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The Constructs of a Rebel City:
The Development of La Rochelle's (Self-)Identification in
Print during the French Wars of Religion
(1563-1635)
2 Vols

Volume One

by
Rebecca Maryse Pillière

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Declaration of Originality

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

This thesis is the first comprehensive study of the development of La Rochelle's (self-)identification during the French Wars of Religion (1562-1629). Previous research so far has largely relied on archives to explore the city's conversion to Protestantism in the early modern period and to analyze its conflictual relationship with the French Crown. Yet, both bibliographical and historical studies have overlooked the significance of La Rochelle's print, especially cheap print, in the development of the city's identity as a Huguenot bastion.

This research explores the extent to which print influenced La Rochelle's identification through two different, yet complimentary, approaches. Firstly, it features a quantitative analysis using a corpus of printed materials published between 1563 and 1635, which foregrounds La Rochelle's identity in symbolic terms and reveals the development of various identity traits. For ease of reference and consultation, I have added this appendix as a separate file.

Secondly, it employs an interdisciplinary methodology to examine the printed materials by drawing on identity theory (namely, Sheldon Stryker's structural symbolic interactionism and Peter Burke's perceptual control emphasis). These dynamic models provide a framework to examine La Rochelle's fluctuating identity and identification within its socio-historical context.

Through chronologically ordered chapters, this thesis uncovers how the development of print affected La Rochelle's (self-)identification at a time when political publications were seeking to introduce a homogenous 'national consciousness'. It offers a comprehensive analysis of how the identity of La Rochelle was fashioned in print through text and paratext in conjunction with the city's most eminent social actors and her interaction with the outside world. The analysis highlights a largely unexplored territory: that these features of La Rochelle's identity were reappropriated by external communities, either for their own personal agenda or used later against the city. This research thus reveals that La Rochelle's print was central to the development of the city's identity from c. 1563 onwards and — perhaps more importantly — that the fight over its identification continued right up to the Second Siege of La Rochelle (1629) and, indeed, lay at the heart of it.

Introduction

La mer n'est pas seulement une source de revenus, elle constitue aussi une figure tutélaire [...]. Elle fait partie de la vie des habitants et chacun entretient avec elle un rapport différent.

- Jean-Louis Mahé, ‘Les Fondements de l'identité de La Rochelle’, 2015

La Rochelle, both beautiful and rebellious ('belle et rebelle') to its inhabitants, has earned many epithets over time.¹ The city has been called the 'French Geneva', the 'French Amsterdam', the 'Key of France' or even the 'French Protestant Capital', each label conferring an identity that transcends the religious and national boundaries that appeared with the development of a French national identity in the early modern period.² It comes as no surprise that its history and its rebellion during the French Wars of Religion (1562-1629) have garnered the interest of historians, more recently in the studies of Kevin C. Robbins, Nicole Vray, Judith Pugh Meyer, David Parker and Jan-Friedrich Mißfelder.³ Robbins (1997) associates the origins of the Reformation in La Rochelle to the city's geopolitics and its natural anticlericalism.⁴ On the other hand,

¹ This tagline, first popularised by Mayor, Michel Crépeau (1930-1999), is currently used to promote the city's culture and heritage.

² Although it is commonly used by scholars in the field, the epithet 'Genève française' is a recent expression (most likely coined in the twentieth century); the expression has on occasion also been applied to Montauban.

³ Traditionally, the French Wars of Religion refer to the conflicts between 1562 and 1598. However, more recent studies have extended the period to 1629, the fall of La Rochelle. See Nicolas Le Roux, *Les Guerres de Religion 1559-1629* (Paris: Belin, 2009) and Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For the purposes of this thesis, I have defined the period as 1562-1629. As indicated below, I shall also take into account its immediate aftermath.

⁴ Kevin C. Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea: La Rochelle, 1530-1650: Urban Society, Religion, and Politics on the French Atlantic Frontier*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 64 (Leiden: Brill, 1997). In another study, Robbins mentions that he finds his understanding of the term 'anticlericalism' on the definition provided by Gerald Strauss: '[A]nticlericalism can [...] be construed as a gamut of sensibilities and challenges manifest throughout the population toward the material,

Pugh Meyer (1996), Vray (1999) and Parker (1980) argue for a political and social approach.⁵ Yet, none have investigated the link between La Rochelle's use of print and the development of its identity that Louis XIII sought to destroy during the Second Siege (1627-1628). Even if Mißfelder (2012) has arguably given an account of La Rochelle's print in his study of the city's relationship with monarchical rule, his analysis has not examined how the development of print influenced La Rochelle's broader urban identity and its interaction with the outside world.⁶

This thesis therefore focuses on hitherto unexplored aspects of La Rochelle's print during the Wars of Religion, namely the various uses of print within the city and beyond, and its impact on the development of the city's (self-)identification in cultural, civic and religious terms. Because the term 'identity' carries multiple meanings, throughout the thesis I predominantly use the term 'identification' following the definition provided by the sociologists Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper:

[a]s a processual, active term, derived from a verb, "identification" lacks the reifying connotations of "identity" [...] How one identifies oneself - and how one is identified by others - may vary greatly from context to context; self- and other-identification are fundamentally situational and contextual.⁷

juridical, honorary, intellectual, spiritual, and supernatural advantages ascribed to the clergy as a separate estate.' (Kevin C. Robbins, 'Magical Emasculation, Popular Anticlericalism and the Limits of the Reformation in Western France circa 1590', *Journal of Social History*, 31.1 (1997), 61-83 (p. 63)). It is worth noting that most isolated communities in France were anticlerical and La Rochelle is by no means unique in this sense.

⁵ Judith Pugh Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle: Tradition in Early Modern Europe 1500-1568*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 298 (Geneva: Droz, 1996); Nicole Vray, *La Rochelle et les Protestants du XVIe au XXe siècle* (La Crèche: Geste, 1999) and David Parker, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy: Conflict and Order in Seventeenth-Century France* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1980). Cf. Jan-Friedrich Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie: La Rochelle und die Idee der "monarchie absolue" in Frankreich 1568-1630* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012).

⁶ Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, (2012).

⁷ Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society*, 29.1 (2000), 1-47 (p. 14).

To explore the notions of La Rochelle's urban identity and identification in its socio-historical context, I have therefore adopted an interdisciplinary approach that employs two different yet complementary frameworks. First, I consider identity theory primarily through Sheldon Stryker's structural symbolic interactionism, that is underlining the use of language and its interpretation, as well through the structure of perceptual emphasis developed by Peter Burke.⁸ Secondly, I examine printed materials and selected pieces from my corpus using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as developed by Norman Fairclough (1995) and Ruth Wodak (2001).⁹ It is by combining the social science identity theory with the critical theory that I will consider language within a broader socio-cultural context and its relation to identity.

Indeed, a crucial instrument during the religious conflicts of early modern Europe was the written word.¹⁰ The abundant production of pamphlets by Protestant and Catholic writers alike identified the enemy through recurring rhetorical patterns such as biblical analogies and/or self-disidentification, i.e. opposing portraits between

⁸ On symbolic interaction see Sheldon Stryker, *Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version* (Caldwell: Blackburn, 2002), George J. McCall and J. L. Simmons, *Identities and Interactions: An Examination of Human Associations in Everyday Life* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1978) and Robert S. Perinbanayagam, *The Presence of Self* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

⁹ Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: the Critical Study of Language* (London: Longman 1995); Ruth Wodak, 'Discourse Studies: Important Concepts and Terms', in *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*, ed. by Ruth Wodak and Michal Krzyżanowski (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008), pp. 1-29 and Ruth Wodak, 'The Discourse-historical Approach', in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage, 2001), pp. 83-94.

¹⁰ Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Roger Chartier, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity, 1989) and Elizabeth Eisenstein, 'The Advent of Printing and the Protestant Revolt: A New Approach to the Disruption of Western Christendom', in *Transition and Revolution: Problems and Issues of European Renaissance and Reformation History*, ed. by Robert M. Kingdon (Minneapolis, MN: Burgess, 1974), pp. 189-205.

allies and adversaries ('us versus them').¹¹ Print thus influenced the French religious wars as a battle between two conflicting belief systems – Catholic and Protestant – that were both developed through language. As we shall see throughout the thesis, these conflicting systems included not only Catholics and Protestants but other political groups, such as the *malcontents*, the *Parti des politiques* or the *moyenneurs*.

This association between conflict and literature, between blood and ink, is most potent in La Rochelle: amidst the countrywide war-mongering and daily violence, the fortified port rose as a beacon of hope for the Huguenots, her citizens inspiring authors beyond the borders of France, her municipality becoming a symbol of religious and political independence.¹² However, La Rochelle's port also became synonymous with treachery and rebellion: in her struggle to retain the various privileges she had accumulated, the city's strained relationship with the monarchy and her pride in maintaining her culture and traditions impinged upon her representation in print. So, the crucial question is this: in what manner and to what extent did the local print affect La Rochelle's (self-)identification?

To answer this question, I review the full range of publications that circulated from 1563 up to 1635 and that brought La Rochelle to centre stage. I have compiled their bibliographical data in a corpus that accompanies this thesis, often supplementing and correcting existing records.¹³ Selected and fully contextualized case studies will

¹¹ The concept of 'self-disidentification' (or Not-Me) is developed by McCall in George McCall, 'The Me and the Not-Me: Positive and Negative Poles of Identity', in *Advances in Identity Theory and Research*, ed. by Peter J Burke and others (Boston, MA: Springer, 2003), pp. 11-25.

¹² From now on, I shall be using the feminine pronoun to refer to La Rochelle, consistent with the definite article attached to her name, her representation as a feminized, nurturing homeland (a 'Mother Earth') and similar personifications in early modern literature.

¹³ As mentioned in footnote 3, the thesis includes publications issued after the end of the Second Siege, so as to analyze the portrayal of Louis XIII's victory over La Rochelle and its immediate influence on the city's identification.

further demonstrate that several early modern publications that have previously been overlooked or only briefly mentioned in historical and literary studies provide valuable insights into the city's intellectual culture and the catalysts to the formation of La Rochelle's identity. In many ways, it may be argued that it was the development of print within the city walls that resulted in La Rochelle's destruction during the Second Siege and founded the myth we know today: a beautiful yet defiant city.¹⁴ Although La Rochelle's defiance and conflict with the Crown has been the subject of many studies by historians past and present, there remain many aspects hitherto unexplored.

1 La Rochelle in Recent Studies

La Rochelle has often been defined as the Huguenot bastion *par excellence*, the 'French Geneva', capturing the imagination of authors and artists alike. Early modern diarists, chroniclers and historiographers, such as Amos Barbot de Buzay (1566-1625) and the pastor Jacques Merlin (1566-c. 1620), ensured that the story of La Rochelle's foundation was recorded on paper alongside the contemporary events they observed during the religious wars.¹⁵ It was only in the following century, within the two volumes of the *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du pays d'Aunis* (1756-1757),

¹⁴ La Rochelle and its struggle during the Second Siege has since been the background for various historical and romantic novels and plays including, but not limited to, Stéphanie-Félicité Du Crest, comtesse de Genlis, *Le Siège de la Rochelle ou le Malheur et la conscience*, 2 vols (Paris: Lecointe et Durey, 1826); Hippolyte-Jules Demolière, Lucien Lebeau and Moléri Lebeau, *Le Chevalier noir, drame en cinq actes, en prose; précédé de: Le siège de la Rochelle: prologue* ([Paris]: Barbré, [c. 1869]) and Robert Merle, *La Gloire et les périls*, Fortune de France, 11 (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000).

¹⁵ Amos Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, ed. by Denys d'Aussy (Paris: A. Picard, 1886) and Jacques Merlin, *Diaire ou journal du ministre Merlin, pasteur de l'Eglise de La Rochelle au XVIe siècle*, ed. by Alexandre Crottet (Geneva: Joël Cherbuliez, 1855).

that Louis-Étienne Arcère (1698-1782) meticulously compiled these records, including additional primary sources he discovered during his own research. This thesis uses these key sources to contextualize the data of its corpus.

1.1 Historical Studies on La Rochelle: the Dawn of Protestantism

In the second half of the nineteenth century, scholars readily edited manuscripts or rare publications from the early modern period. These works offer a more comprehensive understanding of the Rochelais' culture and living conditions during some of the most important periods of their history, such as the First Siege. They include Alexandre Crottet's edition of Merlin's *Diaire* (1855), Louis Delayant's edition and translation of Filippo Cavriana's (c. 1536-1606) *Histoire du siège de La Rochelle* (1856), Paul Gaudin's edition of Alexandre de Pontaymeri's (d. 1618) *Hymne sur La Rochelle* (1875) and Denys d'Aussy's edition of Barbot's *Histoire de La Rochelle* (1886).¹⁶

In the beginning of the twentieth century, historians focused on the events of the Second Siege.¹⁷ It is only in the second half of the twentieth century that new studies began to offer a broader analysis of the development of La Rochelle as a mercantile and Protestant port. From the mid- to the late twentieth century, historians

¹⁶ Merlin, *Diaire ou journal du ministre Merlin* (1855); Filippo Cavriana, *Histoire du siège de La Rochelle sous Charles IX en 1573*, ed. and trans. by Louis Delayant (La Rochelle: A. Siret, 1856); Alexandre de Pontaymeri, *Hymne sur La Rochelle par Alexandre de Pontaymery Poète du XVIe siècle. Avec une Notice préliminaire et des Notes par Paul Gaudin*, ed. by Paul Gaudin (La Rochelle: A. Siret, 1875) and Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle* (1886).

¹⁷ L'Abbé Louis Dedouvres, *Le Père Joseph et le Siège de La Rochelle: études d'après des documents inédits* (Angers: J. Siraudeau, 1901); Franklin Charles Palm, 'The Siege and Capture of La Rochelle in 1628: Its Economic Significance', *Journal of Political Economy*, 31.1 (1923) and François de Vaux de Foletier, *Le Siège de La Rochelle* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1931).

have attempted to identify the cause of the townspeople's sudden and, seemingly, collective devotion to the Protestant cause. Robbin's *City on the Ocean Sea* (1997), for instance, explores how the region's local beliefs engendered considerable distrust towards Catholicism. Most studies, including Pugh Meyer's *Reformation in La Rochelle* (1996), Parker's *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy* (1980) or Pascal Rambeaud's *La Rochelle fidèle et rebelle* (2000), underline the importance of the Rochelais' strained relationship with the Crown as a catalyst for religious change and firmly impute the gradual removal of the inhabitants' numerous privileges to the proliferation of Protestantism within the city walls.¹⁸ Beyond these monographs, studies on La Rochelle during the early modern period generally seek to reconstitute the city's urban life, be it through the inhabitants' professions and interrelations, their relationship with the outside world or the influence of notable figureheads on a local scale.

One approach considers how La Rochelle promoted Protestantism in the city and the surrounding villages through education. For example, Jean Flouret's article 'L'Éducation des jeunes Rochelais à l'époque d'Henri IV' (2011) sees education as the primary vector for the dissemination of Protestantism.¹⁹ At the same time, Flouret also acknowledges the importance of the mercantile tradition and the city's attachment to her privileges, an argument that also underlies the studies of Robbins (1997) and Pugh Meyer (1996).²⁰

¹⁸ Pascal Rambeaud, *La Rochelle fidèle et rebelle* (Saintes: Le Croît Vif, 2000).

¹⁹ Jean Flouret, 'L'Éducation des jeunes Rochelais à l'époque d'Henri IV', *Revue de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, 37 (2011), 73- 80.

²⁰ For further references, see Jean Hiernard and Pascal Rambeaud, 'Les Jeunes Rochelais sur les routes du savoir (1541-1685)', in *Les Routes européennes du savoir: Vita Peregrinatio: Fin du Moyen Âge-XVIIe siècle*, ed. by Jean Hiernard and others (Paris: Les Indes savantes, 2011), pp. 21-37.

Another approach (Marcel Delafosse and Étienne Trocmé 1953) believes that to give an accurate representation of early modern life in La Rochelle, scholars should pay as much attention to the economic and social context as to the history of local and religious beliefs.²¹ This in turn has led scholars to consider La Rochelle's relationship with other Protestant countries. Using archives in both Geneva and La Rochelle, Louis-Marie Meschinot de Richemond's much older *Essai sur l'origine et les progrès de la Réformation à la Rochelle* (1857) compares La Rochelle to an 'Amsterdam française' and analyses the ideological and religious influence of Geneva on the city and their fraught relationship.²² In this respect, although it was originally published in the nineteenth century, Richemond's *Essai* is still worth consulting since it resourcefully examines the life of Calvinist ministers sent from Geneva, in an effort to convert the local inhabitants.

One of the most recurring areas of interest, however, favours influential figures and the town council (*corps de ville*) as prime vectors behind the development of La Rochelle.²³ Indeed, historians have all agreed that the representative élite of the

²¹ Marcel Delafosse and Étienne Trocmé, *Le Commerce rochelais de la fin du XVe au début du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Colin, 1953). See also Marcel Delafosse, 'Marins et marchands bretons à La Rochelle aux XVe et XVIe siècles', *Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, 33 (1953), 53-71 and Marcel Delafosse, 'Origine géographique et sociale des marchands rochelais au XVIIe siècle', in *Actes du 89e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Poitiers 1962. Section d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1963), pp. 659-68.

²² Louis-Marie Meschinot de Richemond, *Essai sur l'origine et les progrès de la Réformation à la Rochelle; précédé d'une notice sur Philippe Vincent* (Paris: J. Cherbelle, 1859), p. 36. Other studies on the religious organisation of the city include Étienne Trocmé, 'L'Église réformée de La Rochelle jusqu'en 1628', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 98 (1952), 133-99; Vray, *La Rochelle et les Protestants du XVIe au XXe siècle* (1999) or Mickaël Augeron, 'Les Élites calvinistes et la course anti-catholique à La Rochelle: attitudes, justifications et contestations dans les années 1570', in *Protestantism(e)s et autorité*, ed. by Jean-Louis Breteau and others, *Anglophonia*, 17 (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2005), pp. 123-34.

²³ See Kevin C. Robbins's description of the *corps de ville*: 'La Rochelle's ancient town council (*corps de ville*) was composed of seventy-six pairs and twenty-four

city formed a key factor in the spread of Protestantism as its members held central positions within the local municipality and influenced La Rochelle's print, thus greatly affecting the city's identities. Although scholars do signal the prominent role of figureheads — such as Jeanne d'Albret (1528-1572), Gaspard de Coligny (1519-1572) or François de La Nouë (1531-1591) — they also emphasize the influence exerted on the townspeople by members of the bourgeoisie, often acting as representative guardians for children of the lower class.²⁴ It is therefore unsurprising to find scholarly works focusing on authoritative figures, such as Jean Tharay, a local bourgeois who led the revolt of La Rochelle in 1614.²⁵ Similarly, Rambeaud (1999) and Flouret (2011) indicate that the bourgeoisie was most likely influenced by a Protestant education in Poitiers or Bordeaux or by their mercantile trade, which exposed them to other predominantly Protestant countries and regions, such as the Netherlands or England.²⁶

Beyond the social focus, the fall of the city in 1628 has been thoroughly studied as it provides historians with an opportunity to explore the conflictual

échevins. Members of the council served for life. [...] The mayor was selected from the membership of the corps de ville in a procedure controlled by that body and the royal governor of La Rochelle. Each year at Easter, the échevins and pairs met in the town hall and elected three candidates, each voter casting a ballot with the names of three councilmen he felt were qualified. The three men who received the most votes went before the king's governor who chose one of the three to be mayor for the coming year.' (Robbins, 'The Social Mechanisms of Urban Rebellion, p. 561). Cf. Parker, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy*, p. 39 and Pascal Rambeaud, 'L'Édification d'un réseau d'Églises réformées dans une province française: l'exemple de l'Aunis au XVIe siècle', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 149 (2003), 197-219 (p. 211).

²⁴ See Pascal Rambeaud, 'The Origins of Rural Calvinism in Aunis: Sphere of Influence of La Rochelle', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30.2 (1999), 367-95 (p. 368).

²⁵ See Kevin C. Robbins, 'The Social Mechanisms of Urban Rebellion: A Case Study of the Leadership in the 1614 Revolt at La Rochelle', *French Historical Studies*, 19.2 (1995), 559-90.

²⁶ Ibid. and Flouret, 'L'Éducation des jeunes Rochelais à l'époque d'Henri IV', (2011).

relationship between La Rochelle and the French Crown as well as the evolution of monarchical power on a wider, national scale.²⁷ Pugh Meyer, for example, regards this event as a distinctive moment in French history as it announces the extension of the King's power into absolutism.²⁸ Similarly, Mißfelder states that the defeat of La Rochelle in 1628 signalled the demise of her political ideology and symbolic status, which, in turn, validated the absolute power of Louis XIII.²⁹ In fact, Mißfelder's analysis of the literary imagery, rhetoric in pamphlets and archival documents provides a detailed account of the transfer of the city's political power to the Crown.

These various studies have sought to understand the inhabitants' actions and to offer an in-depth analysis of the religious and social changes by reconstructing urban life in La Rochelle during the early modern period. Consequently, most of their research heavily relies on wills, baptismal registers, business contracts, court records and contemporary accounts by prominent figures, including Merlin's *Diaire*.³⁰ Furthermore, despite the fact that a number of literary scholars have studied pamphlets that were published during the religious wars, they have often favoured Catholic publications over locally-printed materials, thus failing to appreciate the performative value of the latter and their role in the development of La Rochelle's municipal identity

²⁷ Cf. Liliane Crété, 'Le Grand siège de La Rochelle', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 146 (2000), 609-13; Liliane Crété, *La Rochelle au temps du Grand Siège* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2001); Madeleine Nosjean, 'Le Siège de La Rochelle et les poètes du temps', *XVIIe siècle*, 169 (1990), 433-44; Palm, 'The Siege and Capture of La Rochelle in 1628', (1923), 114-27; Parker, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy* (1980) and Etienne Trocmé, 'Actualité du siège de La Rochelle (1627–1628)', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 125 (1979), 115-21.

