a similarly important role in the conversion of 'heretics' in the provinces.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Briggs, *Early Modern France*, 178.

¹¹⁰ Hours, *L'église et la vie religieuse*, 197.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 199.

¹¹² AN, Série S, 2230; there is also a copy of this at ADO, Série H, II, 478.

¹¹³ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁴ Christophe Blanquie, 'Le Prince de Conti et la conversion des réformés 1660 – 1666,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire Protestantisme Française* (1995): 569 – 74.

A community of the *Filles de la Charité* was also established at Liancourt by the duchess in 1645.¹¹⁵ At Liancourt and elsewhere, the *Filles* were commissioned to undertake the manual work which their elite ‘board of directors’ the *Dames de la Charité* were reluctant to do.¹¹⁶ At Liancourt, the confraternity served the Hôpital du Saint-Esprit that the duchess established there and helped to instruct the poor:

Ceux qui pourront marcher elle les menera a l’eglise adorer Dieu au tres saint sacrement de l’autel luy demander sa benediction et la grace de l’honorer et servir au lieu ou sa bonté les appellees pour y faire leur salut.

La meme soeur fera la lecture ou enseignera le catéchisme a l’heure portee par le reglement un jour...lira et parlera distinctement...pour estre entendue de tous et leur expliquera ce quelle leur dira avec des parolles les plus aprochante quelle pourra de leur maniere de parler.¹¹⁷

The *Filles* were to ensure the poor of Liancourt became well-versed in the catechism and made their devotions towards the Holy Sacrament. By the 1660s in France, diocesan catechisms were distributed by bishops to try to combat access to unorthodox ideas and they were enquired about regularly in visitations.¹¹⁸ Their content remained essentially the same however; the catechism was supposed to teach people what to believe and how to be saved.¹¹⁹

Continued loyalty to organizations such as the *Dames de la Charité* may also be a further indication of the spirituality inherited by rigorist penitents from their *dévo*

¹¹⁵ AN, Série S, 6169; see Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*, 201.

¹¹⁶ Dinan, *Women and Poor Relief*, 39 - 40.

¹¹⁷ See ADO, fonds privées, 6 JP, 35 on the hospital. Dinan, *Women and Poor Relief* did not discuss the work of the daughters at Liancourt documented by AN, Série S, 6169. It would be interesting to know how, if at all, these rules differ from those of communities in other parishes. This would allow us to consider the impact of rigorism on the masses in rural locations and test Pierre Chaunu’s thesis that the provinces which were exposed to the most strict forms of Jansenism would experience the strongest dechristianization later; see Pierre Chanu, ‘Jansénisme et frontières de catholicité,’ *Revue Historique*, 127 (1962): 115 – 38.

¹¹⁸ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 299 – 300.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 298.

predecessors.¹²⁰ The duchesse de Longueville was a patron of the *Filles de la Providence* of the Parisian rue Saint-Dominique in the last two decades of her life. These were managed by mademoiselle de Pollalion and the *Dames de la Charité* after her death.¹²¹ One of their most prominent patrons had been Longueville's mother, who had her funeral sermon in the church there in January 1651.¹²² The duchesse de Longueville and her sister-in-law also helped the abbé de Ciron and madame de Mondonville with their charitable project the *Filles de l'Enfance* at Toulouse.¹²³ Colin Jones has shown that nearly half of all founders of communities of the *Filles de la Charité* were seigneurs and their wives who were dutifully providing medical and nursing care to their 'vassals.'¹²⁴ For rigorist penitents, there was probably also some appeal in having an instructed and morally-reformed populace surrounding their spiritual refuges in the countryside.

¹²⁰ See above, chapter one, p. 58.

¹²¹ Marie Lumague, or mademoiselle de Pollalion (1599 – 1657); see Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity*, 260, 222 – 225; AN, R³, 1064, 7 April 1672: 'Le 7 avril a soeur Catherine de Montigny superieure de la providence du faubourg saint marcel a paris cens livres pour une annee de la pension'; R³, 1065, 28 January 1674: 'Le vingt huitieme dudit mois a Marguerite Haba assistante et depositaire de la maison de la providence la somme de cens livres pour une annee escheves le dit jour de la pension de la damoiselle charlotte le marchand fille de la nourice de deff[unt] monseigneur le comte de s[ain]t paul duc de Longueville suivant le compte dernier precedent et quittance'; R³, 1066, 1 March 1675: 'Le premier mars a Madelaine Boulincourt femme tapissier dix huit livres pour un matelas chevet et couverture quelle a envoyes a la maison de la prov[idence] pour la damoiselle durand,' 'A la dame superieure de la maison de la providence dy fauxbourg saint Marceau de Paris vingt cinq livres pour un quartier de la pension de la damoiselle Marg[ueri]tte Durand qui eschera le dernier may 1675 suivant sa quittance du premier mars,' 'Le 6e May a Margueritte haba superieure de la maison de la providence cent livres pour une annee de la pension de charlotte le marchand fille de Boursisse de deffunt monseigneur le comte de saint paul'; R³, 1068, 1 March 1677: 'Le premier mars 1677 a la femme du sieur hersant marchand tapissier a Paris quarante quatre livres pour un tour de lit vert et une couverture quelle a fournie a la dam[oise]lle Durand pauvre penssionaire de la providence par ordre de mad[ite] dame suivant le billet de monsieur le nain'; R³, 1069, 31 August 1678: 'Le dernier aoust a la dame de motigny superieure de la maison de la providence soixante quinze livres pour trois quartiers de la pension de lad dam[oisel]le Durant a raison de cens livres par an suivant les comptes precedans lettre missive dud s[ieu]r de Gauffecourt.'

¹²² *Panegyrique funèbre de Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorancy, veufve de feu Henry de Bourbon, prince de Condé prononcé le 2 janvier 1651, en l'église des Filles de la Providence, par M. François Hedelin, abbé d'Aubignac* (Paris: C. de Sercy, 1651).

¹²³ *Lettres inédites de Mme de Mondonville, fondatrice de l'Institut de l'Enfance, suivies de fragments de ses mémoires 1655 - 1697* (Paris: Hachette, 1911), 79, 91; letters of 1656 show her connection with the prince de Conti although I could not find any reference to Longueville or the princesse de Conti; although see Conti's testament in Appendix B for further evidence of her relationship with the *filles*.

¹²⁴ Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*, 114; Jones, 'Sisters of Charity and the Ailing Poor,' 343 – 44.

There was a similar sense of duty at l'Isle-Adam. The Conti's relationship with the local parish church of Saint-Martin can be traced back to 1661. After damage was caused to the church by a fire at Christmas that year, the Contis financed repairs to the roofing; their treasurer Antoine Jasse made a payment for 6,950 *livres* for the church roof at the Hôtel de Conti on 4 September 1662 on their behalf.¹²⁵ Other charitable donations made by the princess are peppered throughout the household accounts. On 28 April 1661, she instructed the *curé* of l'Isle-Adam to distribute 300 *livres* to the poor.¹²⁶ Provisions were made for medicinal remedies to be meted-out in February 1669.¹²⁷ The *curé* was also recompensed for a retreat made by her household staff on the 22 November 1664 to the value of 78 *livres* 6 *solz*, and 3,000 *livres* for the repair of the church in September 1671.¹²⁸

The princess also continued to support the community of priests established by the prince de Conti at l'Isle-Adam for many years after his death. The prince was spurred-on by the success of the community of Saint-Joseph-de-Lyon and, as governor of Languedoc where there was a large Protestant community, he had also seen the consequences of conflict between confessional groups.¹²⁹ Initially, one Claude Frollin was to serve the church and

¹²⁵ ADVO, Série G, 114 : 'Devis des ouvrages de charpenterie couverture quil commis faire et fornier pour la refection en l'eglise parroissiale de l'isle-adam par l'incendie arrivé la nuict de noel de l'année dernière 1661.' On Antoine Jasse, see Christophe Blanquie, 'Les restitutions du Prince de Conti,' *Revue Historique*, 292 (octobre-décembre, 1994): 273.

¹²⁶ AN, R³, 108, fo. 414: 'Monsieur le curé de lisle adam la somme de trois cens livres par ordre de son altesse serenissime pour distribue aux pauvres de lisle adam...vingt huit jour d'avril mil six cents soixante un.'

¹²⁷ AN, R³, 115, fo. 59: 'Au S[ieu]r Trepsac garcon appotiquaire la somme de dix huit livres dix sept solz pour des remedes qu'il a fournis aux pauvres des environs du bouchet et de lisle adam suivant les parties certiffiees par M[onsieu]r Dodart medecin ordee de sa d[ite] altesse 8e et 14e fevrier 1669.'

¹²⁸ AN, R³, 111, fo. 251: ' A Monsieur Carron curé de lisleadam la somme de soixante dix huit livres six solz pour la despence extraordinaire des Domestiques qui ont faict Retraicte ches luy suivant lad[it] ordre et sa quittance du vingt deuxiesme novembre mil six cens soixante quatre'; AN, R³, 118, fo. 62: 'A M[onsieu]r Carron curé de lisle adam la somme de trois mil livres que S[on] A[ltesse] S[erenissime] luy accordée pour les reparations de son Eglise suivant lordonnance de sad[ite] altesse et quittance des 9 et 23e septembre 1671 cy rendues.'

¹²⁹ Le Roy Ladurie, *The Ancien Régime*, 151; Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 73.

chapel whilst another priest was to serve the poor.¹³⁰ Finding that the parishioners of l'Isle-Adam were ill-served by the ageing priest Pierre Gilbert, four additional clerics were drafted-in to minister to the parish as part of the Congregation of Saint-Joseph:

Nicolas par la permission divine evesque et comte de beauvais Vidame et gerbon pair de France a tous presens et a venis salut sur ce que M[onsieur] Nicolas Michelin Bailly de L'isle adam au nom et comme ayant pouvoir de Monsieur le Prince de Conty en vertu d'un acte du vingt sixiesme jour d'octobre denier nous ayant presente requeste expositive que led[it] seigneur ayant depuis quelques annees pris un soin...d'entretenir dans la seigneurie et baronnie de l'isle adam quatre ecclesiastiques de la congregation [de] prestres de st joseph de lion...pierre gilbert cy devant curé de lad[ite] paroisse reconnoissant quil ne pouvoir plus vacquer a ses fonctions...a cause de sa viellesse et incommodité de son age a resigné sa curé pour cause de permutation a M[onsieur] Claude Frollin pour estre l'un desdit ecclesiastiques.¹³¹

This was a successful enterprise. A reported 'testimony' by the *curé* of Jouy-le-Comte, one Laurens Jacquet, demonstrates the edificatory role that the Conti's charity played there:

Dit que depuis quatre annees qu'il y a que luy deposant est curé de Jouy le Comte il a tousjours recognu et resenty la fruites et les avantages qu'a produit letablissement...tant par les Catechismes et Instructions escolles qu'ils ont trouves assistances des Malades charitez aux pauvres qu'autres vertus qu'ils ont pratiques et pratiquent journellement au grand soulagement des Curés des environs.¹³²

Vincent de Paul also received letters from seigneurs praising the 'stabilizing' effect of missionary priests in the localities.¹³³ The instruction of, and aid given to, the infirm at l'Isle-Adam not only benefitted the poor of l'Isle-Adam, it also took the pressure off the local *curés*.

¹³⁰ Darras, *Les seigneurs châtelains de l'Isle-Adam*, 72 – 3.

¹³¹ ADVO, Série G, 114. 'Vidame' and 'Gerbon' are feudal terms; Beauvais was a bishopric with a *vidame* and was attached to Gerberoy.

¹³² *Ibid*; the document records twenty such statements.

¹³³ Jones, *The Charitable Imperative*, 115.

Rigorist penitents therefore retreated to spiritual utopias to devote time to worship, collective spiritual contemplation and sometimes intimate exchanges of religious experiences: things which were perhaps not achievable in Paris. The reality was that residences such as Trie, Méru, Le Bouchet-Valgrand, l'Isle-Adam and Liancourt were not comparable to the types of wildernesses illustrated in contemporary paintings or poetry.¹³⁴ The administration of these charitable projects along with other seigneurial responsibilities made aristocratic estates hives of activity. They were already served by large workforces and aristocratic women would have also brought peripatetic retinues of staff when they travelled. The construction of an image of small circles of women in the 'pursuit of solitude' in an isolated, pastoral setting must therefore be avoided. The evidence does suggest, however, that rigorist penitents may have been quite selective about their accompanying personnel when they embarked on a spiritual retreat. The next part of the chapter will show how the social and spiritual exclusivity of pious sociability at the estate could be made compatible with the practicalities of aristocratic mobility and the running of a matriarchal household.

4. **'Tout nostre petit societe'¹³⁵: Pious Sociability in the Rigorist Household**

Periods spent away from Paris could never have been solely dedicated to worship, not least of all because the administration of the estate was taxing and time-consuming, even if aristocratic power was being curtailed by royal measures during Louis XIV, as some historians have suggested.¹³⁶ The *domaine* (demesne) and the *mouvance* (small holdings or

¹³⁴ Such as those analysed by Beugnot in his research; see *Le discours de la retraite*.

¹³⁵ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, fo. 216, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 30 August 1662; Cousin published this part of the letter in 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1852): 254. I examine it in detail below.

¹³⁶ Jean Gallet, 'Les transformations de la seigneurie en France entre 1600 et 1789,' *Histoire, économie, et société*, 18, no. 1 (1999): 63 – 81. On the role of women at the estate, see James Collins, 'The Economic Role of Women in Seventeenth-Century France,' *French Historical Studies*, 16, no. 2 (Autumn, 1989): 463 – 70; see also Diefendorf, 'Widowhood and Remarriage,' 388 – 89. Jonathan Spangler's analysis of women in the

‘tenures’ leased by tenant farmers) which composed the seigneurie were overseen by the *seigneur*. They were also responsible for the maintenance of order and the supervision of the social, economic and, as we have seen, moral lives of those living in their jurisdiction.¹³⁷

Despite the fact that she was never widowed, the duchesse de Liancourt managed most of the affairs at the Liancourt estates.¹³⁸ Her correspondence with the concierge at the château de Liancourt and her household expenses prove the extent of her authority in its maintenance. In 1664, for instance, she arranged for floor-boards made from the wood of fir-trees to be laid there, and in 1666 she coordinated work in Joseph Desmares’ chamber.¹³⁹ From Liancourt in June and July 1659, she corresponded with Monsieur Hottier at La Roche-Guyon about the running of the estates.¹⁴⁰ In the replies she received, she often made marginal notes of her reactions to pressing matters, or reminders of what action to take in response to them.¹⁴¹ By the mid-1660s, the duchesse de Longueville (1663) and princesse de Conti (1666) were both widowed and exercised similar power in their households with equal dexterity.¹⁴² In her

Lorraine dynasty has shown the strength of comparable matriarchal households, or ‘matriclans,’ in seventeenth-century France, see Spangler, *The Society of Princes*, 67; and Spangler, ‘Benefit or Burden?’ 82.

¹³⁷ Although they were progressively becoming the executors of royal ordinances according to some scholars; see Gallet, ‘Les transformations de la seigneurie,’ 69; and Figeac, *Châteaux et vie quotidienne*, 137.

¹³⁸ Her letters to Colbert are one source of evidence for this, BnF, Ms. Colbert, 104, fo. 400, madame la duchesse de Liancourt to Colbert, undated.

¹³⁹ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 390, ‘Memoire des ouvrages que moy francois bourgeois ay fait au chasteau de liancour en lannee 1666’; ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 390, 9 October 1664, ‘pour nostre concierge a Liencourt.’

¹⁴⁰ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 397, duchesse de Liancourt to ‘monsieur hottier a la roche guion,’ 4 September 1653, duchesse de Liancourt to monsieur hottier, 22 July 1659, duchesse de Liancourt to monsieur hottier, 17 June 1659, duchesse de Liancourt to monsieur hottier, 15 January 1659.

¹⁴¹ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 389, undated, probably from ‘monsieur le controlleur,’ Liancourt’s marginal notes remind her to whom she must write to next: ‘escrire a dame et a m[onsieu]r le Maire savoir sy lon doit garder le bled.’

¹⁴² Just as Spangler found in his study of the Lorraine women, neither of the sisters-in-law remarried – even the princesse de Conti, who was only 29 years of age when she was widowed. The importance of marital status, either secular or mystical, to female identity has also been demonstrated by Gabriella Zarri in *Recinti*.

spiritual resolutions the princess outlined her intentions to act on behalf of the communities surrounding her châteaux and her letters to Colbert suggest she did just that.¹⁴³

Estates could not run smoothly without large bodies of household staff and aristocrats also depended upon their personal entourages.¹⁴⁴ Sharon Kettering found that the households of the *grands* were smaller than those of the ruling families who typically had between 100 and 200 staff, but were still often as large as 50.¹⁴⁵ In 1660, Longueville's brother Condé had a Parisian household of 546 servants; in 1661, Anne of Austria and Marie-Thérèse alone were served by 70 female staff at court.¹⁴⁶ Although the seventeenth century is the period that historians usually associate with increasing amounts of privacy in households, women of aristocratic status were still being dressed by chambermaids and were probably in frequent physical contact with them.¹⁴⁷

Probate inventories give some sense of the size of rigorist penitent's households and the spaces they occupied in the château. At La Roche-Guyon the concierge used a chamber, kitchen and adjoining room, and there were also rooms for the blanchisseur, chaplains,

¹⁴³ BnF, Na. Fr, 10951, fo. 19, 'envers mes terres.' One example of this in a letter to Colbert is: BnF, Ms. Colbert, 157, fo. 735, princesse de Conti to Colbert, 5 November 1671: 'Quoy que je scache monsieur que vous estes toujours porte pour le bien du public je ne laisse pas de joindre mes prieres a un interest et de vous assurer que je vous seray tres obligee en mon particulier sy vous prenes la peines de donner quelque ordre a la reparation du port de lilladam...'

¹⁴⁴ Kristen B. Neuschel, 'Noble Households in the Sixteenth Century: Material Settings and Human Communities,' *French Historical Studies*, 15, no. 4 (Autumn, 1988): 606 - 607.

¹⁴⁵ Kettering, 'The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen,' 817 - 41. Apart from this work, as Jean-Pierre Gutton pointed out back in 1981, domestic households have, on the whole, received limited historical attention; *Domestiques et serviteurs dans la France de l'ancien régime* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1981), 7; and little work has been done on female attendants and chambermaids since then.

¹⁴⁶ William Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 92; Kathryn Norberg, 'Women of Versailles 1682 - 1789,' in *Servants of the Dynasty: Palace Women in World History*, ed. Anne Walthall (London: University of California Press, 2008), 194.

¹⁴⁷ Neuschel, 'Noble Households,' 621. In her *Règlement*, Liancourt instructed her grand-daughter how to manage this intimacy: 'ne couchez jamais dans une chambre seule, et meme faites y coucher plutot deux femmes qu'une,' and 'que pas un homme de vos domestiques n'entre le matin dans vostre chambre que vous ne soyez pas vetue, et ne vous decouvrez point le gorge devant eux en vous habillant,' 50 - 51.

‘workmen’ and the Captain.¹⁴⁸ The female staff who attended directly to rigorist penitents also had their own chambers, some with cabinets. At Trie in 1663, one of Longueville’s chambermaids mademoiselle du Fay had the use of a chamber and adjoining garderobe.¹⁴⁹

As well as ‘femmes de chambre’, such as mademoiselle du Fay, and the ‘filles’ or ‘dames d’honneur’ who were ladies-in-waiting; aristocratic women might also have ‘companion-attendants.’¹⁵⁰ ‘Companion-attendant’ is the term that is probably most appropriate for describing mademoiselle de Vertus’ relationship with the duchesse de Longueville.¹⁵¹ The affection that Longueville had for her companion-attendant is hinted at by a letter of Agnès Arnauld:

Je supplie tres humblement, Madame Votre Altesse Serenissime de regarder la separation de m[ademoise]lle de Vertus non comme une privation, mais comme un present que Votre Altesse fait a Dieu.¹⁵²

Vertus’ letters to Sablé reveal that she tended to accompany Longueville on her journeys outside of Paris. Close to the death of the duc de Longueville, for example, she planned to accompany her mistress to Maubuisson ‘si m[adam]e de Longueville y demeure quelques jours.’¹⁵³ Her letters are also useful sources for establishing Longueville’s location in the

¹⁴⁸ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 31; the inventory names certain rooms: ‘La chambre de M[onsieur] de vaux,’ ‘celle de M[onsieur] hottier,’ ‘celle de M[onsieu]r de Ligniere.’

¹⁴⁹ AN, MC, ET/XXXVI/202, 12 June 1663.

¹⁵⁰ Kettering, ‘The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen,’ 826.

¹⁵¹ For a study of this relationship in eighteenth-century England, see Betty Rizzo, *Companions without Vows: Relationships between Eighteenth-Century British Women* (London: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 61 – 82.

¹⁵² Faugère, ed., *Lettres de la Mère Agnès Arnauld*, vol. 2, 336.

¹⁵³ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 138, undated, mademoiselle de Vertus to madame de Sablé, undated; see Cousin, ed., ‘Lettres inédites de mademoiselle de Vertus,’ *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes*, 13 (1852): 319, for an extract of this letter.

years when the duchess' own correspondence is silent on the matter, as she often referred to Longueville's presence at Méru and Trie.¹⁵⁴

The princesse de Conti was served by three chambermaids and a *filie d'honneur*; one other additional female servant attended to these four women. Mademoiselles Cicille, Margot and Fauchon de Sainte-Marie were her chambermaids for several years from 1666. Before then, she also paid one 'mademoiselle Guion,' whom Cicille seems to have replaced. Cicille became Conti's first chambermaid, perhaps qualifying as her 'companion-attendant', and was the name Conti allegedly called on her deathbed.¹⁵⁵ The position of Conti's *filie d'honneur* changed more frequently. From 1662, mademoiselles d'Arnolfiny and Lannay occupied the posts; by 1666 they were held by mademoiselles Le Noir and Bréquigny; and from 1670, only Le Noir was listed as a *filie d'honneur*. Marguerite Cordier worked in the service of these women. It is likely that she was a daughter of Julien Cordier, 'maître de l'hôtel de Condé.'¹⁵⁶

This circus of domestic activity around aristocratic penitents was accompanied by a constant procession of male spiritual advisors in and out of their châteaux.¹⁵⁷ Historians of Port-Royal have shown how Liancourt became a settlement for learned men and clerics; we have already seen how the princesse de Conti relied upon the services of her chaplain;

¹⁵⁴ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, ff. 108 – 109, mademoiselle de Vertus to madame de Sablé, 9 January, undated; Cousin published a short extract in 'Lettres inédites de mademoiselle de Vertus,' *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 13 (1852): 339.

¹⁵⁵ *Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné: correspondance*, vol. 1, Sévigné to madame de Grignan, 5 February 1672, 431.

¹⁵⁶ Beguin, *Les Princes de Condé*, 414.

¹⁵⁷ Something which Barbara Woshinsky may have overlooked when she said the female practice of spiritual retreat in seventeenth-century France was part of the imagining of a feminine community or 'Feminutopia,' in Woshinsky, *Imagining Women's Conventual Spaces in France*, 124 – 34.

Longueville also spoke of several men in her correspondence from the estates.¹⁵⁸ Even where they were not part of the circles that retreated from Paris, there was a male component to the epistolary audience who also shared the experience of retreat, as the letters of La Vergne and Roquette examined in this chapter have shown.

The necessary and daily proximity of these personnel to aristocratic penitents, particularly chambermaids and female attendants, means that they must have been amenable to their mistress' attempts to achieve spiritual repose at the estate. The way the duchesse de Liancourt ensured her female domestic staff were exposed to devotional literature has already been noted.¹⁵⁹ 'Morale sociale' was also policed in the princesse de Conti's household:

Envers mes domestiques: J'assembleray toutes les semaines les Ecclesiastiques qui sont avec moy et quelque autres de laiques de plus pieux pour examiner ce qui passe dans ma maison touchant les moeurs et y apporter les remedes convenables. J'auray tousjours l'intention de me defaire de tous ceux qui ne se corrigeront pas de leurs fautes notables faisant resolution d'entrer dans les exercices d'une vie plus chrestienne que le commun des gens du monde. Je n'accorderay plus rien, ny ne refuseray plus rien a aucun de mes gens des choses quils me demandront par humeur, mais je me donneray s'il se peut un peu de temps pour y penser, et pour ne rien accorder ny refuser que par raison.¹⁶⁰

This was not simply part of a matriarchal rhetoric. Household accounts show that at the end of Lent in 1662, the household staff of the princesse de Conti were each subsidized in order

¹⁵⁸ On Liancourt see footnotes 98 and 99 above. BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 198 – 201, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé on Monsieur de Trouillas, 11 September, undated, Châteaudun: 'qui assurément a de tres bonnes qualites bien de la piete bien de l'esprit et le coeur le plus noble du monde, cet abbe est allé a son abaye et dont revenir isy dans 15 jours.' In June 1663, père du Breuil and Monsieur de Saint-Beuve had been at Trie with her; BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 7 – 8, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 1 June 1663, Trie: 'M[onsieu]r de Ste Beuve s'en retourne a paris demain et le pere du Breuil ausy mais pour ce dernier il reviendra me trouver pour faire mon voiage.' Noel de La Lane, author of *De la Grâce Victorieuse* was another cleric who joined Longueville on her retreats. His letters to Sablé are useful sources for understanding his own moral theology; see BnF, Ms. Fr, 17048, fo. 202, La Lane to madame de Sablé; a letter discussing the morality of the female religious at Port-Royal, 6 December, undated.

¹⁵⁹ See above, chapter four, p. 195.

¹⁶⁰ 'Morale sociale' was a term used by Gutton, *Dévots et société*, 138, and moral rigour in the household was something he identified as typical of *dévots*, 151; BnF, Na. Fr, 10951, ff. 13 – 21, fo. 13.

to attend confession, at her instruction.¹⁶¹ This was probably in preparation for Communion, which every layperson was to receive at Easter.¹⁶²

Most of the women who served and attended to aristocratic women remain elusive and even where their names can be established they often left little other historical trace.¹⁶³ The evidence for the piety of some of the women serving rigorist penitents makes them seem less anonymous. Conti's 'premiere femme de chambre,' mademoiselle Cicille, was responsible for most of Conti's charitable undertakings after 1666.¹⁶⁴ In 1671, she received a budget of 8,500 *livres* to dispense to the charitable causes of which Conti was a patron.¹⁶⁵ Marguerite Le Bastier, senior chambermaid in Longueville's household, was assigned similar duties.¹⁶⁶ Longueville's close relationship with Le Bastier is also revealed by her testament, where she bequeathed her an annual pension of 800 *livres* and a one-off payment of 300 *livres*. Longueville also left her clothes, linen and the 'vaisselle d'argent' of her garderobe to Le Bastier and another chambermaid Anne de la Fosse. Marguerite Le Bastier seems to have been part of a family working in Longueville's service, as the duchess' testament also named Marie Le Bastier, the wife of Longueville's secretary Gauffrecourt.

