

Introduction: Madame d'Aulnoy, "Adventuress," Authority?*

The Other Voice

Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, baronne¹ d'Aulnoy (1652–1705) was the most celebrated and prolific author of fairy tales (*conteuse*) in France, publishing in 1697 and 1698 two best-selling collections of tales, a genre especially associated with women.² Yet she had first earned an international reputation as an author of historical works, which were considered male preserves.³ French women began rescripting history in historical novels and memoirs in the 1660s, as official historiographers were crafting the image of Louis XIV as the Sun King.⁴ D'Aulnoy was the first to publish historical (as opposed to autobiographical) memoirs: in 1690, *Mémoires de la cour d'Espagne*, translated into English, German, and Dutch; and in 1695, *Mémoires de la cour d'Angleterre*, also translated into English.⁵

D'Aulnoy was also the first Frenchwoman before the Romantic period to publish a travel account for its own sake, not as an episode in memoirs of her life. Her *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* appeared in 1691, at a time when the road was certainly "no place for a lady."⁶ Until the 1870s, *Travels* would serve as the

* This introduction greatly expands an earlier essay: Gabrielle Verdier, "Mme d'Aulnoy as Historian and Travel Writer," in *Teaching Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century French Women Writers*, ed. Faith E. Beasley (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2011), 212–21.

1. Though often called "countess," even by herself, she was, having married a baron, a baroness.

2. "Few forms of writing are as closely associated with women and femininity as the fairy tale." See *Enchanted Eloquence: Fairy Tales by Seventeenth-Century French Women Writers*, ed. and trans. Lewis C. Seifert and Domna C. Stanton, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: The Toronto Series 9* (Toronto: Iter, Inc. and Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2010), 1. Two of d'Aulnoy's twenty-five tales are included in this anthology.

3. Natalie Zemon Davis analyzed the constraints that impeded early modern women from writing general history. See "Gender and Genre: Women as Historical Writers, 1400–1820," *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*, ed. Patricia H. Labalme (New York: New York University Press, 1980), 153–82.

4. See Faith E. Beasley's groundbreaking study, *Revising Memory: Women's Fiction and Memoirs in Seventeenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

5. *Memoirs of the Court of Spain: In Two Parts, Written by an Ingenious French Lady*. Done into English by T. Brown (London: T. Horn, F. Saunders, and T. Bennet, 1692). *Memoirs of the Court of England. In two parts, by the Countess of Dunois*. Now made English, trans. J.C. (London: Bragg, 1707).

6. See Barbara Hodgson, *No Place for a Lady: Tales of Adventurous Women Travelers* (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed, 2002). Modern women's travels are still viewed in gendered terms. See Kate Elizabeth Cantrell, "Ladies on the Loose: Contemporary Female Travel as a 'Promiscuous' Excursion," *M/C Journal* [S.l.] 14, no. 3 (June 2011); <https://doi.org/10.5204/mcj.375>.

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authoritative source of information on Spain, inspiring Victor Hugo and many others. Particularly celebrated in England, it was translated immediately, first as *The Lady's Travels into Spain* (1691), then as *The Ingenious and Diverting Letters of the Lady's Travels into Spain* (1692).⁷ In the first half of the eighteenth century, this "Celebrated French Wit" was more popular in England than were any of her French contemporaries.⁸ Such was her reputation that in 1698, the prestigious Ricovrati Academy of Padua (founded in 1599) elected d'Aulnoy as its seventh female member from France and named her Clio, muse of history.

