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DIVIDED MEMORIES? HISTORICAL CALENDARS, COMMEMORATIVE PROCESSIONS AND THE RECOLLECTION OF THE WARS OF RELIGION DURING THE ANCIEN RÉGIME

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Abstract—In the centuries that followed the Edict of Nantes, a number of texts and rituals preserved partisan historical recollections of episodes from the Wars of Religion. One important Huguenot ‘site of memory’ was the historical calendar. The calendars published between 1590 and 1685 displayed a particular concern with the Wars of Religion, recalling events that illustrated Protestant victimization and Catholic sedition. One important Catholic site of memory was the commemorative procession. Ten or more cities staged annual processions throughout the ancien régime thanking God for delivering them from the violent, sacrilegious Huguenots during the civil wars.

If, shortly after the Fronde, you happened to purchase at the temple of Charenton a 1652 edition of the *Psalms of David* published by Pierre Des-Hayes, you also received at the front of the book a twelve-page historical calendar listing 127 noteworthy events that took place on selected days of the year.¹ Seven of the entries in this calendar came from sacred history and told you such dates as when the tablets of the Law were handed down on Mount Sinai (5 June) or when John the Baptist received the ambassador sent from Jerusalem mentioned in John 1.19 (1 January). Medieval history supplied fourteen events, most of them landmarks of French dynastic history from the accession of Clovis III in 694 to the death of Louis XI in 1483, but also the day on which the Knights Templar had been dissolved in France and that on which Emperor Henry VII had been killed by a poisoned communion wafer fed him by a Dominican—reminders that the seditious and regicidal impulses of the Catholic clergy had not begun

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¹ *Les pseumes de David*, Se vendent à Charenton, Pierre Des-Hayes, 1652. For the complete list of events noted, see the Appendix. My thanks to Max Engammare for providing me with a photocopy of this calendar.

with the bull *Regnans in excelsis* or the formation of the Catholic League. Six non-French events of the sixteenth century were deemed worthy of note: the birth of Charles V; the posting of the ninety-five theses; the deaths of Luther and Calvin; the introduction of the Reformation into the Palatinate; in 1559 and the defeat of the Armada. Nineteen events had taken place since the turn of the seventeenth century: the births, deaths, marriages and *sacres* of successive French monarchs; various victories of French arms; the deaths of Theodore Beza and the duke of Rohan; Maurice of Nassau's victories at Nieuwpoort and Ostend; the coronation of Frederick of the Palatinate as king of Bohemia and the burning of the Jesuit Mariana's treatise by order of the Parlement of Paris on 27 June 1614. In sharp contrast with these widely scattered episodes, no less than eighty-one events listed in this historical calendar came from sixteenth-century French history, the great majority of them, as Table 1 shows, from the era of the Wars of Religion. To judge by this calendar, in 1652 the Huguenots still lived in the shadow of the civil wars.

The specific events of the Wars of Religion noted in the calendar clustered principally in two periods and combined to suggest a coherent vision of this troubled era. The first cluster of events came from 1559–73 and began with the *mercurial* of the Parlement of Paris in 1559 'to exterminate those of the [Reformed] Religion'. Some of the episodes recalled were peaces or parleys at which the Protestants were heard out or were able to win temporary measures of legal toleration, some were important battles or sieges, but no less than nine were reminders that on the date in question 'cruel massacres' had befallen 'the

Table 1 Distribution of entries by subject matter and period in seven historical calendars

Subject matter and period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sacred history	82 (21%)	61 (43%)	48 (66%)	44 (41%)	10 (12%)	7 (6%)	41 (19%)
Classical antiquity	79 (20%)	39 (27%)	5 (7%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	—	32 (15%)
Notes on ancient calendars	64 (17%)	20 (14%)	8 (11%)	2 (2%)	—	—	—
Early and medieval church history	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	—	10 (5%)
Profane history, 400–1559	103 (27%)	18 (14%)	11 (15%)	8 (7%)	7 (8%)	28 (22%)	103 (50%)
Birth or death days of learned men	51 (15%)	3 (2%)	—	—	—	—	8 (4%)
French Wars of Religion	—	—	—	50 (46%)	60 (71%)	73 (57%)	17 (8%)
Seventeenth century	—	—	—	—	6 (7%)	19 (15%)	—

1—Paul Eber, *Calendarium historicum* (Basel, 1550).

2—Gilbert Cousin, *Ephemeris historica* (Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1551).

3—*Calendrier Historial et Lunaire* (Lyon: Gabriel Cotier, 1564).

4—*Pseaumes de David* (La Rochelle: H. Haultin, 1590).

5—*Calendrier historial* (Geneva: Pierre and Jacques Chouet, 1618).

6—*Les pseaumes de David* (Paris: Pierre Des-Hayes, 1652).

7—*Heures à l'usage de Paris* (Paris: Jean Le Blanc, 1585).

faithful'. The second, still larger cluster concerned the years from the formation of the Catholic League in March 1585, 'on pretext of religion', to Henri IV's triumphant entry into Paris in 1594 and Jean Chastel's subsequent attempt on his life. In addition to such major episodes of the period as the Day of the Barricades, the killings of the duke and cardinal of Guise (tellingly called 'executions') and the assassination of Henri III, the calendar also noted the adoption of the Edict of Union 'for the ruin and extirpation of the Reformed Religion' and the Protestant political assembly at La Rochelle convened by the king of Navarre 'for the glory of God, the service of the King and the good of the Kingdom'. The lynching of the First President of the Parlement of Toulouse Duranti, the arrest of Barnabé Brisson and his fellow *parlementaires* in Paris and the decree of January 1589, in which the Sorbonistes counselled the French to rebel against Henri III, further reminded readers of the subversive character of the Catholic League and its clerical allies. The exceptional density of events from this period stemmed above all from the recollection of no less than fourteen victories of Henri IV between 1589 and 1594, including his capture of Falaise, Noyon, Vendôme and Le Mans. Finally, the dates throughout the civil wars when such Huguenot paladins as Coligny, two princes of Condé, the duke of Bouillon and François de Châtillon died were also noted. Protestants who looked at this calendar when opening their psalters would have received intermittent reminders throughout the year of the recurrent threats to the survival of the Reformed faith during the civil wars, of the many victories of Henri IV that preserved the cause from extermination, of the great men who had died for the faith and of the seditious behaviour of the Catholic clergy and the Paris Sixteen. The 'petit troupeau', threatened with extermination from the beginning, had come through a terrible storm, but just barely.

The Wars of Religion cast an entirely different shadow over Besançon, a wholly Catholic city only incorporated into France in 1674. There, every year from 1577 to the end of the ancien régime, the civic authorities and members of the city's sovereign courts gathered on the morning of 21 June to commemorate what the act of foundation called 'the tremendous grace and mercy of God ... extended to the city and all its inhabitants ... in delivering them from the hostility and fury of the traitors and Huguenots the eternal enemies of this city, who treacherously entered it to take it over and to establish the exercise of their wretched, damnable and condemned new heresy and huguenotical opinion'.² Wearing their ceremonial robes, the members of the civic elite gathered in the cathedral and bore lighted torches in the wake of the holy sacrament through streets adorned with the richest tapestries of the town to the chapel of the Holy Shroud in the church of Saint-Pierre. There mass was said and a preacher recalled the events of the fateful day in 1575 when a band of exiled Huguenots and their military allies had infiltrated the city and sought to capture it, only to be 'chased back out through the bravery of the citizens'.³ As crowds of townsfolk for whom

² A[rchives] C[ommunales] Besançon, BB 36, 20 June 1577, fo. 223v.

³ AC Besançon, BB 173, 21 June 1760, p. 226.

work was suspended for the morning were reminded, the city had escaped conquest and sacrilege, but just barely.

It is well known that 'oubliance' (forgetting) was one of the fundamental principles of peacemaking during and after the French Wars of Religion. Every edict of pacification from 1563 forward included provisions instructing the French to consider 'the memory of all that has occurred on both sides since the troubles began in our kingdom ... to be to be snuffed out and set aside as if they had never happened.'⁴ The 1576 and 1577 peaces of Beaulieu and Bergerac added articles forbidding processions to be held 'because of the death of our late cousin the prince de Condé, or St Bartholomew's day, or other events that might revive the memory of the troubles.'⁵ In spite of such instructions, it would seem from the evidence just cited that the events of the civil wars were too searing to be wiped from memory by royal decree, at least in certain cities or among certain sectors of the population. It would also seem that the vision of this period was polarized along confessional lines. Each side recalled the violence and sedition of the other.