²⁸ Judith Pugh Meyer, 'La Rochelle and the Failure of French Reformation', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15.2 (1984), 169-83.

²⁹ Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, p. 309.

³⁰ See Merlin, *Diaire ou journal du ministre Merlin*, (1855).

and political position in Western Europe.³¹ Only Mißfelder consistently provides a literary and symbolic analysis of his primary sources, underlining the importance of print in the spread of political and religious ideologies. However, as his focus is set on a political examination and interpretation of the printed materials, he often ignores the broader development of the intellectual culture and representation of La Rochelle as well as key periods that influenced the discourse used to describe the fortified port and her inhabitants. For instance, Mißfelder fails to correlate the growth of La Rochelle's print with the development of her external identification, but rather reviews the role of the urban space and local politics in relation to monarchical power. So far, studies have therefore failed to offer a suitably detailed analysis of the vast array of literature that was printed within the city walls and its impact on the development of La Rochelle's identity.

1.2 Bibliographical Research on La Rochelle's Print

Bibliographical research has offered various useful surveys of La Rochelle's print. La Rochelle's publications have of course been included in wide-ranging bibliographies on France's early modern print, such as Roméo Arbour's *L'Ère baroque en France* (1977-1985) and *Répertoire chronologique des éditions de textes littéraires* (1977) or Andrew Pettegree, Alexander Wilkinson and Malcolm Walsby's extensive researches

³¹ Amongst them we find Tatiana Debbagi Baranova, *À coups de libelles: une culture politique au temps des guerres de religion* (1562-1598) (Geneva: Droz, 2012); Arthur Tilley, 'Some Pamphlets of the French Wars of Religion', *The English Historical Review*, 14.55 (1899), 451-70 and Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1990).

on French print before 1601.³² The first compilation of the city's archives was Léopold Gabriel Delayant's posthumous reference work *Bibliographie rochelaise* (1882) which includes a wide array of materials, including printed works, letters and manuscripts.³³

However, it was not until 1960 that the history of La Rochelle's presses truly came to light, thanks to Louis Desgraves and Eugénie Droz's seminal work, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*. Their research, published in three volumes, offers a meticulous account of local publications during the Wars of Religion and is the primary starting point for this thesis.³⁴ It compiles the bibliographical details of publications printed between 1563 and 1623, occasionally presenting archival contextualization behind the publications, and circulations, of specific works. Nonetheless, even this momentous work is not without its drawbacks. False addresses, limited access to resources and typographical similarities between La Rochelle and Geneva imprints have, on occasion, led to mistaken attribution. Some of these problems have been investigated by Droz (1961) and Desgraves (1965 and 1969).³⁵ I

³² Roméo Arbour, *L'Ère baroque en France: répertoire chronologique des éditions de textes littéraires*, 4 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1977-1985); id., *Répertoire chronologique des éditions de textes littéraires: 1585-1615*, L'Ère baroque en France, I (Geneva: Droz, 1977); *French Books III and IV: Books Published in France Before 1601 in Latin and Languages Other than French* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), ed. by Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby; *French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language before 1601*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Louis Desgraves, *Répertoire des ouvrages de controverse entre Catholiques et Protestants en France (1598-1685)*, Histoire et civilisation du livre, 14-15, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1984-1985) and id. *Repertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, 32 vols (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1968-80).

³³ Léopold Gabriel Delayant, *Bibliographie rochelaise* (Ed. 1882) (Paris: Hachette Livre BnF, 2012).

³⁴ Louis Desgraves and Eugénie Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, 3 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1960).

³⁵ This challenge has been highlighted by Eugénie Droz in her article Eugénie Droz, 'Fausses adresses typographiques', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 23.1 (1961), 138-52. Cf. Eugénie Droz, 'Complément à la bibliographie de Pierre Haultin',

have therefore sought to further the rectification of these errors by compiling a more comprehensive corpus and applying the methodology discussed below.

Furthermore, owing to digital technology, scans of printed materials have become more readily available, allowing unprecedented access to pieces that may have been previously overlooked. With the help of online databases including Brill's *Huguenots Online*, Brigham Young University's *French Political Pamphlets Online*, *e-rara*, *EEBO*, *Gallica*, the *Catalogue collectif de France (CCFr)* or even libraries' own websites such as that of the British Library or the Austrian National Library, this thesis discusses an up-to-date corpus that is more far-reaching and thus more representative of La Rochelle's publications.

2 Describing Communities: Identity Theory in Early Modern Studies

Studies that examine the concept of identity in the early modern period traditionally link it with humanism and the rise of individualism.³⁶ However, critics have revisited the concept of identity and individualism, especially in the period's urban settings: identity is thereby seen to be highly dependent on its social and historical context. For

Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 23.2 (1961), 375-78; Louis Desgraves, 'Corrections et additions à la bibliographie des Haultin', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 27.1 (1965), 304-17; Louis Desgraves 'Second complément à la bibliographie des Haultin', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 31.3 (1969), 641-44.

³⁶ Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy: an Essay* (London: Phaidon, 1965); Alfred von Martin, *Sociology of the Renaissance* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1944) and Philip J. Furlong, 'The Renaissance and Individualism', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 16.3 (1930), 317-22. See also Neil J. MacKinnon and David R. Heise, *Self, Identity and Social Institutions* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). It is also worth noting that the early modern period marked the beginning of self-portraits. Cf. Christian Loubet, 'La Représentation de l'image de soi dans la peinture occidentale de Léonard à Rembrandt', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 66 (2003), 137-50.

instance, Stephen Greenblatt's seminal study *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (1980), inspired by the work of Michel Foucault, highlights the importance of attire and behaviour in creating one's social identity in the early modern upper-class.³⁷ John Jeffries Martin's monograph, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism* (2004), reconsiders Greenblatt's work and argues that the notion of self cannot be examined in the light of modern-day values and, indeed, that the notion of self of the early modern individual is vastly different to how we perceive self-identity today.³⁸ In this thesis, however, I am not so much concerned with the identity of the individuals as with the identification of a community – the city of La Rochelle. It is to this that we must now turn.

2.1 Defining the Early Modern Identity Concept

Preliminary research on the concept of collective identity in the early modern period has tended to focus on the development of nationhood. Benedict Anderson's influential work *Imagined Communities* (1983) considers how the rise of 'print-capitalism' – that is the maximization of distribution by printing in the reader's mother tongue and by standardizing the language, for example – developed a common discourse that consequently led to the creation of the nation as an 'imagined community'.³⁹ At the centre of his work, he also develops the notion of 'national consciousness' built on the exclusion of communities that are located outside the

³⁷ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, 2nd edn (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

³⁸ John Jeffries Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

³⁹ Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 3rd edn (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 18-26.

borders of the nation and of individuals whose characteristics do not correspond to the national identity.⁴⁰ While ‘national identity’ can, in part, be determined by cultural traditions, ‘national consciousness’ is based on a personal awareness of shared values that may vary from one person to the next.

Although Anderson’s work was instrumental in foregrounding the term ‘national consciousness’, it was Myriam Yardeni (1971) who first endeavoured to explore the creation of a new consciousness in early modern France.⁴¹ Through a chronological study of sixteenth-century publications, Yardeni attempts to define the characteristics of early modern French identity and what it means to be a ‘bon François’, an expression that gained much popularity in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁴² While the study provides a good outline of the key elements that were linked to French national consciousness, such as Gallicanism, because her analysis offers a general overview, it conversely leads to some inconsistencies and broad assumptions. For instance, she assumes that the development of a *conscience nationale* was cohesive and therefore fails to take into account the influence of France’s neighbouring countries, especially England and Italy, and their effect on the development of a French national identity. Similarly, the unity propounded by Yardeni’s study overlooks regional and cultural contributions. Other works have since emerged, such as Colette Beaune’s *La Naissance de la Nation France* (1985), or, more recently Alain Tallon’s *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France aux*

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 145-58.

⁴¹ Myriam Yardeni, *La Conscience nationale en France pendant les guerres de religion (1559-1598)*, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Paris-Sorbonne, 59 (Leuven: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1971). Cf. Fernand Braudel, *L’Identité de la France* (Paris: Flammarion, 2000).

⁴² The characteristics of a ‘bon François’, that is a model Frenchman, were intrinsically linked to national consciousness and are, as such, difficult to pinpoint. The main feature was, however, a devotion to the nation’s welfare and culture.

XVI^e siècle (2002), which also continue to place religion and Gallicanism at the forefront of the development of France's national consciousness.⁴³

Indeed, any examination of a national consciousness needs to investigate how the overarching ‘nation’ relates to minority groups, be they religious, political or cultural.⁴⁴ With the rise of the Reformation across Europe, historians of the early modern period have naturally focused on confessional minority groups, including the development of French Protestantism during the religious wars.⁴⁵ Whilst these studies have unremittingly underlined the difficulty in defining what Protestant identity is, there are nonetheless key characteristics that resurface. The writings of the Huguenots reveal that Protestants identified themselves with God’s *peuple élu* from the Old Testament and were determined to describe themselves as people faithful first to God and then the King.⁴⁶ For the Catholic majority, however, the French Protestants were

⁴³ Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1985) and Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVI^e siècle: essai sur la vision gallicane du monde*, Le Nœud (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002).

⁴⁴ Jean-François Dubost, ‘Enjeux identitaires et politique d’une polémique: Français, Italiens et Espagnols dans les libelles publiés en France en 1615’, in *Le Sentiment national dans l’Europe méridionale aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles (France, Espagne, Italie)*, ed. by Alain Tallon, 97 (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2007), pp. 91-122.

⁴⁵ Although early modern research focuses mainly on Protestantism and the Reformation, there has also been interest in the Jesuits and Jewish communities. See *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davies*, ed. by Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan University Press, 1993); *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. by Michael Wolfe (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Dean Phillip Bell, *Jewish Identity in Early Modern Germany: Memory, Power and Community*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2016) and *Identités, appartenances, revendications identitaires (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, ed. by Marc Belissa, Collection Les Champs Libres (Paris: Nolin, 2005).

⁴⁶ Sylvio Hermann De Franceschi, ‘La Conscience nationale du protestantisme français’, Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles (2016) <<http://journals.openedition.org/crcv/13767>> [accessed 17 July 2017]; Luc Racaut, ‘Religious Polemic and Huguenot Self-perception and Identity, 1554-1619’, in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, ed. by Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 29-43. For an analysis of the Huguenot identity in the aftermath of the religious wars, see Nicholas

depicted as a group of heretics who lived in chaos and disorder, diametrically opposed to the ‘bon François’.⁴⁷ Such claims naturally led to associating Protestants with treachery as well as femininity, all the more reprehensible as these notions were closely linked to Eve and original sin.⁴⁸

Since the start of the twenty-first century, the focus has shifted to a microhistorical analysis of urban case-studies resulting in discussions on the development of small communities and their response to social, economic, religious and political change.⁴⁹ Evidently, the relationship between space and identity is intrinsic as location influences the development of key identity characteristics such as language and customs but also the physical construction and organization of space. It is worth noting, however, that urban identity is even more fragmented a concept than identity itself as it may refer to both a community and a physical space.⁵⁰ However, contrary to studies fixed on community identities, the research carried out on urban identity allows for a broader interdisciplinary approach and includes a wider variety

Must, *Preaching a Dual Identity: Huguenot Sermons and the Shaping of Congressional Identity, 1629-1685* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

⁴⁷ Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print* (2002); G. Wylie Sypher, “‘Faisant ce qu’il leur vient a plaisir’: The Image of Protestantism in French Catholic Polemic on the Eve of the Religious wars’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 11.2, Catholic Reformation (1980), 59-84.

⁴⁸ Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, New Approaches to European History, 3rd edn (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁴⁹ *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009); Alastair Duke, *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. by Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009). See also Peter Burke, ‘Imagining Identity in the Early Modern City’, in *Imagining the City, Volume 1: The Art of Urban Living*, ed. by Christian Emden, Catherine Keen and David Robin Midgley, Cultural History and Literary Imagination, 7 (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 23-38.

⁵⁰ *Urban Identity*, ed. by Brian Evans, Frank McDonald and David Rudlin, Learning from Place, 1st edn (London: Routledge, 2011), for instance, focuses on architectural impact on local identity, whereas *Urban Identity and the Atlantic World*, ed. by Elizabeth A. Fay and Leonard von Morzé (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) explores the link between urban consciousness and cultural and political interchange.

of materials, such as a study of the rapid development of cartography in the early modern period (witness, for instance, studies by Jeffrey N. Peters (2004), Tom Conley (2011), Ricardo Padrón (2004) or Richard Helgerson (1986)), a quantitative analysis of archival records, an analysis of spatial changes and social distribution, or even adopting ecocriticism in literary analysis.⁵¹

2.2 The Foundations of La Rochelle's Communal Identity

In order to examine the evolution of La Rochelle's identity and self-identification, it is vital to consider all three identity aspects mentioned in the previous section, that is national consciousness, Protestantism and last (but not least) urban identity.

Firstly, the development of national consciousness in the sixteenth and seventeenth century influenced La Rochelle's geopolitical place in France, both on a political and a cultural level. Indeed, even if describing France's early modern national consciousness presents some difficulties, it was nonetheless, as we shall see, central to the discourse that sought to define La Rochelle. If, as I have mentioned earlier, the Rochelais perceived themselves to be loyal subjects to king and country, the royalists primarily stigmatised the city as being 'un-French' either because of her special relationship with other countries, such as England, or because they considered she did not correspond to their interpretation of a 'bon François'. The printed word therefore

⁵¹ Tom Conley, *The Self-made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Richard Helgerson, 'The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England', *Representations*, 16 (1986), 50-85; Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Jeffrey N. Peters, *Mapping Discord: Allegorical Cartography in Early Modern French Writing* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2004).

vocalized this dialectic, which sought to identify the position of La Rochelle in its broader national context.

Furthermore, as Frank Lestringant (2013) observes, geographical spaces are not a blank canvas on which writers can offer their own interpretation; rather, they are already intrinsically linked to their local history.⁵² Indeed, the political tension between La Rochelle and the Crown can be traced back to the Hundred Years' War between England and France (1337-1453). La Rochelle had quickly become the centre of conflict as both nations naturally saw the benefits of controlling her and attempted to gain the loyalty and goodwill of the local inhabitants by offering them numerous privileges.⁵³

This had a twofold repercussion on the Rochelais' urban identity. La Rochelle's municipal privileges became rooted in the local culture and their preservation turned into a priority that exacerbated the city's relationship with the Crown. Moreover, and as a result, for early modern observers outside La Rochelle, and even for later historians, they had rendered the city 'orgueilleuse des antiques privilèges de sa commune'.⁵⁴ The Hundred Years' War had also forever coupled La Rochelle to England. Their controversial relationship became one of the main, determining topoi used to describe La Rochelle and her inhabitants in polemical pamphlets: throughout the Wars of Religion, this period of their history was regularly deployed as a way to distance La Rochelle's identity from that of the 'bon François'.

⁵² Frank Lestringant, 'Avant-Propos', *Seizième Siècle*, 9 (2013), special issue: Poligraphies, portraits de villes, 7-12 (p. 9).

⁵³ The offering of local privileges was not unique to La Rochelle. During times of war, it was common for the king to offer such rights to cities, in exchange for the loyalty of the inhabitants or armies.

⁵⁴ Meschinot de Richemond, *Essai sur l'origine et les progrès de la Réformation à la Rochelle*, p. 9.

The impact of national consciousness on La Rochelle's identity is not only visible in print. In fact, symbolic interaction between La Rochelle and the outside world takes place by means of other material objects (e.g. paintings, commemorative coins, statues etc.) and ceremonial episodes such as Royal entries, as we will see in Chapters One and Seven, or images discussed primarily in Chapters Three and Seven.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the thesis will analyze La Rochelle's identity through her relationship with various social actors who either represented communities (e.g. Protestants, the *malcontents*, the Catholic League etc.), or the nation, such as the monarch himself. Indeed, Yardeni sees the Crown as one of the primary catalysts behind the development of a broad French national consciousness. La Rochelle's affiliation with France was therefore determined by either a contrasting or complementary role to the monarch.

Secondly, during the French Wars of Religion in particular, religious identification greatly influenced spatial identity, be it on a cultural or architectural level (e.g. temples and churches) — cities were clearly determined as either Protestant or Catholic communities, a concept that was only further reinforced by edicts of pacification that officially defined certain cities (namely La Rochelle, Montauban, La Charité-sur-Loire and Cognac in 1570) as Protestant strongholds.⁵⁶ In fact, throughout

⁵⁵ For a brief overview of the use of visual representation and performance in constructing identity in the Early Modern period, see Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (2005), Michael Wintrob, *A Savage Mirror: Power, Identity, and Knowledge in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006) and Julia Maillard, 'Représenter l'identité au XVIIe siècle ou l'ange aux "siècles d'or" des nations: un masque "extraterrestre" entre (mé)tissage historique et (dé)guisement culturel', *Images Re-vues*, 14 (2017)

<<http://journals.openedition.org/imagesrevues/4122>> [accessed 10 December 2017].

⁵⁶ See Penny Roberts, *Peace and Authority during the French Religious Wars, c. 1560-1600* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and ead., 'Religious Pluralism in Practice: the Enforcement of the Edicts of Pacification', in *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France: Papers from the Exeter Conference, April 1999*,

history, European religious communities have sought a sacred space, usually in Jerusalem's urban setting, God's own city that is often used as a comparator to identify other municipalities.⁵⁷ The search for this religious utopia in turn encouraged local consciousness to perceive cities as a sacred space inhabited by God. In the case of Geneva, this identification had a physically visible social repercussion as it encouraged the arrival of religious refugees ('la nouvelle Ville Sainte [était] aussi la ville du Refuge').⁵⁸ During the French Wars of Religion, the arrival of refugees in La Rochelle was, in other words, a manifest social factor, especially in the wake of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572, which led (according to Henry Heller) to an influx of up to six thousand exiles.⁵⁹

As we shall see in greater detail in Chapters Two and Four, La Rochelle was perceived as a safe haven for Huguenots, both by her inhabitants and by Protestant communities outside the city walls and further afield. This identification was only further strengthened by the city's victory during the First Siege (1572-1573). As La Rochelle's identity consequently became inextricably linked with the Protestant movement, so it began very consciously to adopt characteristics associated with Protestantism. Old Testament narratives, for instance, became prevalent in her

ed. by Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 31-43.

⁵⁷ Stanley D. Brunn, ed., *The Changing World Religion Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015). I discuss this further in Chapters One and Four.

⁵⁸ Alan Dufour, 'Mythe de Genève et esprit de Genève', in *Genève et la Suisse dans la pensée politique: Actes du Colloque de Genève (Septembre 2006)*, ed. by Michel Ganzin, Collection d'Histoire des Idées Politiques, 17 (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires d'Aix-Marseilles, 2007), pp. 559-70 (p. 564). See also, *The Identity of Geneva: The Christian Commonwealth 1564-1864*, ed. by John B. Roney and Martin I. Klauber (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998).

⁵⁹ Henry Heller, *Iron and Blood: Civil Wars in Sixteenth-Century France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), p. 79. See also Pascal Rambeaud, 'The Refugees in La Rochelle during the Third War of Religion, 1568-1570', *French History*, 14.1 (2000), 1-12; Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, pp. 140-41.

self-identification, and we shall see that these imageries had an impact on the inhabitants' actions. They also led to Catholic polemists painting the city in similar terms to the manner they described Huguenots: as a place dominated by chaos, savagery and femininity.⁶⁰

Throughout the thesis, I draw an essential distinction between the representation of the city as an urban space (where my focus is on a metaphorical or topographical identification) and that of the inhabitants who occupy that space (where I study the performative role of individual figures, such as Jeanne d'Albret, and their individual use of language and images).⁶¹ Yet, it is worth mentioning that whilst these two different representations can be considered as separate and distinct, especially by the royalists, their relationship is interdependent. That is, the actions and identities of the inhabitants affect the identities of the city just as the symbolic status of the city affects the actions of the inhabitants and, consequently, La Rochelle's external identification, as discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

2.3 Creating the Self: Identity Constructs in Print

As I have mentioned earlier, the importance of print in shaping a national consciousness is developed in Anderson's work as he links this invention, alongside the birth of capitalism, to the creation of the idea of 'nation'.⁶² If '[s]elf-identification

⁶⁰ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York, NY: Zone Books, 1991), p. 151.

⁶¹ Such as Chantal Liaroutzou, *Le Pays et la mémoire: pratiques et représentation de l'espace chez Gilles Corrozet et Charles Estienne* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998), Cynthia Skenazi, *Le Poète architecte en France: construction d'un imaginaire monarchique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003) and Elisabeth Hodges, *Urban Poetics in the French Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁶² Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (2006), pp. 18-26.

takes place in dialectical interplay with external identification’, the role of language and communication is vital to the construct of identities, and so is, accordingly, print.⁶³

It was Elizabeth Eisenstein’s *The Printing Revolution* (1983) that arguably renewed scholarly interest in the history of print as it explored the evolution of print and how it impacted the early modern world.⁶⁴ Recent research on the history of the book by scholars such as Roger Chartier (1994), Jean-François Gilmont (2003), Andrew Pettegree (2010) and Malcolm Walsby (2011) has focused on Western Europe.⁶⁵

Historians have especially reflected on the role of print in the spread of Protestantism in the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁶ The advent of print visibly increased literacy but also introduced social changes as it spread news, rumours, philosophies and ideologies, such as humanism and Protestantism, more quickly.⁶⁷

⁶³ Brubaker and Cooper, ‘Beyond “Identity”’, p. 15.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) and the abridged version Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). See also Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *Divine Art, Infernal Machine: the Reception of Printing in the West from First Impressions to the Sense of an Ending* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L’Apparition du livre* (Paris: Les Éditions Albin Michel, 1958); Mark Knights and Angela McShane, ‘From Pen to Print – a Revolution in Communications?’, in *The European World 1500-1800*, ed. by Beat Kümin, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 183-93.