D'Aulnoy's historical novels, memoirs of royal courts, travel account, and best-selling fairy tales, which inspired nineteenth-century ballets, guaranteed her fame for many decades.⁹ Yet she virtually disappeared from the literary scene, to be rediscovered only in the late twentieth century, a common fate for early modern women in France. Joan DeJean demonstrated how female writers of the seventeenth century, who developed new literary sensibilities in their salons and invented the modern novel and other prose fiction without classical models, were gradually written out of French literary history.¹⁰ As the Sun King's court displaced the salons as the locus of culture under the absolute monarchy and the recently founded academies imposed neoclassical centralization, female writers were marginalized while their private lives were increasingly scrutinized. After the French Revolution in of 1789, the canon of "classic" French authors studied in the new

7. No copies of the first edition (1691?) have been found. The second was printed in London for Samuel Crouch, 1692.

8. See Melvin Palmer, "Madame d'Aulnoy in England," *Comparative Literature* 27, no. 3 (1975): 237–53. See also Christine A. Jones, "Madame d'Aulnoy Charms the British," *Romanic Review*, 99, no. 2 (2009): 239–56. Cross-Channel cousins, France and England had close dynastic and cultural relations in the seventeenth century. Charles I of England married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henri IV of France; their son Charles II, exiled in France after his father's beheading (1649) and restored to the throne after Cromwell's fall (1660), was Louis XIV's first cousin. Charles's sister, Henrietta of England, wed Louis XIV's brother, Philippe d'Orléans, her first cousin. Their daughter, Marie-Louise d'Orléans, was forced to marry Carlos II of Spain, her grandmother's half-brother. D'Aulnoy follows Marie-Louise's travails in her Spanish *Memoirs* and *Travels* (henceforth referred to as *Memoirs* and *Travels*).

9. For example, in Tchaikovsky's *Sleeping Beauty*, the bad fairy Carabosse, Bluebird, and White Cat are all based on d'Aulnoy's tales.

10. To avoid the sexual and verbal harassment in the French court, which was full of soldiers following the Wars of Religion, women of quality gathered in private homes. The hostesses invited writers, artists, and scientists, compensating for the education women were denied because schools were for boys only and instruction was in Latin. Their conversations set the standards for language, literature, and style. See Joan DeJean, *Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991). Salon culture and women's collaborative literary activity have been studied by several other scholars: Faith E. Beasley, *Salons, History, and the Creation of 17th-Century France: Mastering Memory* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006); Anne E. Duggan, *Salonnières, Fairies, and Furies: The Politics of Gender and Cultural Change in Absolutist France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005); and Allison Stedman, *Rococo Fiction in France, 1600–1715: Seditious Frivolity* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013).

secular secondary schools—exclusively for boys until 1880—emphasized virile virtues. It included only one woman, Mme de Lafayette (1634–1693), a dutiful wife considered irreproachable (though she settled in Paris while her husband stayed in the provinces) and her most famous historical novel *La Princesse de Clèves* (1678) (though it provoked a literary quarrel in its day).¹¹

D'Aulnoy's literary fortunes are an extreme example of such erasure from the Republic of Letters. Her tales, written for adults, were simplified and relegated to anthologies for children. Her *Memoirs* and *Travels* were labeled fakes. Worse, she was condemned as the most egregious of the “adventuresses,” those brazen women in late-seventeenth-century France who flouted their (often forced) marriage vows and dared to write about their lives, thereby threatening the very foundations of marriage and the patriarchal order, according to the guardians of morals and literature. They included Catherine Desjardins, Madame de Villedieu (1640–1683), and Cardinal Mazarin's nieces, Marie Mancini, Princess of Colonna (1639–1715), and Hortense Mancini, Duchess of Mazarin (1646–1699), who fled their abusive husbands and spent most of their lives on the run. The “Mazarinettes” appear in d'Aulnoy's *Travels* and in her Spanish and English memoirs.¹² Another was Henriette Julie de Castelnau, Comtesse de Murat (1670–1716), who also wrote fairy tales and whose fictional memoirs were attributed to d'Aulnoy.¹³ Finally, in 1962, the leading historian of seventeenth-century literature, Antoine Adam, dismissed all the *conteuses*, who also wrote *histoires secrètes*—secret histories that revealed the scandalous behavior of kings and aristocrats—as unworthy of attention.¹⁴ D'Aulnoy, a “would-be husband killer,” was judged to be the worst.¹⁵

11. Madame de Sévigné (1626–1696) also entered the canon, but her familiar letters were considered an example of women's “natural” eloquence, not literature.