Were memories of this period as confessionally polarized and as powerfully present in all localities and among all sectors of the French population as the two examples just cited suggest? Was there no room in historical calendars and other forms of cheap print for the less partisan vision of the civil wars epitomized by learned histories such as that of Jacques-Auguste De Thou? Might Besançon's deliverance procession simply have been a local peculiarity linked to the city's location outside the kingdom's boundaries in the sixteenth century? More broadly, how were the Wars of Religion recalled by subsequent generations of French men and women? Although recent publications and conferences have begun to explore the memory of the Wars of Religion across the centuries, and although a few pioneering articles devoted to urban culture have examined processions recalling events from the civil wars, these questions have been surprisingly little studied to date.⁶ The general subjects of collective memory

⁴ As the 1576 edict of Beaulieu phrased it. A. Stegmann, ed., *Edits des guerres de religion* (Paris, 1979), p. 97.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁶ A. Sanfaçon, 'Légendes, histoire et pouvoir à Chartres sous l'Ancien Régime', *Revue Historique*, 279 (1988), 337-57; *idem*, 'Traditions mariales et pouvoir ecclésiastique à Chartres sous l'Ancien Régime', in *Les productions symboliques du pouvoir, XVIe -XXe*, ed. L. Turgeon (Sillery, Quebec, 1990), pp. 45-64; *idem*, 'Événement, mémoire et mythe: le siège de Chartres de 1568', in *Événement, identité et histoire*, ed. C. Dolan (Sillery, Quebec, 1990), pp. 187-204; P. Julien, 'Assaut, invocation tutélaire et célébrations séculaires: le 17 mai 1562 "délivrance de Toulouse"', in *Prendre une ville au XVIe siècle*, ed. G. Audisio (Aix-en-Provence, 2004), pp. 51-62; H. Bernstein, *Between Crown and Community: Politics and Civic Culture in Sixteenth-Century Poitiers* (Ithaca, NY, 2004), Ch. 7; M. Greengrass, 'Hidden transcripts: secret histories and personal testimonies of religious violence in the French Wars of Religion', in *The Massacre in History*, eds. M. Levene and P. Roberts (New York, 1999), pp. 69-88; A. Frisch, 'French Tragedy and the Civil Wars', *Mod Lang Q*, 67 (2006), 287-312; J. Berchtold and M.-M. Fragonard, eds., *La mémoire des guerres de religion. La concurrence des genres historiques (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles): Actes du Colloque international de Paris (15-16 novembre 2002)* (Geneva, 2007). A second conference whose acts have not yet been published was held in Paris in January 2007 on representations of the Wars of Religion in literature and history between 1760 and 1830.

and historico-commemorative ritual in ancien régime France also remain strikingly underexamined. There is no equivalent for the period 1500–1789 to Robert Gildea's *The Past in French History* (in fact about the past in French history since 1800). There is no work on ancien régime France comparable to David Cressy's *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England*, even though the French historian Mona Ozouf pioneered the study of national festivals and holidays for the period after 1789 more than thirty years ago.⁷ Even the seven volumes of *Les lieux de mémoire*, for all that they brilliantly reconfigured the study of national consciousness by breaking it down into its constituent parts and exploring the history of each one separately, did surprisingly little to fill this lacuna, for these volumes trace above all the genealogy of contemporary republican national identity, not the full range of forms taken by social memory and national consciousness across the centuries.⁸

This article seeks to explore how widely diffused the contrasting memories spread by the Huguenot historical calendars and Catholic commemorative processions might have been, and whether or not other, less sharply polarized visions of the Wars of Religion were kept alive through comparable texts or practices. Through this examination, I hope not simply to illuminate some of the ways in which the traumatic events of the period 1562–98 were recalled to broad sectors of the population during the subsequent centuries. I also hope to draw attention to historical calendars and commemorative processions as vectors of social memory under the ancien régime, and thus to inspire further study of them.

I

Huguenot historical calendars like that sold by Pierre Des-Hayes at Charenton were born in the mid-sixteenth century from the conjunction of learned chronology and Genevan opposition to Roman superstition.⁹ Their family tree can be traced back to the calendars of red-letter days found at the front of books of hours indicating the major festivals and saints' days of the Catholic Church.

⁷ R. Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven, CT, 1994); D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989); M. Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire: 1789-1799* (Paris, 1976).

⁸ S. Englund, 'The ghost of nation past', *J Mod Hist*, 64 (1992), 299–320.

⁹ Two recent works are fundamental to understanding the history and interest of these calendars: F. Maiello, *Histoire du calendrier. De la liturgie à l'agenda* (Paris, 1996), esp. pp. 155–66 and M. Engammare, *L'ordre du temps. L'invention de la ponctualité au XVIIe siècle* (Geneva, 2004), Ch. 4. I also learned a great deal from A. Grafton, 'Calendar dates and their meanings in early modern chronology', unpublished paper, whom I must thank for allowing me to consult it; E. Droz, 'Le calendrier genevois agent de la propagande' and 'Le calendrier lyonnais' in *Chemins de l'hérésie*, 4 vols (Geneva, 1970–76), ii. 433–56, iii. 1–29; N. Z. Davis, 'Printing and the people', in idem, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 203, 204; M. Engammare, 'Un chaînon manquant: le *Kalendrier Historial* de Conrad Bade (1555)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 67 (2005), 641–52; A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 207–9.

While preserving the same general format of a month-by-month calendar, the Huguenot calendars substituted for the saints' days events from biblical and post-biblical history. As the 'Note to the Reader' that can be found at the front of several of them explained:

Where some have been accustomed to fill their calendars and almanacs with goodness knows what encouraging superstition and idolatry, we have instead inserted some sacred and other histories here; and we have placed them on the days when they occurred, so that through these events and other works of God, that we witness every day, we might learn to contemplate his infinite goodness and mercy, which he bestows upon his faithful children, both individually and collectively, and also the judgments that he delivers on those who are unfaithful to, and contemptuous of, his word and holy name.¹⁰

The information found in the first Genevan historical calendars derived ultimately from the *Calendarium historicum* of Paul Eber, a Wittenberg historian and theologian close to Philip Melanchthon who shared Melanchthon's concerns to accord history a more prominent place in the university curriculum and to give time a new shape reflecting a Protestant and humanist vision of God working across the centuries.¹¹ The first edition of his *Calendarium*, published in both Wittenberg and Basel in 1550, contained 380 entries. As Table 1 shows, these were roughly evenly divided between the dates of the seasonal festivities of various ancient peoples (historical notes on ancient calendars if you will); the dates of major events from the Bible; the dates of key episodes from profane ancient history; more recent episodes from the fall of Rome until Eber's own day; and the birth and death days of men 'whose learning, wisdom, virtue and deeds benefited the church, commonwealth and literary affairs'. Scholars, Lutheran divines and the members of central Europe's many ruling houses predominated among these last.¹² In 1551 the Genevan printer Jean Crespin published a small knock-off, the *Ephemeris historica* by Gilbert Cousin. This pruned Eber's calendar back to 143 entries, chiefly episodes from Biblical history and classical antiquity. It was in turn the direct source for the French-language Protestant historical calendars that began to be published from 1555 onwards in both Geneva and France, which further trimmed the number of events recalled to about seventy-five, with the exact number varying according to the calendar's size and layout. As Table 1 shows, they focused their attention even more squarely on sacred history, while also recalling about a dozen episodes from more recent history, chiefly dates pertinent to the story of the Reformation in Germany, Geneva and England (see Table 2). Since the Biblical events related in these calendars primarily concerned the flood, the Exodus, the

¹⁰ *Calendrier historial et lunaire* (Lyon: Gabriel Cotier, 1564) [Bibliothèque de Genève (BGE), Bb 2262]; *Kalendrier ou almanach historial* (Geneva: Thomas Courteau, 1566) [BGE, Bb 670].

¹¹ *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 23 vols to date (Berlin, 1953-) s.v. 'Eber, Paul'; Grafton, 'Calendar dates', pp. 10–15.

¹² P. Eber, *Calendarium historicum* (Basel, 1550).

Table 2 Events since the fall of Rome listed in Protestant historical calendars 1555-1580

415	Venice established
815	death of Charlemagne
1415	Hus burned at council of Constance
1453	fall of Constantinople
1517	Luther announces his theses 102 years after the death of Hus
1527	Rome taken by Charles de Bourbon
1529	siege of Vienna
1531	First Kappel War and death of Zwingli
1535	'reformation according to the truth of the Gospel' triumphs in Geneva
1546	death of 'the true servant of God' Martin Luther
1551	death of Martin Bucer, a 'man of great learning and piety'
1551	outbreak of sweating sickness in England
1552	execution of the duke of Somerset
1553	death of Edward VI

Certain calendars published after 1564 added the death on 27 May 1564 of John Calvin, 'a man of singular learning and great piety'.

Sources: *Les pseauxes mis en rimes françoises* (Geneva: Antoine Vincent, 1562) [BGE, Bb 1666]; *Calendrier historial et lunaire* (Lyon: Gabriel Cotier, 1564) [BGE, Bb 2262 Rés]; *Kalendrier historial* (St Lo: Thomas Bouchard and Jacques Le Bas, 1565) [BGE Bb, 1733 Rés]; *Kalendrier ou almanach historial* (Geneva: Thomas Courteau, 1566) [BGE, Bb 670]; *Calendrier Historial* (Geneva: Francois Estienne, 1567) [BGE, Ga 135bis]; *Calendrier historial et lunaire* (Geneva: Abel Rivery, 1576) [BGE, Bb 2143]; *Calendrier historial et lunaire* (Geneva: Jacob Stoer, 1580) [BGE, Bb 2309]; *Calendrier historial et lunaire* (Geneva: pour Pierre Mourier, 1606) [BPF, R 9805].