¹⁶¹ AN, R³, 109, fo. 215: 'Aux Domestiques de leurs altesses serenissimes la somme de cent huict livres a raison de vingt solz a chacun pour alles a confesse aux festes de p[a]ques de l'année mil six cens soixante deux suivant un estat arreste par ordonnance de S[on] A[ltesse] S[erenissime] madame.'

¹⁶² Schroeder, ed., *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 80.

¹⁶³ I researched the names of all of the women identified in the notarial archive and found a limited number of matches, see footnote 168 below. This was a problem Ruth Kleinman encountered in her study of royal households, in Ruth Kleinman, 'Social Dynamics at the French Court: The Household of Anne of Austria,' *French Historical Studies*, 16, no. 3 (Spring, 1990): 524.

¹⁶⁴ AN, R³, 115, fo. 57: 'A Mad[emoise]lle Cicille la somme de deux cens livres pour employer en charités suivant deux ordonnances de sad[ite] altesse du 22e may et 10e juillet 1668 cy rendues portant aussy despence de rapporter quittance.'

¹⁶⁵ AN, R³, 118, fo. 59: 'A la demoy[se]lle Cicille premiere femme de chambre de s[on] a[ltesse] s[erenissime] madame la somme de huict mil cinq cens livres pour les charites de sad[ite] altesse pendant l'année 1671 suivant neuf ordonnances de sad[ite] altesse cy rendues portant despences de rapporter quittance.'

¹⁶⁶ AN, R³, 1064, 4 May 1672, 10 July 1672, see also footnotes 106 and 107 above.

Dispensing charitable funds was not the only pious act that female attendants in rigorist households carried-out. The impact that a devout mistress could have on young, female staff is illustrated by many of their life trajectories after leaving domestic service. A testamentary bequest which the duchesse de Liancourt made to her chambermaid Geneviève Lefèvre was later scored-through when the duchess revised her own testament. In the margins of the document she explained that this was because Lefèvre had taken religious vows. Marguerite Josse was another case. She was *dame d'honneur* to the duchesse de Longueville before going to Poland to serve Longueville's cousin Marie-Louise de Gonzague in 1646 and returning to France in 1657.¹⁶⁷ Her exposure to the rigorist piety of her mistresses was clear as she took religious vows and joined Port-Royal, becoming *soeur* Marguerite de Saint-Thècle.¹⁶⁸ Her correspondence during the 1660s is further confirmation of her conversion and subsequent life as a female religious.¹⁶⁹

Marguerite Le Bastier was also drawn to the Port-Royal cause. Longueville made provisions in her testament for Le Bastier to lodge at Port-Royal-des-Champs. Perhaps she had accompanied Longueville on her retreats there during the last decade of her life.¹⁷⁰ Marguerite's sister Élisabeth de Sainte-Geneviève Le Bastier (1632 – 1690) had already left Longueville's service to join Port-Royal where she took vows.¹⁷¹ Mademoiselle de Vertus also became a staunch supporter of the convent and, although she remained in Longueville's

¹⁶⁷ *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, 687.

¹⁶⁸ Marguerite Josse is the only one of these women that I have been able to find in the notarial archives, see AN, MC, ET/LXXV/147, 24 December 1669; and ET/ LXXV/117, 16 October 1662.

¹⁶⁹ MC, Chantilly, Série R, vol. v, ff. 27 – 8, ff. 130 – 31, ff. 145 – 47, ff. 201 – 202, vol. iv, ff. 108 – 109.

¹⁷⁰ There are some new indications that even Longueville may have only visited Port-Royal-des-Champs occasionally and never actually lived there. Thanks to Philippe Luez, directeur du Musée National de Port-Royal-des-Champs for information on the research being carried out there in 2009. According to Anselme, her heart was only transported there in 1711; see Anselme de Sainte-Marie, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, des pairs, grands officiers de la Couronne, de la Maison du Roy et des anciens barons du royaume* (9 volumes, 3rd edn, Paris: n.p., 1726 – 1733), vol. 1, 223.

¹⁷¹ *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, 603.

service, she wrote to Sablé about the possibility of instructing female household staff with the nuns at Port-Royal.¹⁷² Claude-Louise de Sainte-Anastasia Dumesnil des Courtiaux, a former *filie d'honneur* of the princesse de Conti, joined Port-Royal in 1675 and later became prioress.¹⁷³

Others had familial connections with pious figures. Another of Longueville's ladies-in-waiting Marie-Louise de Bridieu, who was married to Longueville's equerry Elie de Billy seigneur de Montguignart, was the sister of Antoine-Roger de Bridieu, archdeacon of Beauvais.¹⁷⁴ 'Anne-Geneviève', one of Bridieu's daughters, not only became a *pensionnaire* at Port-Royal, she was also Longueville's god-child.¹⁷⁵ In Longueville's testament, she bequeathed the 'Capitanerie' of Trie to Billy, the considerable sum of 7,000 *livres* and an annual income of 480 *livres*, among other material bequests.¹⁷⁶ Another woman in Longueville's entourage, Mademoiselle de Mouchy, was the sister of the Oratorian de Mouchy: a contact of Longueville's discussed in chapter two.

Female ladies-in-waiting and domestic chambermaids were well-matched with their mistresses. It is possible that these women were simply being influenced by their superiors. Yet even if this was just a case of 'fitting-in', it nevertheless shows that female penitents ensured that they were surrounded by devout women who were sympathetic to rigorist

¹⁷² BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, ff. 114 – 15, mademoiselle de Vertus to madame de Sablé, 13 June, undated : '...je la feray venir icy afin de l'instruire un peu a la piete avec nos bonnes religieuses.'

¹⁷³ Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism and Jansenism*, 216.

¹⁷⁴ *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, 214; see BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 394, madame de Billy to monsieur Valant, 8 March 1680; Jean Vinot-Préfontaine, 'La fondation du séminaire de Beauvais et le Jansénisme dans le diocèse au XVIIe siècle,' *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 19, no. 84 (1933): 356.

¹⁷⁵ She is identified as a *pensionnaire* in the *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, 179.

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix B, pp. 338 – 39.

piety.¹⁷⁷ Domestic patronage in matriarchal households may not therefore have solely been informed by kinship connections and friendships, but also by other criteria such as spirituality.

Some women may have been permitted a more privileged access to their mistress' gatherings at the estate.¹⁷⁸ Female ladies-in-waiting were party to at least some of the pious conversations there because rigorist penitents explicitly identified them as such in their letters. Mademoiselle de Mouchy seems to have enjoyed Longueville's favour during her sojourns at Trie:

Ma[demoise]lle de Mouchy est icy [Trie] depuis deux jours...je vous fais premierement les compliments de madame de m[onsieu]r comte de saint paul et puis de M[ademoise]lle de Mouchy.¹⁷⁹

Vertus' letter not only shows that Mouchy travelled to Trie without her mistress, but also that she was familiar enough with Longueville's spiritual friend Sablé to send her a polite salutation. In other instances, Longueville spoke even more inclusively about Mouchy:

Je ne puis m'empescher de vous descharger mon coeur de la douleur on il eu des tristes adventures de nos s[ain]tes amies, hellas nous en sommes outrées d'affliction, voila enfin le sacrifice consommé, je ne sçay sy dieu ne sera point apaisé apres une telle offrande, je vous sens la dessus tres tendrement je vous assure et on ne peut estre plus sensible a vostre douleur que je la suis. Ma[demoise]lle de vertu, ma[demoise]lle de mouchy, m[onsieu]r le Nain, le Pere du Breuil, M[onsieu]r du trouillar enfin toute

¹⁷⁷ It certainly seems likely that deeply pious women would assemble households of people who were sympathetic to their own causes and shared their own interests. Cissie Fairchild even conceded that mistresses and their chambermaids often enjoyed intimacy and friendship; see *Domestic Enemies: Servants and their Masters in Old Regime France* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 27.

¹⁷⁸ And this was more significant than simple exchanges with companion-attendants that the duchesse de Longueville had with mademoiselle de Chalais, for example; see BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 16 – 17, duchesse de Longueville to mademoiselle de Chalais, one of Sablé's ladies-in-waiting, undated.

¹⁷⁹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, ff. 144 – 45, mademoiselle de Vertus to madame de Sablé, 19 September, undated, Trie; she is also mentioned in BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 196 – 97, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, undated.

nostre petite societé est acablée de l'affliction et penetrée d'indignation d'un tel traitement.¹⁸⁰

'Tout nostre petite societe' is the phrase which Longueville used to describe her company during their sojourn and this not only included Longueville's *chef de conseil* and *parlementaire* Jean Le Nain (1609 – 1698), the Oratorian Jean-Baptiste du Breuil (1612 – 1696), the abbé de Trouillas, and mademoiselle de Vertus, but also mademoiselle de Mouchy.¹⁸¹ This letter was written during the height of the persecution of Longueville's 'saintes amies' at Port-Royal, and it is clear that it was the treatment of the nuns which united this 'petit société' in their 'pain' and 'indignation.' The letter does show that Longueville perceived her company as agreeable to, and compatible with, her own withdrawal from the world.

Women such as Cicille, Le Bastier or Mouchy could never have been regarded as social, or indeed spiritual, equals to aristocratic penitents' spiritual friends. Neither were they likely to have been party to their intensive discussions; this thesis has already argued that even relationships with spiritual directors did not achieve the intimacy that spiritual friendships did. They do remind us however, that if rigorist penitents did not regard the presence of these 'little 'societies' as contrary to the pursuit of solitude, then neither should we.

This foray into the composition of aristocratic households and rigorist female entourages has, like the earlier discussion of charity at the estate, helped to fill-in some of the

¹⁸⁰ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, fo. 216, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 30 August 1662, no provenance, but the letter was clearly written in Longueville's absence from Paris; Cousin published this part of the letter in 'Lettres inédites,' *Journal des Savants* (1852): 254.

¹⁸¹ Jean Le Nain is not to be confused with Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont; see Martin R.P. McGuire, 'Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont,' *The Catholic Historical Review*, 52, no. 2 (July, 1966): 186 – 200; and Bruno Neveu, *Un historien à l'école de Port-Royal: Sebastien Le Nain de Tillemont 1637 – 1698* (La Haye: M. Nijhoff, 1966), 5, 12 – 13.

gaps left by the sources on the history of rigorist retreat. It has allowed a fuller picture of what the ‘pursuit of solitude’ entailed to be recovered. The next part of this chapter will attempt to add one further dimension to this configuration of rigorist spiritual retreat by exploring the issue of timing.

5. **‘les spectacles...et autres divertissemens...sont contraires a la discipline chrestienne’¹⁸² : The Retreat from Babylon**

Rigorist penitents’ expeditions to their own estates and excursions to those owned by their spiritual friends tended to coincide with the annual ‘season’ for vacations outside of Paris: spring for the hunting season and summertime when the court was away from Paris.¹⁸³ Trie, Liancourt, Méru, Le Bouchet-Valgrand and l’Isle-Adam were all comfortably within a day or two’s ride away from Paris, but the weather and other variables could also impact upon the decision to travel or not.¹⁸⁴ This part of the chapter will try to build-up a picture of the timing of rigorist penitents’ migrations from Paris and explore exactly what forms of ‘worldliness’ they may have been escaping.

Cross-referencing the occasions upon which female penitents chose to withdraw to their estates with the output of the French periodical press allows us to begin to see a timetable of rigorist retreat. The descriptions of feasts, plays and dances in periodicals such as the *Gazette*

¹⁸² Armand de Bourbon, prince de Conti, *Traité de la comédie et des spectacles, selon la tradition de l’Église tirée des Conciles et des Saints Pères* (Paris: L. Billaine, 1669), 59.

¹⁸³ Figeac, *Châteaux et vie quotidienne*, 291 – 300; Philippe Salvadori, *La chasse sous l’ancien régime* (Paris: Fayard, 1996), 113; Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory*, 397. In autumn, the court moved to Fontainebleau to hunt in the forests and the King himself spent between 110 and 140 days per year hunting.

¹⁸⁴ Beth Nachinson showed that a 300 km journey from Dijon to Paris would have been one day’s ride or taken about one week for a nobleman, his entourage and baggage. By this estimation, a 75 km journey to Liancourt (the furthest away of these estates) would be achievable in 1 – 2 days, depending on the terrain; see Beth Nachinson, ‘Absentee Government and Provincial Governors in Early Modern France: The princes of Condé and Burgundy 1660 – 1720,’ *French Historical Studies*, 21, no. 2 (Spring, 1998): 271.

de France can be used to uncover the worldly pleasures that might have motivated a rigorist woman's retreat to the countryside.¹⁸⁵ The *Gazette*, established in 1631, was the only news periodical published in France throughout most of the century.¹⁸⁶ It had a weekly circulation in Paris and some of the provinces and took the form of eight or twelve octavo pages, costing around four *sous*.¹⁸⁷ As well as describing political and military news, the *Gazette* offers detailed, if propagandistic, descriptions of court events; it seemed to function as a 'social calendar for the court,' or an 'official aristocratic newsletter.'¹⁸⁸

Ecclesiastical feasts, and Holy Days of Obligation in particular, are the first kinds of dates that rigorist women often elected to spend at their estates. This thesis has already highlighted the contrast between court devotion and rigorist worship, and the letters examined so far in this chapter also serve to confirm this. The dated letters of La Vergne revealed that in both 1664 and 1667, the Feast of the Assumption became a private affair for the princesse de Conti and the duchesse de Longueville. The ways they observed this holy day in 'sweet and pleasant solitude' at Le Bouchet-Valgrand and then exclusively together at l'Isle-Adam can be contrasted with the celebrations held at court. According to the *Gazette*, in 1667 the feast consisted of:

Feste de l'Assomption, la procession se fit ici avec une Pompe extraordinaire, par les soins de Monseigneur le Dauphin: la Relique du voile de la Vierge y ayant esté portée pour implorer l'Assistance divine sur toute la maison Royale.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ The extent to which this can be achieved is limited by the number of dated letters. My approach here is based on Sébastien Gaudelus' use of the *Gazette* in 'La mise en spectacle de la religion royale: recherches sur la dévotion de Louis XIV,' *Histoire, économie et société*, 19, no. 4 (2000): 513 – 26.

¹⁸⁶ Joseph Klaitz, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV: Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 58.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 58 – 61.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 61.

¹⁸⁹ *Recueil des Gazettes nouvelles ordinaires et extraordinaires relations et recits des choses avenues tant en ce royaume qu'ailleurs, pendant l'année mil six cent soixante sept* (Paris: Du Bureau d'Adresse, 1668), 844. Adamson called the court's devotion 'exemplary piety' in *The Princely Courts of Europe*, 25.

The ‘pompe’ of the occasion was celebrated in the *Gazette* as a display of the King’s godliness and ‘exemplary piety’, but would have smacked of distasteful excess for rigorist women.

Corpus Christi, or the *fête-dieu*, was another observance which may have been commemorated away from the court. The feast was founded by Pope Urban IV in 1264 and was usually held on the Thursday following Trinity Sunday.¹⁹⁰ At the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent, the reverence of the ‘sublime and venerable Sacrament’ was endorsed. This included ‘special veneration every year on a fixed festival day’ with ‘processions through the streets and public places.’¹⁹¹ Devotion to the Holy Sacrament was reignited by the need to defend the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation: a concern which was also reflected in the number of topical treatises written in the late-sixteenth century.¹⁹² In France, the foundation of the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* was a testament to this wave of Eucharistic devotion and the Company processed monstrances into the countryside to help poor churches celebrate the feast.¹⁹³ *L’adoration perpetuelle* of the sacrament was introduced by Gaston de Renty (1611 – 1645) in 1641 and at the parish of Saint-Sulpice by Olier in 1648.¹⁹⁴

The Corpus Christi celebration was an important occasion in the court’s liturgical calendar and its spectacles often made their way into quasi-official publications such as the

¹⁹⁰ Miri Rubin, ‘La fête-dieu: naissance et développement d’une célébration médiévale,’ in *Le corps de dieu en fêtes*, ed. Antoinette Molinié (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 1996), 32.

¹⁹¹ Schroeder, ed., *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 76.

¹⁹² Gaudelus, ‘La mise en spectacle de la religion royale,’ 517; Stefano Simiz, ‘Une grande cérémonie civique et dévote: la fête-dieu aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles,’ in *Les cérémonies extraordinaires du catholicisme baroque*, ed. Bernard Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal 2009), 58.

¹⁹³ Simiz, ‘Une grande cérémonie civique,’ 81; Rebélliau, *La compagnie secrète du Saint-Sacrement*, 71 – 5.

¹⁹⁴ Tallon, *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, 81.

Gazette.¹⁹⁵ The pageantry of the event was symptomatic of the Italian influences on French theatre since Catherine de Medici had introduced Italian comedy into her court.¹⁹⁶ In France, Corpus Christi processions did not involve the elaborate *apparati* used to adorn the Sacrament, but the Eucharist was processed in a monstrance beneath a canopy, accompanied by the singing of the *Te Deum*.¹⁹⁷ Forty-hour prayer vigils were then held where the Eucharist was exposed to clergy and laity as it was during the Forty Hour devotions of Holy Week.¹⁹⁸

There are no letters describing how rigorist penitents commemorated the feast in the 1660s and 1670s, but there is some evidence that at least one of them had a history of shirking public celebrations of it. An early letter of Longueville's sent to Gabriel de Roquette from a Benedictine convent in Bordeaux in 1653 reveals her perspective on how one should mark the feast. Written on the 2 June, the 'bonne feste' referred to by Longueville correlates with the date of the *fête-dieu*:

je suis enfermée dans un couvent ou je suis venue pour passer la bonne feste. Je my trouves si bien que je crois y revenir souvent le monde etant si peu agreable qu'en verité quand on le connoist un peu, on est ravie de le fuir. Pour moi, je pourois faire de grandes exhortations de detachment...tout ce qu'il y a desirer pour moi cest que ce degoust soit suivi de quelque chose de plus saint, et que je commence à fuir le monde par ce qu'il deplaist a dieu non pas par ce qu'il me deplaist a moi.¹⁹⁹

Longueville's observance of the feast was a form of 'detachment' from the world, perhaps in the early stages of penitence and contrition which preceded her conversion. Of course, the

¹⁹⁵ Gaudelus, 'La mise en spectacle de la religion royale.'

¹⁹⁶ Philip. F. Riley, 'Louis XIV: Watchdog of Parisian Morality,' *Historian*, 36, no. 1 (1973): 26; José Pedro Paiva, 'Introduction,' in *Religious Ceremonials and Images: Power and Social Meaning*, ed. Paiva, 2.

¹⁹⁷ Bernard Domonier, 'Un aspect de la dévotion Eucharistique dans la France: les prières des quarante heures,' *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 67 (1981): 7; Amanda Eurich, 'Sacralising Space: Reclaiming Civic Culture in Early Modern France,' in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Coster and Spicer, 272.

¹⁹⁸ Mark S. Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours and Roman Baroque Illusions,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974): 218.

¹⁹⁹ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 877, duchesse de Longueville to Gabriel de Roquette, 2 June, undated, Bordeaux.

context here is important. February 1653 marked the end of the noble Fronde and the return of Mazarin to Paris. Longueville's distance from the Corpus Christi celebration may therefore have been an important political claim. However, a letter written 13 days later on the Feast of the Assumption reveals that this was not necessarily a political exile, but a pious retreat interspersed by activities such as a profession of faith and conversion.²⁰⁰ Observing a religious feast in a religious house was not unusual for pious women in this period. Yet it is clear from this letter that Longueville found a parallel between worldliness and the public observance of the feast, which she contrasted with her state of separation. In other words, the approaching 'bonne feste' was another reason for her 'delight' in being able to 'escape' the world.

Participation in Corpus Christi processions was a statement of political conformity to the Bourbon State and to the conventions of the royal court.²⁰¹ Rigorist households did comply with this tradition. The princesse de Conti provided materials for the celebration of the *fête-dieu* in Paris and at her estates over several years.²⁰² An inventory of the 'gardemeubles' at La Roche-Guyon shows signs of the observance there:

Un petit dais pour quand on porte le st sacrement a la feste de dieu de satin incarnat en broderie d'or et d'argean figure de feuillage et oyseaux avec double pante, et de la

²⁰⁰ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 880, duchesse de Longueville to Gabriel de Roquette, 15 August, undated, Bordeaux: 'Nous allons aujourd'hui à une belle et sainte cérémonie qui est la profession de foi de M[adam]e de Bourdet qui abjure aujourd'hui la religion huguenots cest une belle ame gagnée à dieu.' In another series of contemporaneous letters to the Carmelite convent, Longueville requested advice on spiritual readings; see MC, Chantilly, Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque, Ms. 167, ff. 75 – 6, 11 June, undated, Bordeaux: 'mandez-moy quels livres vous me conseillez de lire.'

²⁰¹ Eurich, 'Sacralising Space,' 273.

²⁰² AN, R³, 102, fo. 209: 'Au sieur Roullin concierge de la maison de leurs altesses la somme de deux cens soixante douze livres pour les fraix du reposoir de tres saint sacrement...29 Juillet 1656.' There are expenses for these provisions between 1657 and 1669 in: AN, R³, 103, fo. 226; AN, R³, 105, fo. 321; AN, R³, 106, fo. 267; AN, R³, 107, fo. 335; AN, R³, 109, ff. 223 – 24; AN, R³, 110, ff. 336 – 37; AN, R³, 112, fo. 330; AN, R³, 114, fo. 107; AN, R³, 115, ff. 57 – 8; AN, R³, 116, ff. 53 – 4.

frange dor et d'argent a celles du dehors...Six torches ou il y a deux armes de la maison a chacune pour porter devant le st sacrement a la feste de Dieu.²⁰³

Religious processions such as these were traditional forms of public worship during Rogation, the *fête-dieu* and feasts such as the Assumption.²⁰⁴ The input of the local community was encouraged with the display of banners and emblems and, in urban areas, the insignia of the various trades and artisans.²⁰⁵ In Paris, the celebration involved a procession of the sacrament from the church through the town: one of 23 annual processions in the city.²⁰⁶ During these periods, it was important for the seigneur to make the château an exemplar of orthodox Catholic piety. As this chapter has already noted, rigorist penitents ensured their subjects were instructed in appropriate kinds of devotion - perhaps the Corpus Christi procession was one of these? The evidence for their households' contribution to local processions shows that it was certainly not the feast itself that female penitents loathed.²⁰⁷ But, with Longueville's letter, we can speculate that the rowdiness and pageantry of the celebration perhaps meant that it was unbecoming of the spiritual elite.

Between 1660 and 1670 there were a number of events in the court calendar which almost certainly dictated the timing of Longueville and Conti's retreats; religious feasts were only one aspect of the court programme of 'divertissement' which rigorist penitents seemed to avoid. The ritual magnificence of Louis XIV's court has already been recovered by many

²⁰³ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 29, 'Récolements du mobilier et inventaire des titres et des meubles de La Roche-Guyon 1666 - 1667.'

²⁰⁴ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 243.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 243.

²⁰⁶ Antoinette Molinié, 'Introduction,' in *Le corps de dieu en fêtes*, ed. Molinié, 7 – 8; Alain Cabantous, *Entre fêtes et clochers: profane et sacre dans l'Europe moderne, XVIIe - XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), 39; Moshe Sluhovskiy, *Patroness of Paris: Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France* (New York: Brill, 1998), 77 – 8.

²⁰⁷ Chédozeau, 'Port-Royal et le Jansénisme,' 120; Dompnier, 'Un aspect de la dévotion Eucharistique,' 6.

scholars, as this thesis has already discussed.²⁰⁸ Secular ‘spectacles de l’abondance’, were as important for Louis XIV as religious ones, and he used them not only for entertainment but as an exhibition of his own power.²⁰⁹ Paris was the first site of Louis XIV’s royal spectacles. The King made provisions for regular entertainment in the city when he commissioned the erection of an indoor theatre in the Tuileries palace in 1660, which held its first production on 7 February 1662.²¹⁰ He also commissioned a Carrousel by the Tuileries in June 1662.²¹¹ As these events were increasingly held away from the city after 1665 (at Saint-Germain between 1666 and 1673, and then subsequently at Versailles) they superseded the grandeur of Parisian entertainments.

One of the most renowned ‘spectacles’ of Louis XIV’s court was the *Plaisirs de l’Ile Enchantée*, held over six days at Versailles in May 1664 (7 – 12). Over six-hundred guests were treated to performances of Moliere’s ‘La Princesse d’Élide’, ‘Les Fâcheux’, ‘Le Mariage Forcé’ and ‘Tartuffe.’²¹² The most detailed account of the event was not published in the *Gazette*, but by the court historian Andre Félibien (1619 – 1695).²¹³ Félibien sketched the seating plan of courtiers who were to sit by the Queen Mother and King during a feast -

²⁰⁸ See footnote 38 in the Thesis Introduction. See also, Ralph E. Giesey, ‘Models of Rulership in French Royal Ceremonial,’ in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 41; and Ralph. E. Giesey, *Cérémonial et puissance souveraine: France XVe – XVIIe siècles* (Paris: A. Colin, 1987), 68.

²⁰⁹ Apostolidès, *Le roi machine*, 101; Barbara Coeyman, ‘Theatres for Opera and Ballet during the Reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV,’ *Early Music*, 18, no. 1 (February, 1990): 22; Rebecca Harris-Warwick has also shown how important power and hierarchy was in social dancing at court balls; ‘Dancing at the Court of Louis XIV,’ *Early Music*, 14, no. 1 (February, 1986): 42.

²¹⁰ Alice Grier Jarrard, ‘Representing Royal Spectacle in Paris 1660 – 1662,’ *L’esprit créateur*, 39, no. 3 (Fall, 1999): 27; Coeyman, ‘Theatres for Opera and Ballet,’ 23.

²¹¹ Apostolidès, *Le roi machine*, 41.

²¹² Barbara Coeyman, ‘Social Dance in the 1668 fête de Versailles: Architecture and Performance Context,’ *Early Music*, 26, no. 2 (May, 1998): 267.