⁶⁵ Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994); *The Book Triumphant: Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by Malcolm Walsby and Graeme Kemp (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Jean-François Gilmont, *Le Livre et ses secrets* (Geneva: Droz, 2003) and Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁶⁶ Amongst others, Jean-François Gilmont, *Jean Calvin et le livre imprimé* (Geneva: Droz, 1997).

⁶⁷ See Sara K. Barker, ‘International News Pamphlets’, in *The Elizabethan Top Ten-Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); ead., “‘Newes Lately Come’: European News Books in English Translation”, in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473-1640*, ed. by Sara K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 227-44.

The role of print in political unrest has consequently commanded much historical attention. Although Christian Jouhaud's *Mazarinades: la Fronde des mots* (1985) focuses on the later events of the Fronde (1648-1653), his expansive corpus of short-lived pamphlets leads him to conclude that such texts are performative pieces linked to action (spread of rumours, creation of myths etc.), as well as a call to action.⁶⁸ This is why, as Jouhaud stresses, it is vital to study texts in their historical context and to examine why they were published and what they achieved.⁶⁹ By examining my corpus with a similar approach, I will demonstrate how printed materials were not only 'linked to action' to but also actively engaged in the creation and development of identities.

In effect, during the French religious wars, it was the establishment of national consciousness that emerged as a dominant theme in a plethora of polemical writings.⁷⁰ As a reaction to the conflicts that were tearing the country apart, these writings drew on political, religious and cultural components to shape a national identity and promote a nation unified under the rule of the king. As the development of print enabled the broad distribution of detailed illustrations, woodcuts, and later, engravings, print became an effective tool for promoting a concept, whether political or religious. Polemical pieces often clandestinely circulated in the form of placards, that is a hand-written or printed sheet destined for a wide audience. Jouhaud asserts that the image 'would persuade better than a discourse not only because of its pedagogical virtues [...] but above all because it would permit the transmission of an

⁶⁸ Christian Jouhaud, *Mazarinades: la Fronde des mots* (Paris: Aubier, 1985).

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 237.

⁷⁰ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution*, pp. 46-101.

intention that would be received passively as real.⁷¹ The obvious interaction between print and identification is hence one of communication and circulation.

However, if Calvin's presence in Geneva encouraged his followers to consider the city as a religious haven and utopia, renaming it a *nouvelle Jérusalem*, and if Luther's presence in Wittenberg contributed to the enrichment of its print culture, it was likewise the presence of Huguenot leaders within La Rochelle and their impact on print culture that raised it to the status of a 'French Geneva'.⁷² As we shall see in Chapters Two, Four and Five, the external perception of La Rochelle is not necessarily a truthful representation of the inhabitants' self-identification. Rather, key figures, such as the Protestant leader Philippe de Mornay (1549-1623), exerted the greatest influence on the development of the city's (self-)identification. On the one hand, as leaders or advocates for the Reformation, their mere presence in the city led to crucial Protestant proceedings taking place in the city such as the Synods, one of which adopted the first *Confession de foi* of the reformed churches (also named *Confession de La Rochelle* and *Confessio Gallicana*) in 1571.⁷³ On the other hand, they exploited the local print shops to disseminate their ideas outside the city walls and consequently became the voice of La Rochelle. The topic of identity and identification is therefore complex and will necessitate a methodology that can analyse it within a socio-dynamic framework.

⁷¹ Christian Jouhaud, 'Readability and Persuasion: Political Handbills', in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Roger Chartier, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 235-60 (p. 239).

⁷² Dufour, 'Mythe de Genève', p. 562 and Andrew Pettegree, *Brand Luther: 1517, Printing, and the Making of the Reformation* (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2015), p. 12.

⁷³ See Roger Mehl, *Explication de la Confession de foi de La Rochelle* (Paris: Les Bergers et les Mages, 1959).

3 Methodology

Embarking on a study of La Rochelle's identity and identification poses a number of challenges from the outset. First and foremost, the terms are difficult to define. According to Burke and Stets, an individual's identity 'is the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person.'⁷⁴ A similar definition can be used *mutatis mutandis* for a city's identity: much like an individual, urban communities are characterized by the role they play in a wider society and by cultural characteristics that may differ from the national ones. For instance, when applied to the case study of La Rochelle, the city's role could be defined as a Protestant haven, a mercantile port and/or a loyal French municipality.

Why is it necessary, then, to ascertain these roles in accordance with identity theory? Identity theory and the structural symbolic interaction developed by Stryker and Burke provide a better understanding of how identification is at the heart of the discursive conflict between La Rochelle and her opponents.⁷⁵

Stryker examines how behaviour and identity are influenced by social structure where each individual occupies many roles, such as that of a teacher or mother.⁷⁶ In the context of this thesis, La Rochelle's identity, whether it is functioning in the role of a Protestant city or French city, is determined by both the actions and the discourse of the community. Her diverse roles are regulated by the municipality, the

⁷⁴ Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets, *Identity Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 3.

⁷⁵ Structural symbolic interaction considers that the social structure is stable to allow the application of a priori theory (Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 53).

⁷⁶ Sheldon Stryker, 'Identity Salience and Role Performance', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 4 (1968), 558-64.

city's social actors and her inhabitants. Stryker further explains how some roles can compete with others, consequently forcing the individual to develop a hierarchy, allowing him or her to prioritize one role over another, which he calls identity salience. If we transfer this notion to the municipal community of the Rochelais, it translates into a key question: was it more important for La Rochelle to be perceived as a safe haven for Protestants or as a city loyal to the Crown? Our analysis of materials ranging from 1563 to 1635 will demonstrate that the city's salience hierarchy was not fixed but rather fluctuated through time.

Furthermore, when applicable, Burke's perceptual control framework (see Figure 1) leads to a better understanding of how La Rochelle was perceived by both her inhabitants and the outside world, how this perception developed and how it influenced discourse. There are four components in Burke's model: an identity standard, an input, a comparator and an output.⁷⁷ The identity standard is a set of meanings that define the character of an identity. The input refers to perceptions, which are compared to the identity standard through the comparator. When the input and identity standard do not match, the comparator signals the discrepancy (or 'error signal').⁷⁸ How individuals react to this signal and how they adjust their behaviour accordingly, is known as the output. To put it simply, if an external community (e.g. the Catholic League, the Pope, etc.) labels La Rochelle as a rebellious city, there arises a discrepancy between the city's identity standard and the external input. As a reaction (or output) to this 'error signal', the content of La Rochelle's publications will be altered to maintain the city's identity standard as a loyal French municipality.

⁷⁷ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 62.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 66.

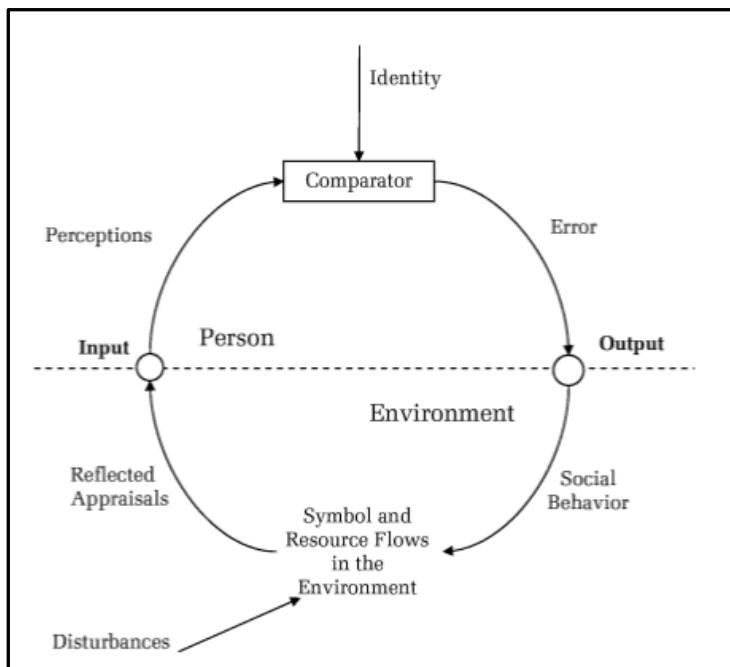


Figure 1 – Peter Burke’s identity model (Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p.62)

Identity theory therefore allows us to approach the conflict from a different angle and to understand that the dispute over La Rochelle’s identification and its relational place-making in France was omnipresent in the materials we are about to study and central to the narrative of the Second Siege.

This dynamic model is compatible with Jean-Jacques Lecercle’s theory of interpretation (1999): as La Rochelle projects her self-conceived identity on a materialistic, visual, or linguistic level, the readers interpret and approach the published material from their own knowledge and cultural context, which Lecercle defines as ‘encyclopaedia’, a term borrowed from Umberto Eco.⁷⁹ This in turn suggests that readers’ interpretation of the printed material does not necessarily coincide with what the original author (publisher, writer or artist) intended. We shall

⁷⁹ Jean-Jacques Lecercle, *Interpretation as Pragmatics*, Language, Discourse, Society, ed. by Stephen Heath, Colin MacCabe and Denise Riley (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), p. 32.

see in Chapter Four, for example, how the Old-Testament figure of Judith was used and interpreted differently by both Catholics and Protestants. The readers thus become ‘active users and interpreters’.⁸⁰

Finally, in conjunction with the above theories, I use critical discourse analysis (CDA), which is an interdisciplinary approach that examines the role of discourse in the formation of social power relationships.⁸¹ Fairclough’s framework allows us to explore discourse in its wider context using three different levels of interpretation. First, a macro-level reading places the discourse in its broader social context and examines the texts’ interrelationship. Second, a meso-level analysis examines various processes of production and interpretation (e.g. the genre, distribution, and reception) as well as the discourse’s interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Finally, a micro-level scrutiny of the discourse (e.g. language and semiosis) uncovers key tropes and rhetorical devices that were employed and abetted to forge identity characteristics. This three-levelled framework thus allows for a more comprehensive examination of the corpus to ascertain how print displayed and/or influenced La Rochelle’s identity. I similarly occasionally draw on Ruth Wodak’s framework, which compiles texts that are thematically analogous so as to highlight ideologies and how they relate to the construction of identity factors.⁸² This method supports a thematic organization of the corpus within each chapter and helps to identify particular pieces that call for a more in-depth discourse analysis. These various models are complementary and

⁸⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Printing and the People’, in *Society and culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Polity, 1987), pp. 191-226 (p. 225).

⁸¹ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995).

⁸² Wodak, ‘Discourse Studies: Important Concepts and Terms’ (2008) and ead., ‘The Discourse-historical Approach’ (2001).

enable me to fully explore the dynamic construction of La Rochelle's identity in a socio-historical context.

3.1 Reframing the Text: A Contextualized Corpus

The corpus serves to further our understanding of the effect of print and momentous events on the collective consciousness: whether in pamphlets or plays, historical accounts or maps, I demonstrate that the discourse used to identify La Rochelle developed analogously across various types of printed material. My dissertation, then, consists of a (broadly) chronologically ordered exploration of the development of La Rochelle's image from the beginning of Protestantism (circa 1560) to the city's defeat in 1628 and its consequences. Each of the seven chapters centres on a particular historical phase that had significant repercussions on La Rochelle's relationship with the rest of France. This structure has two distinct advantages: first, it sets each primary source in its historical context and highlights the events that inspired some of the printed works and how they influenced certain identity traits (e.g. femininity, rebellion, sacred space etc.). Secondly, it provides a chronological outline of the vicissitudes of La Rochelle's representation throughout early modern history.

In my corpus, I have divided the materials into six categories to quantitatively analyze the development of the various identity traits. These categories are historical, instructional, educational, political, religious and literary. It should be noted, however, that each publication does not necessarily fit into just one category. For instance, for the early modern reader, religion and politics were often inextricable. Nonetheless, for the purpose of this research, I consider as religious, materials that solely focus on the Holy Scriptures, such as Bible translations, paraphrases and exegetical writings. In the

political category, I include texts that comment on conflict, even if they are not exempt from references to religion. Similarly, among the literary texts I have included poems or fictional narratives that played an indisputable political role because of their patrons, contents or simply the desire to curry favour with the king. Despite these limitations, the use of categories is essential if I am to measure various trends and more easily determine which identity is more salient at any given time.⁸³

In order to understand how print affected the development of La Rochelle's identity and that of her inhabitants – whether it is the identity they sought to project or how they were construed by the outside world – it is essential to begin by examining the print through interdisciplinary lenses. I compiled and studied a corpus using three different methodological angles based on Fairclough's framework: (1) a quantitative analysis of early modern publications from La Rochelle (between 1563 and 1627) and outside (between 1565 and 1635) to examine the development of La Rochelle's discourse and its reception corresponding to Fairclough's macro-level reading; (2) an examination of symbolic analogies and print distribution that determines the impact of print on local self-perception and external identification (a meso-level reading); and (3) an intertextual and interdiscourse study of the rhetoric employed by early modern writers to further our understanding of key terminologies within identity theory (a micro-level reading). Unlike previous studies, my corpus includes pamphlets, maps, accounts, poems, engravings, paintings, edicts, songs, discourses, satires, novels, meditations and religious translations produced between 1563 and 1635. The texts are either issued from La Rochelle, include the city and her representatives in the discourse or use her name and reputation to forge the imprint. The thesis also brings into play other contemporary materials as comparators. Thus, I shall occasionally offer

⁸³ Stryker, *Symbolic Interactionism* (2002).

insights into the Catholic response to other Protestant towns, such as Montauban and Saumur, in order to contextualize La Rochelle's identification.

3.2 Identity/Identification: A Social Construct

Although this thesis follows in the footsteps of Luc Racaut by exploring the influence of print on public opinion and Protestant identity, my use of identity theory will underline the fact that identity is created through interaction.⁸⁴ I will therefore examine symbolic interactions (Burke and Stets 2009), that is a *reactive* interplay between the literature published in La Rochelle and outside its walls.⁸⁵ For this reason, the corpus does not focus on manuscripts or on external historiographical works such as Théodore de Bèze's *Histoire ecclésiastique* (1580), Pierre de l'Estoile's *Registres Journaux* (1574-1611) or Agrippa d'Aubigné's *Histoire Universelle* (1615-20), as the focus of my study is on public interaction with printed materials, that is the symbolic exchange predominantly visible in the short-lived pamphlets listed in the corpus. I will however use such materials as a window into public opinion and have included them in my general Bibliography especially during key events. For example, I consider Filippo Cavriana's (1536-1606) account of the First Siege of La Rochelle as a case study that

⁸⁴ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, pp. 38-49. The term 'public opinion' was first popularised by Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) in *Essais de Messire Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne, Chevalier de l'Ordre du Roy, et Gentil-homme ordinaire de sa Chambre, Maire et Gouverneur de Bourdeaus*, 2nd edn (Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1582) [USTC 6920]. The concept has since been used in social studies to measure the opinion of the public on social or political issues. Studies have notably highlighted the role of media, that is its distribution and its manipulation, on public opinion. See Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922) and Jacob Shamir and Michal Shamir, *The Anatomy of Public Opinion* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

⁸⁵ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 10.

allows me to further contextualize the symbols used to identify La Rochelle in early modern contemporary pamphlets.

Furthermore, while Catholics and Huguenots often used similar imagery and terms, each word (or symbol) could hold a different meaning for a different community. Each chapter will therefore offer a discourse analysis of materials that specifically relate to the identification of La Rochelle's urban space or inhabitants; this, in turn, will allow a comparative study of the symbols promoted by opposing camps. For example, although the images deployed in Jean de La Gessée's *La Rochelleide* (1573) and Alexandre de Pontaymery's *Hymne à La Rochelle* (1594) are similar, they hold a different meaning because of their respective context. Such materials reveal which terminologies and symbolic representations were systematically used to describe the urban space and the inhabitants and are thus crucial to our understanding of La Rochelle's (self-)identification. As I came across repetitions of analogous rhetoric and political arguments in the corpus, especially in texts relating to the Second Siege, I have carefully selected materials for detailed discussion in function of their representative value, originality, authorship or genre.

Most importantly, La Rochelle's performative role will be analyzed in relation to outsiders' perceptual input: how they identified the city determines how La Rochelle reacted. Indeed, according to Burke and Stets '[i]t is when one's self is encapsulated as a symbol to which one may respond, as to any other symbol, that self-control becomes possible and the "self" emerges.'⁸⁶ Therefore, even if I focus primarily on literature published by French Catholics and royalists, the perceptual input also includes materials published by extramural Huguenots, foreign Catholics, foreign Protestants and foreign nations. Conversely, the circulation of writings outside

⁸⁶ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 10.

the city wall gave La Rochelle a cohesive voice. In fact, Chapter Five discusses at length how the extramural distribution of political pieces in France but also in other countries, such as England or the Holy Roman Empire, associated La Rochelle with political ideas that the inhabitants did not necessarily identify with.

Self-identification, as well as self-disidentification, of La Rochelle is most evident in metaphors in literature and art and how the city was represented symbolically.⁸⁷ The inhabitants' performative roles in print as well as outsiders' reactions to La Rochelle can therefore be best understood through an analysis of the press's symbolic interaction with intramural and extramural readers. From his research on the plethora of pamphlets published during the Wars of Religion, Racaut establishes a common ground between Protestant and Catholic pamphlets.⁸⁸ He recognises that whilst neither side necessarily referred directly to the other in its publications, there were, however, clear indications of mutual inspiration in the manner in which they described each other. For Racaut, the study of pamphlets is crucial to the understanding of early modern thought, as textual production helped to establish 'Huguenot self-perception and identity'.⁸⁹ Chapter Two in particular focuses on La Rochelle's publications between 1566 and 1571 and how the pamphlets of that time actively endeavoured to promote the Huguenot identity.

By using La Rochelle as a case study, the thesis examines the development of the identity of a specific culture within a country attempting to define its own

⁸⁷ As mentioned above, the concept of 'self-disidentification' (or Not-Me) is developed by McCall in 'The Me and the Not-Me: Positive and Negative Poles of Identity', in *Advances in Identity Theory and Research*, ed. by Peter J Burke and others (Boston, MA: Springer, 2003), pp. 11-25.

⁸⁸ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, p. 132. See also Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) or Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth Century Paris* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁸⁹ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, p. 131.

national consciousness. Although the city is chiefly defined through its connection to Protestantism, when Louis XIII came to power, it was also La Rochelle's local culture and individual voice (formed through print) that came under attack.

Within the chapters of this thesis, I have highlighted original publications that have not yet been examined or discussed in the context of La Rochelle's (self-)identification, I have focused on materials published in the French vernacular, although I have also included some Italian, German, English, Dutch and Neo-Latin texts. The transcriptions of texts remain faithful to the original versions and maintain their early modern spelling, bar the capitalization of the titles that follow MHRA guidelines as well as some minor and customary changes to avoid misinterpretation. For instance, the use of *i/j* and *u/v* has been regularized and, when necessary, I have added or amended the accents (e.g. 'siège', 'à' or 'ou'). Likewise, any contractions and abbreviations have been expanded in square brackets. As the titles of early modern publications tend to be lengthy, I will give the full titles in the footnotes and the corpus unless they include terms that may contribute to the discussion. Any translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

The first chapter, *The Development of a Huguenot Identity (1560-1566)*, examines the arrival of print in La Rochelle and the influence of Protestant thought on local publications. It also considers Charles IX's Royal Entry in La Rochelle (1565) and how local discourse and material objects fashioned the city's identity with the intention of preserving her privileges. Chapter Two analyzes the growing social, religious and political tensions in La Rochelle's publications between 1567 and 1573, which eventually leads to a study of Jeanne d'Albret's influence on the city's (self-)identification. Chapter Three examines how La Rochelle was portrayed by Catholics and foreign nations in contextualized printed materials during the First Siege

(1572-1573). Chapter Four, *The Sacralization of La Rochelle* (1573-1609), examines the consequences of the First Siege on La Rochelle's self-identification and discourse through an analysis of the religious texts and sacred images. Chapter Five, on the other hand, focuses on the political print published in the same period (1574-1609). Both the *malcontents* and the *parti des Politiques* significantly influenced La Rochelle's external identification in the years to come as their discourse essentially allied the Huguenot bastion with their cause and with other Protestant cities. As a result, La Rochelle became the city that was principally targeted by the Catholic League. Chapter Six therefore examines how La Rochelle was portrayed as the seat of rebellion under Louis XIII and was directly depicted as opposed to the notion of a 'bon François'. The final chapter, *The Second Siege: Reappropriating the Urban Identity* (1625-1649), offers an examination of how the Second Siege was portrayed as a locus of reconciliation and how La Rochelle's identification was reappropriated by France's national identity.