Babylonian Captivity and the life of Christ. The overall result, as Maiello has observed, was to create a historical chronology structured around successive instances of divine punishment and redemption running from the time of Noah to the Reformation.¹³

These calendars of scarcely twelve to sixteen pages became a staple of Genevan and French Protestant publishing in the years after 1555. Because they are so small and do not always have title-pages, they are not always listed separately in library catalogues and so are hard to locate. Fifty-eight editions published between 1555 and 1595 have nonetheless been unearthed to date.¹⁴ They were often sold with the psalter or New Testament or bound together with them, often enough so that one finds calendars in ten of the thirty-five bound psalters dating from the years 1560-1600 in the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français's rich collection of French Bibles.¹⁵ When one recalls how many

¹³ Maiello, *Histoire du calendrier*, pp. 164, 165.

¹⁴ C.-L. Frossard, 'Le calendrier historial. Notice bibliographique', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, [BSHPF] 28 (1879), 129-39, 175-82; Droz, *Chemins de l'hérésie*, ii. 435-54; iii. 2-24; H. Jahr, *Studien zur Ubertieferungsgeschichte der Confession de foi von 1559* (Neukirchen, 1964), pp. 149-54; Maiello, *Histoire du calendrier*, p. 273; A. Pettegree, M. Walsby and A. Williamson, eds., *French Vernacular Books*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2007), i. 241, 242. I have supplemented these bibliographies with the new online database of Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel imprints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries 'GLN 15-16' (<http://217.193.255.157/gln16/index.php>), the detailed catalogue of Bibles of the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français (BPF) and some exploration of my own of libraries and library catalogues.

¹⁵ These calculations are based on the descriptions of these works in the library's detailed *fichier* of its psalters.

Huguenot households of this era owned psalters, the fact that the calendars reached 29 per cent of psalter owners indicates broad dissemination.¹⁶

Over this initial period, the content of these calendars changed very little. Other than noting the date of Calvin's death, the printers responsible for them did not update the list of events with the passage of time for more than thirty years. Then, during the crisis of the Catholic League, they dramatically changed them. It was at this moment that events from the Wars of Religion invaded the calendars. They would dominate them for ninety years to come.

The first calendar that I have found with a strong focus on recent events of French history was published, significantly, in La Rochelle in 1590—in other words in the great stronghold of Huguenot resistance at a date when Protestantism was legally prohibited in France and faced a desperate battle for its survival.¹⁷ Alongside forty-four episodes from sacred history and eleven events from the death of Constantine to that of Edward VI, this calendar recalls some fifty events from French history from the years 1559–89, from the *mercuriale* of the Parlement of Paris in 1559 'to exterminate those of the [Reformed] Religion' to the assassination of Henri III. With a few exceptions, these events are the same as those from this period in the 1652 Des-Hayes calendar that are listed in the appendix. As has already been suggested, the calendar underscored how precarious the cause's existence had been since its foundation.

That such a vision of Huguenot history should have been sketched at this moment of extreme danger for the cause is hardly surprising. What is more surprising is that the same corpus of events continued to be recalled with only minor changes by subsequent calendars right up until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, even after the crisis of the League passed and the Huguenots came to enjoy a long lifetime's worth of legal toleration. With one exception, all the calendars I have examined from the years 1590–1680 include most or all the same events from the Wars of Religion.¹⁸ At the same time, the seventeenth-century calendars were more consistently updated than their sixteenth-century predecessors. After the turn of the century, Henri IV's victories great and small joined the pre-1589 episodes highlighted in 1590. By 1620, as Table 1 makes clear, the number of episodes from the Bible had been trimmed back, while events of the seventeenth century began to make their appearance. Another substantial revision in the 1630s added substantially to the list of events between the death of Clovis III in 694 and the death of Henri II in 1559. Many of the events inserted were landmarks of French dynastic history, such as the deaths of Louis V, Louis VI, Louis XI and Francis I, or episodes of the Hundred Years

¹⁶ On the dissemination of the psalter: P. Benedict, 'Protestant and Catholic book ownership in seventeenth-century Metz', in idem, *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 165.

¹⁷ *Les Psaumes de David, mis en rime françoise* (La Rochelle: Hierosme Haultin, 1590) [Bibliothèque de la ville de Neuchâtel, A 7065].

¹⁸ The one exception is the *Calendrier historial et lunaire* (Geneva: pour Pierre Mourier, 1606) [BPF, R 9805]. This focuses, like the calendars of the later sixteenth century, primarily on events from the Bible.

War. Several entries recalled episodes of the persecution of the Protestants in the first half of the sixteenth century, such as the violence done to the Waldensian communities of Merindol and Cabrières and the 1553 execution of the five students of Lyon. This is also when the episode of the assassination of the emperor Henry VII by means of a poisoned communion wafer appeared. Further datings over the next four decades recalled major rites of passage in the lives of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, French victories in the Thirty Years War, the execution of Charles I of England, the restoration of his son—and Gutenberg's invention of printing, noted for the first time in a calendar I have seen in 1667.¹⁹ As the seventeenth century advanced, the calendars thus mixed growing doses of dynastic commemoration and glorification of French military victories with the recall of the persecution suffered under Francis I and Henri II and new notes of anti-Catholicism such as the poisoning of Henry VII or the execution on 9 April 1611 of Louis Gaufridi 'priest, notorious magician and sorcerer'.²⁰ These last details, it is worth noting, were added not in Geneva or the Protestant strongholds of the Midi, but by printers based in Paris, where the great majority of later seventeenth-century Huguenot calendars were printed. Even after all these revisions had been made, events from the Wars of Religion still constituted by far the largest category of events.

In a 1977 essay, Elisabeth Labrousse asserted that seventeenth-century Huguenot authors rarely mentioned the St Bartholomew's massacre or the civil wars; to recall this era was to invite a Catholic riposte recalling Protestant sacrilege, violence and attempts to seize the person of the king.²¹ This may be true of works of controversy and other learned publications aimed at a national or international audience, but it manifestly does not apply to the Huguenot historical calendars, a genre of cheap print that would have been consulted primarily in the privacy of one's home or in the mono-confessional space of the temple, and thus that was intended for the community's internal usage. In works of this sort, a succession of Protestant printers kept alive and even reinforced throughout the seventeenth century a distinctively confessional memory of the Wars of Religion that dwelled upon Protestant victimization and Catholic disorder and subversion.

Did these calendars achieve wide dissemination? Calendars from this century are harder to locate than their sixteenth-century forerunners since many fewer had their own title-page. As a result, they rarely appear in library catalogues or bibliographies. With this important caveat in mind, it nonetheless appears that they were not produced as frequently as their sixteenth-century predecessors. Historical calendars are present in only four of twenty-two bound psalters from the years 1600–49 in the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français's collection. They are found in just four of sixty-three from 1650–84.

¹⁹ *Les Pseaumes de David* (Paris: Antoine Cellier, 1667) [BPF, André 124 (2)].

²⁰ Mentioned in *Les Pseaumes de David* (Paris: Pierre Des-Hayes, 1641) [BPF, 13246].

²¹ E. Labrousse, 'Les guerres de religion vues par les Huguenots du XVII^e siècle', in *Historiographie de la Réforme*, ed. P. Joutard (Neuchâtel, 1977), pp. 37–44, esp. p. 37.

In all, I have located twenty-three Huguenot historical calendars from the years 1601–80, as compared with fifty-eight from the period 1555–1600. This was enough to qualify them as steady sellers. They would have disseminated among a fraction of the Huguenot population a vision of the community's historical experience dwelling on its sufferings during the Wars of Religion and its deliverance by the founder of the Bourbon dynasty. But they were far from ubiquitous in Huguenot households.

With the Revocation, the history of Huguenot historical calendars comes to a close. No such calendars have yet been found for the period after 1685, except for an 1884 compilation by Charles Frossard that was a learned pastor-historian's attempt to revive a lost tradition.²²

II

Commemorative processions were very different from historical calendars. The latter simply reminded their owners of past historical events or personages, alluding elliptically to events that the reader was presumed to know in more detail from other sources. The former were the heavy artillery of historical commemoration, elaborate public ceremonies held only a few times per year that mobilized entire communities, drew spectators from the surrounding countryside, often included sermons that hammered home the historical lesson to be retained and shaped social memory as much through the force of repetitive bodily practices as through the words that accompanied them.²³

Michèle Fogel has already studied the Te Deums, fireworks and other occasional 'ceremonies of information' held immediately after events such as royal victories or marriages whose multiplication spread awareness of current events and encouraged identification with the royal family.²⁴ Here, I am concerned with those processions that became annual events in certain cities to recall especially important moments from the city's or the kingdom's past. As medieval historians have shown, processions of all sorts multiplied in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, to the point where they became what Jacques Chiffolleau has called 'the stellar devotional practice [la pratique dévotionnelle vedette]' of the fifteenth century.²⁵ Commemorative processions also began in this century. Some gave thanks for legendary events of earlier centuries, as with the miracle of the keys celebrated each year in Poitiers, which recalled how the

²² C.-L. Frossard, *Calendrier historial réformé* (Paris, 1884).