²¹³ André Félibien, *Les Plaisirs de l’Ile enchantée course de Bague, collation ornée de machines comédie meslée de danse et de musique; ballet du palais d’Alcine; feu d’artifice; et autres festes galantes et magnifiques, faites par le Roy à Versailles, le 7 Mai 1664 et continuées plusieurs autres jours* (Paris: n.p, 1673).

on which none of the rigorist friendship network appears.²¹⁴ Journeys made by the princesse de Conti in May, June, July and August in 1664 were recorded within the Conti household accounts and do not mention any travel to Versailles.²¹⁵ Expenses for food and lodgings indicate that part of the Conti household, and probably the prince, travelled to Noisy in June and stayed until September.²¹⁶ Noisy was a château near to Versailles which had once been a refuge for Frondeurs when it was owned by the Gondi family. However, it is unlikely that the princess was part of this retinue since she had recently given birth to her son.²¹⁷

The princess' lying-in may not have been the only reason she avoided the court that summer. A couple of months later, Cardinal Flavio Chigi (1631 – 1693), nephew of the anti-Jansenist Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi 1599 – 1667, pope from 1655) visited France.²¹⁸ Chigi's visit marked the signing of the Treaty of the Peace of Pisa on 12 February 1664, which temporarily improved relations between Louis XIV and His Holiness.²¹⁹ Italian music, mass, and visits to Versailles, Fontainebleau and Vincennes were among the activities put-on for the Cardinal.²²⁰ The *Gazette* recorded Chigi's arrival at Fontainebleau on the 3 July and a visit to Raincy (the princesse Palatine's estate) on the 6 July.²²¹ Other notable descriptions include the rich clothes and appareil worn at a mass on the 29 July and the performance of 'la

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, 18 – 19.

²¹⁵ AN, R³, 111, ff. 186 – 96.

²¹⁶ AN, R³, 111, fo. 196.

²¹⁷ AN, R³, 111, fo. 247 is a donation to the *curé* for his prayers during her lying-in.

²¹⁸ Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII 1655 – 1667* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 8 – 14. On Pope Alexander VII and Port-Royal, see *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, 74.

²¹⁹ Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, 'Gift and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Italy,' *The Historical Journal*, 51, no. 4 (December, 2008): 891.

²²⁰ Jean Lionnet, 'Les événements musicaux de la légation du cardinal Flavio Chigi en France été 1664,' *Studi Musicali*, 25, no. 1 - 2 (1996): 140 – 49.

²²¹ *Recueil des Gazettes nouvelles ordinaires et extraordinaires* (Paris: Du Bureau d'Adresse, 1664), 686 – 87.

premiere représentation du couronnement d'Othon' two nights later.²²² The court returned to Paris on the 8 August and two days later Chigi visited the duchesse douairière d'Orléans, the prince and princesse de Condé, and the duc and duchesse d'Enguien.²²³ In the afternoon of the 11 August he met with the comtesse d'Harcourt, mademoiselle de Guise, and the duchesses de Chevreuse, d'Elbeuf, de Nemours and de Mecklenburg.²²⁴

The fact that Conti and her sister-in-law were not mentioned in the *Gazette*, the absence of travel expenses in the Conti household accounts and the correspondence from their 'sweet and pleasant solitude' at Le Bouchet-Valgrand in August 1664, all indicate that they did not attend. There is no suggestion that any of their spiritual friends did either. It is notable that many of the women Chigi did socialize with were those predisposed to Italian culture and ostentatious ceremony, particularly the Guise women. This is unsurprising given that an indefatigable support for Rome was part of 'Lorraine family propaganda'; Chigi himself was an active cultural patron in the Italian Baroque, having commissioned the works of Austrian artist Johann Paul Schor (1615 – 1674).²²⁵ The pomp and ceremony of the court's reception of Chigi was perhaps excessive for Conti and Longueville. Like most rigorists, they were probably also still reeling from the declaration which had been issued against Port-Royal on

²²² *Ibid*, 763 – 64, 784.

²²³ *Ibid*, 812; Marguerite de Lorraine, duchesse d'Orléans (1615 – 1672), Louis II Grand Condé (1621 – 1686) and Claire-Clémence de Maillé-Brézé (1628 – 1694), prince and princesse de Condé, Henri-Jules de Bourbon (1643 – 1709) and Anne-Henriette de Bavière (1648 – 1723), duc and duchesse d'Enguien.

²²⁴ *Ibid*, 812, Marguerite du Cambout, comtesse d'Harcourt (1624 – 1674), Marie de Lorraine, duchesse de Guise (also known as mademoiselle de Guise) (1615 – 1688), Elisabeth de la Tour d'Auvergne, duchesse d'Elbeuf (1635 – 1680), Marie d'Orléans, duchesse de Nemours (1625 – 1707), Isabelle-Angélique de Montmorency, duchesse de Mecklenburg (1627 – 1695).

²²⁵ Spangler, 'Benefit or Burden?' 80; Stefanie Walker, 'The Artistic Sources and Development of Roman Baroque Decorative Arts,' in *Life and the Arts in the Baroque Palaces of Rome*, eds. Walker and Hammond, 8.

29 April.²²⁶ Their nonattendance might therefore be interpreted as a reaction to the way Alexander VII had managed the Port-Royal controversy.

The timing of their retreats was not always a display of loyalty to Port-Royal, however. Other dated correspondence shows that they made a habit of being elsewhere during court events. Longueville's retreat between 3 and 5 September 1665 coincided with an elaborate occasion at court:

Le 5 de ce mois le Roy et la Reyne avec lesquels estoyent monsieur et madame et grand nombre de dames de la cour allèrent en la délicate maison de leurs altesses royales a saint clou. La compagnie y prit d'abord le divertissement des cascades; ensuite de quoy elle fut regalée d'une magnifique collation et d'un tres superbe festin...le tout accompagné du concert des violons.²²⁷

There are many other examples of this. In August 1667 when Conti and Longueville were dividing their time between l'Isle-Adam, Liancourt and Chantilly, Molière performed 'Tartuffe' in Paris under the title 'l'Imposteur.' The princesse de Conti left Paris as early as July 1667 for l'Isle-Adam and seems to have spent her time making provisions for religious observances there and furnishing the chapel.²²⁸ In July 1668, following a significant expansion in the gardens at Versailles, the King hosted over fifteen-hundred guests for an event which lasted into the evening and cost approximately 100,000 *livres*.²²⁹ Many of the elaborate decorations and staging were designed by Carlo Vigarani (1637 – 1713), the Italian

²²⁶ *Recueil des Gazettes nouvelles ordinaires et extraordinaires*, 431.

²²⁷ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 880, duchesse de Longueville to, de Longueville, 5 September, undated; BnF, Ms. Colbert, 131, fo. 886, 3 September 1665; *Recueil des Gazettes nouvelles ordinaires et extraordinaires* (Paris: Du Bureau d'Adresse, 1665), 898.

²²⁸ AN, R³, 114, fo. 83, 17 - 18 July. On 6 August 1667, for example, she purchased a black chasuble made of Camelot and a gold altarcloth made of animal skin for the chapel at l'Isle-Adam: AN, R³, 114, fo. 107: 'Au dict S[ieu]r Roullin la somme de Trente Trois livres dix solz si avoir dix huit livres pour un chasuble de Camelot noir pour la chapelle du chasteau de lisle adam et quinze livres dix pour un parement de cuir d'ore pour ladite chappelle...six aoust 1667.'

²²⁹ Du Crest, *Des fêtes à Versailles*, 22; Coeyman, 'Social Dance in the 1668 fête de Versailles,' 267 – 68; Pierre de Nolhac, 'Les premières fêtes de Versailles,' *Revue de Paris*, II (1899): 851.

court machinist.²³⁰ Félibien chronicled these decorations, stages and the types of entertainment that were offered to the courtiers with accompanying engravings. He also listed many of the prominent aristocrats who were present and described the women who were invited to dine with his Majesty.²³¹ Félibien's failure to mention any of the rigorist friendship network, but particularly the *princesses du sang* Longueville and Conti, infers that they were absent. Conti's household accounts verify her nonattendance since they show that she and her retinue travelled between Paris and l'Isle-Adam in July 1668, but do not mention any detour to Versailles.²³² Many of the women that were named in Félibien's account such as La Fayette, Sévigné and Marie d'Orléans, duchesse de Nemours (1625 – 1707) had clearly accepted the invitation to attend this worldly occasion, which rigorist penitents had not.

There are no explicit condemnations of these specific events in the correspondence of the rigorist friendship network, but there are documents which add weight to the argument that they consciously avoided them. Performances, dances and celebrations were not only offensive to the rigorists; they were banned from their estates. The way the duchesse de Liancourt even forbade liturgical singing at La Roche-Guyon has already been discussed.²³³

²³⁰ Gretchen Elisabeth Smith, *The Performance of Male Nobility in Molière's Comédies-Ballets: Staging the Courtier* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 72; Pierre de Nolhac, 'Les premières fêtes de Versailles,' 844.

²³¹ *Relation de la fête de Versailles. Du dix-huitième juillet mil six cent soixante-huit Par Félibien* (Paris: n.p. 1679), 40 – 41: 'mademoiselles d'Angoulesmes, M[adam]e Aubry de Courcy, M[adam]e de Saint Arbre, M[adam]e de Broglin, M[adam]e de Bailleul, M[adam]e de Bonnelle, M[adam]e de Bignon, M[ademoise]lle Borelle, M[adam]e de Brissac, M[adam]e de Coulange, M[adam]e la Mareschalle de Clerembaut, M[adam]e la Mareschalle de Castelnau, M[adam]e de Comminge, M[adam]e la marquise de Castelnau, M[ademoise]lle d'Elbeuf, M[adam]e la Mareschalle d'Albret et sa fille, M[adam]e la Mareschalle d'Estrée, M[adam]e la Mareschalle de la Ferté, M[adam]e de la Fayette, M[adam]e la comtesse de Fiesque, M[adam]e de Fontenais Hotman, M[adam]e de Fieubet, M[adam]e la Mareschalle de Grancay et M[ademoise]lles ses deux filles, M[adam]e des Hameaux, M[adam]e la Mareschalle de l'Hospital, M[adam]e la lieutenant civile, M[adam]e la comtesse de Louvigny, M[ademoise]lle de Manicham, M[adam]e de Mecklebourg, M[adam]e la grande Mareschalle, M[adam]e de Marré, M[adam]e de Nemours, M[adam]e de Richelieu, M[adam]e la duchesse de Richemont, M[ademoise]lle de Tresme, M[adam]e de Tambonneau, M[adam]e de la Trousse, M[adam]e la presidente Tubeuf, M[adam]e la duchesse de la Valliere, M[adam]e la marquise de la Valliere, M[adam]e de Vilacerf, M[adam]e la duchesse de Virtemberg et M[adam]e sa fille, M[adam]e de Valavoire.' On a nearby table were seated alongside the Queen: 'mademoiselle, madame la princesse and madame la princesse de Carignan.'

²³² AN, R³, 115, fo. 47.

²³³ See chapter two, above, p. 121.

We also know that she read the works of Church Fathers such as Tertullian, who disapproved of spectacles, games and performances.²³⁴ Liancourt seems to have applied Tertullian's rules to the *Règlement* she addressed to her grand-daughter and instructed her to avoid:

...les bals, les comedies, les balets, les assemblees de vanite, les parures, les promenades qui se font pour voir et pour ester vue, et les jeux immoderes ou l'on emploie du temps et des sommes considerables.²³⁵

Other women in the rigorist friendship network probably implemented similar rules at their estates, given their views on these entertainments. The princesse de Guéméné responded to Sablé's maxim on the subject with this letter:

Je serois persuadee de tout ce que vous m'avez envoye sur les comedies qui il ne seroit pas si convainquant et si bien escrit qu'il est faites que je trouve toutes vos pensees si raisonnables et si vraies que je les croy comme des articles de foy.²³⁶

The rigorist aversion to these recreations was also pronounced in the Conti household. Molière had actually performed for the prince de Conti when he was part of his train in Languedoc in the early 1660s, but the playwright later ridiculed the prince and provincial society in his 'Les précieuses ridicules.'²³⁷ In his 'Traité de la comédie', published in 1669, the prince de Conti seemed to share the same view as his wife of 'atrocious' and 'detestable'

²³⁴ ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J, 397; Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* (Turnhout: Brepolis Publishers, 2010), CL 0006, line 1. In his Treaty on the subject, Pierre Nicole also made links between paganism and contemporary plays; see G. Couton, ed., *Traité de la comédie de Pierre Nicole* (Paris, n.p, 1961), 72; cited in Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France*, 36.

²³⁵ *Règlement*, 15.

²³⁶ BnF, Ms. Fr, 17050, fo. 298, princesse de Guéméné to madame de Sablé. See, Jouaust, ed., *Maximes de Madame de Sable*, Maxim LXXXI, 46 - 7, which commences: 'Tous les grands divertissemens sont dangereux pour la vie chrétienne, mais entre tous ceux que le monde à inventez il n'y en a point qui soit plus à craindre que la comédie.'

²³⁷ Beik, *Absolutism and Society*, 323.

games, spectacles and entertainments which were ‘des restes du paganisme’ and ‘contraires à la discipline chrestienne.’²³⁸

Longueville’s stringency may have predated that of her brother and sister-in-law, since she prohibited the performance of plays at her residence at Rouen as early as May 1660. Her awareness that her ‘severity’ had provoked gossip was clear in a letter to Sablé:

je voy bien qu’on a fait un conte bien execif de ma severité sur la comedie, voicy la verite de cette histoire, on ambarqua mes enfents a donner une comedie a m[adam]e ma belle s[oeu]r et cela sans m’en dire un mot, la premiere nouvelle que j’en sens se fut que l’affaire estoit réglée j’en fus estonnée parce que quand m[onsieu]r de longueville n’est point en mesme lieu que moy, et que mes enfents sont sous ma conduite je ne souffre point quilz aillent ny au bal ny a la comedie, parce que je suis convaincue qu’a moins quil y ait une necessité indispensable a ces sortes d’actions il y a du peche. J’advoue donc qu’a estant joint l’exemple que cela donneroit dans une ville ou j’ay quelque lauctorite et la contradiction que je me ferois moy mesme en condamnant la comedie par mes discours et en souffrant au mesme temps que mes enfents la donnassent.²³⁹

When the duc de Longueville was away, it was clearly the duchess’ responsibility to monitor the household and regulate the lives of those in her jurisdiction. Her sons’ plans to perform a play to the princesse de Conti were not only perceived as contrary to her superior morality, they also contradicted the example she was trying to set to her subjects in Rouen. This is further evidence of the way, outside of Paris, female aristocrats were able to fashion desirable counteractives to the court.

In the years of the Peace of the Church (1668 – 1679) which saw the end of the Formulary Controversy and ten years of Longueville’s successful protection of Port-Royal,

²³⁸ Conti, *Traité de la comédie*, 59.

²³⁹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 172 - 74, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 21 May 1660, Rouen; see Cousin, ed., ‘Lettres inédites,’ *Journal des Savants* (1851): 58 – 9; Cousins omits the start of the letter which tells us how Longueville came to make this decision.

rigorist penitents continued to make periodic retreats to their estates.²⁴⁰ There are also clues that the duchess, in particular, was becoming more austere. In a letter to her son in 1668 she bemoaned his moral impoverishment and denounced the libertine lifestyle as contrary to the Christian ethic and to a man of his ‘quality’:

vous scaves mieux que personne combien je me suis oposée a vos desirs sur ces deux sujets que j’ay tousjours creu qui estoient des choses a quoy vous ne devies pas penser dans la disposition ou vous estes, de vous vouloir autant de mal que tous les autres hommes ont accoutume de se vouloir du bien, dieu qui permet ces choses sy ruineuses pour vous, et si affligeantes pour moy, et asses bon pour les trouver en bien pour l’un et l’autre sy par sa grace j’en fais bon usage et que par la mesme grace vous ne vous jetties pas d’abisme en abisme en faisant une vie libertine et indigne d’un chrestien et d’un homme de vostre qualité.²⁴¹

Her letters also show some sustained absences from the court and city. She passed June 1669 at Montargis and returned to Le Bouchet-Valgrand during a period of illness of her sister-in-law.²⁴² She later retreated to Trie in October 1669 where she was committed to staying for ‘several months.’ Conti’s household accounts show that she stayed at Le Bouchet-Valgrand until 16 August 1669, before travelling to Paris and returning to l’Isle-Adam on the 17 August 1669.²⁴³ She continued to spent lengthy periods at her residences beyond Paris into the early 1670s according to her accounts.²⁴⁴

The correspondence is less revealing about the practice of collective retreat in the final decade of our period because it saw the deaths of two of the women in the exclusive rigorist

²⁴⁰ Doyle, *Jansenism*, 33 – 40. Even Arnauld was received at court; see Rosa, ‘Il était possible,’ 661.

²⁴¹ MC, Chantilly, Série P, vol. xxxvii, fo. 189, duchesse de Longueville to the duc de Longueville (her son), 16 April 1668, Paris. This is probably Charles-Paris and not Jean-Louis, since Jean-Louis renounced his title in 1668 to his younger brother on account of his mental incapacity. Charles-Paris adopted a ‘libertine’ lifestyle, whilst Jean-Louis became abbé d’Orléans.

²⁴² BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 13 – 15.

²⁴³ AN, R³, 116, fo. 43.

²⁴⁴ AN, R³, 117, fo. 52.

friendship group: the princesse de Conti in 1672 and the duchesse de Liancourt in 1674. It would probably be more accurate to say that this type of undertaking was more regular in the middle and later years of the 1660s: a time when newly-widowed penitents were rarely mentioned in sources such as the *Gazette*. That is not to say that rigorist penitents were never present at court.²⁴⁵ Longueville attended a celebration at Versailles in 1674 after the death of the princesse de Conti and the duchesse de Liancourt, as she described to Roquette: ‘voicy une année funeste pour mes amis.’²⁴⁶ Her attendance was perhaps obligatory because the celebration marked the return of Louis II prince de Condé to Versailles as well as the French victory in Franche-Comté.²⁴⁷ It is also clear that Longueville used such events in order to ‘have the King’s ear’ about her own concerns.²⁴⁸

Widowed rigorist penitents were, nevertheless, often at liberty to be selective about the time they spent away from Paris and the court. Their dislike of courtly entertainments and religious festivals makes it likely that the timing of their retreats was engineered and not a simple ‘seasonal’ jaunt. Whether or not we accept that rigorist retreat was part of a reaction to the programme of religious observances and secular entertainment at court, their ‘pursuit of solitude’ needs to be distinguished from the history of the aristocratic ‘season’ and other kinds of vacations at the estate. The final part of this chapter will briefly explore how rigorist retreats may have been different.

²⁴⁵ Something acknowledged in chapter two, pp. 113 – 14.

²⁴⁶ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 889, duchesse de Longueville to Gabriel de Roquette, 15 July, undated, Port-Royal.

²⁴⁷ André Félibien, *Les divertissements de Versailles donnez par le Roy à toute sa cour, au retour de la conquête de la Franche-comté en l’année 1674* (Paris: n.p., 1674).

²⁴⁸ MC, Chantilly, Série O, vol. vi, fo. 889, duchesse de Longueville to Gabriel de Roquette, 15 July, undated, Port-Royal.

6. Retraite à la mode? Aristocratic Sociability at the Estate

Provincial governors were nearly always absentees in later-seventeenth-century France and allegedly instead preferred to be ‘creatures of the court.’²⁴⁹ Many provincial estates were therefore uninhabited by noble families in this period, or else used as occasional holiday haunts. After 1650, the presence of a château was no longer the marker of a seigneurial seat and even affluent Parisians possessed châteaux in the surrounding countryside.²⁵⁰ Consequently, seasonal retreats to residences outside of the city were hardly uncommon in seventeenth-century France. Some of the highest-ranking aristocracy also created ‘princely courts’ at estates such as Chantilly and Joinville, as scholars such as Jean-Marie Constant and more recently, Katia Béguin and Michel Figeac have shown.²⁵¹ As this chapter has already noted, elite vacations at the estate were often planned around the hunting season but they could also be places for hospitality and sociability with feasts, games, as well as theatrical and musical performances all being typical activities.²⁵²

Even a ‘spiritual retreat’ to the estate with an *abbé mondain* was an increasingly fashionable practice in the seventeenth century.²⁵³ On the 14 May 1660, the duchesse de

²⁴⁹ Nachison, ‘Absentee Government,’ 269. Through the appointment of Lully, the creation of the Royal Academies, and the Gobelins, Colbert was able to ensure the cultural life of the Parisian aristocracy was regulated by the King; see Beik, *A Social and Cultural History*, 325; and Trout, *Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 186. Claims that Louis XIV’s court was a ‘gilded cage’ designed to entrap the nobility while removing them from their power bases in the countryside have been challenged by many scholars, including Nachison.

²⁵⁰ Figeac, *Châteaux et vie quotidienne*, 129.

²⁵¹ Constant, *La vie quotidienne*, 241 – 46; and more recent, Béguin, *Les Princes de Condé*, 330 – 37; and Figeac, *Châteaux et vie quotidienne*, 294 – 95; see also Beik, *A Social and Cultural History*, 91. Ariane Boltanski looks at the exercise of local power in *Les Ducs de Nevers et l’état royal: genèse d’un compromis ca. 1550 – ca. 1600* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2006), 108. Jonathan Spangler has also shown that the Guise seat at Joinville was the venue for extravagant celebrations marking events such as the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1679; Spangler, *The Society of Princes*, 223.

²⁵² Salvadori, *La chasse*, 113; Figeac, *Châteaux et vie quotidienne*, 303 – 304.

²⁵³ Figeac, *Châteaux et vie quotidienne*, 305.

Montpensier wrote to madame de Motteville about the prospect of a pious withdrawal to the countryside. She described an idyllic setting where her friends could read, paint, sing and listen to music, and indulge in ‘jeu de mail.’²⁵⁴ Ideally, there would also be a token Carmelite convent close by:

Je voudrais que dans notre désert il y eût un couvent de carmélites et qu’elles n’excédassent point le nombre que saint Thérèse marque dans sa règle...comme il y aurait d’habiles Docteurs retirés dans notre désert on ne manquerait pas d’excellents sermons.²⁵⁵

In 1671, Madame de Sévigné infamously sought refuge ‘far from the world and its distractions’ by practising the ‘retraite à la mode’ as she coined it.²⁵⁶

The contention that estates such as l’Isle-Adam, Le Bouchet-Valgrand, Méru, Liancourt, and Trie functioned as spaces for the pursuit of a more exclusive form of piety therefore requires qualification. What was different about the rigorist culture of retreat? The gulf between rigorist penitents’ ‘pursuit of solitude’ and the conventional aristocratic culture of vacationing at the estate was conditioned by the former’s disillusionment with the world: a result of their belief in their spiritual superiority. For Longueville, Conti and Liancourt’s social peers, retreat may have offered respite from the court and Parisian high-society, but it did not require contempt of it:

Il faudrait a mon avis que les personnes qui voudraient se retirer de la cour ou du monde s’éloignassent de l’un et de l’autre *sans en etre rebutées* mais par la

²⁵⁴ Joan DeJean, ed., *Against Marriage: The Correspondence of la Grande Mademoiselle* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 26 – 30; *jeu de mail* was a form of billiards played on grass surfaces.

²⁵⁵ Juliette Cherbuliez has also shown how mademoiselle de Montpensier created an elaborate counter-court or ‘exilic community’ at Saint-Fargeau during her exile after the Fronde, several years before these letters were written; see Juliette Cherbuliez, *The Place of Exile: Leisure, Literature and the Limits of Absolutism* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2005), 46; DeJean, ed., *Against Marriage*, 32; Woshinsky has also examined this; see *Imagining Women’s Conventual Spaces*, 128.

²⁵⁶ Beugnot, ‘Vie mondaine et retraite,’ 29; Beugnot, ‘Y a-t-il une problématique féminine de la retraite ?’ 37.

connaissance du peu de solitude qu'on trouve dans ce commerce et meme parmi ses amis.²⁵⁷

Montpensier accepted that her retreat was simply a temporary estrangement from the world and not the thorough rejection of its mores that the rigorist pursuit of solitude necessitated.

This concession epitomizes why worldliness found its way into retreats undertaken by the non-rigorist aristocracy. The way the princesse Palatine succumbed to temptation at her estate east of Paris at Raincy has already been noted.²⁵⁸ At Ruel, the duchesse de Richelieu had a 'salle du billiard' (a room which we do not find in inventories of estates such as Trie and La Roche-Guyon) with several gaming tables.²⁵⁹ Katia Béguin has also shown that in the 1670s under the direction of Condé, Chantilly became more renowned for its elaborate *fêtes* and staging of theatrical performances.²⁶⁰

There is some evidence that the retreats of rigorist penitents had origins in this culture of pleasure. Earlier in the chapter, we noted the stay that Longueville and her young female friends made at Liancourt in the 1640s. During the same sojourn, on the day of All Saints, Longueville (then mademoiselle de Bourbon) and her friends Julie d'Angennes, Marie de Loménie (mademoiselle de Brienne, later marquise de Gamaches) and Élisabeth-Angélique de Bouteville composed a verse in honour of the princesse de Condé, her mother:

Après avoir prié toute la sainte bande,
Deduite en la legende,

²⁵⁷ DeJean, ed., *Against Marriage*, 26, my emphasis.

²⁵⁸ Above, chapter three, pp. 162 - 63. D. Midol, *Le Raincy historique: notice sur les origines les seigneurs et les armoiries de la Ville du Raincy* (Le Raincy: l'auteur, 1923), 9 - 10; Charles Chavard and Octave Stemler, *Recherches sur le Raincy 1238 - 1848* (Paris: Imprimerie De Ch. Blot, 1884), 67; see a letter dated 29 February 1664 in Magne, ed., *Le grand condé et le duc d'enghien lettres inédites à Marie Louise de Gonzague*, 11 - 15, 12; and see Léonce Raffin, *Anne de Gonzague princesse Palatine, 1616 - 1684: essai bibliographique en marge d'une oraison funebre de Bossuet* (Paris: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie, 1935), 280 - 86.

²⁵⁹ AN, MC, ET/CV/904, 29 May 1684. We also find items in the 'gardemeubles' at Ruel which reveal much about the social life there, such as 'un billard de monté garny de serge vert.'

²⁶⁰ Béguin, *Les Princes de Condé*, 333 - 37, 346 - 51.

Tous les hôtes nouveaux de l'heureux Paradis,
Et ceux du temps jadis.

Il nous reste à prier une sainte vivante,
Une sainte charmante
Dont la beauté paroît dans une lustre eternel
Un miracle eternel.²⁶¹

This retreat, clearly influenced by the salon culture which Longueville and Gamaches were part of in their youth, was more comparable to the pleasurable excursions Montpensier and her friends enjoyed in the 1660s. The countryside and picturesque gardens at Liancourt provided the perfect setting for such feminine pastimes, even on a Holy Day of Obligation. Less than two decades later however, the retreats undertaken by Longueville and her new 'spiritual friends' were markedly different in character.

By the 1660s, the playing of games, watching of performances, composition of poetry, and polite conversations with *abbés mondains* was virtually unheard of at rigorist estates. Claims that rigorist penitents never encountered 'divertissement' there would be ill-judged. One letter of Longueville sent to Godefroy mentioned a feast being held at her estate at Trie, for example, whilst the *Gazette* recorded a royal visit to Liancourt in May 1667.²⁶² Spiritual friends' love of sociability at the estate also got them into some trouble with spiritual directors, as it did in Paris. In August 1659, the abbé Le Roy warned the princesse de Conti that her retreat from the city should not imitate the leisurely excursions to the countryside that were increasingly fashionable in Parisian high society. He urged her to abhor the spirit of 'divertissement' that characterized these jaunts and otherwise resist convention:

²⁶¹ BnF, Ms. Arsenal, 4116, fo. 843, 'Vers sur le champ Estant à Liancourt avec Mademoiselle de Bourbon, et Mesdemoiselles de Rambouillet, de Bouteville, et de Brienne et envoyez à Madame la Princesse, le jour de la Toussaints: La vie et les miracles de sainte Marguerite Charlotte de Montmorency, Princesse de Condé, mis en vers à Liancourt.'