12. Madame de Villedieu: See *Memoirs of the Life of Henriette-Sylvie de Molière, a Novel*, ed. and trans. Donna Kuizenga, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). Marie Mancini and Hortense Mancini: See *Memoirs*, edited and translated by Sarah Nelson. *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

13. Aggravating Murat's case was that she was reputed to be a lesbian. Murat's *La défense des dames, ou les mémoires de Madame la comtesse de M***** (Paris: C. Barbin, 1697) appeared in English in 1707, in vol. 1 of *The Diverting Works of the Countess D'Anois*, titled *The Memoirs of Her Own Life*. The adventures of Murat's heroine were used to fill the gaps in d'Aulnoy's early biography by literary historians and recently by Fernande Gontier in her novel, *Histoire de la Comtesse d'Aulnoy* (Paris: Perrin, 2005). Gontier, however, acknowledges the borrowings.

14. Adam rejected their secret histories as *fade* but was surprised that such “dull” works were written by “brazen adventuresses.” Recent scholars are exploring the disruptive effect of this decried genre. See *The Secret History in Literature, 1660–1820*, ed. Rachel Carnell and Rebecca Bullard (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

15. In *Tender Geographies* (158, 263n58), DeJean translates Adam's comment as follows: “Madame d'Aulnoy was born into one of the best families in Normandy. Married to the Baron d'Aulnoy, she wanted to get rid of him and, with her mother's help, she plotted a scheme destined to have him

Although recent reevaluations of d'Aulnoy's fairy tales highlight her exuberant imagination and lively style, her other works remain neglected, tainted by stories of her life. In 2000, Miguel Ángel Vega, the latest translator of *Travels* into Spanish, called her "esta parricida frustrada," ("this frustrated husband-killer"), this "Mata Hari avant la lettre" for spreading with her inventions and diatribes the "black legend" of Spain's decline. He judges her observations on high society in her "anti-Spanish" works worthy of the celebrity gossip magazine *Hola!*¹⁶ How can such an immoral woman be truthful about Spain?

D'Aulnoy's Life and Works Revisited

"Quite a disturbing person full of surprises, this countess d'Aulnoy, as famous among her contemporaries for the scandals of her private life as for her works on Spain and her best-selling novel, *Histoire d'Hypolite, comte de Douglas*." That is how Mary Elizabeth Storer introduces d'Aulnoy in her 1928 study that rediscovered the fairy tale in France. The rest of her chapter, however, applauds the author's imagination and wit.¹⁷

The undisputed facts of d'Aulnoy's life are few; the rest is speculation, often tainted by biases.¹⁸ She was born in Barneville-La-Bertrand, Normandy,¹⁹ to noble parents, the only daughter of Nicolas-Claude Le Jumel (ca. 1599–1662), seigneur de Barneville, and Judith-Angélique Le Coutelier de Saint-Pater (1629–ca. 1701), a member of the Beringhen family, aristocratic, influential, and Huguenot (French Calvinist Protestants). A prominent Beringhen uncle and cousin prob-

condemned to death for high treason. But he was acquitted, and the two women's accomplices were executed. The novelist retired to a convent." Antoine Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française au XVII^e siècle*, vol. 5, 315, no. 1 (Paris: Del Duca, 1962).

16. Miguel Ángel Vega, introduction, *Relación del viaje de España*, by Madame d'Aulnoy, trans. Pilar Blanco and Miguel Ángel Vega, *Como nos vieron 5* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2000), 9–40. The Spanish "Black Legend" antedates d'Aulnoy's writings by two centuries. This form of propaganda distorts a country's history and culture, presenting it as negatively as possible in order to disqualify its moral authority. Spain's *leyenda negra* emphasizes the atrocities of the Inquisition, the brutal colonization of the Americas, its religious intolerance, and the negative aspects of Spaniards' "character": haughty, superstitious, lazy, and so on.