²³ P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989).

²⁴ Fogel, *Les cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVIIe au milieu du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1989).

²⁵ J. Chiffolleau, 'Les processions parisiennes de 1412. Analyse d'un rituel flamboyant', *Revue Historique*, 284 (1990), 37–76, esp. 43. Also B. Chevalier, 'La religion civique dans les bonnes villes', in *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (chrétienté et islam)*, ed. A. Vauchez (Rome, 1995), pp. 337–49; J.-M. Matz, 'Le développement tardif d'une religion civique dans une ville épiscopale. Les processions à Angers (v. 1450-v. 1550)', in idem, pp. 351–66; J. Rosiaud, 'Les rituels de la fête civique à Lyon, XIIe-XVIe siècles', in *Riti e rituali nella società medievale*, eds. J. Chiffolleau, L. Martines and A. Paravicini Bagliani (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 285–305.

Virgin had stopped the city's keys from being handed over to the English by a bribed city clerk in 1200—the first mention of which dates from 1416.²⁶ Others recalled more genuine historical events. Joan of Arc's delivery of Orléans from the English siege laid before it in 1429 gave rise at once to an annual procession in the city. The liberation of Paris from the English in 1436 did the same, as did lesser events of the 100 Years War.²⁷ Over the next two centuries, the number of such ceremonies increased, even if some processions lasted for a while and then died out, as in Dijon, where a procession to recall the city's deliverance from a Swiss siege in 1513 formed a key part of the ritual calendar throughout the sixteenth century but was ended in 1640 by the episcopal authorities because 'the century is long since past [il y a long temps que le siècle est revolu]' and the judges of the Parlement no longer bothered to participate.²⁸ Two noteworthy attempts were made by the crown to impose a commemorative procession throughout the kingdom, creating what might be interpreted as the first would-be national holidays. The first came in 1450, when Charles VII ordered that general processions be held in all the cathedrals of the realm on 12 August to recall the evacuation of Cherbourg that completed his recovery of Normandy from the English.²⁹ The second came in 1638 when Louis XIII placed his family and kingdom under the protection of the Virgin and ordered that this vow be recalled and renewed annually throughout the kingdom each year on 15 August, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.

A national investigation of the processional calendar of cities across France from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century is much to be desired but lies beyond the scope of this article. Here, I can only offer a few examples of the processional year in different cities in the eighteenth century in order to reveal the variety characteristic of local practices.³⁰ Lyon had just three general processions: on Corpus Christi day, on the feast of the Assumption to recall Louis XIII's vow to the Virgin and on 8 September to honour a series of vows made to Notre Dame de Fourvière 'in order to be saved from contagious

²⁶ Bernstein, *Between Crown and Community*, p. 175.

²⁷ C. T. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy 1415–1450: The History of a Medieval Occupation* (Oxford, 1983), p. 305; C. Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985), pp. 175–87.

²⁸ AC Dijon, D 2, D 11bis; [A]rchives [D]épartementales Côte-d'Or, G 44, fo. 154. Similarly, the procession to recall the recovery of Paris from the English in 1436 came to an end in 1735, when it was merged with another commemoration of the same month, the procession to recall Henri IV's entry into Paris and the end of its domination by the Catholic League: Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, p. 305.

²⁹ Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France*, pp. 185, 186.

³⁰ I have reconstructed or utilized studies reconstructing the processional calendar of ten cities for part or all the ancien régime. In addition to the cases and sources cited in the remainder of this paragraph, the cities in question are Aurillac, Chalon-sur-Saône, Dijon, Le Puy, Mâcon, Nevers and Paris, for which I have relied especially upon AC Mâcon, AA 9, no. 42; AC Dijon, D 5; *Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris*, 19 vols (Paris, 1883–1958); C.-A. Parmentier, *Archives de Nevers, ou inventaire historique des titres de la ville* (Paris, 1842), i. 'Processions ordinaires pendant l'année'; P. Besnard, *Les processions à Chalon-sur-Saône sous l'Ancien Régime* (Autun, 1921), pp. 5–17; C. Grimmer, *Vivre à Aurillac au XVIIIe siècle* (Aurillac, 1983), p. 197; B. Dompnier, 'Les processions au Puy-en-Velay au XVIIIe siècle', in *Au contact des Lumières. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Loupès*, eds. A.-M. Cocula and J. Pontet (Bordeaux, 2005), pp. 44, 45, 51, 52.

disease'.³¹ In Bourges, according to the 1746 diocesan *rituel*, five general processions were held that recalled important historical events: to give thanks for Joan of Arc's putting the English to flight before Orléans in 1429, for the reduction of Normandy by Charles VII in 1450, to honour vows made in times of famine or contagious disease in both 1458 and 1628 and, once again, to honour Louis XIII's vow of 1638.³² Besançon's municipal deliberations indicate that its city councillors participated regularly in general processions on Quasimodo, the Fête-Dieu, to commemorate the city's deliverance from the attempt by its exiled Huguenots to seize it by force in 1575, to pray for the 'preservation of the fruits of the earth' and to honour two vows made to deliver the city from the plague of 1629.³³ On the basis of the evidence I have encountered to date, it would appear that by the eighteenth century processions recalling the liberation of Normandy had been discontinued in most of the kingdom, if they had ever been widely instituted.³⁴ On the contrary, the vow of Louis XIII was recalled in every city I have investigated except late-annexed Besançon.

In general, two historical periods recur particularly frequently in the processional calendars of subsequent centuries: the 100 Years War and the Wars of Religion. Concerning the latter, I have located ten cities where a procession recalling a foiled Huguenot siege, 'surprise' or 'escalade' formed a regular part of the ceremonial year throughout much or all the ancien régime. These cities are Castellane, Toulouse, Cordes, Aurillac, Mauriac, Le Puy, Poitiers, Chartres, Besançon and Verdun.³⁵ In Mauriac, the procession is only documented

³¹ 'Abrégé du ceremonial public de la ville de Lyon', *Le grand calendrier nouveau, pour l'année bissextile 1720* (Lyon, 1719); Y. Lignereux, *Lyon et le roi. De la 'bonne ville' à l'absolutisme municipal (1594-1654)* (Seyssel, 2003), pp. 764, 765, 771.

³² 'Processions generales en la ville de Bourges', *Rituel du diocèse de Bourges* (Bourges, 1746), pp. xx-xxi. A general procession was also held in Bourges on Corpus Christi day. The procession of 15 August was to be observed in every parish in the diocese. Of seventeen diocesan *rituels* that I examined in the rich collection of the *fonds de l'archevêché* of the Bibliothèque Municipale Besançon, this is unfortunately the only one to contain a list of general processions.

³³ AC Besançon, BB 36-205, esp. 203 (the *table générale* of the city's municipal deliberations for the period 1663-1762); *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790, série BB*, vol. 2, 1576-1676 (Besançon, 1931).

³⁴ The evidence of P. Lacombe, *Livres d'heures imprimés au XVe et au XVIe siècle conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Paris* (Paris, 1905), pp. lxiv, 197, 319, suggests that the processions recalling the liberation of Normandy may always have been confined chiefly to Lower Normandy and neighbouring areas of Brittany. In only two sixteenth-century liturgical calendars from books of hours is a ceremony for 'la reduction de Normandie' noted, in a 1525 *Heures à l'usage de Coutances* and a 1560 *Heures à l'usage de Saint-Malo*. Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France*, p. 186, asserts that the ritual survived throughout the ancien régime in some rural Norman parishes.

³⁵ See, in addition to the sources and studies cited elsewhere in this section, Bernstein, *Between Crown and Community*, p. 179; G. Gillyboeuf, 'Le siège de Castellane en 1586: origine de la fête du Pétardier', *Chroniques de Haute-Provence: Bulletin de la Société scientifique et littéraire des Alpes-de-Haute-Provence*, 294 (1984), 85-98; C. Portal, *Histoire de la ville de Cordes* (Albi, 1965, 2nd edn), p. 97; L. Mourguys, *Ancienne chronique de la ville et du monastère de Mauriac* (Aurillac, 1987), p. 70; P. Delsalle, 'La "surprise" huguenot de Besançon en 1575: une approche iconographique', in *La Réforme dans l'espace germanique au XVIe siècle: images, représentations, diffusion*, ed F. Vion-Delphin, (Montbéliard, 2005), p. 229; S. Simiz, 'La mémoire catholique d'un échec protestant à travers les siècles: la tentative de surprise de Verdun en septembre 1562', forthcoming. My thanks to the author for showing me this article prior to publication.

down to 1630 or 1653. In all the other cities, it endured to 1789 and occasionally beyond. Le Puy had two processions recalling deliverances of the city during the Wars of Religion, a general procession to remember the repulsing of a Huguenot attack in 1585, and a smaller procession to recall the end of a five-day siege during the First Civil War.³⁶ In Dijon and Paris, processions commemorated the end of the Catholic League and the city's recognition of Henri IV.³⁷ These last ceremonies celebrated reconciliation and loyalty to the ruling dynasty rather than the city's deliverance from the confessional enemy.