Chapter One: The City and the Development of a Huguenot Identity (*c.* 1560-1566)

*Pleurez, pleurez le sort de la cité fidèle,
Dont le seule espérance est de garder sa foi:
Le bras du chevalier ne s'arme plus pour elle,
Et, rougissant d'un maître, elle appelle son Roi.*
— X.-V. Drap-Arnaud, *Les Anglais dupes, ou La Rochelle délivrée*, 1825

The connection between the promulgation of the European Reformation and the development of print has been methodically explored by early modern scholars; yet Andrew Pettegree and Matthew Hall both suggest that the link between the two is not as straightforward as previously claimed.¹ For instance, the circumstances surrounding the spread of the Reformation in France differ from that of the Holy Roman Empire and did not rely solely on print. While I acknowledge Pettegree and Hall's study, it is nonetheless vital to include French print culture when studying Huguenot ideology and, especially, to examine how the Protestant identity came into being. According to Francis Higman, it was arguably the circulation of the Bible in French vernacular that

¹ Andrew Pettegree and Matthew Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book, a Reconsideration', *The Historical Journal*, 47.4 (2004), 785-808. Cf. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press University, 1983; repr. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 148-86; Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press University, 2005), pp. 156-84; Mark U Edwards, Jr, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Print, 2005); Mary Hampson Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation: Protestant Best Sellers, Private Devotion and the Revolution of English Piety* (Cranberry: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2007), pp. 44-78; John D. Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. by Jean-François Gilmont, trans. by Karin Maag (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Andrew Pettegree, *Huguenot Voices: the Book and the Communication Process during the Protestant Reformation*, Lawrence F. Brewster Lecture in History, 18 (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University, Department of History, 1999).

essentially led to the rise of Protestantism.² Furthermore, while the clandestine transportation of publications from Geneva into France also played an important role in disseminating Protestant ideas, there were numerous printers and librarians in France, predominantly based in Lyon, who served the Protestant *Cause* very early on.³

Likewise, the establishment of Protestantism in La Rochelle is associated with the advent of print through the arrival of Barthélemy Berton (15..-1573), a printer who had learnt his craft in Lyon from his father.⁴ Berton came from a Calvinist family and shared the same desire as his father to disseminate Protestant beliefs through print. For Malcolm Walsby, print culture was in fact one reason why La Rochelle developed into such a resilient Protestant stronghold.⁵ I will go further and argue that Berton's arrival in La Rochelle between 1561 and 1562 left an indelible mark on the city's identity. As we shall explore in this chapter, his press enabled key figures such as Jean de La Haize (c. 1540-c. 1570) and Bernard Palissy (c. 1510-c. 1589) to communicate their vision of a city of refuge and, directly or incidentally, their identification of La Rochelle as a Huguenot bastion.

Moreover, as Walsby argues, religious conflict encouraged the mobility of the book trade, and the growth of Protestantism in La Rochelle resulted in peddlers finding eager customers in the city.⁶ However, Protestant texts issued from Geneva and Lyon

² Francis Higman, *La Diffusion de la Réforme en France, 1520-1565*, Faculté de théologie de Genève, 17 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1992).

³ Jean-François Gilmont, ‘Le “Protestantisme” des libraires et typographes lyonnais (1520-1566)’, *Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 101.3-4 (2006), 998-1013 and Andrew Petteegree, ‘Protestant Printing During the French Wars of Religion: the Lyon Press of Jean Saugrain’, in *The Work of Heiko A. Oberman*, ed. by Thomas Brady and others (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 109-29.

⁴ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 10.

⁵ Malcolm Walsby, ‘Printer Mobility in Sixteenth-Century France’, in *Print Culture and Provincial Cities in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities*, ed. by Benito Rial Costas (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 249-68 (p. 261).

⁶ Ibid., pp. 249-55.

faced many obstacles on their journey to the isolated Atlantic city, these were either topographical due to the treacherous marshes or political due to the ongoing conflict against Protestantism. The arrival of Berton was therefore a response to a growing demand for religious literature rather than the cause of the spread of Protestantism in the 1560s. In fact, his settling in the city in 1561 coincided with the decisive period during which the majority of the political elite in La Rochelle converted to Protestantism.⁷ Yet, his publications do not simply inform us about the rise of Protestantism, they also reveal important details about the locality itself, and it is this particular aspect that has been overlooked by scholars.

This first chapter in the study of La Rochelle's identity will introduce the key tropes of the city's identity-making (linguistic, metaphorical or typographical) that were developed in Berton's early years and study how his publications strengthen the initial affiliation between Protestantism and La Rochelle. To explore the relation between print and local culture, this chapter follows two axes of research. First, it aims to examine on a macro-level the relation between the growth of print and the Protestant identity and second, to study on a meso- and micro-level the influence of locality in symbolic terms and how the notion of space, be it social or urban, was used in print.

⁷ Rambeaud, 'L'Édification d'un réseau d'Églises réformées', p. 204.

1 The Dawn of Religious Texts in La Rochelle

1.1 A Macro-Level Study of Religious Texts in La Rochelle

From 1563 to 1566, the period which led to La Rochelle's open defiance in 1568, Berton published a total of twenty-one titles, including reprints.⁸ The most prominent category is religious literature which represents over 47% of his publications (see Figure 2). This includes theological essays, most of which were written by Yves Rouspeau (c. 1540-1601), and numerous editions of the Book of Psalms translated by the poet Clément Marot (1496-1544) and the theologian Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605).

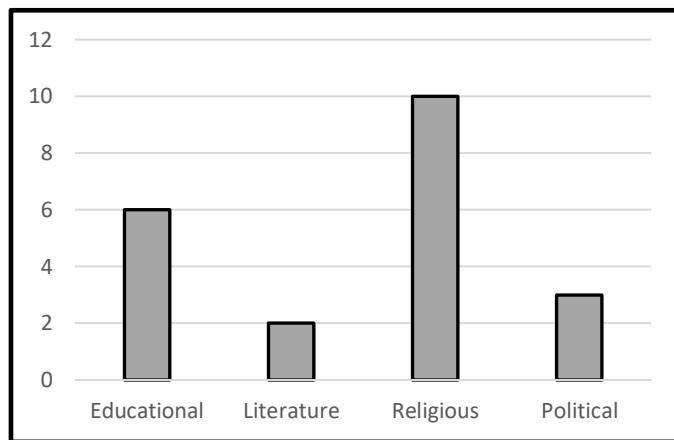


Figure 2 - Barthélémy Berton's publications, 1563-1566

⁸ For further details on how I have categorized the materials, please refer to 'Introduction', p. 30.

1.1.1 Performing the Faith: Protestantism in La Rochelle before Berton's Arrival

As mentioned above, if the rise of Protestantism coincided with Berton's arrival, it does not necessarily mean that it was his publications that instigated the spread of Protestantism within La Rochelle.⁹ In 1558, the city had already welcomed Pierre Richer (1506-1580), a Protestant minister who had originally been sent by Geneva to a French colony in Brazil. His failure to establish Protestantism there led to his return to France and the port of La Rochelle, where his teachings met with far greater success.¹⁰

A further three factors paved the way towards the Reformation in the region. Firstly, Catholicism had never truly taken root in the city and had been adopted out of necessity rather than belief.¹¹ Secondly, La Rochelle enjoyed a number of freedoms and privileges that weakened the hold of the Catholic Crown in the area.¹² Finally, the city's geographical location between England and France was, according to Rambeaud, 'l'expression même de leur liberté.'¹³ That is, as a port situated between

⁹ Rather, according to Eugénie Droz, Berton's arrival was encouraged by a notable Protestant leader, the *lieutenant général*, Jean Pierres who also became his father-in-law. See Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 34 and Pugh Meyer, *Reformation in La Rochelle*, pp. 94-95.

¹⁰ Robert Vareilles, *La Vérité de Pierre Richer (1509-1580), le père des protestants rochelais* (La Rochelle: Rumeurs des Ages, 2007); Rambeaud, 'L'Édification d'un réseau d'Églises', p. 199 and Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 332.

¹¹ Pugh Meyer, 'La Rochelle and the Failure of French Reformation', p. 171. Similar to many rural parts of France, La Rochelle and her surroundings held instead a lot of superstitious beliefs, even going so far as to associate the local priest to Satanism. See Abbé J-L-M Noguès, *Les Mœurs d'autrefois en Saintonge et en Aunis* (Marseilles: Laffitte Reprints, 1982), p. 128.

¹² Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea*, p. 1.

¹³ Pascal Rambeaud, 'L'Édification d'un réseau d'Églises réformées dans une province française: l'exemple de l'Aunis au XVIe siècle', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 149 (2003), 197-219 (p. 211).

both nations, La Rochelle used her topographical position to her advantage to gain political autonomy from the French monarchy. According to Sypher, such freedom and detachment from social norms corresponded to the Catholic representation of Protestant identity.¹⁴ To the outsider, La Rochelle, who culturally related to these identity traits, thus appeared to have developed Protestant characteristics before she had even declared herself for the *Cause*.¹⁵

One of the earliest records of Protestant worship in La Rochelle was in 1558, during the visit of Antoine de Bourbon (1518-1562), King of Navarre, after his marriage to Jeanne d'Albret (1528-1572).¹⁶ Although known for wavering between Catholicism and Protestantism, in 1558 he visited the city as a Protestant sympathizer. Antoine de Bourbon and his wife's presence in La Rochelle therefore further encouraged the freedom of worship and allowed the Protestant minister Pierre David to give a public sermon. In the words of Amos Barbot,

favorisé et supporté de leurs majestés, [il/Pierre David] prêcha publiquement l'évangile selon la pureté de la religion réformée par diverses fois dedans la grande nef du temple de Saint-Barthélemy, qui fut la première fois que le flambeau de l'évangile fut allumé publiquement en cette ville, [...] plusieurs habitants de cette ville de tout sexe et conditions, lesquels, déposant toutes craintes et appréhensions, commencèrent à se manifester et donner témoignages qu'ils ne désiraient plus retenir en injustice la vérité dont ils avaient connaissances.¹⁷

A local contemporary, Michel Pacqueteau, notes that the sermons preached by Pierre David were extremely popular and were attended by the vast majority of the

¹⁴ G. Wylie Sypher, ‘Faisant ce qu’il leur vient a Plaisir: The Image of Protestantism in French Catholic Polemic on the Eve of the Religious Wars’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Catholic Reformation, 11.2 (1980), 59-84.

¹⁵ This question will be examined in further detail in Chapters Three, Six and Seven.

¹⁶ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, I, pp. 333-34.

¹⁷ Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, II, p. 43.

Rochelais.¹⁸ The spread of the Reformation in La Rochelle was further highlighted by an allegorical play staged as part of the festivities welcoming the royal couple. It depicted a woman stricken by a mysterious disease, which neither Catholicism nor medicine could cure. Only a man embodying the Protestant faith proved able to free the woman from her affliction by offering her a book, which represented Calvinist doctrines. The use of theatre as a means to spread either Protestant or Catholic ideologies was commonplace and effective, and this play proved itself to be so popular that the townspeople inquired about where they could purchase the book in question.¹⁹

Yet, in the years that followed, the spread of Protestantism in La Rochelle was not always so peaceful. Following the massacre of Protestant worshippers in Vassy in 1562, La Rochelle and Saintes instigated iconoclastic revolts against the Catholic Church.²⁰ Although there were no casualties within the Catholic minorities, there was certainly a growing hostility towards the Catholic Church.²¹ It was from 1561 to 1568 that this antagonism came to the fore, a period which coincided with ever-growing restrictions on the city's political and religious freedoms.²² The Crown published the Edict of Amboise in 1563, which annulled the freedoms of 1562, thus restricting Protestant worship to the private sphere for the nobility and outside the walls for the rest of the inhabitants.²³ Furthermore, the majority of the townspeople, who supported

¹⁸ Mischenet de Richemond, *Essai sur l'origine et les progrès de la Réformation*, p. 18.

¹⁹ See Natacha Salliot, 'Théâtre et dissidence religieuse au XVI^e siècle: la représentation des élus', *Les Dossiers du Grihl* (2013) [accessed 2 June 2017] <<http://journals.openedition.org/dossiersgrihl/5872>> and Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 133.

²⁰ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 337.

²¹ Ibid., p. 342.

²² Pugh Meyer, 'La Rochelle and the Failure of French Reformation', pp. 171-73.

²³ Also known as the Edict of Pacification, the Edict of Amboise was signed on the 19 March 1563 by Queen Regent, Catherine de Médicis to end the First Religious War. See Nicola Mary Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (New Haven,

freedom of worship, contested the presence within La Rochelle of Louis de Bourbon, the second Duke of Montpensier (1513-1582), who was responsible for enforcing the Edict of 1563. Both of these factors played a defining role in the growth of Protestant zealotry.²⁴ It is within the context of this rising tension that the publications from Berton's press need to be examined.

1.1.2 Spreading the Word: Religious Translations in Berton's Press

One of Berton's first publications, *Pseaumes mise en rime Françoise* in 1563, was commissioned by two local merchants: Jean Delaplace and Jean Rocquet, whose names feature on the title page.²⁵ While each section was on occasion sold separately if the customer so wished, the *Pseaumes* were often followed by four other inserts titled *La Forme des prières ecclésiastique*, *L'Exercice du père de famille*, *La Manière d'interroger les enfans* and *Confession de foy*.²⁶ The *Pseaumes*, also frequently called the *Psautier de Genève*, was originally commissioned at the behest of Jean Calvin between 1539 and 1562. It was initially translated by Clément Marot from 1539 up to his death in 1544, after which Théodore de Bèze carried on the task. The aim of the *Psautier* was to make worship accessible for everyone by providing a unified,

CT: Yale University Press, 1980) and Roberts, *Peace and Authority during the French Religious Wars*, pp. 63-75.

²⁴ Also known as Duke of Louis III de Bourbon-Montpensier. According to the historian Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme (c. 1540-1614), Montpensier was notoriously cruel against the Huguenots during the Wars of Religion and his troops were met with open hostility within La Rochelle (Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, I, p. 340). See the article written by Jacqueline Boucher in Arlette Jouanna and others, *Histoire et dictionnaire des guerres de religion* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1998), pp. 1128-29.

²⁵ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p.16.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 20.

vernacular text for the religious service.²⁷ Antoine Vincent, a bookseller from Lyon who had secured the royal privileges for the publication of the *Psautier*, oversaw the production of a uniform text.²⁸ Berton's edition of 1563 thus follows the same organization and features Antoine Vincent's name as well as the royal privileges under which the *Psautier* was protected from unauthorized reprints. However, in later years, the privileges disappeared as printers became less rigorous. Similarly, Berton's later publications of the *Psautier* no longer feature the *privilège* or any reference to Antoine Vincent.

It was the year after the *Psautier* was initially published in Geneva, Paris, Rouen, Caen and Lyon that Berton followed suit.²⁹ The other inserts he included (*Formes de prière ecclésiastiques*, etc.) were also present in some of the original 1562 editions, such as that by the Genevan publisher Jean de Laon (fl. 1555-1600). The contents of these booklets are primarily didactic, guiding the readers' worship but also instructing them on theological matters using a question-answer form similar to that of a Socratic dialogue in *La Manière d'interroger les enfans*, and thus functioned as a Protestant catechism. Given the limited extent of its distribution in France during this period and the origin of its commission, the publication of the *Psautier* in La Rochelle was therefore responding to a local demand rather than a desire to compete with other established Huguenot printers.

²⁷ Cf. Robert Weeda, *Le Psautier de Calvin: l'histoire d'un livre populaire au XVI^e siècle (1551-1598)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

²⁸ Cf. Elizabeth Armstrong, *Before Copyright: the French Book-Privilege System 1498-1526* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and Henri Falk, *Les Priviléges de librairie sous l'Ancien Régime: Étude historique du conflit des droits sur l'œuvre littéraire* (Paris: A. Rousseau, 1906).

²⁹ Jean-Michel Noailly, 'Présentation de la "Bibliographie des psaumes imprimés en vers français", in *Les Paraphrases bibliques aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles: actes du Colloque de Bordeaux des 22, 23 et 24 septembre*, ed. by Véronique Ferrer and Anne Mantero (Geneva: Droz, 2006), pp. 225-41.

Another religious publication, *Deux traittez de S. C. Cyprian* (1566), also served, albeit indirectly, to affirm Calvinism.³⁰ This publication, which criticizes the negative influence of public games and gambling on Christian life, is a translation by Lambert Daneau (c. 1530-1595) of the treatises *De spectaculis* and *Adversus aleatores*, both of which were credited to St Cyprian, a third-century bishop of Carthage, renowned for his command of Latin rhetoric. St Cyprian's works, which were rediscovered and eagerly published and translated in the early modern period, were used to support the arguments of Protestants and Catholics alike.

Daneau, a Calvinist jurist, was at the time the minister of Gien; he became a prolific translator as well as a Neo-Latin writer. This particular translation is one of his earlier works, produced at a time when he struggled to get the texts he wanted approved for publication, principally because of their controversial content.³¹ This would certainly explain why Daneau chose Barthélemy Berton to print his *Deux traittez de S. C. Cyprian*, why Berton himself decided to omit his name and address from the publication and, finally, why I have only been able to find two surviving copies, both of which are in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

³⁰ St Cyprian, *Deux traittez de S. C. Cyprian; Jadis evesque de Carthage. L'un, contre les jeux et joueurs de cartes et de dez. L'autre par lequel il monstre que l'homme chrestien ne doit voir ni assister à aucun jeux de battelage, ni aux spectacles publics. Plus, une epistre du mesme autheur touchant ce mesme argument. Le tout mis en françois par L. Daneau, Ministre de la parole de Dieu* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1566) [USTC 16519]. This copy is not included in Eugénie Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, but the typography used clearly indicates it came from Berton's press.

³¹ Daneau voices his frustration in his numerous exchanges with Pierre Daniel where he complains about the difficulty to print his work. In 1565, he solicits help from his brother, Philippe, after stating that printers from Lyon lost his work. (See the transcript letter published in Paul De Félice, *Lambert Daneau (De Baugency-sur-Loire) Pasteur et Professeur en Théologie (1530-1595) Sa vie, ses ouvrages, ses lettres inédites* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1971), p. 277).

Daneau's statement to the reader in the preface, the biblical verses on folio A1^v and his printed marginalia reveal the didactic role of the publication: the translation teaches the reader how to be a good ascetic Christian but, more importantly, a good Protestant minister. At the beginning of each section, for instance, Daneau summarizes the arguments presented by St Cyprian in a concise numbered list that often uses adjectives such as 'bons' or 'vrays' to modify the term 'pasteurs'.

Furthermore, by classifying what constitutes immoral and morally acceptable public games, or *jeux de hasard* ('gambling'), the translation of St Cyprian's *Deux Traitez* assists Daneau in his criticism of the Catholic Church's abuse and greed and furthers the Protestant agenda since his denunciation coincides with the Calvinist viewpoint.³² In a letter dated March 1566, for example, Théodore de Bèze writes to the French lawyer Nicolas Pithou (1524-1598) to express his distaste at such frivolous activities at a time when France is suffering from the onslaught of religious conflict:

[L]a mémoire des calamitez toutes fraische et les signes tous évidents de celle qui sont prochaines apprenent à ceux qui s'appellent enfans de Dieu et chrestiens à penser ce qui les touche de si prez, plustots que s'amuser à telles vanitez³³

In short, along with contemporary analogies made in the marginalia and in his preface, Daneau reappropriates the voice of St Cyprian and describes the Carthaginian bishop

³² Michel Reulos, 'Jeux interdits et réglementés', in *Les Jeux à la Renaissance: actes du XXIIIe Colloque international d'études humaniste, Tours, juillet 1980*, ed. by Philippe Ariès and Jean-Claude Margolin (Paris: J. Vrin, 1982), pp. 635-39 and Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion vers 1525-vers 1610* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2005), p. 594.

³³ Théodore de Bèze, *Correspondance*, VII (Geneva: Droz, 1973), pp. 59-63.

as a supporter (and even, arguably, a social actor) of the Protestant *Cause*: ‘nous avons appellé Cyprian pour aide et compagnon de guerre avec nous’.³⁴

1.1.3 The Religious Treatises

It was not only translations of religious texts that were exploited to advance Protestant teachings. Berton published original pieces that actively argued against the Catholic Church. In 1565, the printer issued Jacques de Bassac’s (fl. 1549-1574) *Petit traicté en sommaire des deux sacremens de l’Église*.³⁵ Although it mentions two sacraments, baptism and Holy Communion, it largely focuses on the latter, condemning the Catholic belief in transubstantiation. It does so by referring to passages from the Bible in the marginalia but, especially, by dedicating whole sections to early Christian writers, such as St Augustine or St Cyprian, and explaining how their writings support Bassac’s arguments. The work opens with a dedication to Lucrèce de Puyguyon, widow of the Baron of Châteaumur, and ends with a note to the reader. Such a note was usually placed at the beginning of a work to guide the reader and to avoid any misinterpretation. Bassac’s deliberate choice to place his ‘*Advertissement au Lecteur*’

³⁴ Daneau, *Deux traitez de S. C. Cyprian*, p. 4.

³⁵ Jacques de Bassac, *Petit traicté en sommaire des deux sacremens de l’Église selon la parole de Dieu et doctrine antienne de son Église, auquel en la fin est adjoustée une briesve déclaration de ceux qui indignement, et de ceux qui dignement mangent le pain, et boivent le vin de la saincte Cène. Par Jacques de Bassac Escuier Sieur de Laillé, Avocat au siège Roial [sic] du Conté de Civray, Pays de Poictou* (La Rochelle: Barthélémy Berton, 1565) [USTC:16687] I have been unable to find information on Jacques de Bassac, sieur de Laillé, but his signature features on official documents which suggests he was a prominent figure for Protestantism in the region. See Droz, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 52-53 and Henri Beauchet-Filleau and Charles de Chergé, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des familles du Poitou*, ed. by Joseph Filleau-Beauchet and others, 2nd edn, 7 vols (Poitiers: Oudin, 1891-1971), I (1891), p. 318.

at the end of the publication, rather than at the beginning, converts the address into a conclusion that aims to influence the reader's final thoughts on the subject.

The majority of the religious texts published by Berton were written by the minister of Pons and Saintes, Yves Rouspeau (c. 1540-1601), who was also known for his poetry in his later years.³⁶ His first publications were mostly printed in La Rochelle but, from the 1580s, he favoured Paris and Pons. Out of the nineteen publications that appeared in La Rochelle between 1563 and 1566, five are the work of Rouspeau; they represent multiple editions of the *Traitte de la preparation de la saincte Cene* (1563, 1564 and 1565) and *Sept dialogues* (1563 and 1564).³⁷ His works, which were

³⁶ Little is known about Rouspeau, but he was trained in Geneva and became minister of Pons. Cf. Eugène Haag and Émile Haag, *La France protestante, ou Vies des protestants français qui se sont fait un nom dans l'histoire depuis les premiers temps de la réformation jusqu'à la reconnaissance du principe de la liberté des cultes par l'Assemblée nationale*, 10 vols (Paris: Joel. Cherbuliez, 1846-1859), IX (1859), pp. 22-23.