17. Mary Elizabeth Storer, *La mode des contes de fées* (1685–1700), 1928 (Geneva: Slatkine, 1972), 18.

18. For updated biographical information based on archival documentation, see Jacques Barchilon's introduction to a scholarly edition of d'Aulnoy's tales: *Madame d'Aulnoy, Contes I*, ed. Philippe Hourcade (Paris: S.T.F.M., 1997), v–xxv. See also Nadine Jasmin, "Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Baroness d'Aulnoy, (1650/51?–1705)," in *The Teller's Tale: Lives of the Classic Fairy Tale Writers*, ed. Sophie Raynard, 61–68 (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012). Allison Stedman provides an excellent overview of her life and works in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Seventeenth-Century French Writers*, ed. Françoise Jaouën, vol. 268 (Detroit, MI: Thomson Gale, 2003), 12–18.

19. A few kilometers from the English Channel, near Honfleur in the Calvados department.

ably protected Judith-Angélique and Marie-Catherine in their flight and exile.²⁰ After her father's death, Marie-Catherine may have been educated by a Beringhen aunt, who introduced her to salon culture and literature. Her mother remarried a certain Michel de Salles, Marquis of Gudane (in southwestern France, spelling varies), and was widowed again, but thereafter known as *la Marquise de Gudane*.

The year of Marie-Catherine's birth, 1650 or 1651, was uncertain until Volker Schröder posted his findings on the blog *Anecdota* in March 2019. Schröder discovered d'Aulnoy's baptismal record, dated October 1, 1652, in the parish of Barneville. She was thus thirteen years and five months, not fifteen or sixteen, when she was wed to rich, handsome but forty-plus-year-old Baron d'Aulnoy, on March 8, 1666. Schröder's other discovery, d'Aulnoy's note in the margins of a 1469 scribal copy of Arnoul Gréban's *Mystery of the Passion* (1453–1454) owned by her family, confirms her birth year. Already "Dame Donoy," she expresses her feistiness with unusual eloquence.

Marie Catherine le Jumel de Barneville-La-Bertran, Dame Donoy, Barneville, Pandepie, and other places, wrote this at the age of 13 years and 8 months. Written in Barneville in the present month of July 1666. It has been almost 200 years since this book was made, and whoever will have this book should know that it was mine and that it belongs to our house. Written in Normandy near our house. Adieu, Reader, if you have my book and I don't know you and you don't appreciate what's inside, I wish you ringworm, scabies, fever, the plague, measles, and a broken neck. May God assist you against my maledictions.²¹

20. Judith-Angélique's Huguenot grandfather, Pierre de Beringhen, was the first *valet de chambre* (gentleman of the bedchamber) and confidant of King Henri IV, whose conversion to Catholicism (1593) ended the Wars of Religion in France. Her uncle, Henri de Beringhen (1603–1692), was first equerry and confidant of Louis XIII. Her cousin, Jacques-Louis de Beringhen (1651–1723), was first equerry of Louis XIV and a prominent art collector. Her great aunt, Marie Bruneau, Dame Des Loges (ca.1585–1641), opened the first salon in Paris in 1603, attracting leading writers. Judith-Angélique was baptized in a Huguenot church, but Marie-Catherine and her children were baptized Catholic. D'Aulnoy's Huguenot background may explain her interest in religious conflicts and her friendships. Historian Olivier Blanc observed to me that a number of French female writers labeled "adventur-esses" had Protestant connections. Persecution of Protestants intensified after 1685, when Louis XIV revoked Henri IV's Edict of Nantes (1598), which had granted Huguenots the right to gather and worship in France.

21. *Anecdota* (blog, Princeton University); "The Birth and Beginnings of Madame d'Aulnoy," By Volker Schröder, posted March 29, 2019. The scribal copy is kept today in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Thank you, Volker Schröder, for bringing this discovery to my attention.