The eleven escalade or deliverance ceremonies clearly violated both the principle of *oubliance* enshrined in all the edicts of pacification and the specific prohibition of processions 'that might revive memories of the troubles' found in the peaces of Beaulieu and Bergerac. The character and geography of the cities where these took place probably explains why they survived despite these prohibitions. During the last two centuries of the ancien régime, all the cities in question were either entirely Catholic or, in the case of Chartres, home to just a tiny Protestant minority. Virtually all were located near regions with a strong Protestant presence. Where a sizeable Huguenot population lived within a city's walls, the continuation of such ceremonies would have risked stoking inter-confessional tensions and inspired the authorities to eliminate them to keep the peace. This is what occurred in Rouen, where the reduction of the city by Charles IX in October 1562 that ended six months of Huguenot domination during the First Civil War was commemorated for more than a decade by an annual procession, but was ended in 1577 to respect 'the recently published edict of pacification that forbids it'.³⁸ In Catholic bastions close to regions of Protestant strength, however, it would appear that the principle of *oubliance* proved less powerful than the desire of the authorities to recall how the city had once been in danger of being seized by seditious heretics and might suffer such a fate again if it did not remain true to its divine protectors.

The processions commemorating the deliverance of a city during the Wars of Religion typically went out from a major church to places in the city or *faubourgs* associated with the event and then back to a church where mass was said. The holy sacrament, an image of the Virgin, or relics of the city's patron saints were borne in honour, while the clergy and magistrates followed behind in their ceremonial robes, sometimes, as in Besançon, carrying torches. Often the processions connected up with chapels or statues linked to the event and drew power from pre-existing local cults and traditions. Thus, in Chartres, where the end of the Huguenot siege of 1568 constituted what André Sanfaçon has called 'the event *par excellence*' of early-modern local memory, the commemorative procession instituted in the immediate aftermath of the siege grafted itself onto an already important civic cult of the Virgin, focused especially on a venerated

³⁶ Dompnier, 'Processions au Puy-en-Velay', pp. 45, 52.

³⁷ AC Dijon, D 5; *Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris*, 19 vols (Paris, 1883–1958), inter alia xiv, 59, 60, 153–5, 342–4, 414–6; xviii, 57, 58, 212, 328, 333; Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy*, p. 305.

³⁸ AD Seine-Maritime, G 2165-2171, esp. G 2171, entry of 24 Oct. 1577.

image of Our Lady of Mercy in the cathedral to which the municipality offered a huge votive candle each year. Mary dominated the histories that came to be told and written about Chartres' two-week resistance to Condé's soldiers, resistance that ended with the withdrawal of the attackers on the news that the peace of Longjumeau was about to be concluded. A statue of the Virgin over the Porte Drouaise was said to have miraculously resisted a persistent cannonade that the Huguenots directed against it. After a breach was opened in the city's walls, the Virgin appeared above it and caught cannonballs in her cloak. The route of the commemorative procession ran from the cathedral to the section of the town walls breached by the Huguenots and back through the quarter that bore the brunt of the attack. The spot of the breach was soon adorned with an image showing the Virgin protecting the town from the cannonades of the 'hagiomaques'. In 1599 a chapel dedicated to 'Notre Dame de la Brèche' was constructed nearby to house the statue that had survived the Protestant cannonade. Finally, in certain years the candle offered to Our Lady of Mercy was presented on March 15 in association with the commemoration. This procession not only survived throughout the ancien régime but was also revived again in the nineteenth century. The chapel of Notre Dame de la Brèche, closed during the Revolution, was also rebuilt and enlarged in 1843.³⁹

Sermons frequently accompanied these processions and underscored the historical and moral lessons they were intended to convey. The sermon preached in Verdun in 1671 by the Récollet father Urbain Quillot on the occasion of that city's annual procession to recall a failed effort by the Huguenots to scale its walls in September 1562 took as its theme that the Virgin Mary should be considered the city's master, protector and treasurer.⁴⁰ Her favour was responsible for the city's initial evangelization, for while earlier evangelists had visited the city, it was only after St Pulchrone established the first altars dedicated to her in 450 that the population truly converted. This in turn effected a dramatic transformation from vice to virtue. At every moment since then when Verdun had been threatened, Mary had come to its aid. Her assistance during the failed Huguenot *escalade* in 1562 was recounted at particular length. At the critical moment when the Huguenots had planted their scaling ladders against the city's walls, he claimed, the Virgin 'injected dizziness into their minds and fear into their hearts, as a consequence of some small noise they heard in the town'. Oral tradition also maintained that another group of Protestants broke through the

³⁹ Sanfaçon, 'Légendes, histoire et pouvoir à Chartres', esp. 347; H. Lehr, 'Le siège de Chartres par Condé en 1568', *BSHPF*, 46 (1897), 364–6; A. Clerval, *Chartres, sa cathédrale, ses monuments* (Rennes, 1905), p. 216.

⁴⁰ U. Quillot, 'Sermon des graces que la glorieuse Vierge Marie a fait à Verdun et des secours qu'elle luy a donné, particulièrement contre les Herétiques', in *Petite bibliothèque verdunoise. Recueil de documents inédits et de pièces rares sur Verdun et le pays Verdunois*, ed. N. Frizon, vol. 1 (Verdun, 1885), pp. 95–163. I owe this reference to Stefano Simiz, who is currently completing a major study of preaching in the urban context where he will analyse this sermon at greater length.

city gates and would have taken the town had the inhabitants not placed the keys to the city at the foot of the Virgin, who nodded her approval and protected the city. But the city did not owe its deliverance to the Virgin alone, Quillot stressed. The vigilance of the archbishop Nicolas Pseume was equally important. During the attack, he rallied support from all quarters of the city. Subsequently, even during his absences, he watched carefully to ensure that the poison of heresy never penetrated its walls. ‘Messieurs du Senat et Gouverneurs de notre ville’ should imitate this vigilance and display the same zeal that the inhabitants of the city have always shown to keep out heretics ‘lest they pervert you and alter your faith through their dangerous contact [de crainte qu’ils ne vous pervertissent, qu’ils n’alterent votre foy par leur communication dangereuse]’.

Thanks especially to a recent article by Pascal Julien, we have a particularly good idea of the history of perhaps the largest and best known of all ancien régime processions recalling an event of the Wars of the Religion, the ceremony held in Toulouse every year from 1562 to 1791 to recall the five days of street-fighting between 13 and 17 May 1562 that preserved the city from a Protestant takeover—what Voltaire famously called ‘the procession to thank God for four thousand murders’.⁴¹ Like many of these processions, this was instituted in the immediate aftermath of the event. The day after the fighting ended, the *corps de ville* came to the Palais de Justice to take a vow urged upon it by the Parlement that the city’s deliverance henceforth be celebrated every year with a procession of the relics of St Sernin. The first procession was held the very next Sunday, 24 May. After the peace of Amboise forbade reviving the memory of the past civil war, the crown ordered the seneschal of Toulouse in 1564 to forbid the procession. The *capitouls* responded by sending a delegation to Rome, ostensibly to request papal absolution for their failure to guard the city effectively in 1562, but also to make an end run around the royal interdiction. The envoys returned with a papal bull that established special feast days in the city on 12 and 17 May and granted indulgences to those who visited the cathedral on 12 May and the altar of St Sernin on 17 May. Thanks to these indulgences, the events of 12–17 May continued to be recalled and the commemoration not only survived but also flourished. A longstanding deambulation of relics on the nearby holiday of Pentecost was soon amalgamated with the visit to the altar of St Sernin. Still later the Holy Sacrament was added to the parade. In 1638 a visiting student reported, ‘among all the processions that take place in this town, that which is held on 17 May to celebrate its deliverance is the most beautiful and the most prominent [apparente].’ Up to a thousand participants carried some forty reliquaries. Crowds of people came from miles around to watch. For the 100th anniversary of the event, the *capitouls* solemnly renewed the city’s vows and erected a statue of the Virgin trampling heresy underfoot in

⁴¹ Julien, ‘Célébrations séculaires’. Also D. Bien, *The Calas Affair* (Princeton, NJ, 1960), pp. 49–52; R. A. Schneider, *The Ceremonial City: Toulouse Observed 1738–1780* (Princeton, NJ, 1995), pp. 118–22.

the place de Pont-Neuf.⁴² In 1755 an anonymous observer estimated that 40,000 people flooded into the city to watch the procession.⁴³

Despite the crowds that the procession attracted, the *capitouls* seem to have entertained doubts about the authenticity of the piety that it inspired as the eighteenth century advanced, for as its 200th anniversary approached they undertook a major effort 'in order to raise the profile of this festival, not so as to excite curiosity but to revive piety and gratitude.' The reliquaries of St Sernin were restored; no less than three histories recounted the events of 1562; and the Pope was convinced to grant a special eight-day jubilee for 1762. The bicentennial itself was a grand affair. In spite of delays and interruptions due to heavy rain, it culminated in a massive *feu d'artifice* that erupted from a pyramid bearing inscriptions reminding Toulouse's inhabitants 'Religion graced and defended this place with its illustrious and precious blood ... Calvin, seeing this, shuddered The relics of the saints are Toulouse's honour'.⁴⁴ The deliverance procession continued until the Revolution, but on 1 May 1792 the municipal council abolished it by unanimous vote, 'considering that the procession should be regarded as the apotheosis of fanaticism and a monument to ignorance, unworthy to feature among the moving, fraternal and tolerant ceremonies of a free people'. An attempt by the archbishop to revive the procession in 1862 was rejected by the prefect.⁴⁵

Guy Fawkes' day in England and the celebration of the Escalade in Geneva are holidays that are directly analogous to these French commemorations of a city's deliverance from an attack by a confessional antagonist. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the former was celebrated with bonfires, bells and Pope-burnings, both spontaneous and subsidized.⁴⁶ The latter was the occasion for banquets, masquerades and plays as well as an official *action de grâce* and sermon.⁴⁷ Unofficial forms of celebration like these that might have accompanied the French deliverance processions of the ancien régime have yet to be discovered.