²⁶² BIF, Ms. Godefroy, 548, fo.128; *Recueil des Gazettes nouvelles ordinaires et extraordinaires*, 1667, 486.

Je suppose que cette retraite soit accompagnée d'un exercice continu de prières et de piété et quelle soit directement opposée à cet esprit de divertissement et d'oisiveté avec lequel les dames de Paris sont accoutumées d'aller en leurs maisons de campagne en cette saison. Il faut qu'une personne vraiment pénitente et convertie abhorre cette coutume et qu'elle bannisse de son cœur cette maligne disposition par laquelle les personnes du monde s'éloignent du monde que pour s'établir davantage dans l'amour du monde. Elles portent toujours en elle l'esprit du monde et quelque lieu qu'elles aillent elles sont aussi mondaines à la campagne qu'à la ville, dans la solitude que dans les conversations, dans les églises que dans les assemblées de divertissement et de vanité.²⁶³

As this thesis has tried to show, rigorist penitents' sociability and aristocratic lifestyle often meant they could never be entirely faithful to the example set by their contacts at Port-Royal. The sociability of women such as Conti and Longueville at the estate, however pious and well-intended, was probably another way that their social status conflicted with their spirituality. Longueville similarly cited the cynicism of her deceased spiritual director Singlin towards the undertaking. This was probably provoked by Longueville's relationship with the *abbé mondain*, Nicolas, abbé d'Ailly (1640 – 1672):

Je ne puis répondre à vos dernières lettres étant sur le point de partir de Trie. L'abbé d'Ailly m'en écrit une d'éclaircissement aussi longue que celles d'affaires de M[onsieur] le comte de Maure il me paroît qu'il sçait les pensées que j'ay eues de son voyage à Trie...le pauvre feu M[onsieur] de St[in]glin avoit une grande aversion pour luy [the abbé d'Ailly] sans le cognoître, c'est-à-dire sur nostre rapport, car il haïssoit sur toutes choses ces abbés mondains qui vivent en layques et qui ne satisfont à aucuns de leurs devoirs et pensoit qu'une telle compagnie.²⁶⁴

Rigorist sociability at the estate was, nevertheless, fundamentally different to other forms of aristocratic retreat. Whereas others were merely as 'worldly' in the countryside as they were in the city, as the abbé Le Roy put it, rigorist penitents underwent retreat in order to gain some reprieve from the forms of mainstream aristocratic culture which they loathed. Their

²⁶³ Namer, *L'abbé Le Roy et ses amis*, abbé Le Roy to the princesse de Conti, August 1659, 189.

²⁶⁴ BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584, ff. 122 – 24, fo. 123, duchesse de Longueville to madame de Sablé, 25 August, undated. On l'abbé d'Ailly, see Conley, *The Suspicion of Virtue*, 198.

sociability during these periods was founded upon their mutual dislike of games, theatre, music and other profanities. Pious sociability at the estate was, like the gatherings of spiritual friends in the city, motivated by the desire of the spiritual elite for a devotional culture which was befitting of their social and spiritual status.

Conclusion

Michel Conan recently observed that ‘following the example of the duchesse de Liancourt, many a Jansenist lady and her friends would meet in their houses and gardens in the countryside around Paris.’²⁶⁵ This chapter has reconstructed this habit and shown that several estates in the vicinity of the city functioned as meeting places for rigorist women during their penitential retreats from the world. Longueville and Conti, in particular, used their châteaux not only as a space for spiritual retreat and a way of devoting their time to worship, but also as a means of circumventing the court and city. Correspondence was a medium for keeping them in contact with discursive networks in Paris when they were at the estates and thus uncovers how pious sociability extended beyond the city. For rigorist penitents, retreat was essentially an expression of non-conformity, using normative actions. Rigorist penitents eschewed the ‘society of pleasures’; cut off at estates beyond the city they dedicated their time to a socially and spiritually exclusive culture of devotion, which never sought to emulate Versailles.

In 1683 madame de Sévigné observed the extraordinary conversion of the King and court by the woman she had once parodied as ‘Madame de Maintenon.’²⁶⁶ Although almost none of

²⁶⁵ Conan, ‘Promenade, Conversation and Courtship,’ 125.

²⁶⁶ On the role of Madame de Maintenon in this process, see the work of Mark Bryant, ‘Françoise d’Aubigné, Marquise de Maintenon: Religion, Power and Politics: A study in circles of influence during the Later Reign of Louis XIV 1684 – 1715’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 2001), 33; and Mark Bryant,

the women in the rigorist friendship network were still alive to see it, Louis XIV's conversion prompted the reform of the aristocratic culture that had been so at-odds with their pious sociability, and he embarked on a moral crusade that would also attempt to reform the debauched lives of most other social groups.²⁶⁷ The *roi très chrétien* selected confessors for important courtiers; they were no longer permitted to wear masks to mass, and 1684 saw the proscription of the performance of comedies and operas during Lent.²⁶⁸ Madame de Maintenon condemned the extravagance in the chapel at Versailles in a way which echoed rigorist sensibilities.²⁶⁹ Boredom set-in at Versailles. Many foreign visitors observed the sterility of the court and the duchesse d'Orléans' infamous letters revealed her exhaustion with endless religious observances.²⁷⁰ To claim that one group of rigorist penitents influenced the moral about-turn of the King and Court would be misguided. Louis XIV and madame de Maintenon never appeased the rigorists, who represented the opposition 'party' up to *Unigenitus* in 1713.²⁷¹ The concluding chapter of this thesis will evaluate the broader and longer-term significance of a devotional culture which made penitence fashionable before madame de Maintenon did.

'Partner, Matriarch and Minister: Madame de Maintenon of France: Clandestine Consort 1680 – 1715,' in *Queenship in Europe 1660 – 1815: The Role of the Consort*, ed. Clarissa Campbell Orr (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 83.

²⁶⁷ The only surviving women were the princesse de Guéméné (d.1685), the marquise de Gamaches (d.1704), and the duchesse de Schomberg (d.1691). On the court in this period, see Le Roy Ladurie, *The Ancien Régime*, 184.

²⁶⁸ Riley, *A Lust for Virtue*, 151 – 54; Riley, 'Louis XIV: Watchdog,' 24.

²⁶⁹ Bryant, 'Françoise d'Aubigné,' 229 – 30.

²⁷⁰ Riley, *A Lust for Virtue*, 146, 153. See a letter dated 1 October 1687 in Maria Kroll, ed., *Letters from Liselotte: Elisabeth Charlotte, Princess Palatine and Duchess of Orléans 'Madame' 1652 – 1722*; translated and edited by Maria Kroll (London: Allison & Busby, 1998), 53: 'The court is becoming so tedious...the King thinks he is being pious when he arranges for everyone to be eternally bored and pestered.'

²⁷¹ Le Roy Ladurie, *The Ancien Régime*, 281.

CONCLUSION

Joseph Bergin recently commented on the way the role played by the neo-Augustinian rigorist movement in the development of early modern Catholicism has been ‘badly underestimated.’¹ This thesis has shown that the contributions of Parisian aristocratic, female penitents have also been masked by an excessively narrow, sectarian historiographical interest in their role in the Port-Royal intrigues. The impression created by nineteenth-century histories which made these women inseparable from the ‘politesse’ and ‘galanterie’ of the salon has also blinkered French and Anglo-American historians. In the same vein as scholars such as Faith Evelyn Beasley and Elizabeth Goldsmith, who have tried to reward the contributions that women such as Madeleine de Scudéry made to French literature, this study has attempted to demythologize one group of seventeenth-century women.² It has revisited the *Portfeuillees Valant*, which were first used by scholars such as Cousin and Barthélemy in the 1850s, and tried to re-evaluate why the collection is more important for the history of feminine sociability and religion than is currently supposed. From there, it investigated notarial documents, household accounts, and unprinted correspondence collections and began to trace the paper trail left by rigorist women into the provinces. Its narrower focus on one informal friendship network is offset by the longer-term impact that they potentially had on elite devotional culture, and what the evidence for their pious sociability can tell us about the broader histories of the Catholic Reformation and aristocratic sociability in seventeenth-century France.

¹ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 427.

² Beasley, *Salons, History and the Creation of Seventeenth-Century France*, 211 - 12, 217 - 28; Goldsmith, ‘Authority, Authenticity and the Publication of Letters by Women,’ 57.

1. **‘Those austere ways are characteristic of an uncouth and unsociable person’:
Spiritual Friendships, Female Piety and the Catholic Reformation.** ³

The women in the rigorist friendship network were among those most committed to ‘interiorized discipline’ and other ‘austere ways’ in Europe, yet they exchanged letters and prayers, organized small-gatherings within and beyond Paris, and took care of their respective spiritual progress.⁴ Draconian regimes designed to punish sin and evoke the fear of God actually generated grounds for amity with fellow ‘penitents.’ This picture counters the traditional historiographical image of an ‘uncouth and unsociable’ post-Reformation Catholic laity.⁵ The way that female spiritual friends were often able to provide more tempered advice than their male and religious counterparts also suggests that histories of spiritual direction might need to extend their focus to consider the role played by networks of co-penitents and co-directees.

The spiritual friendships shared by rigorist penitents may have been more intense than those of other Catholic lay women because of their uniquely bleak conception of the world. A comparative study of female epistolary networks elsewhere in Catholic Europe and in Puritan England would help to establish whether there were similar patterns beyond Paris. A

³ Pascal, *The Provincial Letters*, Letter IX, 136.

⁴ ‘Interiorized discipline’ is Bossy’s phrase, ‘The Social History of Confession,’ 21; ‘austere ways’ is Pascal’s phrase, see footnote 3.

⁵ Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism*, 6, 209; Evennett, ‘Counter-Reformation Spirituality,’ 58; Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 221. The main unpublished collections were those in MC, Chantilly, Série O; BnF, Ms. Fr, 17045; as well as others in ADVO, fonds privées, 10 J; and BnF, Ms. Fr, 24982. The corpus that I returned to consider after finding the nineteenth-century printed extracts masked the piety and exclusive sociability of these women was the *Portfeuillees Valant*, BnF, Ms. Fr, 17048 – 17056; and Longueville’s letters to Sablé, BnF, Ms. Fr, 10584 – 10585. The history of the lay component of the rigorist movement would probably benefit from a new, critical edition of these letters.

comparison with other ‘subversive’ pious groups of women might also cast light upon how unorthodox devotional cultures could bring about unconventional *sociabilités*.⁶

As well as lending support to Bireley, Bergin and Delumeau’s *longue durée* approaches to the ‘long’ Catholic Reformation, this study of female piety between c.1650 and 1680 hopefully helps to balance the large historiography on the *dévots*.⁷ Diefendorf recognized that the ‘new circumstances’ of the personal reign of Louis XIV necessitates the separate study of female piety in the decades after the Fronde, and this thesis constitutes my first attempt to initiate this research.⁸ Its premise has been that rigorist penitents inherited the moral austerity and spiritual elitism of their *dévo*t mothers, grandmothers and mothers-in-law. It has observed signs of this generational overlap but argued that rigorist penitents could never have been *dévots*, at least not in the original sense of the term, and would probably have reviled the thought of being considered as thus.⁹ Rigorist penitents were more morally and spiritually disciplined than their progenitors, as the comtesse de Maure herself observed, and they rejected the indolence that typified *dévo*t worship.¹⁰

⁶ Although not exclusively focused upon female epistolary relationships, work on sixteenth-century evangelical networks provides one point of comparison; see Reid, *King’s Sister – Queen of Dissent*; and Stephenson, *The Power and Patronage of Marguerite of Navarre*. The potential for ‘subversive’ correspondence is excellently explored by Camilla Russell in, ‘Women, Letters and Heresy in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Giulia Gonzaga’s Heterodox Epistolary Network,’ in *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters*, eds. Campbell and Larsen, 75 – 96, see especially 85; and in Camilla Russell, *Giulia Gonzaga and the Religious Controversies of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

⁷ Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism*, 2 – 8; Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 425.

⁸ Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity*, 15 – 16.

⁹ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 366. I use ‘generational’ in the loosest sense of the term in this thesis because of the fact that there was an age gap greater than thirty years between some of the women, such as Sablé and Conti.

¹⁰ As well as Diefendorf and other historians’ work on the *dévots*, this history of matrilineal piety also fits into a broader body of scholarship on matriarchal aristocratic families, particularly Béguin on the Condés and Spangler on the Lorraine-Guise; see Béguin, *Les Princes de Condé*, 66 – 68; and Spangler, *The Society of Princes*.

Bergin and other historians have preferred not to see the collapse of organizations such as the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* as marking the disappearance of the *dévot* movement in France and talk about its ‘resurfacing’ with madame de Maintenon’s circle in the 1680s.¹¹ Off-shoots of the *Compagnie* included the Confraternity of the Passion and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith; the Parisian Saint-Sulpice charitable confraternity may have been another guise.¹² The evidence of rigorist pious sociability provides further continuity for historical accounts of changing elite piety in this period. Rigorist penitents did not replace the *dévots*; their very different theologies gave the two groups a disparate perception of what the role of ‘the pious’ should be in the world. Neither must we claim that one small group of women could change the course of the Catholic Reformation in France. But perhaps in the long-term, their pious sociability helped to renew the religious fervour of elite women in Paris and at court and succeeded in making a reputation for being devout (*dévot*) fashionable again? The infectiousness of pious sociability might explain why, in the middle decades of the century, *dévots* were being publicly ridiculed as hypocrites, but by the 1680s, women like Maintenon and Sévigné felt sure that ‘all they wished to be is *dévot*.’¹³

The devotional culture of this group might therefore be the ‘missing link’ between the ‘Golden Age’ of spiritual renewal after the Catholic League and the revival of pious culture at court in the 1680s.¹⁴ Yet it is important not to claim too much. In order to be more certain about how the aristocratic, rigorist network affected the social perception of the devout, further research is needed on external evaluations of them in the correspondence and

¹¹ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 387 – 88; McHugh also argues that charity continued to be important in the localities, *Hospital Politics*, 8.

¹² Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 388 – 90.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 366. On Maintenon and her circle identifying themselves as ‘*dévotes*’ see Bryant, ‘François d’Aubigné,’ 42 – 3.

¹⁴ Something which Jonathan Reid found to be true of the Navarrian network in the history of the Reformation in France, *King’s Sister – Queen of Dissent*, vol. 2, 565.

memoirs of other women over a longer period of time. This has not been attempted at length in this study, but the evidence it has found for the estimations of rigorist penitents by worldly women and the desirability of associating with the *mères de l'église* point towards a longer-term role for the devotional culture of the spiritual elite and its 'pious vogues.'¹⁵

2. 'What does it matter how we enter Paradise, so long as we enter?' Exclusive Devotion and the Spiritual Elite.¹⁶

The spiritual elitism of the rigorist friendship network was not only a product of their desire for a more exclusive form of worship, inherited from the *dévots*. The Augustinian stance on grace and predestination compelled them to believe they were among God's elect. The first part of this thesis revealed how several of the women in the friendship network were preoccupied by the receipt of grace in their letters and spiritual autobiographies. A case study of the duchesse de Liancourt's reading in the second part also verified her interest in the theology of salvation. Even though not all of the women in the network expressed confidence in their election, the evidence for the devotional culture they adhered to suggests that they shared the same sense of spiritual superiority.¹⁷ A portrait of the lay, aristocratic 'brand' of

¹⁵ A phrase borrowed from Jones, 'Sisters of Charity and the Ailing Poor,' 343. I discuss the impact it may have had beyond France below. Chapter one considered how rigorist penitents were appraised by other women; chapter four considered how their intellectual prowess was evaluated. There is also some evidence that the habits of the rigorist friendship network began to be imitated by other circles of women. In November 1664, madame du Plessis-Guénégaud and madame de La Fayette professed to be 'pursuing solitude' at the Plessis-Guénégaud estate at Fresnes; see André Beaunier, ed., *Correspondance de Madame de La Fayette* (2 volumes, Paris: Gallimard, 1942), November 1664, Fresnes, vol. 2, 219. The material environment at Fresnes was at odds with the 'rigorist' ethic, despite the fact that madame du Plessis-Guénégaud is usually regarded as having been a rigorist sympathizer. See, for example, the 'salle du billard' at her estate at Fresnes, described in: AN, MC, ET/LI/407, 28 March 1676.

¹⁶ Pascal, *The Provincial Letters*, Letter IX, 134.

¹⁷ The comtesse de Maure's reticence was noted in chapter one. There is no evidence for the princesse de Guéméné's belief in election, for example, but in chapter four, we noted Rapin's observations on her ability to converse about the semi-Pelagian controversy and the origins of the rigorist stance on grace and predestination. Her chapel and cabinet, discussed above in chapter three, also shows she aspired to these superior forms of worship.

rigorist piety was unveiled in the second part of this thesis with the use of a small number of probate inventories: documents which have been overlooked as sources for how rigorism translated beyond Port-Royal. This material culture of devotion may not have been faithful to the material austerity of Port-Royal, but it was characterized by a sincere rejection of Baroque ‘easy devotions’, as Louis Châtellier and Alain Tallon supposed some years ago.¹⁸ It also evoked the memory of the early Christians and imitated the simplicity of their ‘purer’ forms of worship.

Their resistance to the Baroque may have had a wider significance. Historians have shown how other European countries began to emulate the Gallican style of worship. Maurice Agulhon found condemnation of ‘piété Baroque’ among later eighteenth-century confraternities in the south of France.¹⁹ Marina Caffiero and Joseph Bergin have noted how ‘enlightened piety’ was increasingly adopted by the Italian and Spanish elite over ‘lax, exterior devotions.’²⁰ A transnational historical approach to aristocratic religion might be able to reveal exactly how the rigorist culture of worship transmitted beyond France.²¹

Crucially for aristocratic penitents, their style of worship was a mark of distinction. Only the spiritual elite could keep the standards of devotion so high: this was a sign of election after all.²² The conviction that salvation was only achievable for a small minority of

¹⁸ Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots*, 174; Tallon, *La compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, 89

¹⁹ Maurice Agulhon, *La sociabilité méridionale: confréries et associations dans la vie collective en Provence orientale à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* (Aix-en-Provence: Publications des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, Série Travaux et Mémoires, no. 36, 1966), 244.

²⁰ Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France*, 430; Marina Caffiero, ‘From the Late Baroque Mystical Explosion to the Social Apostolate 1650 – 1850,’ in *Women and Faith*, eds. Scaraffia and Zarri, 188 – 192.

²¹ One way into this from this thesis might be to investigate the French, Italian and Polish networks surrounding Marie-Louise de Gonzague at the Polish court after she became Queen of Poland; see footnote 14 in Appendix A, for some of Marie-Louise’s surviving correspondence in the Polish archives.

²² An ability to adhere to demanding penitential and devotional programmes was a sign of election, as this thesis has acknowledged; see also, Briggs, ‘The Science of Sin,’ 40.

believers not only seems merciless by modern, secular standards; it was also harmful to a Church which, through the efforts of missionaries, was slowly turning Catholicism into a ‘world religion.’²³ In one way or another, historians have been grappling with the appeal of the rigorist world-view for decades. In the 1950s, Lucien Goldmann proposed a Marxian explanation of the appeal of ‘Jansenism’ to the robe nobility and the high magistracy in Paris.²⁴ Others have suggested that the moral and material austerity of Jansenism was actually anti-aristocratic: a critique of elite extravagance.²⁵ This thesis has shown that aristocratic female penitents found the prospect of guaranteed salvation and the opportunity to live as ‘the best Catholics of all’ like the early Christian community consonant with their social status.²⁶ It gave them, as Wendy Gibson recognized in 1989, ‘the appearance of a select club...membership of which distinguished the fashionable penitent from the flock.’²⁷ This does not mean that the rigorist friendship network did not *really* believe in their election, or that its social currency *explains* why they did: people can just ‘believe what they believe.’²⁸ Yet, as this thesis has tried to show, religious convictions do not exist in a vacuum, they are influenced by and acted-upon in everyday life.²⁹ Arguing for the appeal of an identity as the

²³ Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France*, 197.

²⁴ See Goldmann, ‘Remarques sur le Jansénisme’ For a summary of the scholarship responding to Goldmann, see Albert N. Hamscher, ‘The Parlement of Paris,’ *The Catholic Historical Review*, 63, no. 3 (July, 1977): 392 – 410; and also Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, 70.

²⁵ Bénichou, *Morales du grand siècle*, 113.

²⁶ ‘The best Catholics of all’ was what Le Roy Ladurie said the ‘Jansenists’ aspired to be; *The Ancien Régime*, 252.

²⁷ Gibson, *Women in Seventeenth-Century France*, 229; Linda Timmermans since acknowledged the ‘élitisme’ that moral and intellectual superiority could give to women, see *L'accès des femmes*, 699.

²⁸ Brad S. Gregory, ‘The Other Confessional History: On Secular Bias in the Study of Religion,’ *History and Theory*, 45, no. 4 (December, 2006): 149.

²⁹ This thesis has attempted to put into practice the critical self-awareness that Brad Gregory has called for in Brad Gregory, ‘Can we “see things their way”? Should we try?’ in *Seeing Things their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion*, eds. Alister Chapman, John Coffey and Brad S. Gregory (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 24 – 45.

‘spiritual elite’ to rigorist penitents is one of the many ways this thesis has demonstrated how their pious sociability was shaped by their social status. Quite contrary to traditional images of them as acquiescent, loyal ‘Belles Amies’ of Port-Royal, their condition often brought them into conflict with its spiritual directors and their piety diverged from that of the convent.³⁰

3. **‘As for those who spend their lives without a thought for this final end of life...this negligence in a matter where their eternity are at stake, fills me with more irritation than pity’³¹: Friendship Networks and Exclusive Sociability**

Existing studies have already shown that the rigorist movement was identified as a separate society estranged from the world.³² Louis XIV even referred to them as a ‘rising sect’ in his own memoirs.³³ This thesis has tried to show that the community of female religious and *solitaires* at Port-Royal were not the only rigorists to eschew the world. The lay female, rigorist friendship network’s social selectiveness and outlook on aristocratic sociability made it progressively insular and, like Pascal, female penitents too were irritated by spiritual ‘negligence.’ This was evident, firstly, in the formation of the network and the establishment of gendered ‘spiritual friendships’ in the 1650s and 1660s, and secondly, in the exclusion of women from the group on the basis of their moral traits. Whether or not there was an internal group consciousness during this process is not always clear, but the way rigorist penitents

³⁰ Their ‘rigorism’ should be understood not as a ‘coherent doctrinal system’ but a ‘style’ of devotion. Jean-Louis Quantin recently pointed out that the terms ‘Jansenism’ and ‘rigorism’ are both potentially problematic ‘if they are taken to essentialize fixed identities, to denote coherent doctrinal systems or even organized parties...they may rightly be used to express trends, ‘movements’ or even styles,’ Quantin, *The Church of England*, 20.

³¹ Krailsheimer, ed., *Blaise Pascal: Pensées*, 129.

³² Tavenaux, *La vie quotidienne des Jansénistes*; Kostroun, *Feminism, Absolutism and Jansenism*; Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France*; Doyle, *Jansenism*.

³³ Sedgwick, *Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France*, 107.

warned their spiritual friends ‘off’ friendships with certain women may be an indication that they consciously policed the boundaries of their friendship network.

By reassessing the correspondence, this study has tried to show that the traditional, romanticized view of the rigorist friendship network as the ‘Belles Amies de Port-Royal’ is inaccurate in composition and scope. Not only does this misnomer over-emphasize the role of the convent in the formation of the network; it overlooks the social hierarchies in the group and neglects to consider the dynamics of the spiritual friendships within it. This thesis has argued that, even if they were gradually drawn to the Port-Royal affair, women such as madame de La Fayette were regarded as worldly contacts of the network and not close spiritual friends. It has shown that the duchesse de Liancourt may have been less convivial at the gatherings of the Port-Royal scholars than is usually supposed; she spent a good deal of time away from Paris, not only at Liancourt but also at La Roche-Guyon, and was increasingly choosy about who she was prepared to associate with. This study has also revealed that, despite the volume of surviving correspondence between Longueville and Sablé, the duchess’ friendship with the princesse de Conti actually supplanted her relationship with the marquess; Longueville was the protectress of Port-Royal but this did not mean she was permanently present there.³⁴ The aim of this analysis of the ‘rigorist friendship network’ has not been to dissociate its culture of worship entirely from the history of Port-Royal but rather to show that rigorist penitents and their pious sociability existed outside and independently of, the convent.

Rigorist penitents’ pious sociability was fundamentally based upon their separation from conventional aristocratic forums. In their correspondence, rigorist women feared that the ‘Louvre’ would fill them with Godlessness; they made the court analogous to Babylon,

³⁴ This thesis has shown that Longueville actually referred to the ‘Jansenists’ with a degree of detachment; see the letter on p. 79, above.

called it ‘enemy territory’ and concluded that its entertainments were obscene. The language of this disapprobation suggests that, by the 1660s, it was part of a spiritual and moral, and no longer a Frondeur, political, opposition to the court.³⁵ Even if it retained many of the elements that characterized salon interaction, such as its foundation in letter writing, pious sociability also confronted many of the social customs that made the salon part of the Ancien Régime culture of ‘mondanité.’³⁶ The shift to ‘less feminocentric’ and ‘more intellectual’ salons in the eighteenth century may not therefore have been solely due to the mockery of female ‘ridiculous preciosity,’ but an internal critique of salon habits coming from the high female aristocracy.³⁷

One of the main themes of this study has been how rigorist spirituality was reconciled with the aristocratic lifestyle to generate a culture of female rigorist *sociabilité* which flourished outside of the salon, and beyond Paris. The study of aristocratic mobility and travel to the provinces would be one worthwhile approach to reconfiguring the history of elite sociability in early modern France and how it played out beyond the city.³⁸ Further research will hopefully reveal how elite culture evolved in response to the migration of the King and Court to the ‘gilded-cage’ at Versailles and how important women and piety were to avenues of alternative sociability in France.³⁹

³⁵ There was a tradition of anti-court culture in France. For other work on this, see Ellery Schalk ‘The Court as Civilizer of the Nobility,’ in *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c.1450 – 1650*, eds. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (London: Oxford University Press, 1991), 257.

³⁶ This is Lilti’s approach to the salon in *Le monde des salons*.

³⁷ Kale, *French Salons*, 18; also noted in Goodman, ‘Enlightenment Salons,’ 338. Some scholars doubt whether there was such a clear shift; in *Le monde des salons* Lilti takes issue with the approaches of Goodman, Kale and Fumaroli to this.