³⁷ Yves Rouspeau, *Sept dialogues, contenant une familière et briève exposition de toute la matière des sacremens instituez par nostre seul Docteur et Rédempiteur Jésus Christ. Nouvellement mis en lumière par Yves Rouspeau, Ministre de la Parole de Dieu* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1563) [USTC 60141]; id., *Traitté de la préparation de la saincte Cène de nostre seul sauveur et rédempiteur Jésus Christ. Propre pour tous ceux qui veulent dignement s'approcher à sa saincte Table du Seigneur. Plus un Dialogue contenant les poinct principaux, que ceux qui veulent recevoir la Cène, doivent savoir et entendre. Par Yves Rouspeau, Ministre de la Parole de Dieu* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton, [1563]) [USTC 60142]; id., *Sept dialogues, contenant une familière et briève exposition de toute la matière des sacremens instituez par nostre seul Docteur et Rédempiteur Jésus Christ. Nouvellement mis en lumière par Yves Rouspeau, Ministre de la Parole de Dieu* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1564) [USTC 16936]; id. *Traitté de la préparation de la saincte Cène de nostre seul sauveur et redempteur Jésus Christ. Propre pour tous ceux qui veulent dignement s'approcher à sa saincte Table du Seigneur. Plus un Dialogue contenant les poinct principaux, que ceux qui veulent recevoir la Cène, doivent savoir et entendre. Par Yves Rouspeau, Ministre de la Parole de Dieu* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton, [1564]) [USTC 16937]; id., *Traitté de la preparation de la saincte Cene de nostre seul sauveur et rédempiteur Jésus Christ... (Caen [La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1565) [USTC 60498].*

evidently in high demand, contained both religious commentaries and attacks on the practices of the Catholic church.³⁸

Various factors in the way Berton produced these texts suggests their controversial nature. Droz suggests that the hurried appearance of the *Sept dialogues* indicates that it was composed and printed without the consent of Berton's associates.³⁹ Moreover, the edition of *Traité de la Préparation à la sainte Cène*, published in 1565, bears the false address of Caen on the title page. As mentioned in the Introduction, the use of such false imprints was common practice in the early modern period.⁴⁰ They were exploited most often in polemical texts to hide the identity of the printer in clandestine print. They also enabled the printer to profit from the reputation of a famous printer or a city to help disseminate their publications. Caen, for instance, had already established itself as a place for Protestant print.⁴¹

Berton more than likely used the standing of Caen to circulate his own work more easily, not only locally but also outside the walls of La Rochelle. Indeed, four years later, the first English translation of Rouspeau's work appeared under the title *A Treatise of the Preparation of the Holy Supper* in London, indicating its international appeal. John Alldie (fl. 1555-1592) first published this translation for Lucas Harrison (1559-1577), a bookseller renowned for obtaining his texts from France (most notably Rouen); then, in 1579, Thomas Dawson (fl. 1568-1620) printed it for Thomas

³⁸ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 24. For a meso- and micro-level analysis of the texts (to use Furlough's terminology), see Pugh Meyer, *Reformation of La Rochelle*, pp. 96-100.

³⁹ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 31.

⁴⁰ See 'Introduction', p. 12 and *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print and Manuscript*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1989).

⁴¹ Andrew Pettegree, 'Protestantism, Publication and the French Wars of Religion: The Case of Caen', in *The French Book and the European Book World*, Library of the Written Word, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 43-63.

Woodcock (1575-1594), a bookseller who was previously arrested for selling John Whigift's *An Admonition to Parliament* (1572), that condemned the Catholic Church).⁴²

1.2 The Controversy of Calvin's 47 Sermons

One of Berton's most noteworthy religious publications is Calvin's *editio princeps*, the *Quarente sept sermons* (1565), a work whose prestige is suggested by the elegant lay-out of the title page (see Figure 3**Error! Reference source not found.**) and by a preface written by Jean de La Haize, a local lawyer and a church officer whom we shall encounter later as a key figure in La Rochelle.⁴³ Nevertheless, this book attracted the wrath of the Church of Geneva because of the controversy surrounding its publication. This episode highlights a moment in which a local writer, Jean de La Haize, uses a discourse (and symbols) that anchor local publications within the region and tightens the link between La Rochelle and the Protestant identity.

⁴² Yves Rouspeau, *A Treatise of the Preparation to the Holy Supper of Our Onely Saveour and Redeemer, Jesus Christe Necessarie for all them that Wil Worthely Approche to the Lordes Holy Table* (London: [John Alldie], [1570]) [USTC 507174] and Yves Roupseau, *A Treatise of the Preparation to the Holy Supper of our Onely Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christe Necessarie for all them that Will Worthily Approch to the Lords Holy Table* (London: [Thomas Dawson], [1579]) [USTC 508850]. See *The Port and Trade of Early Elizabethan London: Documents*, ed. by Brian Dietz ([Leicester]: [n. pub.], 1972), p. 6 and Benjamin Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans: Containing a Biological Account of Those Divines who Distinguished Themselves in the Cause of Religious Liberty, from the Reformation Under Queen Elizabeth, to the Act of Uniformity in 1662*, 3 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1813), II, p 185.

⁴³ Jean Calvin, *Quarante sept sermons de M. Jean Calvin sur les huict derniers chapitres des propheties de Daniel. Recueillis fidelement de sa bouche selon qu'il les preschooit*, ed. by Jean de La Haize (La Rochelle: Barthélémy Berton, 1565) [USTC 10702]. See Haag and Haag, *La France protestante*, VI, p. 222. Droz, *L'Imprimerie à la Rochelle*, I, pp. 46-52



Figure 3 – Title page from Jean Calvin’s *Quarante Sept Sermons* (1565)

1.2.1 The *Bourse* and Barthélemy Berton

The fact that these sermons were first published in La Rochelle and not in Geneva, infringed the rights of the *Bourse française des pauvres étrangers*, the organization that held the rights to the preachings of Calvin. This infringement caused the Church of Geneva to retaliate with a public denunciation in 1567 within the preface of Calvin’s *Sermons sur le Deutéronome*.⁴⁴ The matter was settled that same year in the 9th article of the sixth National Synod:

La Compagnie reconnoissant que ledit de la *Haize* n'a point mis la Préface aux Sermons dudit *Calvin* sur *Daniel* de son propre mouvement, mais par l'avis des frères les Ministres de la *Rochelle*, ni aussi pour ravir ce qui appartient aux autres, sous esperance de quelque gain, il a été résolu que les Synodes Provinciaux seront avertis de sa ditte innocence, et que les

⁴⁴ [Anon.], ‘A tous fideles tenans la Saincte Foy de la vraye Eglise Catholique, et generalement à tous lecteurs debonnaires, Salut en Jesus Christ nostre Seigneur et nostre Dieu. Amen.’, in Jean Calvin, *Sermons de M. Jean Calvin sur le V. livre de Moyse nommé Deuteronomie: Recueillis fidèlement de mot à mot, selon qu'il les preschoit publiquement. Avec une preface des Ministres de l'Eglise de Geneve, et un advertissement fait par les Diacres. Il y a aussi deux tables: l'une des matieres principales, l'autre des passages de la Bible alleguez par l'autheur en ces sermons*, (Geneva: Thomas Courteau, 1567), pp. 7-13 (pp. 12-13) [USTC 1469].

lettres en seront adressées aux frères de *Généve*, non seulement pour le décharger, mais aussi pour les prier que dans la première Édition qui se sera des Sermons de Mr. *Jean Calvin*, ils y rendent témoignage de l'innocence dudit Sieur de la *Haize*.⁴⁵

Two historians have paid particular attention to this incident: Eugénie Droz and Jean-François Gilmont.⁴⁶ Whereas Droz suggests that Berton deliberately ignored the rules of publication, Gilmont insists that Berton's liability is not that evident, since Bèze himself gave credence to Berton's lack of familiarity with the rules set out by the *Bourse*.⁴⁷ However that may be, the reasons behind this publication and the consequences of these actions on La Rochelle's identification are indeed relevant for this research. Robbins briefly argues, for instance, that this episode 'contributed to the estrangement of La Rochelle's Calvinist community from the mother church in Geneva.'⁴⁸ I would even suggest that the publication of Calvin's sermons in La Rochelle marks the first step towards La Rochelle becoming the French Geneva, a city construed independently from Geneva, but consequently led to her being seen as a greater threat to the French Catholic Crown. The publication of Calvin's first edition of the *Quarante sept sermons* at La Rochelle indicated that the Reformation was no longer a threat presented by an outside foreign nation but had well and truly planted its roots in France.

⁴⁵ Jean Aymond, *Actes Ecclesiastiques et civils de tous les Synodes nationaux des Eglises réformées de France*, 2 vols (La Haye: Charles Delo, 1710), I, p. 80.

⁴⁶ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 50 and Jean-François Gilmont, 'L'Apport de La Rochelle et du royaume de France à la diffusion des écrits de Calvin (1560-1600)', *Albinea*, *Cahiers d'Aubigné*, Le Livre entre Loire et Garonne (1560-1630), 9 (1998), 11-27 (pp. 11-13).

⁴⁷ Gilmont, 'L'Apport de La Rochelle', p. 15.

⁴⁸ Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea*, p. 174. He compares it to a similar episode where Berton was involved *l'affaire Morély* and published Antoine de Chandieu's reponse to Jean Morély's *Traicté de la discipline et police chrestienne* (1562). See Eugénie Droz, 'Autour de l'affaire Morély: La Roche Chandieu et Barth. Berton', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 22.3 (1960), 570-77.

1.2.2 Jean de La Haize: the Voice of the City

Gilmont states that the *Quarante sept sermons* is placed specifically in the ‘terroir rochelais’ because of La Haize’s association with their publication.⁴⁹ Very little research has been carried out on Jean de La Haize despite the fact that he represented the city in welcoming high-ranking figures, such as Charles IX in 1565 and Jeanne d’Albret in 1568. His name likewise appears in many of Berton’s publications either as an author or a contributor.⁵⁰ Yet, the association of La Haize’s name with Calvin’s sermons is not enough in and of itself to suggest the publication was strongly linked to La Rochelle. Rather, it is the discourse in the preface which places the work in this particular, historical and geographical context.

In the preface, La Haize clarifies the need to publish the *Quarante sept sermons* as a response to the horrors of the religious wars and to criticize the *modérés* who wish to maintain peace through concession. The preface does not initially focus on the fact that these sermons were pronounced by Calvin, the founding father of Calvinism (La Haize does not mention his name until fol. A4^v), but rather on their being based on the Prophecy of Daniel. Following Calvin’s reading of the Old Testament, La Haize draws a parallel between Daniel’s defiance in the face of religious persecution by the Kings of Babylon and the persecution of the Huguenots in France. La Haize’s preface is thus primarily a call for action at a time when La Rochelle had suffered several royal restrictions that limited the freedom of Protestant worship. In fact, it contains an explicit condemnation of Charles IX’s Edict of 1564:

Daniel aussi ne pouvoit-il pas pour trente jours se contenir de prier Dieu en sa maison selon l’Édict du Roy, et principalement les

⁴⁹ Gilmont, ‘L’Apport de La Rochelle’, p. 13.

⁵⁰ I have identified four likely publications of which he is the author and at least two other publications he has contributed to.

fenestres ouvertes et estant à genoux? S'il avoit quelques requestes à presenter à Dieu ne le pouvoit-il pas faire en secret et cachet, sans ainsi provoquer le courroux et ire du Roy, contrevenant d'une gaieté de Coeur à ses ordonnances et Édicts?⁵¹

In short, when examining this publication through Fairclough's three-levelled framework, the *Quarante sept sermons* is evidently anchored in the locality of its printing, not just because of the appearance of La Haize's name in the preface but, more importantly, because of the galvanizing words in the foreword itself.

*

To understand how religious texts like these could influence the fashioning of La Rochelle's (self-)identification, it is first necessary to examine how communal cultural identities are formed or, more precisely, how they evolve. The formation of a cultural identity is primarily produced through juxtaposition, that is, starting from the notion that one's cultural identity differs from another. It therefore cannot be conceived without the outside group either acting as a point of comparison ('us' vs 'them') or, based on Burke's terminology, offering an external input to which the collective group reacts through symbolic interactions.⁵² In other words, a cultural identity emerges when it actively highlights its differences with other identities. These proselytizing texts thus engage with the Protestant identity by emphasizing differences with the Catholic 'Other'.

However, the more rallying and censorious works aim to reach an audience beyond the walls of La Rochelle. From an external perspective, such works would

⁵¹ Jean de La Haize, 'Preface', in *Quarante sept sermons de M. Jean Calvin sur les huict derniers chapitres des propheties de Daniel*, fol. A3^v.

⁵² Burke, *Identity Theory*, p. 2.

suggest that the city already adhered to the Protestant teachings by actively going against the Catholic Church. In fact, one may argue that Berton was cognisant of the impact such publications could have on La Rochelle's reputation as out of the seven actively religious texts mentioned above, he omits his imprint from the title pages of five of these publications.⁵³

Our brief examination of religious publications establishes that Berton's press published works with an intent to rally people to the Protestant cause, be it within, or beyond, the city gates. Berton's publication list engendered a sense of commonality to Protestantism or, as the sociologists Brubaker and Cooper explain, a sense of belonging to a group on an emotional level but not necessarily actively engaging with the implication such an identification would bring.⁵⁴ Instead, the texts that established a clearer identification of La Rochelle as the French Protestant city were not presented as religious pieces but adopted instead a more political and scientific approach.

2 Resolving Differences: Berton's Publications in Contextual Conflict

2.1 The Political *Commentaires*

With the riotous acts in the 1560s, and the restrictions imposed on the freedom-loving inhabitants, there was a rising thirst for action and a desire to spread Calvinism. The then governor of La Rochelle, Guy I Chabot de Jarnac (1514-1584), was criticized for his lack of commitment and was perceived as weak because he refused to aid other

⁵³ I here exclude the *Pseaumes* since, as I have previously mentioned, they were printed in response to a local demand rather than to diffuse the Reformation outside the city walls.

⁵⁴ Brubaker and Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', pp. 19-34.

Protestant towns.⁵⁵ There were, however, two approaches to the religious conflict: the *modérés* were a more diplomatic group who viewed the King as a rightful, if misguided, ruler and prioritized their relationship with the court above their religious beliefs, while the *zélés* had strong attachments to Protestant countries and wanted La Rochelle to become a state within the state.

The division between both factions caused severe political rifts within the city. During the 1563 election, the *zélés* expressed their desire for action by supporting a candidate who favoured the city's independence, Jean Pierres (d. 1588), yet it was a *modéré*, Michel Guy, seigneur de La Bataille et de Pierrelevée, who was finally appointed by Charles IX himself. It is in the aftermath of this election that the only two political treatises published between 1563 and 1566 appeared. Both of these pamphlets are presented as *commentaires*, a popular literary genre in the early modern period that, among other things, enabled authors to record events all the while offering their observation, that is their own point of view and interpretation, to explain the origins of conflict.⁵⁶

According to Droz, Jean Pierres's *Commentaire sur l'édit des arbitres* (1564) was almost certainly printed by Berton because the latter had married Jean Pierres's daughter.⁵⁷ The author primarily examines Charles IX's edicts after an Estates-

⁵⁵ Guy Chabot was the son of Charles I Chabot who was also named governor of the city. Guy Chabot's converted to Protestantism in 1561 (Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, I, p. 335).

⁵⁶ Gilmont, *Le Livre et ses secrets*, p. 218.

⁵⁷ Jean Pierres, *Commentaire sur l'édit des arbitres, composé par J. Pierres escuier, conseiller du Roy, Lieutenant général, Civil et Criminel, en la Ville et Gouvernement de la Rochelle* (La Rochelle: Barthélémy Berton, 1564) [USTC 20611]. See Droz, *L'Imprimerie à la Rochelle*, I, p. 37. Droz misquotes Arcère who originally states that it was 'Pierre' (not Jean Pierres) who faced Michel Guy during the 1563 election (Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, I, p. 343). Arcère's reference may also have led Delmas and Dupont to argue it concerned Pierre de Grandin. (See Édouard Dupont, *Histoire de La Rochelle* (La Rochelle: Mareschal, 1830), p. 120 and Louis

General at Fontainebleau in 1560 and argues in favour of the King's governance over his people.⁵⁸ The *commentaire* is dedicated to Charles IX and opens with poems to the King, to the Chancellor Michel de l'Hospital (1507-1573), to Catherine de Médicis and to the author himself, written in Latin and the vernacular. Yet, bearing in mind that *Commentaire sur l'édit des arbitres* was published after the election of 1563, Pierres's moderate, and even royalist, position may come as a surprise.

Arcère and Pierre Damien Rainguet both claim that the title page of the *Commentaire sur l'édit des arbitres* provides the reader with a clue as to why this piece was published.⁵⁹ Underneath the title, Pierres includes a verse from Deuteronomy (Deut. 32:13): 'Ut sugeret mel de Petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo' ([God] caused him [Jacob] to suck honey out of the stone, and oil out of the hard rock). The capitalization of *Petra*, which indicates a play on the author's surname (Pierres/Petraeus), as well as the paratextual poems and praises that support him, seem to suggest that *Commentaire sur l'édit des arbitres* has been written by Jean Pierres to present himself in a favourable light and regain the court's favour after the results of the 1563 election.⁶⁰ This certainly corroborates the reason why the octavo was printed only once.⁶¹ While most of the paratextual pieces are signed by initials making it difficult for the modern reader to identify the authors, there are nonetheless

Delmas, *L'Église réformée de La Rochelle* (Toulouse: Société des livres religieux, 1870), p. 76). Amos Barbot, however, confirms that it was indeed 'Jehan Pierre'.

⁵⁸ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 34-37. The Edict issued at Fontainebleau in August 1560 ordered that all disagreements between merchants should be resolved through arbitration.

⁵⁹ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, II, p. 91 and Pierre-Damien Rainguet, *Biographie Saintongeaise ou Dictionnaire historique de tous les personnages qui se sont illustrés par leurs écrits ou leurs actions dans les anciennes provinces de Saintonge et d'Aunis. Formant aujourd'hui le département de la Charente-inférieure depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Saintes: M. Niox, 1831), p. 452.

⁶⁰ The latin words *petra* and *saxum* may also refer to La Rochelle, whose name is derived from the word *roche* or 'rock'.

⁶¹ The only surviving copy I have managed to locate is at the BnF.

important figureheads among them, such as Jean de La Haize, Pierre Boucher or Claude d'Angliers, who sign their names in support of Jean Pierres.

The second treatise, the *Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et Republicque* (1565), was written anonymously by Pierre de La Place (c. 1520-1572), and published in several places across the country, including Paris and Orléans.⁶² La Place's *Commentaires* offers a broader discussion of the role of the King and his subjects and promotes the moderate stance which La Place shared with his friend, Michel de l'Hospital.⁶³

In *Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et Republicque*, the author primarily advocates separating religion from the governing body.⁶⁴ This 1565 publication proved to be very popular and, according to Droz, was in high demand in La Rochelle.⁶⁵ The 312-page treatise is composed of seven Books with marginal glosses to guide the reader. Although this is not the first publication where Berton omits his name from the title page, Droz states that it is the first one where he does so to better support the Protestant cause.⁶⁶ These political pamphlets were thus very cautious in that they did not seek to challenge the rule of Charles IX openly: if Jean Pierres sought to flatter and appease the young King, La Place's more controversial work was published anonymously to safely communicate his frustrations with the court.

⁶² [Pierre de La Place], *Commentaires de l'Estat de la Religion et Republicque* [sic] soubs [sic] les Rois Henry et François seconds, et Charles neuvième ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1565) [USTC 1381].

⁶³ La Place became a Protestant martyr when he perished at the hands of Catholics just after the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in August 1572. See Kees Meerhoff, 'Pierre de La Place: philosophe, magistrat, martyr', *Journal de la Renaissance*, V (2007), 281–300.

⁶⁴ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à la Rochelle*, I, pp. 44-46. Not to be mistaken for the local Rochelais minister at the time who also bore the name Laplace but was a zealot.

⁶⁵ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 43-46.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 44 and 46.

2.2 The Rochelais and the Dawn of the *Querelle de l'Antimoine*

Several studies have demonstrated that the advent of print created new opportunities for the dissemination of ideas in both the public and the private sphere.⁶⁷ It is therefore unsurprising that religion, a topic which straddles the public and private domains, was a common theme in many texts, even in the following works published by Berton, which are not religious works but rather scientific texts foregrounding the locality of La Rochelle. Huguenot ideology is therefore still prevalent in these texts. Scientific publications represent 28% of the production between 1563 and 1566, including reprints, and are primarily written by a local doctor, Louis de Launay (fl. 1564 and 1566), and a potter, Bernard Palissy, both Protestants. These publications also include Jean Temporal's translation of Leo Africanus's *Della descrittione dell'Africa*.⁶⁸

2.2.1 The Dispute of the *Querelle de l'Antimoine*

Louis de Launay's first publication, *De la faculté et vertu admirable de l'Antimoine* (1564), discusses the curative properties of antimony.⁶⁹ His treatise marks the

⁶⁷ See, for instance, Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 189-226 and Chartier, 'General Introduction', in *The Culture of Print*, p. 1.