Whether or not spontaneous merrymaking accompanied these processions, it should be clear from the formal components of these rituals and the size of the crowds they attracted that they would have been powerful instruments for reminding ordinary French men and women of the threat that the 'wretched, damnable, and condemned new heresy and huguenotical opinion' had once posed to the community and might do so again if its adherents were permitted to become too strong. They kept alive a distinctive confessional memory of near-victimization and miraculous preservation amid the civil wars of the later

⁴² Julien, 'Célébrations séculaires', pp. 57–60.

⁴³ Bien, *The Calas Affair*, p. 49.

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 50–52; Schneider, *The Ceremonial City*, pp. 118–22.

⁴⁵ Julien, 'Célébrations séculaires', p. 62.

⁴⁶ Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, esp. pp. 142–7, 177–81; idem, 'The fifth of November remembered', in *Myths of the English*, ed. R. Porter (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 68–90.

⁴⁷ J.-P. Ferrier, 'Histoire de la fête de l'Escalade', in *L'Escalade de Genève—1602: histoire et tradition* (Geneva, 1952), pp. 489–530, esp. pp. 490–8, 503.

sixteenth century that was the mirror image of the vision of these years found in the seventeenth-century Huguenot historical calendars. This theatre of recollection, however, was played out in the public spaces that the Catholics dominated throughout the realm, while the Huguenots consulted their historical calendars in the privacy of their homes or the mono-confessional space of their temples. Furthermore, it must be recalled that not all commemorative processions recalling events from the Wars of Religion stoked confessional hatreds. Some celebrated the fall of the League and the local restoration of royal authority. And just as only a fraction of Huguenots owned psalters containing historical calendars that recalled the sufferings of their cause during the Wars of Religion, so these processions were confined to a relatively limited number of Catholic communities. The practice was more than anecdotal but far from ubiquitous.

III

Seventeenth-century Huguenot historical calendars and Catholic deliverance processions would each in their own way have contributed to the construction of confessionally polarized memories of the Wars of Religion. At the same time, each turns out to have been confined to a fraction of households or communities on either side of the confessional divide. And just as some processions recalled the end of the League and the restoration of Bourbon rule, so cheap print also made some room for more inclusive or less polarized visions of the sixteenth century's civil wars.

Historical calendars were not an exclusively Protestant genre. Noteworthy events that occurred on dates throughout the year were also noted in the calendars at the front of at least eight Catholic devotional books of the period 1550–1634, either alongside or in lieu of the traditional lists of saints' days.⁴⁸ Such lists disappeared from works of piety in the later seventeenth century, but other kinds of historical calendars created for different purposes emerged. During the eighteenth century, historical information also became a regular part of the useful knowledge purveyed by almanacs and other vade-mecums. Most

⁴⁸ The works in question are *Heures de Notre Dame à l'usage de Romme* (Paris: Magdaleine Boursette, 1550) [cited in Davis, 'Printing and the people', p. 330]; *Heures à l'usage de Paris* (n.p., 1566) [BN, Res B 8981]; *Heures à l'usage de Paris* (Paris: Jean Le Blanc, 1585) [Bibl Ste Geneviève, 8 bb 1483 inv 1646 res]; [Jean de Ferrières], *Le Thresor des Prieres, Oraisons et Instructions Chrestiennes, pour invoquer Dieu en tout temps ... Avec le Calendrier Historial* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1585) [BN, D 35007]; J. du Ferrier, *Le Thresor des Prieres, Oraisons et Instructions Chrestiennes, pour invoquer Dieu en tout temps ... Ensemble un calendrier Historial* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1596); René Benoist, *Heures de nostre Dame, à l'usage de Rome, Latin-François ... Avec le Calendrier Historial* (Paris: Eustache Foucault, 1614) [Staats- und Stadtsbibliothek Augsburg, Th Lt K 237]; *Heures de nostre dame, à l'usage de Rome. Mises en François par M. René Benoist. Et reveue par Monsieur l'Archevesque de Bourges* (Paris: Rolet Boutonne, 1623) [BM Lyon, Rés B 510026]; René Benoist, *Heures de Notre Dame à l'usage de Rome* (Paris: Augustin Courbé, 1634) [BN B 6037]. De Ferrières' *Thresor des Prieres* was also republished in 1686 by Estienne Lucas but without a historical calendar, *pace* the entry in the BN catalogue.

often this took the form of a review of the major events of the preceding year, but occasionally it included pages on the country or community's more distant past.

These forms of cheap print, aimed at an overwhelmingly Catholic audience, varied strikingly in their presentation of the era of the Wars of Religion. Some dwelled on Huguenot sedition or hagiomachy while drawing a veil of silence over Catholic violence. One example is the *Calendrier historique de la ville de Lyon*, published annually between 1722 and 1741 by André Laurens. Its title notwithstanding, this was not a historical calendar similar to those examined so far, but a compendium of practical information about Lyon—the schedule of its courts, fairs, ceremonies and postal couriers; lists of its magistrates, lawyers, clergymen and ‘banquiers expeditionnaires en cour de Rome’; instructions on how to draw up letters of exchange—to which the publisher attached each year an instalment about Lyon’s history.⁴⁹ The instalments of 1726, 1727 and 1728 treated the Wars of Religion. These devoted considerable space to the growth of Protestant heresy and the Huguenots’ ‘wicked designs’ against the city following the death of Henri II, especially the foiled attempt led by Edme Maligny to seize it in 1560 and the trampling of the Holy Sacrament by a Protestant goldsmith in 1561. They devoted yet more space to the Huguenot occupation of the city in 1562, emphasizing the violence exercised against the Catholics and the disastrous effects on Lyon’s commerce. By contrast, they disposed of the local version of the Saint Bartholomew’s massacre in a single phrase and attributed the violence to the righteous anger stirred up among the Catholic majority by the excessively generous treatment accorded Protestant complaints by the commissioners charged with enforcing the peace of 1570.⁵⁰ The account of the five years of League domination of the city was scarcely more loquacious. Since the misfortunes of the League were common to all of France, the text asserted, there was no need to go into them; the city followed the general course of events throughout the kingdom less out of its own choosing than because it was forced to do so. But while Paris had led the way in revolt, Lyon led the way to obedience, for it was the first major city spontaneously to recognize Henri IV after his conversion.⁵¹ Through this clever use of elision, the chronicle thus sought to reclaim a small measure of honour from a period still felt to be so shameful that it needed to be buried in silence more than a century after the fact.

Another highly partial Catholic selection of events from the Wars of Religion can be found in the historical calendar at the front of a 1585 book of hours

⁴⁹ *Calendrier historique de la ville de Lyon pour l’an de grace 1726* (Lyon: André Laurens, n.d.), pp. 234–8; *Calendrier historique de la ville de Lyon pour l’an de grace 1727* (Lyon: André Laurens, n.d.), pp. 239–64; *Calendrier historique de la ville de Lyon pour l’an de grace 1728* (Lyon: André Laurens, n.d.), pp. 265–88. The pagination of these portions of the *Calendrier historique* does not follow that of the other sections in each volume, suggesting that these chapters were drawn from a separately published history of the city.

⁵⁰ *Calendrier historique de la ville de Lyon pour l’an de grace 1728*, pp. 270, 271.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 286, 287.

published in Paris by Jean Le Blanc.⁵² The seventeen memorable dates from the Wars of Religion found in this calendar (set out in Table 3) overlap only modestly with the Huguenot calendars. Like the latter, this calendar recalls the deaths of kings Henri II and Francis II, the Edict of January and several important battles, but where the Huguenot calendars also note the deaths of many Protestant noblemen, this one recalls François de Guise's leading role in the victory at Dreux, his death 'for the Catholic faith ... to the great regret of all the French people', the role of his young son Henri in directing the 1569 defence of Poitiers, and the death of the Cardinal of Lorraine 'which was a great loss for Christianity.'⁵³ Where the Huguenot calendars list many cruel massacres of Protestants, this one identifies only one: the incident in late 1561 when Protestants invaded the church of Saint-Médard in Paris and killed several Catholics. It also recalls the 1567 surprise of Meaux, where the Huguenots attempted to take king Charles IX under their control and touched off the Second Civil War, an episode that is all but invisible in early Protestant histories of this era.