The mismatched newlyweds lived in Paris in the Saint-Gervais Parish (the Marais, 4th arrondissement). François de la Motte (ca. 1625–1700) had acquired his title, Baron d'Aulnoy, in 1654. He had risen in the service of César, Duke of Vendôme, probably as lover, certainly as *valet de chambre*, and finally comptroller general of his household.²² Vendôme's death in October 1665 and La Motte's financial dealings with Nicolas Fouquet, Louis XIV's disgraced superintendent of finances, imperiled his fortune, hence the need for a rich wife. The baron began dissipating his wife's fortune as well. Before age seventeen, Marie-Catherine had given birth at eleven-month intervals to three children, two of whom died in infancy, and she was pregnant with her fourth. As her husband grew increasingly violent, she took refuge with her mother on rue de l'Université (7th arrondissement today). Furious at her son-in-law for many reasons (perhaps also for his refusal to cover her gambling debts), in September 1669, Gudane plotted with her lover, Jacques Antoine de Crux, Marquis of Courboyer (1615–1669), a Protestant, and two other accomplices to entrap the baron into speaking against the king—*lèse majesté*, a capital offense.

The plot failed. Although the loudmouth La Motte had railed against the king in Normandy, he watched his words when the accomplices engaged him in conversation in the Luxembourg gardens on September 23, 1669, and then made false accusations. He proved his innocence, was exonerated, and, after paying taxes and fines, was discharged from the Bastille in January 1670, financially ruined. Courboyer was tortured (being a Protestant did not help) and executed publicly with one accomplice on December 13, 1669. The ladies disappeared. After some time in Italy, where she served as a spy for Spain, Gudane ended up in Madrid, becoming a pensioned personality as well as double agent for France.²³ D'Aulnoy probably spent a short time in the Conciergerie prison and then in a convent with her one-year-old, the newborn Judith-Henriette (November 1669) having been sent to a wet nurse.²⁴ Biographers disagree on the extent of d'Aulnoy's involvement in the plot against her husband, some blaming the wayward wife more than the evil mother-in-law. No one considered the abuse suffered by the child bride. The testimonies of one accomplice and of La Motte himself, however, blame Gudane for the machination and minimize the role of the teenager, dominated by her

22. Legitimized son of King Henri IV of France and his mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées. His Hôtel de Vendôme was "popularly known as the Hôtel de Sodome" for the Duke's well-known sexual proclivities. See Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2003), 339.

23. Some letters to France attributed to Gudane were published by A. Martin, "Lettres de la Marquise de Gudannes, 1693–1696," *Revue Hispanique* 47 (1919): 383–541.

24. Jeanne Roche-Mazon, "Madame d'Aulnoy et son mari," (1930) in *Autour des contes de fées* (Paris: Didier, 1968), 143–50.

“debauched” mother. Whatever the truth, this plot was certainly cleverer than using poison or a hitman to get rid of an abusive husband.²⁵

Estranged from her husband, d’Aulnoy was free again by 1672, but her whereabouts until 1685 remain uncertain. She may have traveled to Flanders (1672–1673)²⁶ and England (1675). It is plausible that she served as an informant for the French crown, like her mother. But she was in Paris in October 1676 and again in 1677, when her fifth and sixth children were baptized in Saint-Sulpice parish, fathers marked “absent.” In her English *Memoirs* and Spanish *Travels*, d’Aulnoy asserts that she sojourned in England and Spain and frequented the highest circles.²⁷ She probably did travel to Spain around 1679 to bring two daughters to their grandmother Gudane, who raised them and married Judith-Henriette handsomely. By 1685, d’Aulnoy had obtained permission to return to France and lived in a convent (probably by royal order), where she began composing her works.

D’Aulnoy burst upon the literary scene in 1690. She had published at least eleven books in various genres by 1703. Her first, *Histoire d’Hypolite, Comte de Douglas* (The History of Hypolitus, Earl of Douglas), followed in the vein of shorter fiction set in recent history,²⁸ a genre pioneered by women in the 1660s, especially Villedieu and Lafayette.²⁹ Often titled “*Histoire de . . .*,” these short novels supplanted the multivolume romances of the Baroque era, set in antiquity and glorifying heroic deeds and sentiments. Instead, the *nouvelles historiques* uncovered the sway of the passions and the power of women in politics. *Hypolite* announced

25. Recourse to love philters and poisons was frequent during Louis XIV’s reign, at a time when divorce did not exist but husbands could confine their wives in convents. In the sensational *Affaire des poisons* (1677–1682), members of the court and even the king’s mistress, Madame de Montespan, were implicated.