⁶⁸ Leo Africanus, *Historiale description de l'Afrique tierce partie du monde contena[n]t en neuf livres les royaumes, regions, villes, chasteaux et forteresses: Isles, fleuves, animaux, tant aquatiques que terrestres: coustumes, loix, religion et façon de faire des habitans, avec pourtraicts de leurs habits: ensemble autres choses mémorables et singulières nouveautez. Escrite premièrement par Jean Leon Africain en langue Arabesque, puis traduicte en Toscane par Jean Baptiste Rhamusio et de Toscane mise en françoise, et impr. A Lyon, par ledit Jean Temporal. et depuis en Anvers, trans. by Jean Temporal* ([La Rochelle]: Barthélémy Berton, 1564) [USTC 94092]. In French, Jean Léon or Léon l'Africain. See Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: the Search for Leo Africanus* (London: Faber and Faber, 2007).

⁶⁹ Louis de Launay, *De la faculté et vertu admirable de l'Antimoine, avec responce à certaines calomnies : le tout composé par Maistre Loys de Launay Medecin ordinaire de la Rochelle* (La Rochelle: Barthélémy Berton, 1564) [USTC 30229]. The author is also referred to as Loys de L'Aunais.

beginning of the *Querelle de l'antimoine*, a debate, which lasted a century (1566-1666), on the virtuous or poisonous properties of antimony. While contemporary scholars were arguing about the medicinal properties of the metal, there was a religious thread to each argument which corresponded to the confessional divide. Catholic chemists were generally writing condemnatory pamphlets, attacking those who encouraged the use of antimony, whereas Huguenot scientists were more likely to publish works promoting the benefits of its medicinal function.

If, in later years, most of the Huguenot writers discussing the matter were located in Montpellier, the original text written by Louis de Launay, which initiated the debate, caught the attention of the Parisian physician, dramatist and poet Jacques Grévin (1538-1570).⁷⁰ Grévin responded to the treatise with his *Discours de Jaques Grevin de Clermont en Beauvaisis* (1566), claiming that Launay was ‘le plus injurieux, opiniâtre et ignorant qui se puisse rencontrer en notre temps’.⁷¹ He refutes the arguments made by Launay and accuses him of poisoning his fellow Rochelais.

In 1566, Louis de Launay retaliated with a second tract: *Response au discours de maistre Jacques Grévin* (1566), in which he compares the *querelle* to a battle and where he opposes his age and knowledge to Grévin’s youth and lack of experience.⁷² This exchange led to the ban of antimony in 1566 in Paris at the behest of the faculty

⁷⁰ Jacques Grévin, *Discours de Jaques Grevin de Clermont en Beauvaisis, docteur en Medecine à Paris, sur les vertus et facultez de l'Antimoine. Contre ce qu'en a escrit maistre Loys de Launay, Médecin de la Rochelle* (Paris: André Wechel, 1566) [USTC 20859].

⁷¹ Quoted in G. Mascherpa, ‘La Querelle de l’antimoine et la victoire de la chimie (II)’, *L’Actualité chimique* (May 1982), 45-47 (p. 45). For more information on the use of antimony throughout history, see R. Ian McCallum, *Antimony in Medical History: An Account of the Medical Uses of Antimony and its compounds Since the Early Times to the Present* (Bishop Auckland: Pentland Press, 1999).

⁷² Louis de Launay, *Response au discours de maistre Jacques Grévin, Docteur de Paris, qu'il a escript contre le livre de maistre Loys de l'Aunay, Medecin en la Rochelle, touchant la faculté de l'Antimoine* (La Rochelle: Barthélémy Berton, 1566) [USTC 16534].

of medicine. Yet, the end of the *querelle* was marked by the victory of those supporting Launay's study.

2.2.2 A Local Premise

More importantly for our present investigation, in the works of Launay La Rochelle is much more than the place of publication: the author's personal relationship with the city is the direct source of inspiration behind *De la faculté et vertu admirable de l'Antimoine*. The treatise begins with the customary justification in which Launay explains that his reason for writing *De la faculté* is to defend himself against local gossip labelling him a poisoner.⁷³ Above all, however, he writes for the benefit of La Rochelle's 'République'.⁷⁴ Even if we allow for the customary rhetoric, the dedicatory epistle and the final words of the treatise indicate that Launay actively seeks to associate his work with the local civic authorities.⁷⁵ This is further supported by the fact that the publication is followed by five poems, four of which are in Latin and one in French, which praise the work of the doctor and, even in the case of the final sonnet, challenges the rest of France.⁷⁶ Among the recognizable authors, we find important local figures such as the nobleman Claude d'Anglier, Jean Pierres (under the Latinised name *Petraei*) and 'P.B.R.' who is more than likely the *échevin* Pierre Bouchet 'Rochelais', a member of the local council.⁷⁷

⁷³ Louis de Launay, *De la faculté et vertu admirable de l'Antimoine*, fol. A3^r: 'Tesmoings en sont ceux, qui ont ouy parler certains personnages, l'appelant poison et empoisonneurs, ceux qui en vouloient faire user: Ce qui m'a esmeu escrire ce present livre, pour respondre à leurs raisons Calomnieuses: et leur monstrer, combien ils sont eslongnez de verité, et meurs des anciens'.

⁷⁴ Launay, *De la faculté et vertu admirable de l'Antimoine*, fol. A3^v.

⁷⁵ Ibid., fol. G2^v.

⁷⁶ Ibid., fol. B2^v.

⁷⁷ Lucien Pinvert, *Jacques Grévin (1538-1570): étude bibliographique et littéraire* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1899), p. 91.

The close connection established between Launay and La Rochelle also features in his second publication, *Response au discours de maistre Jacques Grévin*. In this retort to Jacques Grévin, Launay further emphasizes his ties with La Rochelle: if in his first address to the local government he describes himself as ‘Loys de l’Aunay medecin ordinaire’, in *Response au discours*, the doctor asserts his allegiance by using the possessive pronoun ‘Louy de l’Aunay leur Medecin ordinaire’.⁷⁸ Furthermore, if the initial piece was to aid the ‘Républicque’, in *Response au discours*, Launay prides himself on his belonging to La Rochelle.⁷⁹ He even goes so far as to draw comparisons between the local municipality and a family: ‘Vous estes ceulx, qui m’avez receu des le ve[n]tre de ma mere (s’il faut ainsi parler) c’est a dire, dès l’issue de mes estudes: et qui m’avez entretenu en vostre ville, et honoré de vos gaiges’.⁸⁰ In other words, these two scientific treatises focus not only on the arguments to support the use of antimony but on locality through Grévin’s mention of La Rochelle’s inhabitants to discredit his opponent and, above all, through Launay self-identification as a Rochelais. This highlights not only how important localized contextualization is in these scientific texts but also how far belonging to a place is a defining factor of individual self-identification.

2.3 The City and the Idealized Space

The city as a *topos* in scholastic publications is prominent in the works of the artisan Bernard Palissy. The Huguenot craftsman was famed not just for his ceramics, inspired by nature, but also for his literary compositions, particularly the *Recepte véritable*

⁷⁸ Launay, *De la faculté et vertu admirable de l’Antimoine*, fol. A2^r and Launay, *Response au discours de maistre Jacques Grévin*, fol. A2^r. My emphasis.

⁷⁹ Launay, *Response au discours de maistre Jacques Grévin*, fol. A4^r.

⁸⁰ Ibid., fol. A2^r.

(1563).⁸¹ However, it was only in the nineteenth and late twentieth century that interest in his work and life really emerged, even if Palissy himself was celebrated — most often posthumously — by his contemporaries for his discoveries and philosophy.⁸²

Palissy lived most of his life in Saintes but maintained a strong connection with La Rochelle through notable friends, such as François Barbot who offered financial aid to publish his work and celebrated him in a preliminary sonnet in the *Recepte véritable*.⁸³ Palissy was also recognised for his Protestant beliefs: he began by attending secret meetings but later actively engaged in pastoral activities following the imprisonment and execution at Bordeaux of the Protestant printer and pastor, Philibert Hamelin (c. 1515-1557).⁸⁴ In 1562, Palissy was himself jailed after being accused of taking part in an iconoclastic uprising in Saintes. It was his ties with the members of the court, especially his patron and protector Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567), that bought back his freedom.⁸⁵

During his time in captivity, he drafted two works that were later published in La Rochelle. Barthélemy Berton printed the *Architecture et ordonnance de la grotte*

⁸¹ Bernard Palissy, *Recepte véritable, par laquelle tous les hommes de la France pourront apprendre à multiplier et augmenter leurs thrésors. Item, ceux qui n'ont jamais eu cognoissance des lettres, pourront apprendre une Philosophie nécessaire à tous les habitans de la terre. Item, en ce livre est contenu le dessein d'un jardin autant délectable et d'utile invention qu'il en fut onques veu. Item, le dessein et ordonnance d'une Ville de forteresse, la plus imprenable qu'homme oyut jamais parler, composé par Maistre Bernard Palissy, ouvrier de terre, et inventeur des Rustiques Figulines [sic] du Roy, et de Mo[n]seigneur le Duc de Montmorancy, Pair et Connestable de France, demeurant en la ville de Xaintes* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton, 1563) [USTC 582].

⁸² Anne-Marie Lecoq, ‘Morts et résurrections de Bernard Palissy’, *Revue de l’Art*, 78 (1987), p. 26-32.

⁸³ Droz, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 24-25.

⁸⁴ Jean-Pierre Poirier, *Bernard Palissy: Le Secret des émaux* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2008), loc. 1046.

⁸⁵ Henry Patry, ‘La Captivité de Bernard Palissy pendant la première guerre de religion (1562-1563): D’après un opuscule de lui récemment découvert et deux arrêts inédits du Parlement de Bordeaux’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 70.1 (1921), 6-20.

rustique de Monseigneur le Duc de Montmorency in 1563 and *Recepte véritable* in 1563 and again in 1564.⁸⁶ Inspired by the onset of the religious wars, both of these texts describe an idealized spiritual refuge.⁸⁷

As a simple artisan, Palissy did not adhere to the usual academic approach that relied on Ancient texts but rather referred to writings of his contemporaries and, especially, the Bible, to support his arguments. Before we examine the content of the two treatises more closely, it is necessary to sketch in their context, on a macro- and meso-level, in order to understand the motivation of the author and their part in the consolidation of La Rochelle's Protestant identity.

2.3.1 Bernard Palissy, the Protestant Potter from Aunis

Palissy composed his (very rare) *Architecture et ordonnance* during his imprisonment and it is addressed to his benefactor, Anne de Montmorency with a short foreword to the reader explaining the contents of the publication.⁸⁸ Within the quarto's twelve

⁸⁶ Bernard Palissy, *Architecture et ordonnance de la grotte rustique de Monseigneur le Duc de Montmorency, Pair et connétable de France* (La Rochelle: Barthélémy Berton 1563) [USTC 34678] and id., *Recepte véritable, par laquelle tous les hommes de la France pourront apprendre à multiplier et augmenter leurs thrésors. Item, ceux qui n'ont jamais eu cognoissance des lettres, pourront apprendre une Philosophie nécessaire à tous les habitans de la terre. Item, en ce livre est contenu le dessein d'un jardin autant délectable et d'utile invention qu'il en fut onques veu. Item, le dessein et ordonnance d'une Ville de forteresse, la plus imprenable qu'homme ouyt jamais parler, composé par Maistre Bernard Palissy, ouvrier de terre, et inventeur des Rustiques Figuline du Roy, et de Mo[n]seigneur le Duc de Montmorancy, Pair et Connestable de France, demeurant en la ville de Xaintes* (La Rochelle: Barthélémy Berton, 1564) [USTC 10544]. Although both editions of *Recepte véritable* are identical, I have used the 1564 version in this thesis.

⁸⁷ Léonard Amico, *À la recherche du paradis terrestre: Bernard Palissy et ses continuateurs* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996) and Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso: Music, Piety, and Print in Sixteenth-Century France* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2001), p. 15.

⁸⁸ It seems that Berton only published a few prints of Palissy's *Architecture et ordonnance*. The book was only recently rediscovered in 1919 by Édouard Rahir who reproduced the piece in facsimile. The Corpus refers to the reproductions in the

folios, Palissy describes the rustic figulines of a grotto he left behind in his workshop in Saintes and begs Montmorency to protect them during his imprisonment.⁸⁹ In the preface, Palissy also describes the persecution he and his art have endured at the hand of the Duke of Montpensier and, in his own defence, names all his benefactors. The text, like *Recepte véritable*, takes the form of a Socratic dialogue, switching between a *Demande* and a *Réponse* by unnamed interlocutors, neither of which directly corresponds to Bernard Palissy himself. Even if the answers represent the potter's point of view, the speaker distances themselves from Palissy by taking the stance of an unknown admirer: ‘j'ai vu [...] une grotte de rustique figuline, construite et inventée par Bernard Palissy, à présent prisonnier en la conciergerie de Bordeaux’.⁹⁰

With its 132 folios, the *Récepte véritable* significantly expands on the ideas presented in *Architecture et ordonnance*. The reader is introduced to various theories touching upon agriculture, human nature and the formation of rocks. Nonetheless, Palissy's work focuses primarily on the necessity of spiritual spaces, in the form of a garden and a *ville forteresse*, at a time when the terror of the religious wars threatened Protestants. According to Droz, 1500 copies were initially ordered yet the reasons behind Palissy's decision to publish this work in La Rochelle over other established Protestant printers, in Poitiers for example, remains unknown. It is possible that he considered La Rochelle best suited as a base from which to distribute the book or there

Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), but the original is in the Musée de Condé at Chantilly. In this thesis, I have been using Bernard Palissy, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. by Keith Cameron and others (Paris: Champion, 2010).

⁸⁹ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 14.

⁹⁰ It is worth noting that the term *grotte* does not necessarily refer to a cave and, in this case, alludes to an ornamental piece in a garden originating from Italy, composed of rocks, which are usually complemented with naturalistic ornaments such as shells. Cf. Hervé Brunon and Monique Mosser, *L'Imaginaire des grottes dans les jardins européens*, Beaux Arts (Paris: Hazan, 2014).

may simply have been financial reasons, as Palissy indirectly suggests through the narrator of *Architecture et ordonnance* that the potter was in need of patronage:

Entre tous les artisans de Xaintonge, voyre de la France, il n'en est pas un plus pauvre que luy voyre et rédigé en telle pauvreté qu'il n'a pas moyen de se pouvoir alimenter, luy estant détenu prisonnier, sans avoir meffaict en aucune chose.⁹¹

The *Recepte véritable* begins with four liminary pieces, an address to the reader preceeded by three dedicatory epistles respectively addressing the Queen Mother, Catherine de Médicis, the *connétable* Anne de Montmorency as well as his son, François de Montmorency (1530-1579). In each epistle, Palissy asks for their endorsement of his work. Yet, even though the search for patronage is the motivating factor, Palissy's message is profoundly Calvinist and the language employed in the text echoes that of his fellow Huguenots.

2.3.2 Conceptualizing Calvinist Thoughts

The reason for wanting to create a garden is partly as to form a refuge, and partly to enable humans to reconnect with natural spirituality.⁹² The layout of the garden must be read in conjunction with references to the Bible and other religious texts. The most obvious parallel is the reference to Psalm 104 which exalts God's creation as the muse for Palissy's garden.⁹³ Yet, as Catherine Randall indicates, Palissy's *Recepte véritable* also indirectly refers to Calvin's own work.⁹⁴ Randall's detailed analysis of Palissy's rhetoric reveals that the symbolic discourse of the author would have held even more

⁹¹ Palissy, *Oeuvres complètes*, p. 80.

⁹² Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, fol. H2^v.

⁹³ Ibid., fol. B3^r.

⁹⁴ Catherine Randall, 'Structuring Protestant Scriptural Space in Sixteenth Century France', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25.2 (1994), 341-53 and *Building Codes: The Aesthetics of Calvinism in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

significance to a Huguenot reader. What we learn from *Architecture et ordonnance* and *Recepte véritable* is the deep connection between spiritual and contemporary discourse, even in publications that do not overtly bear on religious topics. Palissy, like many early modern Protestants writers, including Calvin, alludes to the religious persecution with analogies to the Old Testament and the Abrahamic persecution is compared to that of his own coreligionaries.⁹⁵

The Calvinist influence is more subtly present in the principles adopted by Palissy. For instance, the prefaces enable Palissy to introduce the contents of *Recepte véritable* and to justify some of the choices he has made, above all the fact that he does not include the plans of his idealized garden and fortified city. In fact, when addressing the Queen and the reader, he explains that this withholding is primarily to avoid plagiarism, yet Frank Lestringant insists that there is another motivation behind that choice: the Calvinist rejection of imagery.⁹⁶

Likewise, there are similarities between the format in both of these publications and the format exploited in some catechisms, such as *La Forme des prières ecclésiastique* which, as we have seen, was published in La Rochelle that same year and which presents the Protestant doctrine in the form of a dialogue between two voices: the *Exhortation* of the minister and the *Confession* of the child.⁹⁷ For Lestringant, the dialogue between *Demande* and *Réponse* in the *Architecture et ordonnance* and the *Recepte véritable* is a deliberate choice to establish a new and more equal form of exchange between the reader and the author.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, fol. B3^v.

⁹⁶ Frank Lestringant, in Bernard Palissy, *Recette véritable* (1563), ed. by Frank Lestringant and Christian Barataud (Paris: Macula, 1996), p. 22.

⁹⁷ See ‘Chapter One’, p. 45.

⁹⁸ Frank Lestringant, ‘Préface’, in *Recette véritable* by Bernard Palissy, ed. by Frank Lestringant and Christian Barataud (Paris: Macula, 1996), pp. 5-47 (p. 8): ‘en empruntant une forme que l’on retrouve à la même date dans les catéchismes

Unlike the *Architecture et Ordonnance*, which given its scarcity and Palissy's liminary address, may have been primarily for Anne de Montmorency's private use, the *Recepte véritable* is meant for a more inclusive audience. Palissy, for example, reveals in his address to the reader as well as in the title page that the *Recepte véritable* is intended for every person on earth ('tous les habitans de la terre').⁹⁹ Similarly, the publication places him at the opposite end of his contemporary philosophers on a linguistic and typographical front since scholastic texts usually favoured Latin over the vernacular and summarized arguments in the margins to aid the reader to skim through and look for the desired passage.¹⁰⁰ Palissy here begs the reader to read the book in its entirety, and thus does not use marginalia in his works.

Nicole Vray argues that the arrival of Palissy and the publication of his work in La Rochelle celebrated the arrival and development of Protestantism in Saintonge.¹⁰¹ And, as we have attested, although they are presented as scientific and philosophical works, Palissy's publications celebrate Protestant teachings but above all promote the core values of the Reformation. The question that now needs to be asked is how Palissy's vision and work relate to La Rochelle and her urban identification.

protestants et autres *Manieres d'interroguer les enfans sur la saincte Cene*, Palissy inscrit à l'intérieur de son livre de son traité la relation entre son lecteur et lui-même.'

⁹⁹ Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, fol. A1^r. See also fol. A2^r 'à fin d'inciter tous les hommes de la terre' and fol. B1^v 'je te prie instruire les laboureurs, qui ne sont literez, à ce qu'ils aye[n]t songneusement à s'estudier en la Philosophie naturelle, suiva[n]t mon conseil'.

¹⁰⁰ Subtitles, comments and annotations in the margins ('marginalia'), provide vital information on how the printed book or manuscript was used and meant to be read. Cf. *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. by Katherine Acheson (New York, NY: Routledge, 2019); William W. E. Slight, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001); Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1993).

¹⁰¹ Vray, *La Rochelle et les Protestants*, p. 42

2.3.3 Between a Place and a Space: the Fortress City

Considering that the *Architecture et ordonnance* was purposely published for Anne de Montmorency, I consider the *Recepte véritable* a better case study for the aim of my research since Palissy's own personal experience and cultural identity are central to the book. To suggest that the *Recepte véritable* was a treatise that was solely imbued with the author's religious identity would be to ignore the socio-political, and geographical context of the Saintonge region. This is, in part, apparent in the regional terms he uses when he describes shellfish and in an apology at the beginning of the text where he excuses himself for his unpolished dialect.¹⁰²

In fact, unlike the respondent in the *Architecture et ordonnance*, the person answering the questions in the *Recepte véritable* is undeniably the author. On occasion, the monograph even bears similar qualities to an autobiography since it contains numerous references to Palissy's own life and to events in Saintes. Throughout his journey, Palissy names contemporary individuals either to denounce them or to acknowledge their help along the way, for example Pierre Goy who shows him unusual rocks or the bourgeois Jean L'Hermite from La Rochelle who presents him with a shell that would later inspire Palissy's *ville forteresse*.¹⁰³ Most notably, Pierre Sanxay, a poet and friend of Palissy but also the minister of Saintes from 1570 to 1576, celebrates the potter in both works.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, fol. B1^v.

¹⁰³ Ibid., fol. Q1^v.

¹⁰⁴ Sanxay may have been the anonymous author of the postliminary poem in the *Architecture et ordonnance* but the minister proudly attaches his name to his liminary sonnet in the *Recepte véritable*. See Frank Lestringant footnotes in Bernard Palissy, *Recette véritable* (1563), ed. by Frank Lestringant and Christian Barataud (Paris: Macula, 1996), pp. 240 and 271.