Markedly different sets of events from the Wars of Religion are recalled in the historical calendars that accompanied editions of 1585 and 1596 of Jean de Ferrières' *Thresor des prieres, oraisons et instructions Chrestiennes pour invoquer Dieu en tout temps* and editions of 1614, 1623 and 1634 of René

Table 3 Events of the Wars of Religion in the 1585 *Heures à l'usage de Paris*

1559 fatal wounding of Henri II
1559 death of Henri II 'dont le peuple larmoya'
1560 death of Francis II
1560 accession of Charles IX
1561 'massacre' of Catholics in the church of St Medard
1562 Edict of January
1562 battle of Dreux 'gaignee par le Duc de Guise pour le Roy'
1563 death of François de Guise
1567 surprise of Meaux
1567 battle of St Denis
1568 general procession in Paris 'ou furent portees toutes les saintes reliques de S Denys en France, et ceux de la sainte Chappelle, et de toutes les paroisses de Paris, a laquelle le Roy Charles neufiesme assista et plusieurs cardinaux et grands seigneurs de France, marchant tous en grande devotion et priere'
1569 siege of Poitiers. Henri de Guise directs the city's defense 'pour la foy et son roy, contre les Protestans, avec victoire merueilleuse'
1569 battle of Moncontour won by duke of Anjou, currently king Henri III
1570 marriage of Charles IX to Elizabeth of Austria
1573 duke of Aumale killed before la Rochelle
1574 execution of Montgommery
1574 death of Cardinal of Lorraine 'qui fut grande perte pour la Chrestienté'

⁵² *Heures à l'usage de Paris* (Paris: Jean Le Blanc, 1585).

⁵³ The place of the Guises as defenders of the faith against heresy is also burnished by an entry recalling the family's role in defeating the peasant rebels of 1525: 31 Oct. 1525: 'le duc de Guise avec peu de forces rompt et deffaict en Champaigne grosses troupes de allemans et autres, venus contre Dieu et le roy'.

Benoist's *Heures de nostre Dame, à l'usage de Rome*. The authors of both of these works of devotion were humanist Parisian curés whose doctrinal orientation the strictest guardians of orthodoxy considered suspect. De Ferrières, curé of Saint-Nicolas des Champs from 1558 to 1588, raised eyebrows because his *Thresor des prieres* copied some of its contents from Erasmus and lacked prayers to the saints.⁵⁴ Benoist's long and eventful career took him from humanist protégé of the Cardinal of Lorraine to curé of Saint-Eustache to bishop of Troyes and included a scrape with the Sorbonne because he published a translation of the Bible heavily dependent on Genevan editions. A staunch supporter of Henri III until the last Valois's death, he was one of the first Paris curés to rally to Henri IV after his conversion.⁵⁵ The calendars accompanying their works share a large number of entries. They also, as might perhaps be expected, set out a moderate and royalist vision of the era—even if they may have been inserted by the printer rather than being written by either de Ferrières or Benoist themselves. Unlike the *Heures à l'usage de Paris*, both recall what they name 'la journée dite Saint-Barthélemy', the only massacre by either side in the civil wars that they include. They are not entirely insensitive to the episodes that generated Catholic fear and hatred of the Huguenots, for they note the royal order of 1570 ordering the removal of the cross erected in Paris on the site of the demolished house of the Protestant merchant Jean Gastines, an important Catholic grievance. They nonetheless omit the surprise of Meaux and the incident at Saint-Médard, not to mention the conspiracy of Amboise, the Huguenot seizure of many cities in 1562 and the many episodes of Protestant iconoclasm and anti-clerical violence that accompanied the Wars of Religion. Their only reference to the Guise family notes the date on which the Cardinal of Lorraine died. What they chiefly recall from the years 1559–98 are the births, deaths, marriages and coronations of members of the royal family; key battles from the civil wars, especially the victories of Henri IV and a variety of miscellaneous events from the establishment of the *juridiction consulaire* in Paris to the creation of the chivalric order of the Saint-Esprit. The calendar accompanying de Ferrières' 1596 *Thresor* also notes the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1594. Many of the events that stoked grievances on both sides are passed over in silence, while dates linked to the history of the ruling house are numerous.

The rather different historical calendar that the Burgundian abbé Guillaume Valerot rushed into print just after the death of Louis XIV to teach the rudiments of French history to the young Louis XV also presented a moderate, royalist vision of the era. Entitled *Journal de la France, contenant par chaque jour des mois ce qui s'est passé de plus memorable depuis l'origine de la Monarchie*

⁵⁴ V. Angelo, *Les curés de Paris au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 2005), pp. 155, 481, 711; H. Brémond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France*, 11 vols (Paris, 1920–36), x, 228–31.

⁵⁵ E. Pasquier, *René Benoist, le pape des Halles (1521-1608). Un curé de Paris pendant des guerres de religion* (Angers, 1913; repr. Geneva, 1970); G. Minois, *Le confesseur du roi. Les directeurs de la conscience sous la monarchie française* (1988), pp. 276–8, 296–321, esp. p. 309.

jusqu'à présent, this work's stated aim was to show the king at a glance 'the ancient customs of his kingdom, the different institutions that have been established, the point at which the provinces that comprise it were joined to the crown; the alliances made by his august ancestors; and, above all, the virtues that made them so precious to their subjects'.⁵⁶ True to its didactic ambition, the entries about each event are longer than those found in the other calendars examined so far. The 424 memorable dates spanned the years from Clovis's baptism in 496 to the early eighteenth century, with particular concentration on the long reign of Louis XIV and, once again, the Wars of Religion. Many of the events from the last period concern the royal dynasty as would be expected in a work with this one's stated purpose. Its recounting of other episodes of the early Wars of Religion agrees in some places with standard Huguenot accounts of the events and at others embraces a Catholic perception. The massacre of Vassy is blamed on the duke of Guise's retainers, while the prince of Condé is noted as having been killed in cold blood, both details upon which Protestant histories regularly insisted. On the other hand, the Huguenot spokesmen are said to have been confounded at the colloquy of Poissy, which no Protestant would have conceded. The calendar is silent about the conspiracy of Amboise and the surprise of Meaux, although it mentions the Huguenot takeover of Orléans in 1562. St Bartholomew is the only massacre it notes. The density of events recalled increases significantly with the period of the Catholic League. Here, the actions of the Ligueurs 'aimed at depriving Henri IV of the crown', the proclamation of the Cardinal de Bourbon as king Charles X and numerous victories by Henri IV and his allies before the first Bourbon was finally able to take Paris are all foregrounded. Strikingly, this is the only calendar of those examined here that notes the date of 'the famous Edict of Nantes', said to be 'so favourable to the Huguenots'; this edict that historians today see as such a landmark evidently weighed much less heavily in seventeenth-century perceptions of the 1590s than Henri IV's battles to overcome the Catholic League. In sum, this historical calendar made for the king in 1714 stands at a considerable distance from the emphasis on the victimization of one confessional group or the other found in the Huguenot calendars or the virtually contemporaneous *Calendrier historique de la ville de Lyon*. By the early eighteenth century, the incorporation into Catholic histories of narrative details originally diffused by Protestant historians, a process begun at the dawn of the seventeenth century by Jacques-Auguste de Thou, has passed from the domain of learned history into that of works of elementary pedagogy. Since four editions of the *Journal de la France* were published by 1725, the book reached a wider public than just the king.

⁵⁶ Valerot, *Journal de la France, contenant par chaque jour des mois ce qui s'est passé de plus memorable depuis l'Origine de la Monarchie jusqu'à présent, avec une histoire abbregee de la Vie des Rois de France, leur genealogies, et des remarques sur les differens etablissements qui se sont faits sous leurs regnes* (2nd edn, Paris: C.L. Thiboust, 1719), dédicace.

IV

Although the Catholic historical calendars just examined were not numerous, they offer a salutary warning against leaping too quickly to generalizations about Catholic-Protestant differences that might have appeared to have been suggested by the juxtaposition of texts and rituals in the first sections of this article. Clearly, it would be too simple to assert that Catholic practices of collective memory were built exclusively around ritual, while Protestant practices were built exclusively around texts. Clearly, one cannot simply claim that where Huguenot texts emphasized the role of the founder of the Bourbon dynasty in bringing order to France and safety to the faithful, Catholicism always put more emphasis on the role of the community's celestial protectors. The calendars accompanying the prayer books of Jean de Ferrières and René Benoist reveal a royalist and *politique* or *bon françois* historiography that above all recalled the toll of civil war through the synecdoche of its major battles and the gravity of the Catholic League's challenge to the principle of dynastic succession, a challenge only overcome through the military genius of the first Bourbon. Neither in their use of texts as opposed to rituals in the shaping of historical consciousness nor in their honouring of celestial opposed to terrestrial protectors was the contrast between the two faiths black and white. But shades of grey can still be distinguished. Public ceremony played more of a role in Catholic than Protestant instruments of social memory. This difference was due in part to the character of the two religions and in part to Catholicism's control of public space as the kingdom's dominant religion.