26. D’Aulnoy wrote *Nouvelles et Mémoires historiques contenant ce qui s’est passé de plus remarquables dans l’Europe . . . 1672–1679*. Par Madame D*** (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1693), which focus on Louis XIV’s Dutch wars.

27. In the opening paragraphs of her English *Memoirs*, the narrator mentions knowing the Dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the Earls of Saint Albans and Cavendish, whom she had met in Paris, the Duchesses of Richmond and Rochester, Madam Hyde (her principal informants), French exiles, the free-thinking philosopher Saint-Évremond (a friend of her father), and Hortense Mancini, Duchess of Mazarin. The modern translators give credence to her account and even suggest that the archetypal Restoration rake, George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham (1628–1687), could have fathered d’Aulnoy’s last two daughters. *Memoirs of the Court of England in 1675*. By Marie Catherine Baronne d’Aulnoy, trans. Mrs. William Henry Arthur with annotations by George David Gilbert (London: John Lane, 1913), xv.

28. See *Madame d’Aulnoy, Histoire d’Hypolite, Comte de Douglas*, edited with an introduction in English and French by Shirley Jones Day (London: Institute of Romance Studies, University of London, 1994).

29. Villedieu started receiving critical attention only in the 1970s. Marie-Madeleine de Lafayette, *Zayde, a Spanish Romance*, ed. and trans. Nicholas D. Paige. *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

some of d'Aulnoy talents and tastes: its action is set mainly in England, as are two subsequent works.³⁰ It also includes the first literary fairy tale published in France, "Ile de la Félicité."³¹ Recent scholars consider that imbedding the tale in the novel mirrored the discursive setting of a genre developed by women in the salons.³²

A few months later, d'Aulnoy launched her Spanish series: the two-volume *Spanish Memoirs* (November 1690) and the three-volume *Travels* (April 1691), both printed by the popular Parisian bookseller, Claude Barbin.³³ Immensely successful, they were quickly translated into English: first, *Travels*, titled *The Lady's Travels into Spain*, and in the second edition, *The Ingenious and Diverting Letters of the Lady—Travels into Spain*, and published the same year, *Memoirs of the Court of Spain: In Two Parts; Written by an Ingenious French Lady* (1692). D'Aulnoy's reputation as travel writer was used to introduce the English translation of her fairy tales in 1707, published as part IV of *The Diverting Works of the Countess D'Anois, Author of Ladies [sic] Travels to Spain*.³⁴

After she was released from her convent confinement, not in 1690 but around 1695–1696, d'Aulnoy opened a literary salon at her rented home on the street known today as rue Saint-Benoît, near the famous Café de Flore and the church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Although her salon was reputed to have been frequented by other *conteuses*, Mme de Murat and Mlle l'Héritier, princes, and aristocrats, including the exiled James II of England and his Catholic supporters

30. The English *Memoirs* and *Le Comte de Warwick, par Madame d'Aulnoy* (1703; *The Earl of Warwick*, 1708). Anne E. Duggan considers that these works set in England mirror the absolutism and religious intolerance in France, which could not be criticized directly. See Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*, 165–200.

31. The anonymous translation titled *The Story of Adolphus, Prince of Russia and the Princess of Happiness* was published in England independently in 1691, well before *Hypolitus*, in 1708.

32. Volker Schröder argues, however, that the narrative frame does not resemble a salon: Hypolite tells the tale to the abbess in whose convent his beloved is imprisoned. Rather, it suggests the author's "solitude" in the convent following her years in foreign courts, which d'Aulnoy mentions in dedicating *Hypolite* to the princess of Conti. Marie-Anne de Bourbon, Louis XIV's eldest, legitimized—and favorite—daughter with his first mistress, Louise de la Valière, was married to Louis Armand de Bourbon, Prince of Conti, a junior member of the Bourbon royal family. That "solitude" allowed d'Aulnoy to admire Marie-Anne—pleasing her father, the Sun King—and to write. Schröder uncovered notarized documents signed by d'Aulnoy between 1688 and 1695 in the convent of the *Hospitalières de la Miséricorde de Jésus*, on rue Mouffetard (Paris) indicating that her confinement lasted almost a decade and corresponds to her most productive period. "Madame d'Aulnoy's Productive Confinement," *Anecdota*, May 2, 2020.