The *Recepte véritable* ends with a description of a fortified city. Even though the portrayal of the city is only eleven pages long, it is set apart from the rest of the book as it is the only section adorned with a title and a woodcut initial (*lettrine*) (see Figure 4). This typographical choice represents the cumulative end of Palissy's journey and concludes the narrative of the *Recepte véritable*.¹⁰⁵

As I have briefly mentioned in the Introduction, the description of a (sacred) *ville forteresse* grew into a trope in the early modern period.¹⁰⁶ This was in part due to the growing realization that civil conflict would bring a heightened need to fortify cities. It also stemmed from the religious tensions that encouraged groups on either side of the conflict to imagine and search for an ideal city and spiritual refuge which would serve as a New Jerusalem. As the *Architecture et ordonnance* and the *Recepte véritable* attest, it is both of these concerns that inspire Palissy to seek a spiritual refuge and move from conceptualizing a spiritual garden to designing a fortified city. Like the garden, he envisaged the *ville forteresse* would be a refuge for the ‘Chrestiens exilez en temps de persecution’¹⁰⁷ He explains in further details:

Après que j’eu apperceu les folies et malices des hommes, et consideré les horribles esmotions et guerres, qui ont esté ceste année par tout le Royaume de France, je pensay en moy-mesme de faire le dessein de quelque Ville ou Cité de refuge, pour se retirer és temps de guerres et troubles¹⁰⁸

For him, his city is formed for the sole purpose of resisting against an attack from the outside. It is only a few years after his publication that the Rochelais transformed their

¹⁰⁵ Palissy was also said to have written a third book which further explored the design of the fortress, but this particular piece seems to have vanished.

¹⁰⁶ See ‘Introduction’, pp. 20-21.

¹⁰⁷ Palissy, *Recepte véritable*, fol. B3v.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., fol. N3v.

own city into a ‘Cité de refuge’ that would withstand the army of Charles IX during the siege of 1572-1573 and shelter Huguenot refugees from across the country.

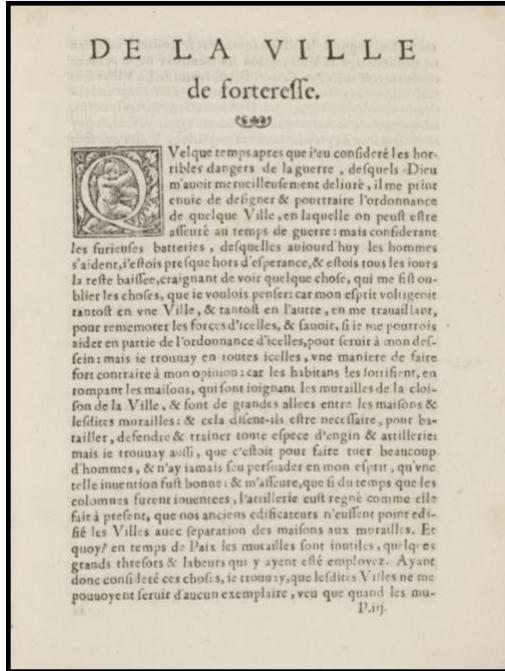


Figure 4 - Bernard Palissy, *Recepte véritable* (1564), fol. P3^r

*

If the broad influence of Calvin and the Reformation underlies Berton’s more scientific and technical outputs, the works that came off his press emphasize the locale of La Rochelle and its hinterland (including Saintes and the Saintonge) in the construct of the authors’ identity and works. Launay’s and Palissy’s publications reveal the profound influence of regionalism in their self-identification.

For Palissy, especially, locality as space can certainly offer a spiritual refuge but it is especially physical places that provide the sanctuary he seeks. It is the identity attached to the space, viz. the natural features he has encountered in Saintonge as well as the local people, that inspire his detailed and purposeful designs of a garden and a city. These places of spiritual sanctuary are thus connected to Palissy’s regional

identification and become strongly linked to his Protestant one. As we shall now see, the significance of local identity was ubiquitous and dominated political festivities in symbolic terms.

3 Charles IX and La Rochelle

3.1 Charles IX's Entry in La Rochelle

From 1564 to 1566, Charles IX followed Catherine de Médicis's advice and embarked on a royal tour across France.¹⁰⁹ Jean Boutier argues that the young monarch's tour was primarily a response to a political crisis.¹¹⁰ The youth and inexperience of the new King, who ascended to the throne in 1560, was a source of concern and further fuelled rising tensions in the divided country. The two main objectives of the Tour were therefore to reinstate royal authority and achieve a lasting peace between Catholics and Protestants. Boutier suggests that the King's journey through France made a strong political statement, which, in his analysis, invites the reader to reflect on the relationship between space and power.¹¹¹

This relationship is central to Charles IX's entry in La Rochelle, all the more so since the King had originally not intended to travel to the city but the visit was scheduled following reports of the Rochelais' civil unrest.¹¹² Because the Royal Entry

¹⁰⁹ See Linda Ann Briggs, 'Representations of the Monarchy and Peace-Making in the Royal Tour of France (1564-1566)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2013).

¹¹⁰ Jean Boutier and others, *Un tour de France royal: Le voyage de Charles IX (1564-1566)* (Paris: Aubier, 1984), p. 169.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 167.

¹¹² See Abel Jouan, *Recueil et discours du voyage du roy Charles IX* (Paris: Jean Bonfons: 1566) who reports Charles IX journey through France.

was ‘above all an ephemeral performance that constructs the power and identity of the king and the city’, the significance of that particular episode and its impact on the inhabitants was not only political but also cultural.¹¹³

3.1.1 The Royal Entry: a Symbolic Interaction of Two Political Bodies

The custom of Royal Entries in Western Europe goes back to Antiquity and continued throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period.¹¹⁴ It commonly commemorated the entry of a prince or king into the precinct of the city with a procession that reinforced the inhabitants’ allegiance to the Crown through various formalities, which became increasingly symbolic: these might include the building of triumphal arches depicting mythological scenes, or local children who represented virtues welcoming the King. As the event has both the city and the monarch (or the prince) at its core, the performance of each ceremony naturally depended on the city’s culture and its political relationship with the Crown.

Royal Entries usually served to strengthen the King’s authority and, as such, often took place after a coronation when the monarch toured his kingdom. The cities would then welcome him to celebrate his ‘joyeux avènement’.¹¹⁵ As these celebrations evolved, the processions increasingly became a dramatized performance of the citizens’ identification of the space they inhabited and its relationship with the monarch.

¹¹³ French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text, ed. by Nicolas Russell and Hélène Visentin (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007), p. 18.

¹¹⁴ Origins in Antiquity, see Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

¹¹⁵ Lawrence McBride Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance* (Droz: Geneva, 1989), pp. 21-50.

In his study of Charles IX's royal tour, the French historian Pierre Champion describes La Rochelle as having a very particular character that was deeply linked to her municipal privileges.¹¹⁶ As I have mentioned above, the Rochelais were devoted to their privileges, their local customs and the independence that they had treasured over the centuries. For example, the numerous freedoms, which extended to the economic and political sphere, had greatly influenced the inhabitants' sense of identity and fostered the development of a unique relationship with the French Crown. The government of La Rochelle, for instance, was composed of a *corps de ville* that elected a mayor every year or so and, in the absence of an aristocratic leader, the city was directly responsible to the court.

Unsurprisingly, as we know from the contemporary historian Amos Barbot and the meticulous research of Louis-Étienne Arcère, the Royal Entries held particular importance for the Rochelais. Both authors describe in great detail the celebrations that took place in 1565. The sovereign was expected to swear his loyalty to La Rochelle on the Bible and to affirm the local privileges before he entered through the city gate. Louis XI, otherwise known as *Louis le Prudent*, had famously done so on his knees, with his head uncovered in sign of submission to the local authority. Even though this legendary account was later contested by Auguste Galland in 1628, it remained a powerful image that was engrained in local lore.¹¹⁷

A silk ribbon was also traditionally suspended across the gate to represent a symbolic obstacle that had to be overcome by the monarch as soon as he swore his allegiance. The concept of such an emblematic obstacle was by no means unusual. In

¹¹⁶ Pierre Champion, *Catherine de Médicis présente à Charles IX son royaume 1564-1566* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, c. 1937), p. 308.

¹¹⁷ Auguste Galland, 'Discours sur l'État de la ville de la Rochelle et touchant ses anciens priviléges', in *Mercure François*, XIII (Paris: [n. pub.], 1626) [USTC No classification], p. 11. He claims these rumours had been spread like venom.

1564, Nîmes displayed a small mountain that opened when two young girls presented the keys of the town to the Monarch.¹¹⁸ However, this particular theatrical display emphasized the power of the King, overcoming a mountain in this case, rather than his submission. In contrast, the rituals of La Rochelle illustrated the arrogation of power by the citizens rather than the assertion of their loyalty.

3.1.2 A Clash of Two Powers: The Contestation of La Rochelle's Identity

Even though the city did not officially declare herself as a Protestant stronghold until 1568, the inhabitants had defied Charles IX by refusing to reinforce the Edict of Pacification signed in 1563. Treacherous words were already being uttered in the streets and Calvinist ministers blamed ‘les rois et les puissances souveraines.’¹¹⁹ Jarnac therefore personally asked the King to divert from his original route and travel to La Rochelle in order to reinforce the Edict of Amboise by his presence and restore order.¹²⁰

To protect their freedoms, the inhabitants were to conceal the rift and appear united in front of the King. They therefore made the necessary, expected arrangements to welcome Charles IX. Barbot gives a full account of the elaborate decorations and preparations: following the custom, the city was decorated with paintings celebrating the King’s rule. Certain scenes, however, seem ambiguous regarding La Rochelle’s loyalty to the Crown. For instance, an emblem of fowlers trying to catch birds sported the inscription ‘Frustra jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum’ (which can be freely translated as ‘It is in vain that one throws a net in front the birds’ very eyes’. In other

¹¹⁸ Jean Boutier, *Un tour de France royal*, p. 186.

¹¹⁹ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, I, p. 345.

¹²⁰ *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, ed. by Hector de La Ferrière, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880), I, p. 210.

words, ‘the watchful birds cannot be caught in an obvious trap’). These are problematic words: at first glance, they seem to promote watchfulness and vigilance — both considered necessary qualities for rulers and their ministers in an age that was preoccupied with fraud and imposture.¹²¹ However, they also exemplify the Rochelais’ vigilance and their desire for independence and freedom from the constraints of the monarchy, whilst implying insidiousness on the part of the King or the Court.

Another practice commonly associated with the festivities of the King’s Entry in a city was a triumphal arch illustrated with mythological scenes. In Paris, as a celebration for Charles IX’s return with his brother in 1571, the theme of choice had been Castor and Pollux. La Rochelle illustrated theirs with the Twelve Labours of Hercules topped by the image of Charles IX. On the arch featured the inscription ‘Herculea fortitudo Carolo nono Regi optimo felici auspicio coelo dimittitur alto’ (‘High heaven bequeaths the strength of Hercules to Charles IX, the greatest king, under happy auspices’). These words can be easily assumed to contain a mixed message, considering that the King was but 15 and had only obtained full regency in 1563. Indeed, instead of the customary representation of the King as the *Hercule Gaulois* (‘Gallic Hercules’), the choice to represent the labours of the mythological hero instead suggests that the King’s power could only be obtained through hard work. Such scenes thus invite various symbolic interpretations: they suggest that Charles IX will have to overcome many tribulations yet, that his role as ruler is not fully set in stone, or that the title of King is one that has to be earned. This is in a deep contrast

¹²¹ For further information on this subject, see Miriam Ellay-Feldon, *Renaissance Imposters and Proofs of Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

with other representations outside the city which proclaimed ‘Major erit Hercule’ (‘He will be superior to Hercules’).¹²²

It was not only the traditional festivities of the Royal Entry that symbolically illustrated tensions between La Rochelle and the King: the *connétable* de Montmorency, one of the major figures who accompanied the King throughout his tour, interacted with symbols attached to the Rochelais’ (self-)identification and rejected them in the name of the King. Before Charles IX entered La Rochelle, Montmorency allegedly took away the cannon that were placed on the wall, an act which Arcère states left a damaging impression on the inhabitants: ‘La défiance de ce Seigneur mortifia les habitants.’¹²³ The ordnance on the ramparts signalled La Rochelle’s military prowess and independence, the very identity of the stronghold. This was further exemplified on the day Charles IX set out to enter the city: Montmorency once again went ahead of the King and showed indignation at the sight of the black silk ribbon. The townspeople explained that this was part of the ceremony for the Royal Entry but, according to Arcère, ‘ce Seigneur peu satisfait tira l’épée, et fit sauter le cordon, en disant qu’un tel usage était *passé de mode*.’¹²⁴

The frustration of the Constable and his choice of words (‘*passé de mode*’), suggest that Montmorency entirely disregarded the local customs. His actions were clearly supported by Charles IX as the King entered the city on horseback as opposed to his predecessors who went on foot. Having ignored the traditional ceremony, Michel Guy grabbed the King’s reins to remind him of the ritual. The only response he received from the young King was ‘Soyez fidèles et loyaux serviteurs et je vous

¹²² See François Eudes de Mézeray, *Histoire de France, depuis Faramond jusqu’au règne de Louis Le Juste*, 3 vols (Paris: Denys Thierry, 1685), I, pp. 309-10.

¹²³ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville*, I, p. 348

¹²⁴ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville*, I, p. 349. My emphasis.

serai bon Roi.¹²⁵ Neil Kamil suggests that this was all rehearsed and describes his actions as ‘scripted guidance’.¹²⁶ It is also possible that the author chose to recount the events differently in order to emphasize the King’s complete lack of disregard for traditions. Either way, the scene of the Royal Entry was a performance where the King had taken control of the stage and forever inverted the roles of the city and the monarch. The King’s reply therefore illustrates a shift of power between the King and his subjects: it was the citizens’ duty to be loyal to the monarch but no longer the King’s obligation to serve his people, a notion which calls into question the concept of royal authority but also questions La Rochelle’s (self-)identification in relation to their valued freedoms.

This autocracy over La Rochelle’s (self-)identification culminated during the performance of another entry-level custom, according to which a gift was usually presented to the King in exchange for his commitment to the city. Even though Charles IX had not submitted his authority to La Rochelle, he was still offered a basin made out of gold and silver. The bowl, which has not survived, depicted the sovereign standing on a rock, dominating the sea. The powerful imagery was explained by an accompanying inscription engraved within the bowl that included the following lines:

Par eux furent jadis les fiers Anglais domptés :
Ors une piété compagne de justice
Déclare qu’elles deux, en leur garde l’ont pris.
Le rocher entouré d’une mer ondoyante,
Fait voir de vos sujets la fermeté constante.¹²⁷

The rock (*roche* or *rocher* in French) represents without a doubt La Rochelle. The verses also refer to the Hundred Years’ war when England and France fought over the

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 349.

¹²⁶ Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots’ New World, 1517-1751* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2005), p. 33.

¹²⁷ Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, II, p. 72.

city. The artist used this event to draw attention to the loyalty the Rochelais displayed towards France, portraying the overseas country as an enemy rather than a political ally. Ironically, the Hundred Years' war also led to the events which enabled the Rochelais to claim their privileges: so the poem suggests that it was the Rochelais' intention to remind the King of what they were owed. In his discussion of this gift, Kamil goes even further and states that

[t]he verses themselves indicated that it was the intention of the magistrates to use the gift as a representation of the fiction of the town's unity and to assert prematurely the reality of its reformed corporate identity under the new Huguenot regime.¹²⁸

It was not only the entry of the monarch and his refusal to adhere to local customs which distressed the Rochelais: Jean de La Haize's public rebuke of the city when addressing the King insulted the citizens by defending Jarnac's governance over La Rochelle.¹²⁹ Arcère recounts: '[L]a Rochelle eut la douleur de se voir déchirée par les mains d'un de ses enfants, indigne citoyen, dont la noire trahison arma contre sa patrie une langue destinée à la défendre.'¹³⁰

This outburst against the Rochelais illustrated the tension between pleasing the King and pleasing the *zélés* in the city. It is worth noting that following all these events, Abel Jouan who had followed the King in his Tour, recounted the whole visit with a very brief description excluding any allusion to the incidents: '[L]e Roi alla faire son entrée en ladite ville, qui est une belle et forte ville, et port de mer, alentour de laquelle y a grand nombre de fort belles vignes et des salines.'¹³¹

¹²⁸ Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul*, p. 37.

¹²⁹ I have been unable to find the discourse pronounced by La Haize during Charles IX's visit and have, so far, only come across historical accounts.

¹³⁰ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville*, I, p. 350.

¹³¹ Jouan, *Recueil et discours du voyage du roy Charles IX*, p. 59.

3.2 The Blushing Bride: Allegorizing La Rochelle

Charles IX's visit marked the true beginning of La Rochelle's dual identification: that of a Protestant city *and* a French city loyal to the Crown, which for Catholics at the time may seem contradictory. The fact that the inhabitants' loyalty had been questioned during Charles IX's Royal Entry led Jean de La Haize to publish two Latin poems or *Carmina*, which primarily sought to redefine the city's identity and relationship to the Crown.

This action illustrates Burke's identity theory: during the Royal Entry, La Rochelle had presented symbols to the King and his court to enact her identity, but the Royal Entry itself did not verify the city's identity, rather it sought to redefine it with Charles IX's own perception (or 'input' using Burke's terminology). The city therefore needed to reissue a new interaction to confirm her (self-)identification. Indeed, as Swann's social study suggests, denying people their self-identification, that is saying 'they are not who they think they are', will evidently provoke an emotional reaction and contribute to a behavioural response.¹³²

Jean de La Haize intended therefore to regain the favour of Charles IX with two persuasive texts issued from Berton's printing shop in 1566 that have yet been unstudied. The *Carmen ad Carolum regem* (twelve folios) and the *Carmen ad ... Michaelem Hospitalium* (eight folios) are both short quartos that La Haize signed under his latinized name 'Laezius'.¹³³ In the *Carmen ad Carolum*, the author describes

¹³² Burke and Stets, *Identity theory*, p.69

¹³³ Jean de La Haize, *Joannis Laezii rupellani, Carmen ad Carolum Regem, quo illi aduentum Rupellam gratulatur* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton, 1566) [USTC 111413] and id., *Joannis Laezii rupellani ad amplissimum virum Michaelem Hospitalium Franciae cancellarium, Carmen* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton,

a scene where the sea and its inhabitants greet to Charles IX's arrival in La Rochelle.¹³⁴ The descriptions illustrate an idyllic Entry to replace the memory of the unpleasant events which had been punctuated by hostile interactions. The other work, dedicated to Michel de L'Hospital, has a more obvious agenda as it emphasizes the importance of commerce for the townspeople through a personification of La Rochelle who considers the sea as the source of her wealth ('cumulatius auctet').¹³⁵ As previously mentioned, the city's survival was dependent on the Crown and the privileges that the municipality was struggling to protect so, while both of these *Carmina* are seemingly written to appease the King, they mainly express a desire to reclaim the rights and privileges of the city through a reidentification.

When we examine the poems on a micro-level, the Latin hexameters reveal much about the (self-)identification of La Rochelle, who, in both pieces, is personified as *Rupella*. Both *Carmina* begin with an ominous description of either violent waves, horrible climates, or dangerous waters. These images evidently reflect the social and political unrest within the city all the while associating the sea with the inhabitants. Although there was a common belief in the early modern period that the end of the world would come from the sea, La Haize mainly shows that the ocean has become part of the townspeople's own identity. As such, when the poet is pleading for economic privileges, he also implies that La Rochelle cannot survive without her port. The sea can therefore be construed as the beating heart of the Huguenot fortress and severing the link between the city and the sea would ruin La Rochelle. It is the city and her geographical location that seem to hold more power than the townspeople:

1566), p. 4 [USTC 111414]. The name Laezius has led some scholars to the mistaken conclusion that the poet was named Lezeau.

¹³⁴ La Haize, *Carmen ad Carolum Regem*, fol. A2^r.

¹³⁵ La Haize, *Carmen ad ... Michaelem Hospitalium*, fol. A4^r.

there is no reference to the social classes or to any element which would divide the population one way or another

The association of virginity to the personification of a city was common as it ‘testified to a specifically civic notion of order’, that is that the virginal embodiment removes the inhabitants from desire, and therefore emotional turmoil.¹³⁶ In the *Carmen ad Carolum Regem*, Rupella appears throughout the poem as a young maiden with golden locks. The monarch, on the other hand, is represented as a patriarchal figure and compared to Jupiter, the father of all gods, breathing life back into the city. In effect, the poet declares through an enumeration of horrific climatological phenomena that the state of the city was disastrous before his arrival.¹³⁷

La Rochelle is portrayed as threatened by the harsh envionrment and only able to save her children with the help of the royal court. This maternal and caring portrayal of the city is further emphasized in the second text, in which La Rochelle celebrates the welfare of Michel de l’Hospital. In the *Carmen ad ... Michaelum Hospitalium*, it is once again as though her survival very much depends on the chancellor’s well-being. La Haize thus appeals to Michel de l’Hospital’s feelings by reiterating frequent sentimental terms such as *pectore* (‘heart’). Rupella is depicted as a nurturing figure towards both her inhabitants, including La Haize who describes himself as her child, and the Chancellor. Cities were always referred to in the feminine gender in French literature. However, La Haize implies a more intimate bond exists between the town and the King, going so far as to employ sensual terms to describe a scene in which Rupella receives Charles IX in her city:

Ipsa etiam Rupella comas ornata decoras

¹³⁶ Ulinka Rublac, ‘The Fortunes of War: Wench and Maiden| Women, War and the Pictorial Function of the Feminine in German Cities in the Early Modern Period’, *History Workshop Journal*, 44 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1-21 (p. 1).

¹³⁷ La Haize, *Carmen ad Carolum Regem*, fol. A2^r.

Cultius, et solito multo iucundior, atque
Blandior, in tantam sese festiva resolvit
Laetitiam, sponsae videatur ut esse voluptas
Nulla, nec ut sensus, quae toto pectore sponsum
Virginis haerentem penitus, penitusque; medullis
Profectum longe primae post gaudia noctis
Excipit, et collo pendens tot basia figit,
Quot rutilis superae flammescunt ignibus arces
Quot tenui oppalentur radiantes pulvere soles.¹³⁸

Both pieces thus introduced topoi which, as we shall see in the following chapters, became ingrained in the local urban discourse.