The last few Catholic historical calendars examined also prove that the memory of the Wars of Religion was not always sharply polarized along confessional lines. The chronologies accompanying the prayer books of de Ferrières and Benoist were silent about the episodes recalled in local Catholic processions, about Huguenot iconoclasm and about the conspiracy of Amboise and surprise of Meaux. They mentioned the St Bartholomew's massacre and key events in the history of the Catholic League, unlike the *Calendrier historique de la ville de Lyon*. Catholic historians, too, could note that the prince of Condé had been killed in cold blood after surrendering.

Finally, this investigation has suggested that the seventeenth-century Huguenot historical calendars that insisted so much on Protestant victimization and Catholic violence and sedition, although a widely disseminated form of cheap print, were to be found in only a relatively small fraction of Huguenot psalters of the era. The Catholic processions that celebrated towns' narrow escape from the evil intentions of seditious Protestants took place in a relatively small fraction of French communities.

These findings all duly noted, the ultimate conclusion of this study must be that the mirroring tales of the true faith's victimization or near-victimization by its seditious and violent confessional other, spread in such different manners through Huguenot historical calendars and Catholic commemorative processions, attained a wider dissemination than any other via the texts and rituals examined here.

Seventeenth-century Huguenot historical calendars drew particular attention to the many massacres of which the Protestants were victims, to the role of the religious orders and the Sorbonne in supporting the Catholic League and other challenges to the legitimate authority of kings, and to the many battles Henri IV had to win in order to overcome this challenge to his legitimate rights and those of the Bourbon dynasty. At least ten overwhelmingly Catholic cities staged major annual spectacles throughout the ancien régime recalling how the city and its saints and relics had once narrowly escaped falling into the clutches of violent Huguenot hagiomachs. If far from ubiquitous throughout France, these would still each in their own way have been important instruments for stoking confessional antipathy and reinforcing confessional identity. Notwithstanding the commandment of *oubliance*, the Wars of Religion continued to cast a long shadow over the subsequent centuries. One suspects that as more historians begin to explore other vectors of widely shared forms of historical consciousness under the ancien régime, they will find yet more evidence that the traumatic events of the civil wars continued to be recalled and re-worked in powerful ways up until the Revolution and even beyond. One also suspects that with the current explosion of interest in historical memory, more and more historians will soon carry the investigation of this subject further than it has been possible to do here.

A P P E N D I X

Events recalled in the historical calendar accompanying *Les pseumes de David* (Paris, 1652)

- n.d. ten commandments handed down on Mt Sinai
- n.d. conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar
- n.d. first temple destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar
- n.d. birth of John the Baptist
- n.d. the ambassador spoken of in John 1:9 visits John the Baptist
- n.d. birth of Christ
- n.d. Christ ascends to heaven
- 694 accession of Clovis III
- 800 coronation of Charlemagne
- 987 death of king Louis V
- 1086 foundation of the kingdom of Bohemia
- 1226 death of king Louis VIII father of St Louis
- 1250 St Louis taken prisoner while on crusade
- 1311 Knights Templar dissolved and their Grand Master executed
- 1313 emperor Henry VII killed by a Dominican with a poisoned communion wafer
- 1415 Jan Hus burned at Constance for defending the gospel
- 1422 coronation in Paris of Henry VI of England as king of France
- 1426 execution in Paris of the count of St Paul
- 1449 Charles VII recovers Rouen
- 1453 Turkish emperor Mahomet II captures Constantinople
- 1483 death of king Louis XI
- 1500 birth of Charles V
- 1515 battle of Marignano
- 1517 Luther's theses against the Pope 101 years after Hus executed

- 1527 capture of Rome by Charles de Bourbon
- 1545 Merindol sacked and razed on orders of the Parlement of Provence
- 1545 Cabrieres and surrounding villages burned to ground and inhabitants killed
- 1545 death of Charles, duke of Orléans, eldest son of Francis I
- 1546 death of Martin Luther
- 1547 death of Francis I
- 1547 *sacre* of Henri II
- 1552 Metz taken under French control
- 1553 five students of Lyon executed for their faith
- 1557 birth of king Charles IX
- 1559 death of Elector Palatine Ottheinrich who reformed the church and the university of Heidelberg
- 1559 Mercurial of the Parlement of Paris in presence of king 'pour exterminer ceux de la religion'
- 1559 wedding of Emmanuel-Philibert of Savoy and sister of Henri II
- 1559 fatal wounding of Henri II
- 1559 execution of Anne Du Bourg
- 1560 death of Francis II
- 1561 colloquy of Poissy
- 1561 cruel massacre of the faithful at Cahors
- 1562 Estates assembled at St Germain-en-Laye draft edict of toleration, which only lasts 2 months
- 1562 massacre of Vassy
- 1562 cruel massacre of the faithful at Sens
- 1562 massacres in Provence
- 1562 fatal wounding of Antoine de Bourbon before Rouen
- 1562 battle of Dreux
- 1563 fatal wounding of duke of Guise before Orléans
- 1563 Peace of Amboise, which lasts for 4 years and 7 months
- 1563 *jurisdiction consulaire* established in Paris
- 1564 peace made between France and England
- 1564 death of 'ce grand serviteur de Dieu' Calvin
- 1567 battle of St Denis
- 1567 death of constable Anne de Montmorency
- 1568 third edict of pacification, which lasts for 5 months
- 1569 battle of Jarnac at which prince of Condé killed in cold blood
- 1569 siege of St Jean d'Angély
- 1569 battle of Moncontour
- 1570 fourth edict of pacification, which lasts 2 years
- 1570 marriage of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria
- 1572 cruel massacre of Coligny and many other noblemen in Paris
- 1572 cruel massacre of faithful in Orléans
- 1572 cruel massacre of the faithful in Rouen
- 1572 cruel massacre of the faithful in Bordeaux
- 1572 siege of La Rochelle begins
- 1573 bombardment of La Rochelle begins
- 1573 siege of La Rochelle raised, fifth edict of pacification signed
- 1576 sixth edict of pacification, which lasts 7 months
- 1584 death of duke of Anjou
- 1585 formation of Catholic League 'sous pretexte de Religion'
- 1585 edict of reunion ends toleration of Protestantism
- 1587 Mary Stuart executed in England
- 1587 battle of Coutras
- 1588 death of duke of Bouillon in Geneva

- 1588 Henri de Bourbon, prince of Condé, fatally poisoned
 1588 day of the barricades in Paris
 1588 defeat of Spanish armada
 1588 Estates-General of Blois opens
 1588 Estates-General confirms edict of reunion 'pour la ruine et extirpation de ceux de la Religion Reformée'
 1588 Protestant political assembly at La Rochelle convoked by king of Navarre
 1588 execution of duke and cardinal of Guise
 1589 death of Catherine de Medici
 1589 Sorbonne declares the French absolved of their oath of allegiance to Henri III
 1589 First President of the Parlement of Toulouse Duranti killed in sedition
 1589 leading members of Parlement of Paris imprisoned
 1589 truce between Henri III and Henri of Navarre
 1589 battle of Senlis
 1589 battle of Saveuse
 1589 assassination of Henri 3
 1589 battle of Arques
 1589 Henri IV takes faubourgs of Paris
 1589 Henri IV takes Vendôme
 1589 Henri IV takes Le Mans
 1590 Henri IV takes Falaise
 1590 battle of Ivry
 1591 duke of Aumale killed seeking to take St Denis
 1591 Henri IV takes Chartres
 1591 Henri IV takes Noyon
 1591 death of François de Châtillon
 1592 defeat of Leaguers in Poitou, Vicomte de la Guerche killed
 1592 defeat, death of duke of Joyeuse at Villemur
 1593 execution of the would-be royal assassin Pierre Barriere
 1594 sacre of Henri IV
 1594 Paris submits to Henri IV
 1594 Rouen, Le Havre, and other towns in Normandy submit to Henri IV
 1594 Henri 4 wounded by Jean Chastel 'suborné par les Jesuites'
 1594 Jean Chastel executed and Jesuits banished
 1600 victory of Maurice of Nassau at Nieuwpoort
 1601 siege of Ostend by archduke Albert begins
 1601 birth of Louis XIII
 1602 execution of Biron
 1604 death in the Reformed faith of 'ceste constante princesse' the duchess of Bar, sister of Henri IV
 1605 death of Theodore Beza
 1610 Henri IV executed by 'le detestable Ravaillac'
 1610 *sacre* of Louis XIII
 1614 treatise of Mariana burned on order of Parlement of Paris
 1619 Frederick V of the Palatinate crowned king of Bohemia
 1625 marriage of Charles of Great Britain and Henrietta Maria sister of Louis XIII
 1638 duke of Rohan fatally wounded at battle of Reinfeld
 1638 birth of Louis XIV
 1640 conquest of Arras
 1640 birth of duke of Anjou, second son of Louis XIII
 1642 conquest of Perpignan
 1643 death of Louis XIII
 1643 royal victory at Rocroi
 1649 flood in Paris