³⁸ Katia Béguin’s discussion of Condé princely household culture at Chantilly is probably the most recent exception to this and sets the bar for future research; see *Les princes de Condé*, 329 – 54, but her work was not focussed upon the female presence at the estate.

³⁹ The Chartrier de La Roche-Guyon is a useful starting point for this, see Appendix D.

If this study has succeeded in doing nothing more than emancipating ten women from the restraints they have been confined to since the nineteenth century, then it will have achieved what it set out to. In the course of this vindication, this thesis has also attempted to make a contribution to the historiography on the French ‘long’ Catholic Reformation and female sociability, as well as demarcating further areas of research. By adopting the approaches of historians such as John Bossy to early modern religion, it has tried to recover the social and cultural history of rigorist Catholicism among the Parisian female aristocracy. Like Diefendorf and others, it has highlighted the important role played by the female laity in the early modern Catholic revival and, following her example, located the devotional culture of rigorist penitents in the historical narrative of the changing, generational nature of female spirituality in France. In line with Timmermans and Bernos, it has also argued that religion allowed women to take part in intellectual and cultural debates. Above all, this study has shown that there is a lot more to be done before historians can realize the extent of the role women continued to play in the spirituality of Catholic Europe after 1660.

Seventeenth-century female rigorists’ commitment to an exclusive culture of sociability and worship was unparalleled. Pious Sociability surpassed both the selectness and the moral rectitude of the *dévo*t moment and it was *avant-garde*: preceding the conversion of the court. The group consciousness of their smaller, female aristocratic friendship group was a product of the spiritual currents of the age, and the religious, social and political context. It was also boosted by the readiness of women, who had subversive and rebellious tendencies, to resist convention and adopt a socially and spiritually expedient identity. By casting themselves as a ‘société’ of ‘penitents’ rigorist women became arbiters of their own salvation, which was their preserve.

Appendix A

Prosopography and Portraits

Brienne, comtesse de, Louise de Béon du Massés (1585 – 1665). Daughter of Bernard de Béon du Massés, marquis de Boutteville, gouverneur du Saintonge-Angoumois (1554 – 1608), and Louise de Luxembourg-Brienne (1567 – 1647). In February 1623, Louise married Henri-Auguste de Loménie, comte de Brienne (1594 – 1666), who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs between 1646 and 1663.¹ Louise died at Châteauneuf-sur-Charente in the south-west of France on 2 September 1665, probably at the château de Boutteville.²

Conti, princesse de, Anne-Marie Martinozzi (1637 – 1672).³



Figure 1.1 Anne-Marie Martinozzi, princesse de Conti

Anne-Marie was born in Rome to Geronimo Martinozzi, and Cardinal Mazarin's sister, Laure-Marguerite Mazzarini (1608 – 1685). Anne-Marie came to Marseille with her mother in September 1648.⁴ On 21 February 1654, she married ex-Frondeur Armand de Bourbon, prince de Conti, pair de France, comte de Pezenas, baron de Fère-en-Tardenois, seigneur de l'Isle-Adam, chevalier des ordres du Roy, gouverneur de Guyenne and Languedoc, (1629 – 1666). He was the younger brother of the duchesse de Longueville and Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1621 – 1686).⁵ Her marriage produced three children, two of whom lived through to adulthood: Louis de Bourbon was born on 6

September 1658 and died on the same day, Louis-Armand de Bourbon, prince de Conti (1661

¹ See AN, 4AP, 168, for the marriage contract dated 27 February 1623; their household accounts are at AN, 4 AP, 333; and AN, 4 AP, 232 – 243.

² On the château, see Annette Marrett and René Marrett, *Le château de Boutteville: mille ans d'histoire* (n.p, n.p, 1996).

³ BnF, Estampes et Photographie, Réserve, QB, 201, 51.

⁴ Sarah Nelson, ed., *Memoirs: Hortense Mancini and Marie Mancini*; edited and translated by Sarah Nelson (London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 85 – 6.

⁵ See AN, Série K, 540, fo. 29; or AN, R³, 1, 'Contract de Mariage de Monseigneur Armand de Bourbon et Dame Anne Marie de Martinozy.'

– 1685) died of small pox on 9 November 1685, and François-Louis, prince de Conti (b.30 April 1664) lived until the age of 45.⁶ Anne-Marie's own sister Laura (1636 – 1687) would later become duchesse de Modena.⁷ Anne-Marie died in Paris on 4 February 1672.

Gamaches, marquise de, Marie-Antoinette de Loménie de Brienne (1624 – 1704).

Marie-Antoinette was the daughter of Louise de Béon du Massés and Henri-Auguste de Loménie, comte de Brienne. In June 1642, she married Nicolas-Joachim Rouault, marquis de Gamaches and gouverneur de Saint-Valéry.⁸ She was widowed on 22 October 1689 when he died at Beauchamp. They had four children, three of whom survived into adulthood: Marie-Julie-Gabrielle Rouault, Joseph-Émmanuel Joachim Rouault, and Claude Jean-Baptiste Hyacinthe Rouault.⁹ Marie-Antoinette died on 8 December 1704.

Gonzague, Marie-Louise de, Queen of Poland (1611 – 1667)



Figure 1.2 Marie-Louise de Gonzague, later Queen of Poland¹⁰

Marie-Louise was the daughter of Catherine de Mayenne (d.1618) and Charles de Gonzague (1580 – 1637). She was the older sibling of Anne de Gonzague, princesse Palatine (1616 – 1684).¹¹ Her mother died when she was seven years old, and she was raised predominantly by her paternal aunt.¹² In October 1645, the Polish ambassadors Krzysztof Opalinski Palatine of Poznan and Wacław Leszczyński, Bishop of Warmia, arrived in Paris with a retinue to collect Marie-Louise before her marriage to Władysław IV.¹³ When Jan Kazimierz succeeded his elder brother at the age of 39 he accepted her in marriage. Marie-Louise died in

⁶ Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, vol. 1, 346 ; for their successions see AN, R³, 3.

⁷ *Ibid*, vol. 1, 346.

⁸ Béguin, *Les princes de Condé*, 427.

⁹ Anselm, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, vol. 4, 101.

¹⁰ BnF, Estampes et Photographie, Réserve, NA, 24 (A).

¹¹ BnF, Ms. Fr, 3845, ff. 9 – 56, shows how she corresponded with her sister after her departure to Poland.

¹² M. L. Plourin, *Marie de Gonzague: une princesse française, reine de Pologne* (Paris: M. Daubin, 1946), 19.

¹³ Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. 1, 394; see *La Magnifique Entrée des ambassadeurs Polonois dans la ville de Paris; avec la première audience qu'ils ont eue de leurs Majestez, et de la princesse Louise-Marie, destinée Reine de Pologne* (Paris: Du Bureau d'Adresse, 1645).

May 1667 and was buried at Wawel Cathedral.¹⁴

Guéméné, princesse de, Anne de Rohan (1604 – 1685).¹⁵



Figure 1.3 Anne de Rohan, princesse de Guéméné

The only daughter of Pierre de Rohan and Madeleine de Rieux, Anne de Rohan princesse de Guéméné, dame de Mortiercrolles, de Remefort du Verger, de Nouatre, de Briollay, de Sainte-Maure, de la Haye, was born at Mortiercrolles on 20 April 1604 and baptized in Notre-Dame-des-Anges on 25 April. In 1617 she married her cousin Louis VII de Rohan (1598 – 1667) prince de Guéméné, duc de Montbazou, pair and grand veneur de France, seigneur de Coupvray and comte de Rochefort.¹⁶ Louis was buried at Coupvray-en-Brie in 1667. The marriage produced two sons: Charles de Rohan (d. 1699) married Jeanne-Armande de Schomberg on 10 January 1653 and had

four children; Louis de Rohan was executed on 27 November 1674.¹⁷ The princesse de Guéméné died on 14 March 1685 at Rochefort.¹⁸

¹⁴ The surviving sources pertaining to her have already been outlined. There are also a number of untapped letters in the Polish Archive between Marie-Louise and Polish female correspondents such as Izabeli Chodkiewiczowej and Trzebicki Andrzej, Bishop of Cracow. Thanks to archivist Aleksander Korolewicz for a list of references at Kierownika Oddziału I, Archiwum Państwowego w Krakowie (State Archive in Cracow).

¹⁵ BnF, Estampes et Photographie, Réserve, QB, 201, 62.

¹⁶ Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, vol. 4, 64.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, vol. 4, 64; see AN, 273 AP, 6.

¹⁸ Georges Martin, *Histoire et généalogie de la maison de Rohan* (Lyon: G. Martin, 1998), 52; see AN, 273 AP, 5; for her testament and codicilles; or AN, MC, ET/LXXXVII/267, 25 January 1678 transcribed in Appendix B.

Liancourt, duchesse de, Jeanne de Schomberg (1600 – 1674).¹⁹

Figure 1.4 Jeanne de Schomberg, duchesse de Liancourt



Daughter of Henri de Schomberg and his first wife Françoise de l'Espinay, Jeanne's first marriage to François de Cossé, comte de Brissac was annulled.²⁰ On 24 February 1620, she married Roger du Plessis, duc de Liancourt (1598 – 1 August 1674), duc de La Roche-Guyon, pair de France, marquis de Guercheville, comte de Beaumont and conseiller du roi, premier écuyer de sa petite écurie, mestre de camp du regiment de Picardie.²¹ The marriage produced one son, Henri-Roger du Plessis who married Anne-Elisabeth de Lannoy, and had Jeanne's grand-daughter Jeanne-Charlotte du Plessis Liancourt (1644 – 1669). Jeanne-Charlotte married her cousin François VII de La Rochefoucauld, prince de Marcillac (1634 – 1714).²² After the death of their son Henri-Roger in 1646, the duke and duchess became the guardians of Jeanne-Charlotte and arranged for her education in Port-Royal. She died

prematurely however, in 1669.²³ Jeanne's half-sister Jeanne-Armande de Schomberg married Charles de Rohan, the son of the princesse de Guéméné.²⁴ The duchesse de Liancourt died on 14 June 1674.

¹⁹ BnF, Estampes et Photographie, Réserve NA, 24 (A).

²⁰ BnF, Na. Fr, 25240, ff. 236 – 37.

²¹ Levantal, *Ducs et pairs*, 693; see AN, 8 AP, 2 for their marriage contract, 20 February 1620. For his testament, see AN, 8 AP, 2, 23 July 1674.

²² See AN, MC, ET XCVIII/196, 23 March 1658, for the marriage contract.

²³ See AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/234, 6 March 1670, for her inventory.

²⁴ See footnote 13.

Longueville, duchesse de, Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon-Condé (1619 – 1679)²⁵

Figure 1.5 Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon-Condé, duchesse de Longueville



Daughter of Henri de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1588 – 1646) and Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency (1594 – 1650), princesse de Condé, Anne-Geneviève was born on 27 August 1619 during the imprisonment of her father at the château de Vincennes. On 2 June 1642 she married Henri II d'Orléans, (1595 – 1663), duc de Longueville, d'Estouteville, prince souverain de Neufchatel and Wallengin-en-Suisse, comte de Dunois, de Tancarville and Saint-Paul, pair de France, gouverneur de Picardie and Normandie.²⁶ He was the son of Henri I d'Orléans, duc de Longueville, and Catherine de Gonzague de Clèves. His first wife was Louise de Bourbon, with whom he had two sons who died as children, and one surviving daughter: Marie d'Orléans, later duchesse de Nemours (1625 – 1707). His marriage with Anne-Geneviève produced four children, two of whom reached adulthood: Jean-Louis Charles d'Orléans,

duc de Longueville (1646 – 1694), Charles-Paris (1649 – 1672), Charlotte-Louise d'Orléans (d. 1645) and Marie-Gabrielle (d.1650).²⁷ Anne-Geneviève was widowed on 11 May 1663 when the duc de Longueville died at Rouen.²⁸ She died on 5 April 1679.

Maure, comtesse de, Anne Doni d'Attichy (1601 – 1663).

Daughter of Octavien Dony, seigneur d'Attichy (d.1614) and Valence de Marillac (d.1617), Anne descended from a Florentine family.²⁹ She inherited the seigneurie of Attichy in 1637 after the death of her brother Antoine who was killed at Flanders. One of her other brothers was Louis Doni d'Attichy, bishop of Riez and later of Autun. Before her marriage she served as lady-in-waiting to Marie de Medici. In 1635 she married Louis de Rochechouart, comte de

²⁵ BnF, Estampes et Photographie, Réserve, QB, 201, 56.

²⁶ Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, vol. 1, 222; for the marriage contract see AN, Série K, 540; or MC, Chantilly, 1 - A - 008.

²⁷ Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, vol. 1, 223; for the probate inventory of Jean-Louis Charles, see AN, MC, ET/XCVI/192, 16 February 1694; for his testament see AN, R³, 2.

²⁸ Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, vol. 1, 222.

²⁹ Cousin, 'Madame la comtesse de Maure et mademoiselle de Vandy,' 105.

Maure (1601 – 1669), grand-sénéchal de Guyenne.³⁰ The marriage produced no children but Maure famously acted as a mother to Catherine de Vandy. Her testament was dated February 1656, according to Nicolas Lefèvre de Lezeau, but there is no extant copy.³¹ The comte de Maure outlived her and died on 9 November 1669.³²

Sablé, marquise de, Madeleine de Souvré (1599 – 1678).

Daughter of Gilles de Souvré, marquis de Courtenvaux, chevalier des ordres du roi, maréchal de France, and Françoise de Bailleul, dame de Renouard, Madeleine was born in 1599. In 1610 she made her appearance at court and, along with the comtesse de Maure, became lady-in-waiting to Marie de Medici. On 9 January 1614, she married Philippe-Émmanuel de Laval, marquis de Sablé. It was a marriage of political convenience and after having five children, the couple separated. She was widowed in 1640 and sometime after the death of her son Guy de Laval in 1646, she left her home in the faubourg Saint-Honoré by the Louvre and retreated to Port-Royal where she died on 16 January 1678.³³

Schomberg, duchesse de, Marie de Hautefort (1616 – 1691).

Born on the 5 February 1616 in Périgord, Marie was the daughter of Charles de Hautefort and Renée de Bellay. Louis XIII took her as a mistress when she was lady-in-waiting to Marie de Medici. In September 1646, she married Charles de Schomberg and became the sister-in-law of Jeanne de Schomberg, duchesse de Liancourt.³⁴ She was widowed on 6 June 1656 when Charles died at his sister's house.³⁵ Marie died in Paris on 1 August 1691.³⁶

³⁰ Béguin, *Les princes de Condé*, 416.

³¹ Nicolas Lefèvre de Lezeau, *La vie de Michel de Marillac (1560 - 1632): garde des Sceaux de France sous Louis XIII*; transcribed and edited by Donald A. Bailey (Laval: DL 2007), 512.

³² Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique*, vol. 4, 680.

³³ For fragments of her testament see AN, MC, ET/IX/457, 17 October 1673.

³⁴ Cousin, *Madame de Hautefort*, 157; there are surviving accounts for Schomberg at AN, ET/CXXI/11, 3 September 1647.

³⁵ *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, 919 – 20.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 920.

Appendix B

Wills

Wills are more relevant to the history of lay, female rigorist devotional culture than other notarial contracts because they reveal penitential statements, charitable bequests and name members of aristocratic households. This appendix contains transcriptions of the wills of five members of the rigorist friendship network which have not been published.¹

Anne-Geneviève de Bourbon, duchesse de Longueville²

30 aoust 1678

Au nom du Pere fils et du saint esprit Craignant d'estre prevenue de la mort qui est aussy assure que l'heure en est incertaine, Et ne voulant pas faire mon testament avec precipitation ny au milieu des foiblesses et des infirmitéz qui nous accablem[en]t d'ordre dans cette heure la, Jay voulu le faire dans en temps ou estant Comme je suis saine de corps et desprit, je pense m'appliquer a cette action avec toutte l'attention, avec laquelle elle merit d'estre fait. Je Demande tres humblement pardon a dieu de toutes les offences que jay commisse contre sa divine loy, et je suplie par les merites infinis du sang de Jesus Christ de nentrer point en jugement avec moy, et deffacer mes crimes par Son abondante misericorde, j'invocque a cette fin la saint vierge mon ange gardien, saint anne, S[ain]te geneviefve mes patronnes et tous les autres saintes ausqueles ausqueles³ jay eu une devotion. Si je meurs estant en l'abbaye du port Royal des champes Je desire que mon corps y soit enteré sans aucune seremonie, Et que mon Cœur soit porté aux Carmelites de paris du faubourg saint jacques, Et q[ui]l soit mis aupres du corps de feu Madame ma mere et de mes filles. Et au cas que je meurs aux Carmelites, je souhaite que mon Corps soit enterré au mesme lieu que je vient demarquer pour mon cœur, et que mon cœur soit porté an labbaie du port Royal des Champes. Et si je meurs an tout autre lieu que port Royal ou les Carmelites je desire que mon Corps soit porté a port royal des champes, et mon cœur aux Carmelites et j'ordonne qu'en aucun de ses Cas on ne face aucune seremonie, je donne a chacun desd[its] Couvents de port royal des champs et des Carmelites du faubourg saint jacques la somme de six mil francs, et je veut que outre cela, il soit dit en chacun desd[its] couvents un annuel pour le repos de mon ame./

Comme jay donné une pension viagere de douze cens livres au sieur aubert mon aumosnier, je ne luy laisse rien pour ce present testament, que ma chapelle selon l'usage ordinaire de nos maisons. Jentend que le sieur de Billy mon escuyer jouisse sa vie durant de la Capitanerie de Trie aux appointemens de quatre cens quatre vingte livres de rente par chacune année, Et quil ayt en cette qualité son logement dans le chateau de trie et que la dame Louise Marie de

¹ Testamentary extracts do survive for madame de Sablé, Marie-Louise de Gonzague and the duchesse de Schomberg, as noted in Appendix A. There are, to my knowledge, no surviving testaments for the comtesse de Maure or the marquise de Gamaches.

² MC, Chantilly, 1 – A – 008, 30 August 1678.

³ Repetition present in the manuscript

bridieu a present sa femme apres son deced ayt la mesme qualite, et les mesmes logemens et appointemens de quatre cens quatre vingts livres sa vie durant, outre je leur donne et legue la somme de sept mil livres/, et a leur fille Anne geneviefve de Billy ma fillolle celle de trois mil livres, que je veut et entend que led[it] sieur de billy et la dame sa femme tiennent compte a ma filliole de cent cinquante livres par an pour l'interest desd[ites] trois mil livres je luy ay donne. Et en cas que mes heretiers voulussent mettre un autre Capitaine a Trie durant la vie de sieur de Billy et sa femme ce que je ne croyes pas, et ce que je les suplie den pas faire, Je veut et entend que sur les revenus de ma terre de trie Il leur soit donné et autrement des deux pareille somme de quatre cens quatre vingts livres par an, je donne pareillement aud[it] s[ieu]r de Billy toute mon Ecurie scavoir chevaux Carosses et autres choses servant a mon escurie./ Je Donne et legue au s[ieu]r Goffrecour mon secretaire la somme de douze mil livres, Et veut et entend qu'apres sa mort elle soit partagee entre louis henry et pierre vincent la premier des deux enfans scavoir a Louis henry celle de quatre mil livres et a pierre vincent celle de huit mil livres, sans que led[it] de goffrecour puisse alier ny ypotquer⁴ lad[ite] somme de douze mil livres ny quelle puisse estre saisie par ses crediteurs si aucun y a tant en principal qu'interests lad[ite] donation n'estant fait qu'a cette condition/. Je veut aussy que Marie le bastier a present femme dud[it] degoffrecour jouisse apres le deceds de son mary sa vie

durant des interests de lad[ite] somme de huit mil livres que jay cy devant declare devoir estre donnée a pierre vincent la pomme fils ded[it] de goffrecour et d'elle je veut que led[it] goffrecour jouisse sa vie durant de la capitainerie de meru du logemen dans le chasteau et et des appointemens de deux cens livres par chacun an, Et en cas que mes heritiers voulussent metre un autre Capitaine a cette terre ce que je ne crois pas estant ce plus antien de mes domestiques, Je veut que sur le Revenu de ma terre de meru il luy soit donné la mesme somme de deux cent livres par an. Je donne et legue a Marguerite le Bastier ma premierre femme de chambre une pension viagere de huit cent livres par chacun an, Et la somme de trois mil livres une fois payer. Je donne et legue a Anne de la Fosse ma femme de chambre la somme de cinq cent escus une fois payee et mon intention est que Marie et Marguerite le Bastier et Anne de la Fosse mes femme des chambre ayent ma toilette, mon linge, et la vaisselle d'argent de ma garderobbe, quelle partageront entr'elle selon l'usage ordinaires de nos maisons, qui donne a la premiere femme de chambre certains avantages sur les autres des sorte que lesd[its] avantages appartiennent a Marguerite parceque encore quelle ne soit pas laisnee de Marie elle est la premiere a mon service./ Je donne a Mercier mon tresorier et Controlleur la somme de mil livres une fois payé et une douzaine d'assiettes d'argent, une eguiere⁵, et un bassin d'argent tels quil vouldra les choisir dans ma vaisselle d'argent./ Je donne a Lauviere mon chicurgien la somme de trois mil livres une fois payé. Je donne a jean pouret mon premiere vallet de chambre une pension viageres de quatre cens livres par chacun an./ Je donne a Joseph daflon mon vallet de chambre une pension viagere de trois cents livres par chacun an./ Je donne a bartrand du halse qui a este chef de pannetrie une pension viageres de deux cens livres par chacun an. Je donne a guillaume hayet mon escuyer de cuisine deux mil livres une fois payée. Je donne a la tour mon officier de pannetrie

une pension viagere de trois cens livres par chacun an./ Je donne a christophe ayde de cusine une pension viagere de deux cens francs par chacun an./ Je donne a jean Terrier mon cocher une pension viagere de deux cens livres par chacun an, Je donne a bougoud mon second cocher la somme de cens escus une fois payée./ Je donne a laurens qui a esté autre fois vallet

⁴ Hypothèquer

⁵ Aiguère.

de mon cocher une pension viagere de cinquante escus par chacun an. Je donne a antoine et michel vernier l'un mon postillon en l'autre vallet de mon cocher a chacun une pension viagere de cens francs par chacun an. Je donne a chacun de mes vallets de pied la somme de six cents livres une fois payé. / Je donne a M[onsieu]r de barbesiere une pension viagere de quatre cens livres par chacun an suivant le brevet que je luy ay donné. Je donne a Pierre Forsoit Concierge de Coulommiers une pension viagere de deux cens livres par chacun an. Je donne a une femme retirée a chasteaudun appellée peignée une pension viagere de deux cens francs par chacun an. Je donne a michel arnon qui a esté dans ma cuisine et qui est retiré a Coulommiers une pension viagere de cinquante escus par chacun an, Je donne a Pierre Picot jadis mon lavandier une pension viagere de deux cens livres par chacun an suivant son brevet./ Je donne a Mare mon portier la somme de deux cens escus une fois payée, ayant autres fois receu une somme de douze mil livres des estats de Normandie qu'on m'avoit fait entendre estre une chose ordinaire envers les femmes de gouverneurs de la province, Et Dieu mayant fait la grace de me faire apprendre depuis que ces sortes de gratifications ne sont pas legitimat.

Je me sens obligée de restituer cette somme a cette province jay desja donnée cinq mil francs mil partie pour en bruslees de bois de bec et le reste de ces mil francs pour achepter quelque meubles a l'hospital de madelaine, et trois mil pour faire une acquisition aud[it] Hospital, Et mil livres pour Contribuer a bastir une infirmerie aud[it] hospital, J'ordonne donc que les sept mil livres restant soient mis entre les mains du R[évéré]nd P[ère] du breuil prestre de loratoire et curé de s[ain]te croix proche S[ain]t ouen a Rouen lequel avec les administrateurs de cet hospital les employeront selon mes intentions./ Je donne la somme de mil escus pour les bastimens de ma paroisse St Jacques du haut pas a paris une fois payé entre les mains de mons[ieu]r le curé./ Je donne la somme de mil francs une fois payé aux pauvres de ma mesme paroisse distribuee comme il plaira a mons[ieu]r le curé de cette paroisse a qui on la metra entre les mains./ Je donne aux pauvres des paroisses de trie, chateau-trie la ville, Villiers, Boutancour, Enancour, Eragny, Fresne, layguillon, Caillerie, Saint Brice de l'imour, latinville, saint martin de chaumont, la somme de six mil livres une fois payée. Ce qui sera distribuee par les ordres des executeurs de mon testament. Je donne aux pauvres de la paroisse de meru la somme de deux mil livres une fois payé distribuée par les mesme ordres. Je donne Simoine qui est dans ma maison de port royal quatre cens francs une fois payée./ Je Donne a Marie qui sert a ma cuisine deux cens francs une fois payée./ Comme jay toujours eu une amitie fort tendre pour Mademoiselle de Vertu je la prie d'en vouloir bien recevoir

une petite marque en agreant le present que je luy laise de la somme de deux mil escus./ Mons[ieur] le Nain m'a tant donne de marques de son amitie que je debvoir luy en donne de grandes de ma reconnaissance, javoie que ce que jay faits pour luy ny est pas proportioné, Mais je suis persuadee quil ne laisse a pas d'avoir agreable que je le prie de recevoir la somme de six mil livres, Je veut et ordonne qu'arivant le deceds de mon fils tous les biens quil aura recus de mon succession mebles et immeubles appartiennent a Monsieur le Prince mon frere, Je prie les meres de port Royal des champs de laisser a Marguerite le bastier un logement dans ma maison sa vie durant et les meubles qui se trouvent dedans ma maison du port royal. Je nomme pour executeurs de mon present testament M[onsieu]r le Nain m[âitre] des requetes et monsieur du harlay procureur general, sous l'autorite de M[onseigneu]r mon frere que je supplie tres humblement par la fidelle et tendre amitie que jay tousjours pour luy d'accorder sa protection comme il me la promis a l'execution de mes denieres volonteiz contient dans ce present testament. Je donne a Mademoiselle de la Court aux bois une

Pention viagere de six cens livres sa vie durant.