33. A successful printer and bookseller from 1656 until his death in 1698, Barbin published not only works by Molière, Racine, La Fontaine, and the "Classics" but also more than sixty works by fourteen female writers, including Lafayette, Villedieu, and d'Aulnoy. Though not learned, he recognized good writing and changing literary tastes. See Nathalie Grande, "Claude Barbin, un libraire pour dames?" *Revue de la BNF* 3, no. 39 (2011): 22–27.

34. London: Printed for John Nicholson . . . John Sprint . . . Andrew Bell and for Samuel Burows, 1707.

as well as English Protestants in Paris, its days of glory were shorter than originally thought. The illustrious poet Mme Deshoulières and Mme de Sévigné had already died. Mme Du Noyer, however, is full of praise for d'Aulnoy's conversation, even wittier and more charming than her prose.³⁵ There is no mention of her "adventures" in contemporary accounts. It probably helped that she had produced two religious meditations on the psalms: In *Sentiments of a Penitent Soul*, d'Aulnoy repents her sinful past, a trope of the genre, and thanks God for his mercy; in *The Return of a Soul to God*, she begs God to guide her in her new literary endeavors and regrets not having devoted her talents to His glory earlier.³⁶ Literary historians had long thought that she had circulated them in manuscript before they were published in one volume, in 1698. But very recently Volker Schröder discovered three copies of the first edition of *Sentiments*, printed by no other than Claude Barbin in 1691, the same year as *Travels*.³⁷ Devotional writing was in vogue during the Sun King's austere old age, influenced by his pious morganatic wife, the Marquise of Maintenon.³⁸ D'Aulnoy's fame in the 1690s thus seems based on her success as a writer, not on past notoriety.

With her flair for trends and marketing as well as the encouragement of Barbin, d'Aulnoy published six books in a variety of genres in just five years. Several are dedicated to a member of the royal family, and each refers back to her most successful books for publicity purposes. *Hypolite* was so admired by the princess that she requested another historical novel. *Histoire de Jean de Bourbon*,

35. Born into a Calvinist family in Nîmes, Anne-Marguerite Petit (1663–1719) resisted converting to Catholicism after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. She fled France, but, pressured by relatives and forced residencies in convents, she finally abjured and married Guillaume Du Noyer, a Catholic mainly interested in her fortune. They eventually moved to Paris, where she probably frequented d'Aulnoy's salon. Finally, wishing to marry her daughters to Protestants and disgusted with her husband's gambling and womanizing, she reembraced Calvinism and fled to Holland with her two daughters, supporting them by her writing. She became the most famous French female journalist of the early eighteenth century. Du Noyer mentions d'Aulnoy several times in her multivolume *Lettres historiques et galantes* and in her *Mémoires*. I am grateful to Henriette Goldwyn for bringing Du Noyer's comments on d'Aulnoy to my attention. See Goldwyn's "Inscription d'un lectorat féminin dans une des *Lettres historiques et galantes* de Mme Du Noyer," *Lectrices d'Ancien Régime*, ed. Isabelle Brouard-Arens (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003): 93–101. See also Goldwyn's edition of Du Noyer's *Mémoires*.

36. *Sentiments d'une âme pénitente*, on the *Miserere me Deus* (1691), *Le Retour d'une âme à Dieu*, on the *Benedic anima mea*.

37. Schröder, "Sentiments of a penitent soul," *Anecdota*, January 11, 2021. At least seventeen editions followed before 1830, with additional pious writings by others. D'Aulnoy's meditations were also attributed to Du Noyer.

38. Devotional literature could be sincere and/or politically motivated. Such luminaries as Charles Perrault (*A Christian Epistle on Penitence*, 1684) and Jean de La Fontaine (Paraphrase of *Dies Irae*, 1693) composed religious meditations. In d'Aulnoy's case, they may have been a condition of her rehabilitation and they helped establish her reputation as a serious writer.