Anne-Marie Martinozzi⁶

22 December 1671

Aujourdhuy vingt deuxiesme decembre moy anne marie martinossy princesse de Conty estant a pr[e]s[ent] saine de corps et desprit, ne voulant pas estre surprise de la mort sans avoir fait la disposition de mes dernieres volentes jay fait le present Testament. Premieremant apres avoir recommandé mon ame a la sainte trinité par les merites infinis de J[esus] C[hrist] N[otre] S[eigneur] et par l'intercession de la sainte vierge de sainte anne ma patronne des s[ain]t joseph, de

mon bon ange, des S[ain]t Louis, de S[ain]te Therese, de S[ain]te Madelaine et de tous les saints et saintes de paradis./ Je veus et ordonne que mon corps apres que mon ame en sera separee soit inhumé dans l'Eglise de la paroisse ou je mourray et que mes funerailles sont faites sans aucune seremonie et a moins de fraix qu'il sera possible de quoy je charge la concience de l'executeur de mon testament et apres nommé lequel je prie de faire dire mil messes pour le repos de mon ame./ Comme il ny a rien au monde qui me soit si cher que mes enfans ny dont je sois plus redevable a dieu que leur education il ny a rien aussy que je desire avec plus de passion de les laisser apres ma mort entre les mains d'une personne qui continue de leur inspirer les sentimens quils doivent avoir pour le service de dieu et de Roy./ Je ne croy pas que les grandes occupations qu'a monsieur le prince et dautres encore plus grandes quil peut avoir a ladvenir luy permission de prendre tous les soings qui son necessaire pour lededucation de mes enfans, cest pourquoy je desire que madame de longueville en soit chargée, elle a toutes les qualités requises, elle a beaucoup de tendresse pour eux, et dans lestat ou elle est, elle a tout le loisir necessaire, Je croy que ce choix sera agreable a monsieur le prince, madame sa soeur pouvant mieux que personne concerter avec luy cequi sera utile a mes enfans, je le supplie

doncques d'appuyer cette disposition, je supplie aussy messieurs mes parens et messieurs du parlem[ent] dequi je scay bien que ces tuteles des pendent de la trouver bon, s'il ce reconstruit quelques difficultes dans ce choix, je supplie tres humblement sa majesté davoir la bonté de les faire lever et de vouloir bien accorder sa protection a mes enfans dans cette occasion, que je crois tres importante pour eux et dans toutes celles ou jauront besoing se sa grande bonté./ Je desire que mes enfans se servent de ceux que jay mis aupres deux dont la pieté et la fidelité me sont connues, mais principalement de M[onsieu]r du Trouillas et des S[ieu]rs de Lancelot,⁷ la pejan,⁸ Thiers et jasse dont je connois laffection et la fidelité et aussy de mo[n]s[ieur] vidonne mon aumosnier dont la pieté mest connue et du S[ieu]r Arnould mon maistre d'hostel que je leur recommande particulierement. Je veus et ordonne que mes domestiques soit payes incessamment des gages et pensions qui leur seront deves, mesme de ceux de l'année de mon deceds encore quelle ne soit pas finie./ Je donne et legue a mad[emoise]lle le noir la somme de douze mil livres une fois payée seulemant./

Je donne et legue au s[ieur] de forges mon escuier la somme de huit mil livres./ Je donne et legue au de Thury mon escuier la somme de huit mil livres. Je donne et legue a M[onsieu]r Arnould mon maistre d'hostel six mil livres. Je donne et legue a margot ma femme de

⁶ AN, R³, 119, 22 December 1671.

⁷ Claude Lancelot, b. 1616.

⁸ M. de Montfaucon de La Péjan, sieur de la Roquetaillade.

chambre six mil livres. Je donne et legue a sanction ma femme de chambre quatre mil livres. Je donne et legue a duval mon valet de chambre quatre mil livres. Je donne a gautier controlleur de lescurie deux mil livres. Je donne a pelli, a Croisillac, sombraire, et jacques mes officiers mil livres a chacun. Je donne aux gens de mon escurie la somme de deux mil livres pour estre partagée entre eux. Je donne pareille somme de deux mil livres a mes quatre valet de pied et mathieu garcon de ma chambre pour estre partagée entre eux. Je donne a d'hostel garcon de ma chambre mil livres. Je donne a margueritte cordier pareille somme de mil livres. Toutes lesquelles sommes que je donne a mes

domestiques montant a la somme de soixante mil livres une fois payée, je desire et ordonne qu'elle soit payée dans l'année de mon deces./ Je donne a m[onsieu]r vidonne mon aumosnier la somme de quatre cens livres de pension annuelle sa vie durant. Je donne pareille somme a cecille ma premiere femme de chambre de quatre cens livres et de pension annuelle sa vie durant./ Je donne a la chaussee mon valet degarderobe deux cens livres de pension annuelle sa vie durant. Je donne aux Carmelites de narbonne la somme de dix mil livres une fois payée seulement./ Je donne aux bernardines dittes du sang pretieux demeurantes au faubourg st germain six mil livres une fois payées. Je donne et legue aux pauvres honteux de paris la somme de quatre mil livres une fois payée. Je donne a la maison de madame demondonville a tholose la somme de quatre mil livres pour luy ayder a entretenir des maistresses descoles aprenas et cella une fois payée. Je donne et legue aux capucines, aux filles de lave maria, aux recolettes du faubourg s[aint] germain

et aux filles de la misericorde du mesme faubourg a chacune cinq cens livres une fois payée. Je donne et legue aux pauvres des terres de mes enfans et pour les maistres et maitresses descole la somme de quatre mil livres une fois payée. Je donne a la maison des enfans trouvés a paris la somme de six mil livres./ Je donne a la maison de la providence dont ma[demoise]lle viole est superieure la somme de quatre mil livres. Touttes lesquelles sommes montant a la somme de quarente mil livres une fois payée seulement je desire et ordonne quil soit acquitte en l'année de mon deceds./ Pour le surplus de tous mes biens je fais et consigne mes heritier universel mon fils aisé, a la charge de payer mes debtes et dacomplir le present testament et de donner a mon fils monsieur le prince de la roche sur y on la part quy luy appartiendra dans lesd[its] biens suivant les loyes et les coutumes ou ils sont assis. Je supplie m[onsieur]r de lamoignon premier president du parlemant de paris de vouloir estre executeur de present testament a cette fin je desire quil soit saisy de tous mes biens jusqua lentiere execution de celuy et pour vacquer aux affaires de lad[ite] execution jay

choisy le s[ieur] jasse mon tresorier auquel je dois rendre ce tesmoignage que quoy quil nous ayt bien servy nous navons pas trouve doccasion de luy faire des graces considerables, cest pourquoy jexhorte mes enfans de luy en faire quand ils en auront le pouvoir, apres avoir leu le present testament je my arreste comme a ma derniere volonte, lequel testament jay signe et fait de ma propre main a paris ce vignt deuxiesme decembre

Jeanne de Schomberg, duchesse de Liancourt⁹

8 June 1674

Ce testament contient ma dernière volonté que je souhaite et entends être exécutée selon celle qui est exprimée ayant égard aux ratures que j'ay sous écrites en marge ou autrement en cette manière ou tout du long de mon nom estier J[eanne] de S[chomberg] huitième juin 1674 Jeanne de Schonberg

Au nom du père du fils et du saint esprit

Nous Jeanne de Schonberg, après avoir considéré devant Dieu l'incertitude de l'heure de ma mort et les œuvres de justice et de charité que je me sens obligée de faire ou d'ordonner devant celle qui arrive j'ay craint d'en être surprise et j'ay cru même que ces derniers temps ne devoyent pas être employés à songer aux choses qu'on laisse icy bas. C'est pourquoy ayant Dieu merci présentement le loisir et la santé nécessaires pour cela je fais ce présent testament que je déclare contenir ma dernière volonté et que je desire et ordonne qu'il soit exécuté ponctuellement. Je recommande mon âme à la très sainte trinité et je prie la glorieuse vierge Marie mon ange gardien saint Jean Baptiste saint Jean Evangeliste et tous les anges et les saints d'intercéder pour moy afin qu'il plaise à Dieu de me faire miséricorde par Jésus Christ son fils dans lequel je mets toute ma confiance et pour ma vie et pour ma mort J de Schonberg

Je déclare que je veux vivre et mourir dans la foy de l'église Catholique apostolique et Romaine, protestant que par la miséricorde de Dieu je n'ay jamais eu d'autres sentiments que les siens dont je le loue par Jésus Christ, et de toutes les autres grâces qu'il luy a plu me faire jusques à cette heure luy demandant pardon d'en avoir abusé. Je desire que mon corps soit mis au lieu où Monsieur de Liencourt mon cher mary choisira sa sépulture qui sera je croy à Liencourt avec ses pères et notre fils unique. Je desire et ordonne que mes obsèques et funérailles soient faites sans pompe funèbre et qu'au lieu des frais que l'on fait à des chapelles ardentes tantures et autres choses qui ne soulagent point les morts et qui combattent l'humilité chrétienne on face habiller cent pauvres de nos terres pour demander miséricorde à Dieu pour mes innombrables péchés et que l'on face dire mille messes par de pauvres prestres et dans de pauvres couvents pour le salut de mon âme de celles de mes parents et amis et des autres morts qui personne ne prie en particulier selon qu'il plaira à Dieu de leur appliquer J de Schonberg.

Item je veux et ordonne ne que toutes mes dettes soient payées si se trouve après ma mort que j'en aye en mon particulier. Je donne à Monsieur de Liencourt mon cher mary tout ce que je luy puis donner dans les coutumes ou mes biens sont situés en quelque nature qu'ils puissent être et en tous les cas où cette donation peut avoir lieu ne pouvant assez luy témoigner mon extrême amitié ny reconnaître la sienne. Pour ma petite fille je n'ay rien de temporel à luy donner puis que tout mon bien luy doit revenir après la mort de monsieur son grand père hors ce que j'auray donné entre vifs et par ce testam[en]t Mais je luy donne de bon cœur ma bénédiction et luy commande par l'autorité de mère de ne manquer jamais au respect et à l'amitié que luy doit, de vivre selon les saintes J de schonberg

⁹ AN, MC, ET/XCVIII/0250, 8 June 1674.

Instructions qu'on luy a données dans le souvent ou elle a esté nourrie et de se souvenir quil ny a que la vertu quil la puisse rendu heureuse en ce monde et en lautre. Pour monsieur de marsillac son mary je luy souhaite aussy toute sorte de bonheur solide et je prie Dieu de tout mon coeur quil le luy donne, je croy quil ne peut pas douter de mes sentiments la dessus, apres le temoignage que je luy ay donne de mon estienne et de mon amitié et quil nest pas besoin que je luy recommande ma chere fille sa femme parce que je le croy trop bien ne et trop reconnoissant p[ou]r manquer a laymer et a en avoir soin et de ses enfans. J de S.

Item je donne a Nicole Gascar ma femme de chambre trois cent livres de rante a jouir sa vie durant sur telle nature de mon bien quelle choisira ou trois mil francs une fois payes a son choix.

[Crossed out] Je donne a genevieve le fevre mon autre femme de chambre une somme telle quelle pourra monter a raison de deux cens francs par an pour le temps quelle aura demeure avec moy. [Note in the margin] Genevieve sest faite depuis religieuse et a eu sa reco[m]panse et je donne a celle qui se trouvera en sa place a ma mort a raison de cent cinquante francs par an p[ou]r le temps quelle m'aura service. J de S.

Je donne a Oyanville la mere deux cents livres de rante viagere a prendre aussy sur telle nature de mon bien quelle voudra et je prie monsieur de liencourt de la garder dans la maison comme elle y est tant quelle vivra. [Note in the margin] Par moy cette ligne cy dessous les dits deux cents livres luy servant de gages et de nourriture. J'ay raye les mots et les lignes cy dessus de cette marge.

[Crossed out] Je donne a Charles qui a esté si longtemps mon cocher cent livres de rante sa vie durant si on luy oste les gages et la nourriture quil a presentement dans la maison. [Note in the margin] cet article est rayé le dit Charles estant mort depuis. J de S.

Item je donne a Bernard qui estoit mon cocher trois cents livres.

Je donne a mon postillon deux cents livres.

Je donne a chaquun de mes laquais deux cents francs en argent et dix escus p[ou]r un habit.

Ces trois articles une fois payees. J de S.

Je donne a gautier deux cent livres de rante sa vie durant pour le service quil estoit de mon train sachant que monsieur son maistre le recompane selon ses services et son affection. Pour ceux de n[ot]re maison qui sont avec nous sans estre ny a nos gages ny nos domestiques qui sont m[onsieu]r de linieres et m[onsieu]r poncet je donne a m[onsieu]r de linieres un cheval de cinquante pistoles pour luy temoigner ma bonne volonte et je prie monsieur de liencourt mon cher mary den avoir soin sa vie durant j de schonberg.

Et je donne a M[onsieu]r Poncet quatre cents livres de rante sa vie durant a prendre sur telle nature de mon bien quil voudrais choisir, ou qui luy sera rachete en mesme temps sil le desire J de S. Et je prie de vouloir bien demeurer aupres de Monsieur de liencourt mon cher mary autant quil le desirera sachant bien quil luy peut estre fort utile principalement sil se retire. Item je donne a M[onsieu]r le barondes estangs et a sa seur chaquun cent livres de rante leur vie durant outre que mon frere leur a donné par son testament a condition quilz demeureront ou il leur sera ordonné par une assemblee de trois ou quatre de leurs parents et non autrement n'estant pas capables de disposer deux mesme. J de Schonberg.

Pour tous nos domestiques qui ne sont pas destine a mon service particulier je les recommande seulement de tous mon coeur a leur bon maistre sachant quil ne les abandonnera pas et quil aura esgard a leurs services et a leurs necessites. Item je donne au R[évérénd] pere des mares trois cens livres de rante a prendre sur telle nature de mon bien quil voudra tousjours choisir pour en jouir sa vie durant au lieu des autres donations que monsieur de liencourt mon mary et moy luy avons faites cy devant et je prie tres instanment le dit r[évérénd] pere de vouloir demeurer a leincourt pour y faire plus en repos les choses que Dieu desire de luy et pour la consolation de mon cher mary qui peut avoir beaucoup de besoin de luy et durant sa vie et sa mort sil le survit et je supplie les executeurs de mon testament davoit grand soin de luy asseurer cette rante viagere. J de Schonberg.

Je donne a Monsieur curé de liencourt cinquante livres de rante tant quil sera n[ot]re cure pour ladministration des sacrements a ceux de n[ot]re maison et p[ou]r la disme de quelque bestiaux que lon peut garder dans nostre bassecourt. Je donne a Messieurs de Blampignon et Pilete chaqun cinquante livres de rante tant quils seront cures de nos paroisses a cause du peu de valeur de ces deux cures. Je donne cinquante livres de rante annuelle et perpetuelle a la fabrique de liencourt pour luy donner plus de moyen dentretenir leglise en lestat ou elle est a condition que cette some ne semploiera que pour les reparations du dehors et du dedans (aux endroits que les chanoines gros disoneurs ne doivent point entretenir) et apres p[ou]r les ornements les plus necessaires cette rante rachetables au dernier vingt cinq p[ou]r estre mise surement. J de Schonberg.

Item je donne a nos pauvres eglises mil francs p[ou]r les reparer et si elles le sont a ma mort pour leur acheter les ornements necessaires, tout cela selon lordre des executeurs de ce present testament. Je donne par le mesme ordre les dits executeurs aux pauvres de nos terres deux mil francs pour acheter des lits tels quil leur faut pour faire coucher leurs enfans separement ou pour quelque autre chose sil y en a que lon juge plus importante. Je ne dis rien p[ou]r nos hospiytaus parce que sel restoit quelque chose a achever ou a ordonner a ma mort p[ou]r nos fondations ou pour la maniere dadministrer le bien qui y est donne ou destine, je croy que monsieur de liencourt et les autres executeurs de ce present testament donneroyent ordre et aupres nous monsieur de marsillac ne manqueroy pas dy tenir la main avec le soin que Dieu les oblige den avoir. J de Schonberg.

Item je donne aux pauvres malades de la paroisse de st sulpice a paris mil francs une fois payes qui seront mis entre les mains de mons[ieu]r le curé du lieu ou de la dame qui sera tresorierer de la contrarie des dits malades. Je donne deux mil francs une fois payés au seminaire de Monsieur l'Evesque de Beauvais si cest celui dapres qui le soit encore quand je moureray. Je donne cinquante escus aux capucines de paris et cela une fois payé. Je donne a M[onsieu]r dolebeau¹⁰ qui a esté precepteur de mon fils cinq cents escus une fois payes p[ou]r tenir lieu de quelque chose que je luy avois promis de ma part verbalement quand il sortit de n[ot]re maison et a quoy je croy estre obligée par cette raison. J de schonberg.

Item je donne aux filles de la charité establies par mademoiselle le gras devant st lasare mil escus une fois payés a condition quelles continueront a nous donner de leurs filles et de nous en changer par n[ot]re fondation de liencourt tant que nous et nos successeurs seigneurs de la desireront. Je donne mil francs a lhospital de la charite estably au fauxbourg st germain et cest aussy une fois payé et afin quils recouvent de nos pauvres pour leur faires les grandes operations. Je donne trois mil livres au couvant des ursulines dorleans estably depuis peu dans le fauxbourg des portereaux sachant la piete de cette nouvelle maison et je veux que la

¹⁰ Nicolas Dolebeau.

rante de cette somme suive la fille de m[adam]e de liniere qui y est religieuse et apres sa mort les filles de n[ot]re consierge le fevre qui sont et qui seront alors au mesme couvent en cas quon les envoye hors de la ditte maison en quelqu autre monastere a condition neanmoins que la rante reviendra a la ditte maison dorleans apres la mort de la derniere. J de schonberg.

Je supplie tres humblement monsieur le duc de liencourt mon cher mary et les autres executeurs de ce present testament que je nommeray cy apres de faire payer le plus tost quil se pourra les leg[ue]s qui y sont contenus et je veux que le fonds en soit pris sur le bien qui doit revenir a ma fille apres ma mort et non pas sur mon bien dont Monsieur de liencourt doit jouir sa vie durant, mais je le supplie demprunder les sommes quil faudra p[ou]r cela afin de facilites ce payement et de retenir la rante sur le reste de mon bien qui doit revenir a ma fille aussy tost apres ma mort afin que mes dernieres volontes soyent acomplies de son vivant ce que je ne doute point quil ne face conoissant comme je fais son amitie pour moy et sa justice et sa fidelité p[ou]r tout le monde. J de Schonberg.

Si la forme de ce testament que nest escrit que dun costé des feuillets laissant une page blanche de lautre est une forme extraordinaire et que jaye manque en quelque chose que lon ait acoutumé d'observer je supplie tres humblement ceux qui seront juges des difficultes qui en peuvent naistre davoit esgard a mon intention quilz conoistront asses aysement et non pas a mes fautes n'estant pas en lieu ou je puisse prendre avis la dessus. Et si dans tous les articles de ce testament je ne dis point de raison de mes petits dons ny quasy aucune chose qui marque les sentiments de tendresse ou de reconaissance que jay pour ceux qui y sont nommes je les supplie tous de croire que cest p[ou]r eviter la longuer et non pas manquer davoit ces sentiments tels que je dois pour leur amitie ou p[ou]r leurs services et que sans les besoins de n[ot]re famille je leur aurois mieus temoigne et mesme aux autres domestiques de la maison qui nont pas este destines a mon service particulier mais ne le pouvant je les recoma[nde] a m[onsieu]r leur bon maistre que je say certainement qui aura esgard a leurs services et a leurs necessites comme jay dit cy dessus.

Item je confirme encore icy la donation que jay faite cy dessus a monsieur de liencourt mon cher mary de tout ce que je luy puis donner apres mes dettes particuliers et mes legs aquités et je le supplie tres humblement de trouver bon que je le nomme pour un des executeurs de ce present testament et de joindre ses prieres aux mienes p[ou]r obtenir de monsieur le nain et de monsieur de luy estre assossies a cette peine et si lun des trois morroit deva[n]t l'entree execution de ce testament je supplie ceux qui resteront d'en nomer un autre promptement afin que mes dernieres volontes soyent bien tost executées. Je renonce tous les autres testaments que je pourois avoir fais devant celuy cy en cas quil sen trouve et je declare encore que celuy cy contient ma derniere volonte et quil ne ma este sugere de personne fait a liencourt ce septiesme octobre mil six cens soixante six. Jeanne de schonberg.

Depuis ce present testament ma fille estant decedee jentends quaux endroits ou il est parlé de ses biens cela sentende sur les biens de ses enfans, fait a paris ce 16me juiller mil six cens soixante et dix J de Schonberg.

Nous Jeanne de Schonberg ay ajousté a mon testament cy devant escrit qui sensuit par forme de codicile je donne et legue a l'abbeye de Port Royal des Champs la somme de dix mil livres pour estre payée ay plus tard six mois apres le mort de monsieur de liencourt mon cher mary a la charge que du jour que laditte somme sera payee les dames abbesses et religieuses de la ditte abeye seront tenues de payer cinq cens livres de pension annelle a monsieur le maistre de sassy sa vie durant et nous declarons que cest le seul dont que nous ayons jamais fait a s[ain]te filles et a ceux qui les ont assistees quoy quelles mayent donne l'entree dans leurs

maison depuis plus de quarante ans. J de S. Fait a Paris ce vingt sisième juillet mil six cens soixante et dix. Jeanne de Schonberg.

Ce 14^{me} fevrier 1674 j'ajouste ce codicile a mon testament par ou je donne trois cens livres a monsieur le curé de la roche guion pour les soings quil a pris poiur moy durant ma maladie et deux cens escus a fonteine chicurgien de Monsieur de liencourt pojur ceux quil a eux de me servir de son art dans toutes mes infirmités depuis quil est ceans et je supplie mon dit sieur mon cher mary de continuer a avoir soin de luy en lasseura de ce quil luy a donne ou de quelque chose de mieux sil continue jusques a la fin a la servir soigneusement et fidellement J de Schonberg.

Monsieur et madame de Brienne¹¹

26 August 1665

Pardevant les Notaires et gardenotes du Roy nostre sire en son chastelet de Paris soubzsignes furent presens hault et puissant seigneur Messire henry Auguste de Lomenie chevalier comandeur des ordres du Roy conseiller en son conseiles, Ministre d'estat, Comte de Brienne et de Montbron, baron de Pougy et de Manteresse et haute et puissante dame, dame Louise de Beon du Massez son espouze qu'il auctorise en tant que besoin est ou seroit par ces putres¹² demeurant en leur hostel a saint Germain desprez des Paris rue saint pare estant indisposez de corps

depuis plusieurs mois, toultesfois sains d'esprit memoire et entedent ainsy qu'il es[t] apparu aux notaires soubzsignes, par leurs gestes, parolles et maintiens, lesquelles desirant n'estre prevenue de la mort abintestat ont au nom du pere, du fils et du saint Esprit, qu'ils ont adoré connue l'auteur de leur estre un seul dieu tout puissant qui nous a crees et racheptes par le sang tres precieux de Jesus Christ Nostre Sauveur, dont ils invoquent la grace et le secours pour leur derniere heure, sachant que nous ne pouvons paroistre devant dieu son pere que restus de ses merites,

demandant aussy avec humilité et confiance les prieres et intercession de la tres sainte vierge sa mere que nous debuons tousjours regardes comme nostre maistresse et nostre vraye mere, Celuy de leur Saint Ange gardien de saint henry et de saint louise leurs patrons, La grande sainte Magdelaine et Saint Maurice, pour qui ils ont en toutes leurs vies le respect et une devotion toulte particuliere, Estant donc tous deux unis dans leur vollonté comme il de l'ont esté par lordre de Dieu, faict dicté nommé ausdits notaires soub[signe]z leur Testament et ordonnans

de derniere volonté, en la forme et maniere qui ensuit. Premierement veullent et entendent lesdits seigneur et dame testateur que toutes leurs debtes soient entierement payées et acquittées tant en principal qu'arrerages de rentes, Interests, frais et despence, si aucune sont debtes aux jours de leurs deceds, Comme aussy tout ce qu'ils peuvent debuoir aux marchands et artisans qui leur ont fait le plaisir de leur confier leur bien, en representant par eux leur promesses, partyes ou memoirs signes de l'un desdits seigneur et dame testateurs, Et en cas qu'il s'en trouve quelqu'uns

qui ayent d'en partyes ou Memoires non signes, Ils veullent pour la descharge de leurs consciences que letout soit acquitté par le dernier vivant, ou leur Executeur testamentaire cy apres nommé sur les tesmoignage qui leur sera rendu par eux qui auront une veritable connoiss[an]ce de leurs affaires, Et ce auparavant que leurs heritieres entre en possession des biens de leurs successions./ Item veullent et desirent lesd[its] seigneur et dame testateurs que leurs corps mort soient Inhumez et enterez, sçavoir celuy dudit seigneur dans leglise, et celuy de ladicte dame dans le cloistre du couvent des Relligieuses Carmelites

estably en la ville de saint denis en France dont il sont fondateurs, ces endroits a ce desja destines, avec la permission toutesfois de Monsieur le Curé de saint sulpice leur parroisse, Entre les mains duquel ils esperent rendre leurs ames pour les offrir a dieu, Il fera aussi de leurs corps selon ce qu'il croira raisonnable, Et en cas qu'il ayt agreable leurs desire en le lieu

¹¹ AN, 4 AP, 168, 26 August 1665.

¹² A marked abbreviation which might denote 'presentes lettres.' The same abbreviation appears in the princesse de Guéméné's testament, below, p. 352.

de leurs inhumations cy dessus déclaré, Apres que leurs dites corps auront esté portés a ladite paroisse leurs mire, comme il est accoustumé ledit sieur Curé aura la bonté de se mettre dans un carrosse et de conduire leurs corps audict

Couvent des Carmelites de saint denis, Et pour ce qui est du jour de leurs decés, ne desirent aucunes ceremonies, Mais veullent s'il est possible qu'il ne soit fait aucune chose contraire a l'humilité chrestienne se remestans detout a la charité et a l'amitié de leurs enfans et des ceux qui leurs succedderont qui en feront comme Il leur plaira, ne leur demandant et recommandant que des prieres./ Item Veullent qu'il soit dit un Annuel en ladite eglise saint sulpice a leur intention sitost et incontinent que le decés de chacun deulx sera arrivé, Et qu'il soit fondé deux

services a perpetuité qui se disent en se celebrent par chacun an a leur Intention a pareils jours que ceux de leurs decés, Et que pour ledit annuel qui sera dit apres le decés de chacun d'eulx et pour lesdits deux services a perpetuité, Il soit donné comme ils donnent et lequent l'oeuvre et fabrique de ladite paroisse saint sulpice, La somme de trois mil livres tournois pour une fois le plustost que faire ce pourra apres le decés de chacun d'eulx, Et pour laisser aussy dans leurs terres des marques de leurs amitié en suivre l'exemple de la foy et pieté

des seigneurs qui les y ont precedez, Ils veullent aussy y fonder un service a perpetuité dans leglise de chacun desd[ites] terres, qui se deront a pareil jour que celui de leurs decés, Et pour la retribution desd[its] services soit crée et constitué au proffit de l'oeuvre de chacune desdites leglises vingt cinq livres tournois de rentes annuelle, perpetuelle et non racheptable, a prendre sur le revenu de chacune desdites terres, Et daultant qu'ils a ont donné a Monsieur leurs fils aîné la terre et Comté de Brienne, Ils le prient de voulloir agreer ladite fondation sur icelle./ Item veullent aussy Lesdits

seigneur et dame testateurs que les gages de leurs serviteurs domestiques qui se trouveront leurs estre devbre au jours de leurs decés, soient entierement payés suivant lestat qui s'en trouvera fait, Et outre ce leur sera fourny a chacun un habit de deuil complet, avec une année de leurs gaiges, dont ils leur font don et legs, Et a lesgard de leurs lacquais qui n'ont point de gages, ils leur donnent et leguent a chacun la somme de trois cens livres pour apprendre mestue ou y faire ce qu'il en adviseront, Comm'aussy donnent et leguent a la nommée Virette servante domestique, outre

lesdits gages a ladite année de plus comme aux autres domestiques, La somme de six cens livres pour une fois, pour ayde a la maries, Et en cas que la dame Rius veuve laquelle demeure depuis son bas age au service et avec lesdits seigneur et dame testateurs, et qui a presentement soing et est gouvernante de leur petit fils Comte de Brienne fils unique de Monsieur leur fils aîné, Ne soit rescompensée et reconneue honnestem[en]t par Mondit sieur leur fils aîné des soings et Education de son fils, Le dernier vivant desdits seigneur et dame testateurs luy ordonnera comme de sa present

audit cas Il luy ordonne et legue la somme de mil livres payable apres le decés dudit dernier vivant, outre ce qui se trouvera luy estre deub par promesse obligation, ou autrement, Lequel deub luy sera payé entierement, Item donnent et leguent au nomm[e] Breilly leur vallet de chambre et a francoise Audiart sa femme, femme de chambre de ladite dame, La somme de trois Mil livres pour une fois payer apres le decés du dernier mourant desdits seigneur et dame testateurs po[ur] rescompenser leurs bons, longes et fidele services, outre ce qui se trouvera leur estre deub, qu'ils

veullent et entendent aussy leur estre payé./ Item donnent et leguent, au nommé Audiart aultre vallet de chambre dudict seigneur, la somme de Quinze cens livres, outre ses gaiges et l'année de plus, pour se mettre en estat de se pouveoir de charge pour vivre plus commodement, Et ce un reconnoissance de ses longs et fideles services, Laquelle somme luy sera aussy payée apres le deces du dernier mourant desdits seigneur et dame testateurs./ Item donnent et leguent au nommé du Roche leur escuyer de cuisine,

la somme de six cens livres tournois, outre ses gaiges de l'année de plus payable comme celles susdites, sans prejudice ny diminution de ce qui luy est et se trouvera deub par obligation, promesse ou autrement, pareillement en consideration de ses bons et agreables services qu'il leur rend depuis long temps./ Et a lesgard du nomme Guillin vallet de chambre de ladite dame, en consideration de ses longs et tres assidus et fidels services, lesdits seigneur et dame qui entendent le gardes et conservu en leur Maison et service tant qu'ils Poiront, Prient Messieurs leurs enfans Qu'aucun d'eulx

le retienne avec luy et a son service Et luy continue ses gages et nourritures pendant sa vie, Et en cas qu'il desire se retire, veullent qu'il luy soit donné, comme ils luy donnent et leguent, la somme de Mil livres payable apres leurs deces, outre ses gaiges a une année de plus./ Item veullent que si le nommé Anse leur cocher desire apres le deces de l'un d'eulx se retire en son pays ou autre lieu, Ils luy donnent et leguent la somme de cinq cens livres qui luy sera payée lors de sa retraicte outre ses gages et l'année de plus comme aux autres, Et a l'esgard de Monsieur

de Chef de ville, Lesdits seigneur et dame Testateurs declarent ne pouvoir asses recompences ses soins services et sa fidellité mais pour quelque marque de leur reconnoissance en sa famille, Ils souhaitent que outre ce qu'ils luy doibvent et toutes les debtes ou il est obligé pour eux, qu'ils entendent estre acquittez payez preferablement a toutes autres pour sa descharge, Il soit donné apres leur deces, si fait n'a esté au paravant, La somme de dix mil livres tournois en faveur en consideration du mariage que lesdits seigneur et dame desirent estre fait du sieur de la Routtier fils

dudit sieur de Chef deville avec la damoiselle de Bousay filliolle de ladite dame qui est demeurante avec elle depuis son bas age, Mais comme cela est tres peu pour plus de cinquante années de soing, damitié et de services qu'il a rendus ausd[its] seigneur et dame, non pas comme un gentilhomme leur allié comme il est a cause de la feuë dame sa femme qui estoit alliéë de ladicte dame testatrice et de la maison du Masses, et par cette raison leurs enfans sont alliez de ceux desdits seigneur et dame Testateurs mais bien comme une personne qu'ils auroient esté

d'eulx, Un diamant de trois mil livres, ou de la vaisselle d'argent de mesme somme de trois mil livres, Le priant de continue ses bons advis a leur enfans et au dernier vivant d'eulx./ Et voulant pour la descharge de leurs consciences, tesmoigner combien ils se sentent obliges a l'extreme affection que Monsieur de Roquette maistre des Comptes a tousjours eue pour leurs interests, Ils recomandent et ordonnent a leurs enfans de laymer et considerer luy et les siens, comme une personne a qui ils reconnoissent, Voulans que les descharges qu'ils luy ont données reconnues pardev[an]t

notaires le neufiesme juillet Mil six cens soixante trois, soient receves et approuvées, Et qu'estant comme ils sont assurez de la cinsérité et fidellié de sa conduite, Il ne puisse pour quelque pretexte que se soit estre inquieté pour avoir voulu par bonté le meslee de leurs affaires, avec beaucoup d'avantage pour eux, Leur ayant fait touchée par ses soins des sommes tres considerable qui leur estoient deves et mesme leur ayant fait di[ver]ses fois des

advances de ses dernier a leur besoin qui luy ont causé quelque dommage, Ce que lesdits seigneur et dame testateurs voudroient bien pouvoir reconnoistre par

quelque chose qui marquant ce qu'ils doivent a son affection ils ont pour luy, et en memoire de ce le dernier vivant luy fera tel present que bon luy semblera pour le garder un memoire d'eulx./ Et apres le present testament accomply et celuy fait olographe par lesdite seigneur et dame testateur des le vingtiesme du present mois d'aoust, reconnues ce jourdhuy pardevant lesdites notaires soubzsignes executté tout ce qu se trouvera appartenie audits seigneur et dame testateurs, tant un contracts de constitutions, obligations, promesses, meubles meublans et autres leffets mobillieres, iceux seigneur et

dame testateur le donnent lequel et laissé A Messire Charles Francois de Lomenie abbé commandataire des abbaye de saint eloy de Noyon et Saint Germain d'auxerre leurs fils pour en dispose en pleine propriété comme bon luy semblera, A la charge toutesfois de baills ausdites dames Religieuses de Carmelites de saint denis la somme de six mil livres tournois que lesdits seigneur et dame testateurs reconnoissent avoir en leurs mains appartient ausdites dames Relligieuses qui n'en ont aucune reconnoissce ny escript, Et encore a la charge de donne a Messire Allexandre Bernard de Lomenie son frere comandeur du Malte, une tanture de

tapisserie destosse, un lit de damas cramoisy qui sest presentement, et le petit service de vaiselle d'argent que la Reyne de Pologne leur a donné, Et encore a Madame la Marquise de Gamache leur fille, de l'affection de laquelle ils ne peuvent asses se loue, le plus beau des diamans qui se trouveront appartenir aud[it] seigneur et dame testateurs, lesquels sont don et leges des susdites choses ausdites sieur Chevalier leurs fils et dame de gamache leur fille, Et pour executes et accomplir le present testament ledits seigneur et dame testateurs ont esleu et nommé la personne de Monsieur Boucherat¹³ conseiller

d'Estat ordinaire leur parent et amy qu'ils prient de vouloir prendre la peyne, voullans qu'il soit a en effet saisy de tous leurs biens suivant la coustume Le priant de retenir et accepter un des plus beaux tableaux a son choix de ceux qui trouveront appartenir audits seigneur et dame testateur, Revoquant par eux tout autres testaments et codicilles qu'ils peuvent avoir faictes au paravant le present, auquel seul et a celuy cy dessus dacté ils se sont arresté et arrestent comme estant leur intention et derniere volonté, Ce fut ainsy faict dicté et nommé par lesdite seigneur et dame testateurs audits notaires soubzsignes

et a eux par d'un d'eulx lautre present leu et releu le present testament auquel ils ont perservé en l'hostel ou ils sont demeurant devant déclaré l'an mil six cens soixante cinq le vingt sixiesme jour d'aoust apres midy et ont lesdits seigneur et dame de Brienne testateurs signé avec lesdits notaires soubzsignes la minutte dudit present testament demeurée pardevant de franc l'un d'iceux notaires.

¹³ Louis Boucherat (d. 1699).

Anne de Rohan, princesse de Guéméné¹⁴

25 January 1678

Pardevant les conseiller du Roy notaires gardenottes de sa majesté en son chastelet de Paris sous signes fut p[rese]nte en sa personne haute et puissante princesse Madame anne de Rohan Princesse de Guéméné Duchesse douairiere de Montbazon veuve de hault et puissant Prince Monseigneur Louis de Rohan Prince de Guéméné Duc de Montbazon Pair et Grand veneur de France, demeurante a Paris en son hostel seis place Royale paroisse saint Paul; Estant mad[ite] Dame en bonne santé et disposition de corps et d'esprit, ainsy quil est apparus ausd[its] notaires sous signes laquelle a déclaré avoir cy devant fait son testament olographe le huitiesme avril mil six cens soixante un, recogneu pardevant Groyn¹⁵ et Dehenaut¹⁶ no[tai]res aud chastelet le douziesme desd[it] mois et an, suivy de deux codiciles passes p[a]rdevant Gaultier¹⁷ et led[it] dehevault no[tai]res le quatriesme juin mil six cens soixante six et huitiesme decembre 1667, et de deux autres actes passes pardevant Moufle¹⁸ et les Dehenaut no[tai]res le quinziesme octobre mil six cens soixante treize et douze fevrier mil six cens soixante quinze, Mais l'estat de sa famille ayant changé par la mort de Monseigneur Louis de Rohan son fils puisne arrive en l'annee mil six cens soixante quatorze et estant dans le dessein de marier Monseigneur Charles de Rohan Prince de Guéméné, Mad[ite] dame Princesse de Guéméné a estimé debroir faire une nouvelle disposition de sa derniere volonté et pour cet effet elle a dicte et nommé ausd[its] notaires sousignes son testament en la forme et maniere qui ensuit./

Premierement elle a protesté de vouloir mourir dans la religion Catholique, apostoloique et Romaine qu'elle a tousjours professée Priant Dieu de luy vouloir faire misericorde particulierement a l'heure de sa mort implorant l'intercession de la sainte vierge, et de s[ain]te anne sa patronne, lors quil aura pleu a Dieu de disposer de sa vie, elle desire estre inhumée dans le tombeau qu'elle a fait construire en sa chappelle de l'Eglise des feuillans de la rue saint honoré, Quant a ses obseques a funerailles, elle les remet a la disposition de son executeur testamentaire sous nommé le priant den user avec une modestie chrestienne, a l'egard des dispositions pieuses et recompenses de ses domestiques et serviteurs elle remet a en dispose par des actes particulieres ainsy qu'elle le jugera a propos./

Et quant aux biens temporels qu'elle laissera au jour de son deceds elle a disposé ainsy quil ensuit./

Après avoir revoqué comme par ces putres elle renvoque les dits testaments codicilles et actes cy dessus dattes et tous autres testamens et codicilles quelle pourroit avoir faites./

Et considerant que la conduite que continue de tenir led[it] seigneur duc de Montbazon son fils en la dissipation quil a faicte de ses biens ne promet pas desperer quil en use mieux a ladvenir et mad[ite] dame testatrice voiant estre obligee de veiller a la conservation de lestat

¹⁴ AN, MC, ET/ ET/LXXXVII/267, 25 January 1678.

¹⁵ Michel Groyn.

¹⁶ Charles Déhenault.

¹⁷ François Gaultier.

¹⁸ Benjamin Moufle.

dune aussy grande maison que celle dont elle apres naissance aussy bien que led[it] feu seigneur Prince de Guémené son mary, elle a declaré quelle entendoit suivant le pouvoir a elle donne par les loix que led[it] seigneur duc de montbazon ne puisse avoir quon simple usufruit dans les biens quelle laissera au jour de son deceds laquelle usufruit elle veut estre reduit conformement a l'arrest du parlement de paris quatre aoust mil six cens soixante sept (qui a continué l'interdiction dud[it] seigneur duc de montbazon) a la somme de six mil livres par chacun an, laquelle sera prisentant sur les revenus des biens de la succession dud[it] deffunt seigneur prince de Guemene son pere que sur ceux de mad[ite] dame testatrice a la charge que les usufruit ne pourra estre par luy transporté ny saisy a la requeste de ses creanciers attendu quil luy est laisse ppour sa subsistance et son entretien, Mad[ite] dame estant plainement persuadée quil seroit inutile de luy laisser un plus grand usufruit a cause de sa maniere de vivre depuis plusieurs annees./

Et a l'esgard du surplus de ses biens qu'elle laissera au jour de son deceds mad[ite] dame princesse les donne et legue cy plaine propriété et jouissance aud[it] seigneur prince de Guémené son petit fils et aux autres enfans legitimez dud[it] seigneur duc de Montbazon, pour estre divisez entr'eux suivant les coutumes des lieux ou lesd[its] biens sont situez./

Mad[ite] dame testatrice substitue aud[it] seigneur prince de Guemene et aux autres enfans legitimez dud[it] seigneur duc de Montbazon leurs dessendans en legitime mariage de degre en degre tant que substitution pourra avoir lieu pour estre lesd[its] biens aussy divisez entres led[its] dessendans suivant les coutumes desd[its] lieux

Et en cas que led[it] seigneur prince de Guemene ou aucuns des autres enfans legitimes dud[it] seigneur duc de Montbazon et leurs dessendans viennent a decedez sans enfans legitimez mad[ite] dame testatrice leur substitue ceux de ses dessendans nais en legitime mariage qui se trouveront les plus habiles ay succedes suivant led[ites] coutumes prohibant expressement mad[ite] dame testatrice l'allienation de sesd[its] biens tant que lesd[ites] substitutions durerant priant mesme lesd[its] dessendans de les renouvelles lors qu'elles viendront a expirer./

Et pour plus grande seureté desd[ites] substitutions mad[ite] dame princesse de Guémené entend que tous les effets mobiliers qui se trouveront au jour de son deceds soient employez au payment des debtes, mais au rachapt des rentes qu'elle pourra devvoir voulant neantmoins que les meubles qui servent a meubler les maisons de Paris et des terres tant de mad[ite] dame testatrice que de la succession dud feu seigneur prince de Guémené y soient conservez en nature a la charge toutes fois desd[ites] substitutions et pour faire l'employ desd[its] effets mobiliers prie Monseigneur le duc de Luynes executeur de son present testament de le faire et auquel elle veut que les titres et papiers concernant lesd[its] effets soient mis entre ses mains par veiller au recouvrement des[its] effets et a l'employer des derniers qui en proviendront et a cette fin l'extrait du present testament concernant led[it] employ sera signiffie aux debiteurs de mad[ite] dame./

Nonobstant les substitutions faites par mad[ite] dame testatrice et lad[ite] prohibition d'allienes elle veut que ceux de ses dessendans masles qui viendront a se marier puissent obliger subsidiairement ce qui leur appartiendra dans lesd[its] biens au douaire en usufruit des femmes quilspousera sans que lesd[its] biens substituez puissent estre affectez et hypotequez aux autres conventions matrimonialless attend qu'il sera au pouvoir desd[ites] femmes et de leurs parents de pouvoir par d'autres voyez a la seurete des dots qui leur seront constituez et quant aux filles elles pourront aussy subsidiairement ameublie dans les

communautez des maris qu'elles espouseront jusques a la sixiesme partie des biens qui leur escheront en vertu des mesmes dispositions et substitutions et si elles font profession de Religieuses il pourra estre pris encore subsidiarement sur lesd[its] biens qui leur appartiendront jusques a la somme de dix mil livres pour subvenir aux frais et despences qui seront a faire ce sujet et mil livres de pension viagere fere servant neantmoins mad[ite] dame d'y pouvoir autrement pendant sa vie tant pour les masles que pour les filles./

Et pour executer le present testament mad[ite] dame testatrice supplie mondit Seigneur le duc de Luynes¹⁹ d'y vouloir prendre la peine mesme en cas que led[it] present testament n'eust pas este public et enregistre dans tous les lieux ou il sera necessaire de le faire t de veiller a ce que les publications et enregistrements cy soient fait incontinent apres le deceds de mad[ite] dame./

Ce fut ainsy fait dicté et nommé de mot a mot par mad[ite] dame princesse de Guémené testatrice ausd[its] notaires soussignez et a elle par l'un deux l'autre present leu et releu qu'elle a dit bien entendre et telle estre sa volonté en une petite chambre dud[it] hostel de Guémené ayant veue sur la petite terrasse joignant la chambre dorée de mad[ite] dame princesse l'an mil six cent soixante dix huit le vingtcinquesme jour de janvier sur les une heure et demie apres midy et a signe sur la minutte des putes aus lesd[its] noaires soussignez demeuree en la possession de donc l'un d'iceux ainsy signe Moufle et Donc.²⁰

¹⁹ Louis Charles d'Albert de Luynes (1620 – 1699).

²⁰ Charles Henri Donc.

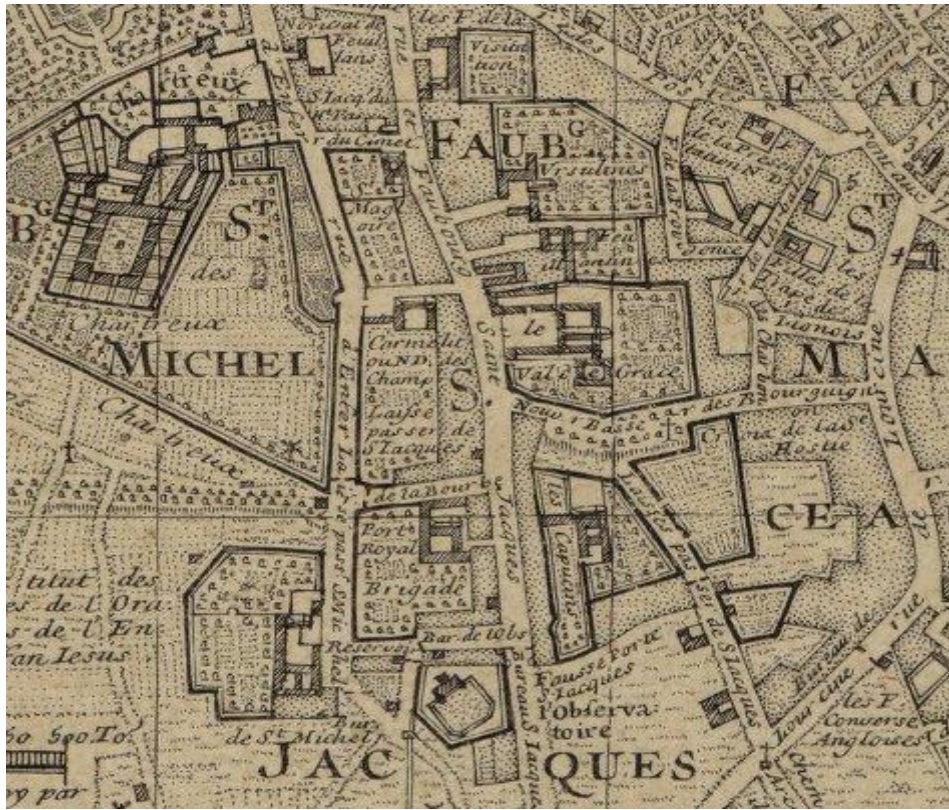
Appendix C Maps and Images

Maps of Paris

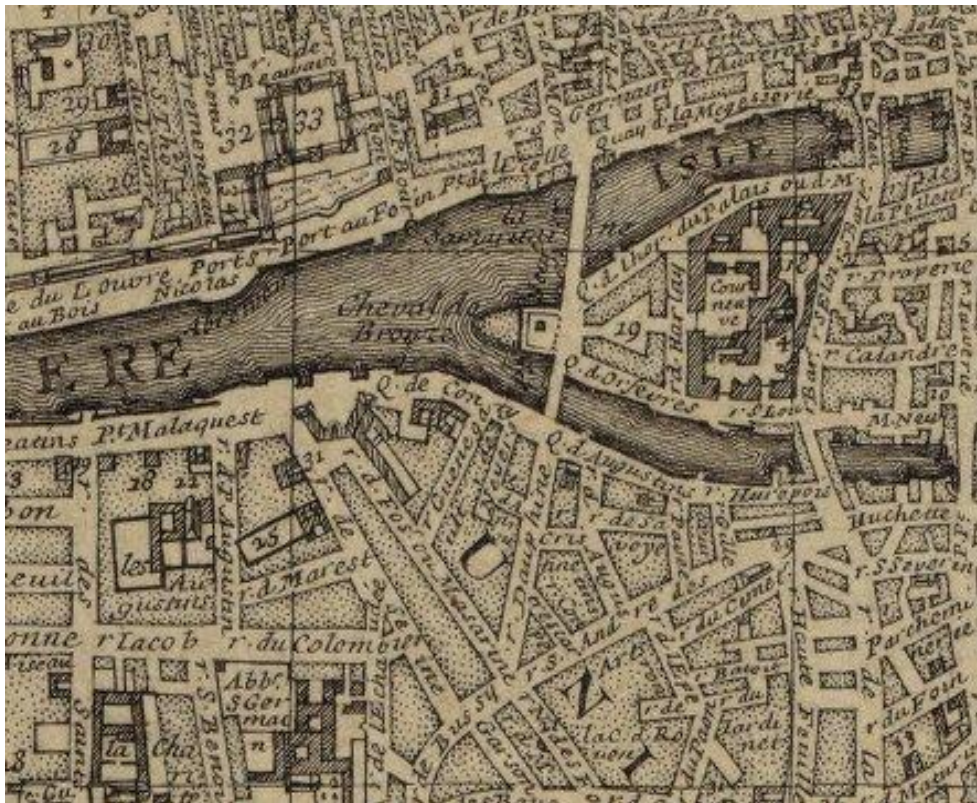


1.1 Charles Inselin, Plan de la ville, cité et université de Paris, ses faubourgs et ses environs (1705)

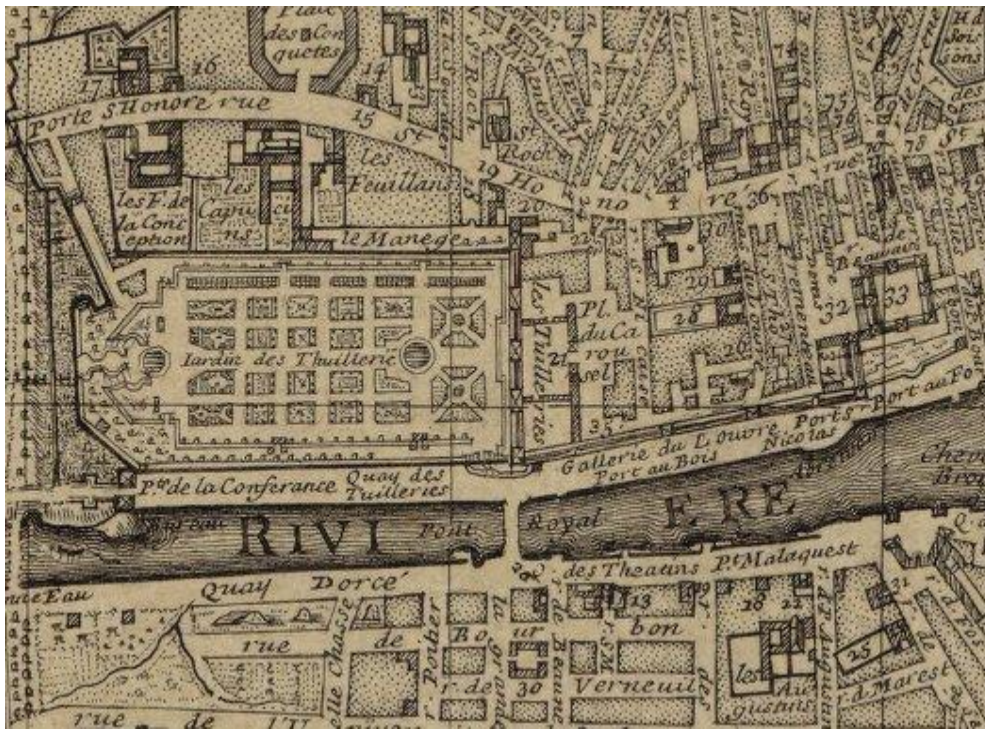
1.2 Faubourg Saint-Jacques



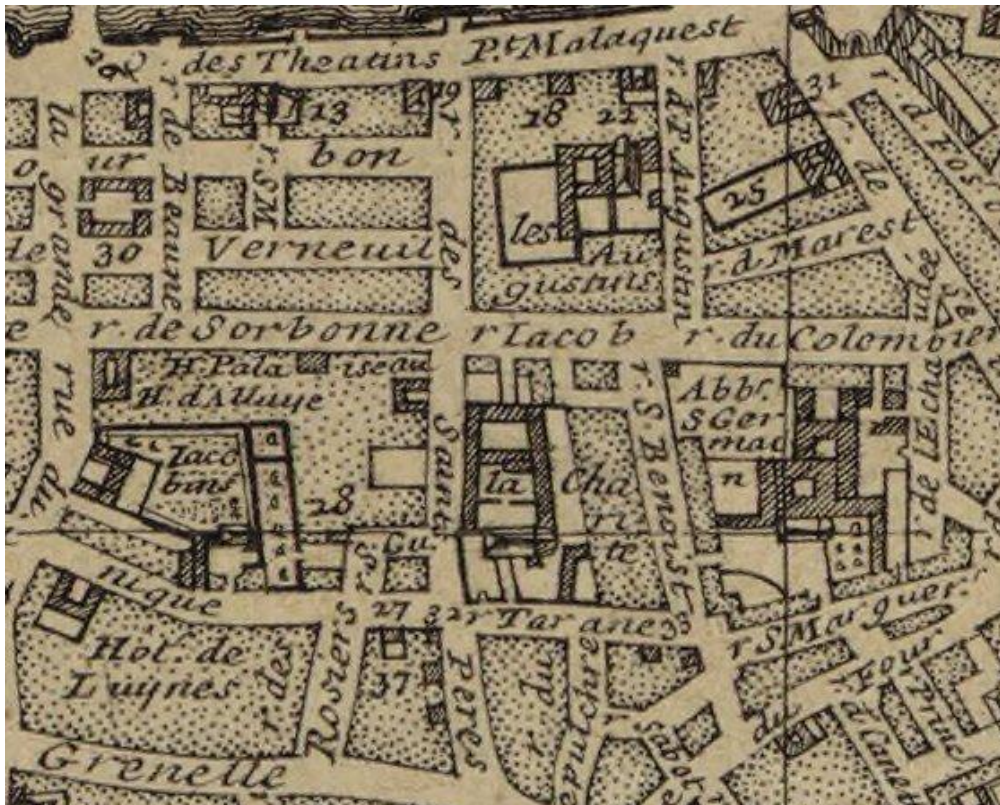
1.3 Hôtel de Liancourt, rue de Seine



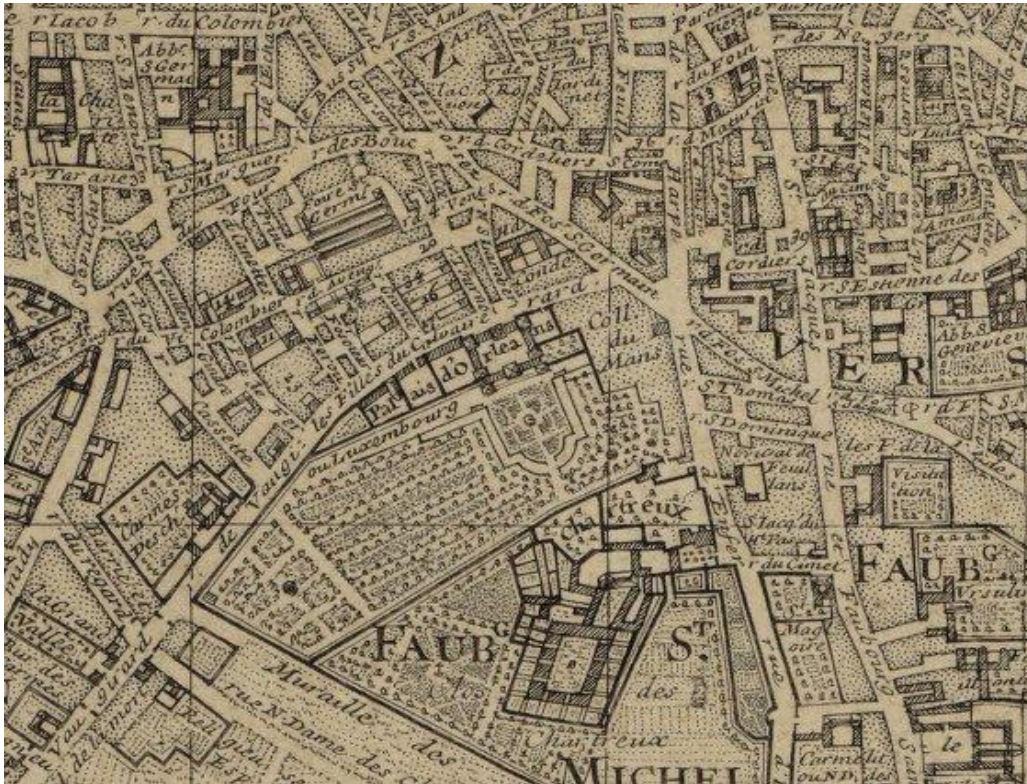
1.4 Hôtel de Guéméné, Place Royale



1.5 Hôtels de Brienne and Gamaches, rue des Saints-Pères



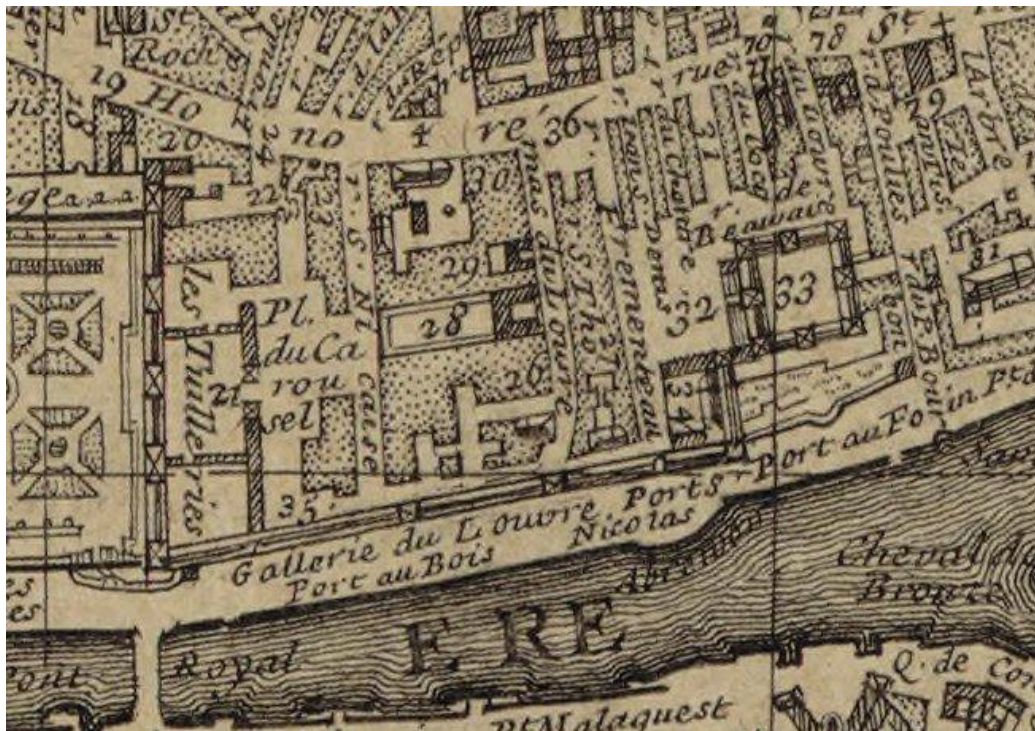
1.6 Hôtel de de Schomberg, near Saint-Sulpice



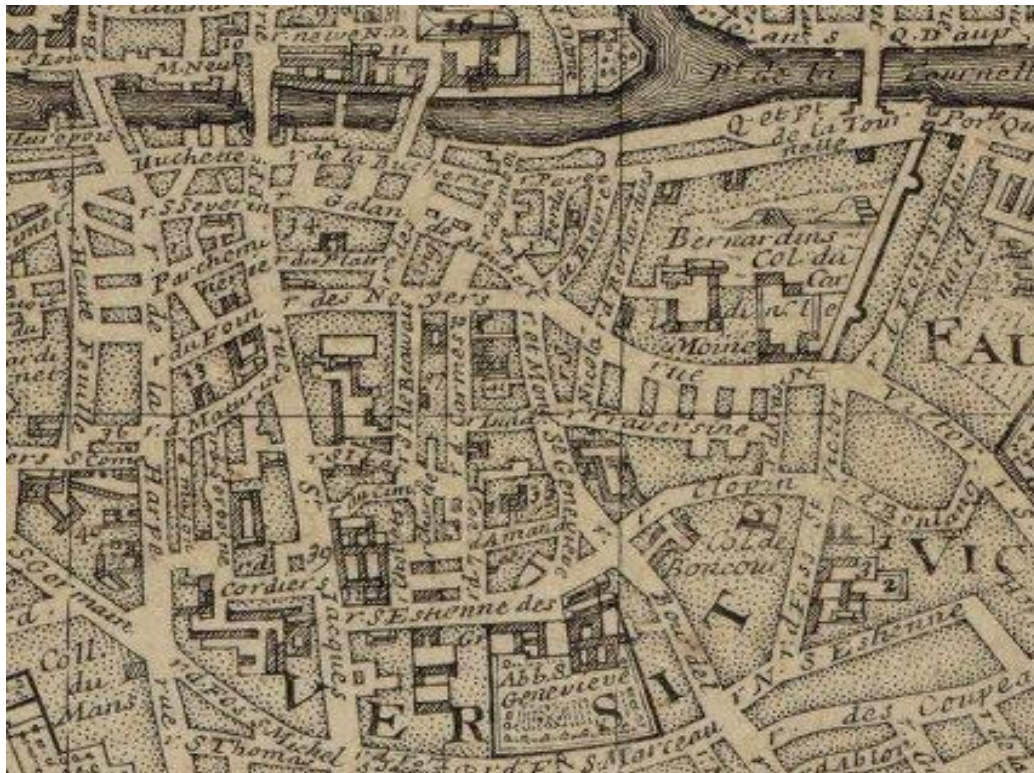
1.7 Hôtel de Conti, Quai de Conti



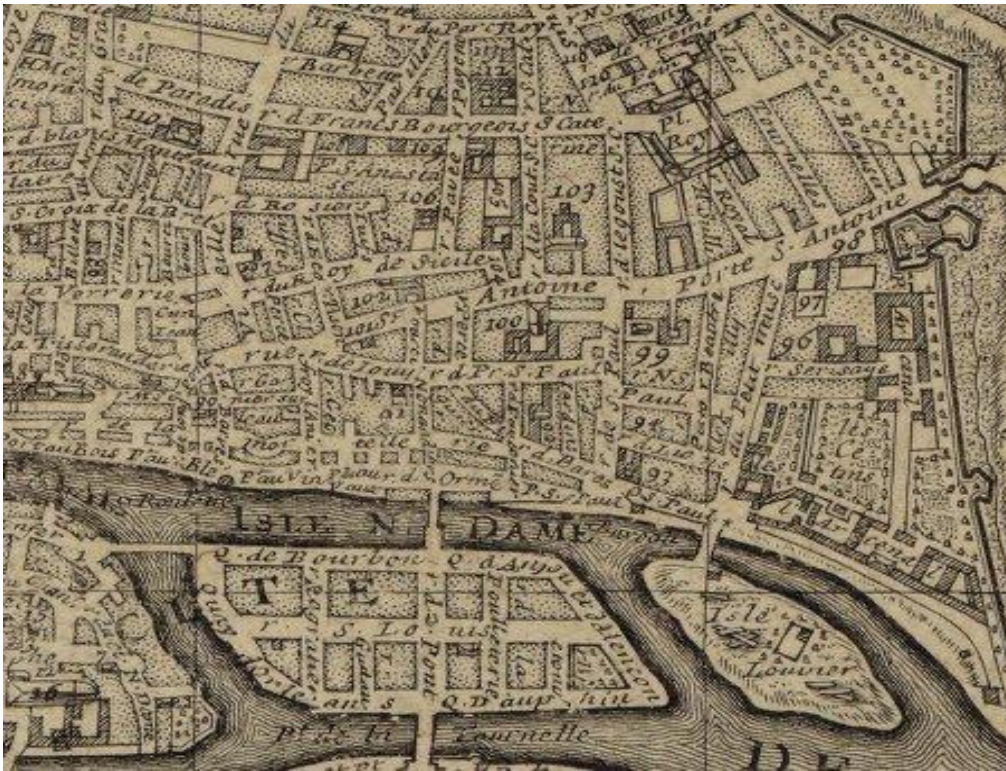
1.8 Hôtel de Longueville, rue Saint-Thomas du Louvre



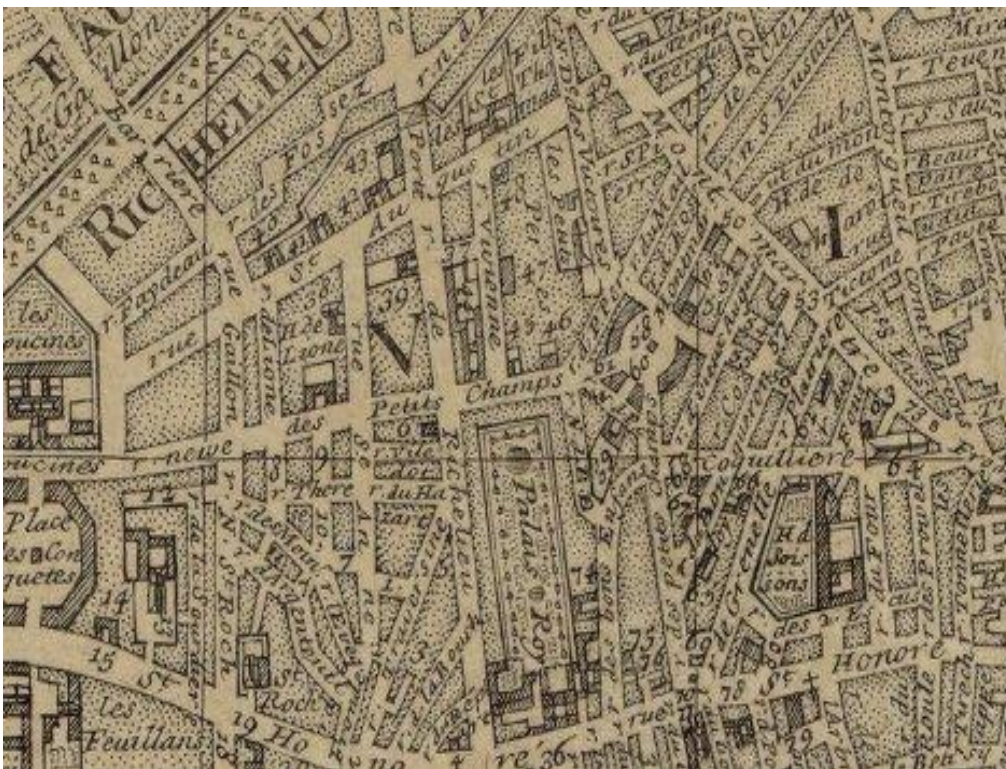
1.9 Hôtel de Gonzague, rue Sainte-Genève



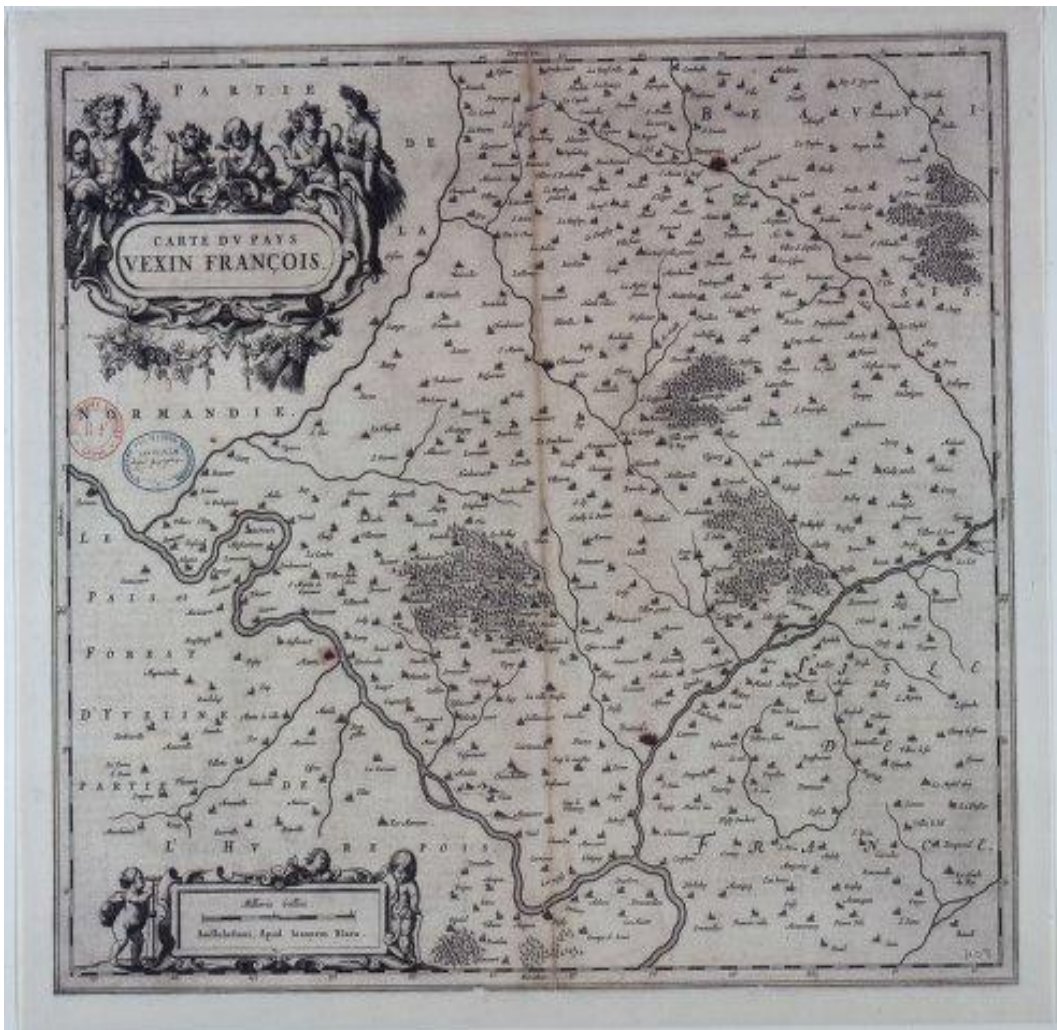
2.0 Hôtel de Guise, rue des Francs-Bourgeois



2.1 Hôtel de Richelieu



Maps of the Estates in the Vexin



2.2 Johannes Blaeu, Carte du pays Vexin françois, 1662

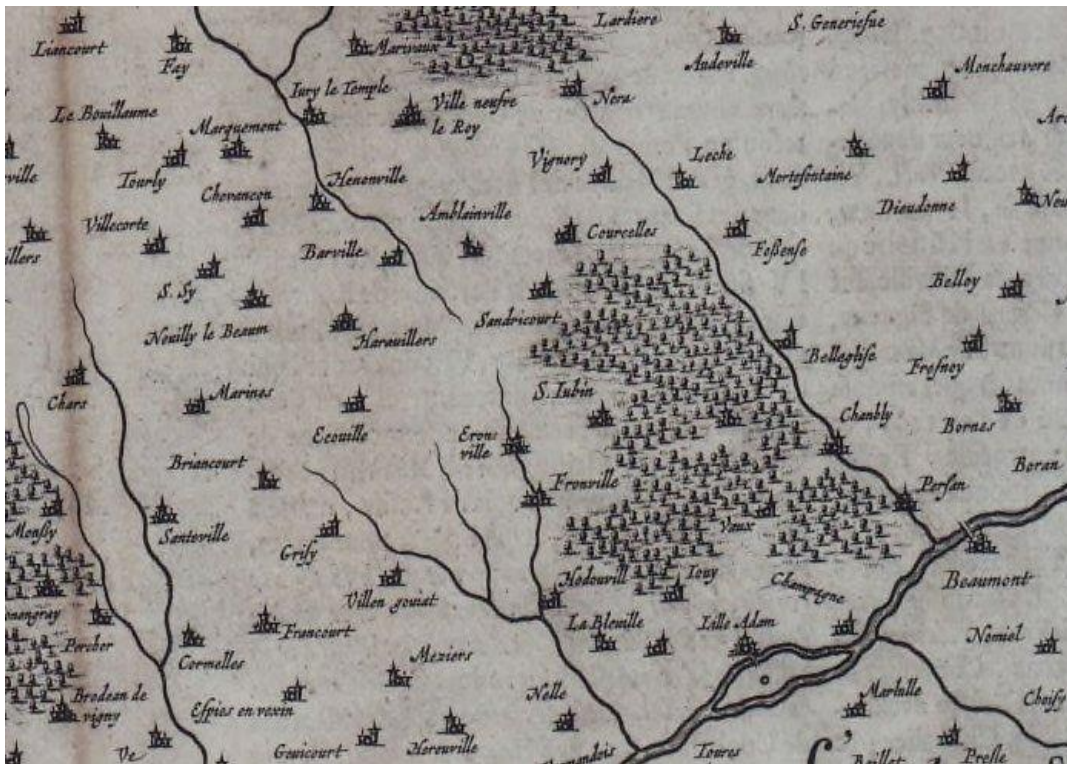
2.3 Trie



2.4 Trie and Liencourt



2.5 Liancourt and l'Isle-Adam



2.6 La Roche-Guyon and Liancourt





Figure 1.6 Tombeau de la princesse de Conti: À la gloire de Dieu et à la mémoire éternelle d'Anne-Marie Martinozzi, princesse de Conti (F. Girardon)¹

¹ BnF, Estampes et Photographie, Réserve, QB 201 51, (F. Girardon), 13.



Figure 1.7 Fountains in the gardens at Liencourt: ‘veue de la fontaine de la peruque’²

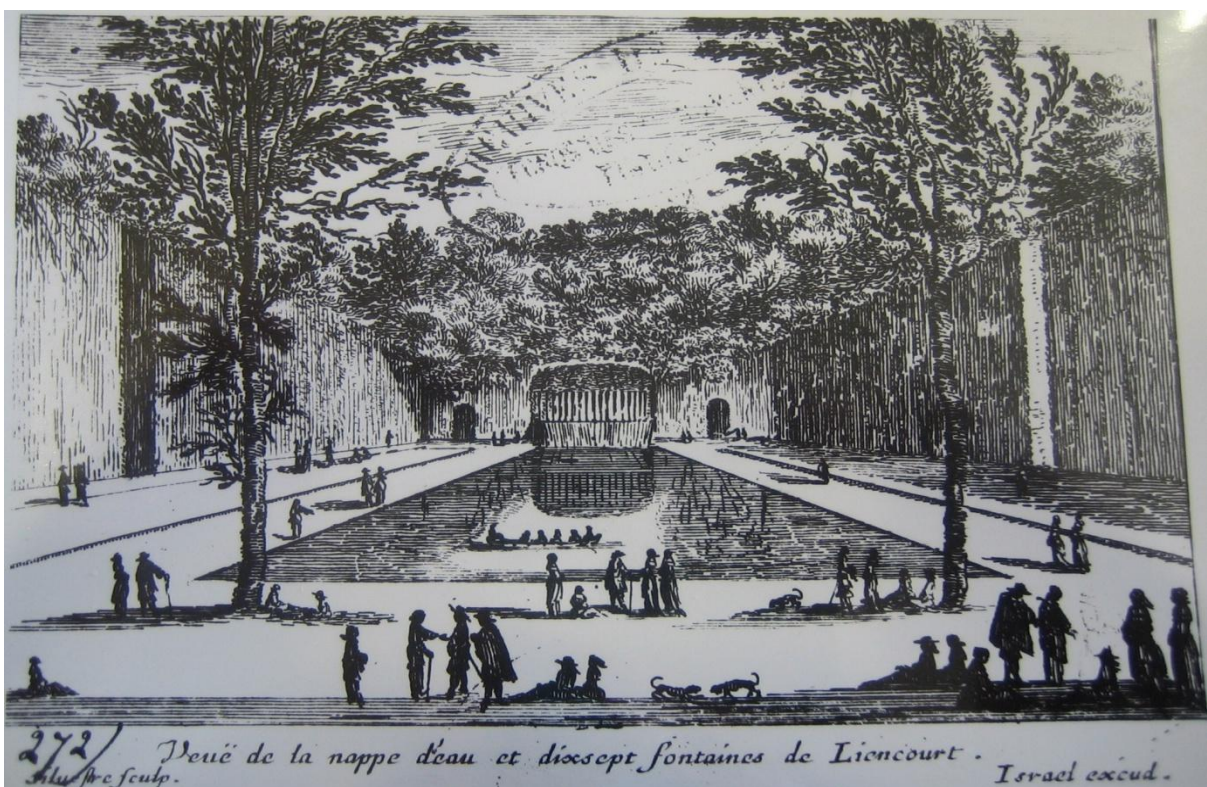


Figure 1.8 Water-jets in the gardens at Liencourt: ‘veue de la nappe d’eau et dix sept fontaines de Liencourt’³

² ADO, 1 FI 1, 80/16

³ ADO, 2 FI 1, 80/17.

Appendix D

A note on the Chartrier de La Roche-Guyon

Archives Départementales du Val d'Oise, 10J 1 - 2018

This Appendix lists sources in the Chartrier de La Roche-Guyon which will help to outline the future parameters of research on Jeanne de Schomberg, duchesse de Liancourt, and her estates.

It only lists material relevant to the duchess and not the documents already used in this thesis. It is not intended to be exhaustive, since the material is still being catalogued (October 2011).¹

10 J 10: Acquisitions and succession (1606 – 1669)

10 J 14: Marriage contracts, rents and debts (1620 – 1669)

10 J 24: Rents and Debts at La Roche-Guyon (1630 – 1670)

10 J 60: Instructions of Jeanne de Schomberg and Roger du Plessis addressed to Hossier (1655 – 1666)

10 J 213: Accounts, maintenance of the château de La Roche-Guyon (1590 – 1691)

10 J 235: Procedures at La Roche-Guyon, including regulations on the hunt

10 J 277 - 282: Accounts (1665 – 1674)

10 J 371: Papers of the chaplain Lemaire

10 J 383: Jeanne de Schomberg and the estate affairs at La Roche-Guyon (1631 – 1642)

10 J 384 – 386: Conseil duc de Liancourt (1654 – 1674)

10 J 389: General Administration of Liancourt and La Roche-Guyon

10 J 390: Accounts: apothecary and hospital (1663 – 1666)

10 J 391: Regulations on the hunt and other general administration

10 J 394 – 396: Accounts for Liancourt (1663 – 1666)

10 J 400: Religious traditions at La Roche-Guyon

10 J 404: Acts of Jeanne de Schomberg and Roger du Plessis, including nomination of a *curé* in 1670

10 J 408: Inventories of the *vaisselle d'argent* (1658 – 1672)

10 J 606 – 618: Accounts of Jeanne de Schomberg and Roger du Plessis (1631 – 1672)

10 J 746: Foundations for two chaplains at the château de La Roche-Guyon

10 J 753: Foundations in the parishes of the *duché* (1667-1670)

10 J 1305: Parish of Notre-Dame de La Désirée and Jeanne de Schomberg

¹ Thanks to Monsieur Patrick Lapalu and Madame Peltier for permission to use the current inventory.

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Nouvelle acquisitions français; 10951, 25240

Collection Clairambault; 441, 460

Collection Colbert; 104, 106, 131, 132, 136, 157, 157bis

Cinq Cents de Colbert; 159

Collection Dupuy; 754, 915

Mss. Arsenal; 3135, 3202, 4116, 4119, 4127, 5131, 5132, 5414, 5417, 5418, 5419, 5420, 5422, 7080

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8 AP, 1, 8 AP, 2
431 AP, 2

Série K 540, 541, 542, 574, 1314

Série R³ 2, 3, 101 – 119, 1063 – 1070

Série R⁴ 1056

Série S 2230, 4166, 4203, 4515^B, 4655^B, 6169

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Série G 114

Archives Départementales de l'Oise, Beauvais

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Série G 2353

Série H H II 478

Fi; 1 Fi 1, 80/8, 1 Fi 1, 80/13, 1 Fi 1, 80/16, 1 Fi 1, 80/21, 1 Fi 1, 80/22
2 Fi 1, 80/2, 2 Fi 1, 80/17, 2 Fi 1, 80/18

Archives Départementales d'Eure et Loir, Chartres

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