*

In one of her studies of La Rochelle, Judith Pugh Meyer stresses the ‘important role of local circumstances — local institutions and local traditions — in shaping the character of the Reformation’.¹³⁹ Removing the cannon was the first step in undermining the identity of La Rochelle as it rendered the city vulnerable but also weakened her position as a bastion, a heritage the inhabitants were proud of. Furthermore, Charles IX’s defiance of La Rochelle’s traditions and customs, which defined the inhabitants’ relationship with the King, epitomized his power over the city, all the more so after he dismantled the *corps de ville* after his visit and banished Protestant leaders, most notably Jean Pierres.¹⁴⁰ However, in his aim to introduce

¹³⁸ La Haize, *Carmen ad... Michaelum Hospitalium*, fol. A4v: ‘La Rochelle, with her beautiful hair elegantly coiffed, appeared much lovelier than usual, and more charming: merrily, she abandoned herself to such joy, that it seemed quite unlike the pleasure or affections of a bride, who receives her betrothed, clinging to her virgin’s bosom, deeply, deeply into her being: [imagine her] welcoming him [back] from a long departure after the joys of the first night and planting as many kisses on his neck as there are [starry] castles aloft, flaming with yellow fire, or [as many] as there are bright, sunny days filled with fine grains of sand.’ (I am indebted to Prof. Ingrid De Smet for helping me with the translation of this passage).

¹³⁹ Judith Pugh Meyer, ‘La Rochelle and the Failure of the French Reformation’, p. 181.

¹⁴⁰ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, I, p. 351.

stability into the city and redefine her identity according to his own perception, the King distanced himself from the inhabitants, a rift which would never be wholly mended.

Charles IX's Royal Entry was, in other words, a symbolic interaction whereby the symbols and traditions which represented La Rochelle (self-)identification were destroyed to suit the monarchy's own identification and his perception of the city.¹⁴¹ While this was in part to assert his authority and to redefine his relationship with the city, this consequently meant that the city's collective identity became deeply politicized. Following Klandermans's research on politicized identities, which confirms that 'identity is one of the three fundamental reasons why people participate in political protest', it comes as to no surprise that, as we shall see, this episode greatly contributed to a polarization of the inhabitants' political views and their radicalization.¹⁴²

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* * *

The publications we have encountered in this chapter reveal the importance of locality. The city is construed, overtly or incidentally, as a space of potential refuge, be it when Launay sought the protection of the municipality or when Palissy painted a *ville forteress*. Above all, between 1563 and 1566, a dual (self-)identification emerged in La Rochelle.

¹⁴¹ On the link between identity and tradition, see Lauri Honko, 'Studies on Tradition and Cultural Identity: An Introduction', *Arv. Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore*, 42 (1986), 7-26.

¹⁴² P.G. Klandermans, 'Identity Politics and Politicized Identities: Identity Processes and the Dynamics of Protest', *Political Psychology*, 35.1 (2014), 1-22 (p. 2).

On the one hand, we have a developing Protestant identification that remains unassuming. Religious treatise and controversial political pieces criticizing royal intervention in religious affairs were, more often than not, published anonymously. When there is a call for action, as we have seen in Jean de La Haize's preface in *Quarante sept sermons*, it is under the guise of another purpose. This struggle with the Protestant identity was mirrored in the division between the *modérés* and the *zélés* within the city.

On the other hand, La Rochelle's identity as a French city was evolving as its salience was being tested against the ever-growing strength of the city's alternative Protestant identity. Klandermans's study of identity protest states that '[o]rganized identities' (that is, identities that are fashioned around cognizant 'shared grievances', which, in turn, cause a collective identity to become salient and organized) are 'more likely than unorganized identities [to] become the rallying point of political protest if those identities are threatened one way or another.'¹⁴³ It is therefore understandable that, in the wake of Charles IX's rebuttal of La Rochelle's political and cultural (self-)identification and his proclamations that exiled local Protestant leaders, the conflict between the *modérés* and the *zélés* became more prominent. Indeed, the growing number of *zélés* increased drastically and overcame the *modérés*.

These events had a significant impact on the local literature since, from 1566, Barthélemy Berton, encouraged by the political climate, began to print political material that became less and less irenic, altering the face of the intellectual culture of La Rochelle. In the following chapters, we shall therefore discover that polemical writers increasingly used hypotyposes as the violence of the religious wars intensified

¹⁴³ Klandermans, 'Identity Politics and Politicized Identities', p. 12.

but that they also developed the anthropomorphization of La Rochelle, inspired by biblical and political social actors alike.

Chapter Two: The Rise of a Huguenot Bastion (1567–1572)

All the religious wars that have caused blood to be shed for centuries arise from passionate feelings and facile counter-positions, such as Us and Them, good and bad, white and black.

– Umberto Eco, ‘The Roots of Conflict’, 2001

Charles IX’s Royal Entry into La Rochelle and the ensuing exile of local Protestant leaders fuelled the growing discontent among the inhabitants, which reached its peak after the 1567 election of François Pontard (1540-1...) as successor to Mayor Michel Guy.¹ Although Guy Chabot appointed Pontard as mayor of the city because he believed him to be a *modéré*, Pontard was in fact a zealous Protestant and demagogue who orchestrated a revolt against the Catholic inhabitants on 9 January 1568.² This led to the bloody assassination of thirteen priests in the Tower of the Lantern, which was consequently dubbed *Tour des prêtres* (‘the Priests’ Tower').³ At the same time, Jeanne d’Albret returned to the city in 1568, followed by other prominent Protestant nobles whose significant utilization of La Rochelle’s press encouraged printing activities within the city. In 1571, the arrival of an additional printer and type-caster, Pierre Haultin (1510-1587), answered a growing demand for Protestant literature and supported the nobility’s eagerness for proselytism.⁴

¹ Jourdan, *Éphémérides historiques de la Rochelle*, p. 552 and Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea*, p. 201.

² Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, II, pp. 76-77.

³ The *Tour de la Lanterne* is one of the three towers that defends the port. It served as a prison where, even today, the graffiti of its captives can still be seen. See Luoc Bucherie, *Les Graffiti de la Tour de la Lanterne à La Rochelle: Essai d’inventaire*, Publications de la Société d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Aunis, 5 (La Rochelle: Quartiers Latin, 1978).

⁴ See Desgraves, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, II and Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, ‘Printing Types of Pierre Haultin; c. 1510-1587’, in *The Palaeotypography of the French*

The appearance of these new, and more zealous, social actors in La Rochelle influenced her identification on a cultural and social level, marking the period in which the Atlantic city was transformed into the ‘capital of French Calvinism’.⁵ As we have seen, La Rochelle’s topography provided her with some protection. So, it was precisely because the city was not under the same scrutiny as other Protestant locations, that Berton was able to produce literature of a more political nature.⁶ Nonetheless, the political and controversial nature of Berton’s publications led him to take extra measures of precaution and to use fictitious imprints, such as that of the Protestant city, Basel. This in turn suggests that many of these pamphlets may yet be discovered or may have not survived, as polemical texts were by nature ephemeral.⁷

This chapter, then, focuses on the surviving publications issued between 1566 and 1572 in La Rochelle. It examines the corpus from two different angles. Firstly, it offers a quantitative analysis that determines cultural trends, such as the increased circulation of political pamphlets: according to the data I have collected, in the period between 1563 and 1569, Berton’s production of political pamphlets increased by 68%. Secondly, a discourse analysis of the pamphlets in their socio-historical context will allow me to critically examine key publications that both interact with readers and social actors beyond the city walls and also that promote identity characteristics.

As the period to be studied in this chapter was rife with conflict, we shall see how (self-)identification and authentication were the principal motives for publication: it is in these belligerent situations, that individuals as well as collective groups

Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2008) I, pp. 243-85. More will be said on Haultin later in this chapter.

⁵ Droz, *L’Imprimerie à la Rochelle*, I, p.73.

⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

⁷ Ibid., p. 95.

arguably express a greater need to affirm their identity standard — and never more so than in the political discourse employed to justify conflict.⁸

1 ‘Breaking the News’: Print Media and its Consequences

1.1 Media Frenzy in Berton’s Publications

Even the most seemingly innocuous text reporting an event can be deeply political and can also significantly influence the reader’s self-identification. Although most pieces published by Berton in this period were political (Figure 5), this section concentrates on a broader survey of the print media circulating between 1566 and 1571. A basic quantitative purview already evidences growing political tendencies but combining these findings with a qualitative analysis reveals a link between the distribution of information and the development of La Rochelle’s cultural identification.

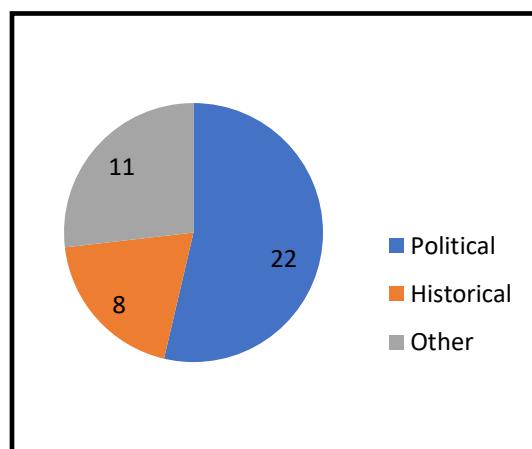


Figure 5 - Quantitative Categorization of Berton’s Publications between 1566 and 1571

⁸ I here differentiate between identification and authentication, whereby I see the former as a presentation of core characteristics which constitute an identity, whilst the latter focuses solely on the need to justify or validate one’s identity when placed in a situation that questions those characteristics.

1.1.1 Print Media and the Protestant Identity

As print media are largely driven by market forces, their circulation can be said to reflect the interests of their readership. Between 1566 and 1571 publications from La Rochelle reported on highly newsworthy events in the region such as the siege of Niort (*Actes et choses mémorables survenues au siège posé devant la ville de Nyort* (1569)) or acts of violence perpetrated against the Catholics in the Occitan town of Pamiers in 1566 (*Discours des troubles advenus en la ville de Pamies* (1567)).⁹ Their content strongly favoured the Huguenots' standpoint and/or included the Rochelais in the narrative. The *Discours des troubles advenus en la ville de Pamies*, for example, narrates how the Huguenots of Pamiers, a small commune over three hundred miles away from La Rochelle, revolted against their Catholic neighbours following the constant threats made against them and the restriction of worship imposed by the Edict of Amboise (19 March 1563). According to Droz, this story was published on 30 September 1567 in La Rochelle.¹⁰ Six months later, the city's Protestants themselves took up arms against the Catholic inhabitants.

In print, catholic civilians were not the only ones who came under attack as even the French royal court was not spared. It could certainly be argued that the *Discours des trouble advenus en la ville de Pamies* presented a conflict where Protestants took matters into their own hands and rebelled against an edict signed by

⁹ J.M.M., *Actes et choses mémorables survenues au siège posé devant la ville de Nyort, par Monsieur le Comte de Lude, le lundi vingtiesme jour de Juin, Mil cinq cens soixanteneuf* (La Rochelle: Barthélémy Berton, 1569) [USTC 16671] and [Anon.], *Discours des troubles advenus en la ville de Pamies le 5. Juin, 1566. Avec un brief recit des calamitez souffertes l'Année précédente* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélémy Berton], 1567) [USTC 34369]. On La Rochelle's involvement in the siege of Niort, see Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 375.

¹⁰ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 60.

the French Crown. Criticism of the monarchy and its court is more explicit in the *Histoire mémorable sur la reprise de l'isle de la Floride* (1568).¹¹ This pamphlet recounts the notorious slaughter of Huguenot settlers by the Spanish troops in Florida in 1565 and the French Crown's apathy regarding the massacre of their fallen subjects. It was Captain Dominique de Gourgue (1530-1593), a nobleman from Bordeaux, who travelled to Florida in 1568 to avenge the Huguenots and recapture Fort Caroline. With the help of Native Americans, he was victorious and hanged every Spanish prisoner. The King, fearing repercussions on France's already strenuous relationship with Spain, exiled Gourgue from the court until 1572.¹² His expedition was nevertheless celebrated in La Rochelle and Bordeaux, who praised a Protestant victory despite the disapproval of the French Crown.

1.1.2 ‘Histoire de Nostre Temps’: A Selective Censorship

Many of the aforementioned texts were collected in the hefty octavo entitled *Histoire de nostre temps* (1570) that was assembled, according to Barbier, by Christophe Landré (c. 1515-1576) and Charles Martel (1530-1575).¹³ A brief analysis of its

¹¹ [Anon.], *Histoire mémorable de la reprise de l'isle de la Floride, faicte par les François sous la conduite du Capitaine Gorgue, Gentil-homme bourdelois, le 24. et 27. d'Avril de cest année, 1568* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1568) [USTC 16619].

¹² See Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, pp. 365-66 and Philip P. Boucher, ‘Revisioning the “French Atlantic”: or, How to Think about the French Presence in the Atlantic, 1550-1625’, in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624*, ed. by Peter C. Mancall (North Carolina, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), pp. 274-306 (pp. 285-92).

¹³ Antoine-Alexandre Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, 4 vols (Paris: Barrois L'Ainé, 1872), II, p. 729. *Histoire de nostre temps, contenant un recueil des choses mémorables passées et publiées pour le faict de la Religion et estat de la France, depuis l'Edict de pacification du 23. jour de Mars, 1568. jusques au jours présent. La table des matières contenues en ce present Recueil, est à la fin* ([La

contents reveals the true extent of Berton's selective censorship, that is the decision to circulate information that only promotes the Protestant agenda (Figure 6). The volume contains 808 numbered pages of various historical and literary texts, each carefully chosen to support the Protestant *Cause*.¹⁴

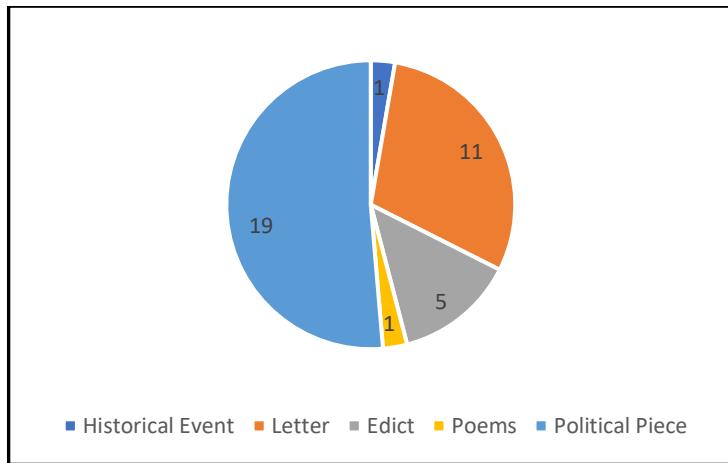


Figure 6 - Categorized Contents of *Histoire de Nostre Temps* (1570)

Most pieces present in the volume had previously been printed by Berton, between 1568 and 1569. They include, for instance, royal edicts that Charles IX issued against Protestantism (such as the *Edict du roy, par lequel sa majesté inhibe et déffend [...] tout exercice d'autre Religion que de la Catholique et Romaine* (1568)) and many anti-guisard pamphlets, targeting specifically the Cardinal of Lorraine.¹⁵ The collection also contains several political letters and declarations from both key Protestant figures (such as Jeanne d'Albret and the Prince of Condé (1530-1569)) and foreign supporters of the *Cause* (e.g. *Lettres des Allemands au Roy*).

Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1570) [USTC 10000]. Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 98-105.

¹⁴ For a summary of the book's contents, see Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 100-05.

¹⁵ I shall discuss the Cardinal de Lorraine in further detail in this chapter (see pp. 136-38).

Towards the end, the book includes a more literary excerpt, *La Complaincte de la France* (1568). This series of 20 sonnets criticizes Charles IX, his counsellors and Catherine de Médicis while commanding the Prince of Condé. The *Complaincte* features many of the characteristics associated with Protestant discourse (e.g. Old Testament analogies to the *peuple élu*) and concludes with a sonnet that echoes the Davidic psalms of petition:

Je ne veux plus crier je ne veux pl[us] me plaindre :
Je ne veux plus blasmer q[ue] mo[n] propre mesfait :
Je recognoy Seigneur que le mal qu'on ma [sic] fait
Provient de mes pechez [...]
Je t'invoque mon Dieu ainsi qu'as estably,
Mais ne tarde à venir long temps je te supply,
Car tu entens mon mal et cognoy ma foiblesse.¹⁶

An alert reader only needs to take a brief look at the contents of this book to realize that, as Droz has already noted, this anthology was compiled specifically with the Protestant Rochelais readership in mind.¹⁷

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The print media circulated by Berton between 1566 and 1571 thus often consisted of specially selected pieces that aimed to reinforce the views and predisposition of the Protestant inhabitants of La Rochelle. In modern terminology, Berton's press acted as an echo chamber that, by definition, served to homogenize the Protestant narrative and prevented the diffusion of alternative viewpoints.¹⁸ That is, the selective censorship

¹⁶ Charles IX and others, *Histoire de nostre temps*, p. 436.

¹⁷ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 105.

¹⁸ Recent research on the 'echo chamber' has focused on modern technology, with the dawn of the internet and social media, and has therefore used other minority groups which are relevant to their individual studies (Cf. Nathan Lean, 'Inside the Mainstream

exercized by Berton and his *milieu* encouraged the Rochelais' impression of belonging to a 'tribe', an identity which took precedent above anything else and resulted in an animosity towards any external groups ('us' versus 'them') which would either pose a threat to its identity standard just by being different — most notably, the Catholics.

It is impossible to confidently draw any firm conclusions about the full impact of these texts nor should we be tempted to establish causal links between print media and social action. Nevertheless, these publications do coincide with a peak of violence within the city. Indeed, in 1568 tension was such that any citizens opposing the war against the Catholics were considered enemies of La Rochelle, sometimes at the cost of their lives. As Arcère reports,

[I]la guerre était résolue à la Rochelle; mais tous ne l'approuvaient pas. Au milieu de la défection générale, la ville conservait toujours un certain nombre de citoyens fidèles qui rejetaient la prise d'armes [...]. La manière de penser de ces hommes sages, fut regardée comme un crime que la prison devait expier: ils furent renfermés par l'ordre du maire, et le poison termina les jours de Jean Blandin, citoyen dont la fidélité pour son roi doit consacrer la mémoire.¹⁹

1.2 No Peace of Mind: La Rochelle and the Threat of War

Our next texts, the *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix* (1568) and *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l'Église réformée* (1568), stand out from the corpus assembled for this chapter in their form and content as neither is part of the larger political discourse examined later in this chapter and they are both primarily of local interest.²⁰

Media Echo Chamber', in *The Islamophobia Industry: How the Right Manufactures Hatred of Muslims*, ed. by Jack Shaheen, 2nd edn (London: Pluto Press, 2017), pp. 84-101).

¹⁹ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 371.

²⁰ F. G., *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix, ensemble sur les discours des guerres advenues en l'Isle de Marans, pays et gouvernement de la Rochelle, ceste présente année mille cinq cens soixante et huict, présentée et adressée à Messieurs de l'Église*

The *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix* describes the Protestant victory at neighbouring Marans, a key town for La Rochelle's food supply as it shipped wheat to the Huguenot bastion.²¹ This quarto was exclusively printed in La Rochelle and the Bibliothèque nationale de France currently holds the only known surviving copy. *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l'Église réformée*, likewise destined for the local readership, had a more significant print run even if it met with little success, since remaindered copies were redistributed up until the siege of 1572-1573.²² Both pamphlets therefore present a far more localized discourse and, using Fairclough's three-levelled methodology, I shall now seek to determine which characteristics in these two pamphlets contributed to the formation of La Rochelle's Protestant identification.²³

1.2.1 A Song to Remember: *Hymne sur le Triomphe de la Paix*

Although most of the publications between 1566 and 1572 are polemical in nature, there is still a minority whose discourse was centred on the topic of peace, rather than violence. For Berton, it was outwardly in the form of *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix* (1568).²⁴ The main author, solely identified by his initials F.G., writes a eulogistic poem in praise of the Peace of Longjumeau (23 March 1568) and the Protestant victory at the siege of Marans in March 1568. My archival research so far suggests that F.G.

réformée dudit Marans, Par F. G. Le dernier jour de Mars du-dict an ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1568) [USTC 16620] and [Anon.], *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l'Église réformée* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton, 1568) [USTC 3799]. Once again, I would like to stress that this categorization follows the methodology presented in the introduction and by no means claims that these publications are free from political thought — in fact far from it.

²¹ Droz, *L'Imprimerie de la Rochelle*, I, p. 66.

²² Ibid., p. 69.

²³ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, p. 133.

²⁴ See Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 67-8.

may possibly stand for François Goumard, Seigneur d'Échillais (d. 1577), who married Renée de Marans and aligned himself with the Frottier family when his own daughter married François Frottier de la Messelière (d. 1597) in 1538. The Frottier motto, 'Nul ne s'y frotte', features at the end of Jean Le Roy's liminary poem to the author (fol. B1^r) and in the final epigram, also addressed to F.G. (fol. E4^v). My hypotheses would explain the pamphlet's moderate religious stance, as François Goumard renounced Calvinism following the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572.

The poem begins with a personification of France and a description of the devastation caused by War. Only Peace, represented as the eldest daughter of God, can save the nation. This four-page opening critically evaluates the French court, depicted here as the source of Charles IX's grief. The rest of the poem describes the siege of Marans, with detailed accounts of the destruction caused by the conflict, references to specific social actors (e.g. 'monsieur de Puithemer') as well as a number of biblical analogies.²⁵

On a micro-level, F. G.'s poem contains a political message. Firstly, the true enemies of Peace are situated inside the French court.²⁶ During the religious wars, as peace was pursued by Catholics and Protestants alike, pamphlets on both sides actively sought to name the culprits who encouraged conflict.²⁷ In this regard, the poem repeats Michel de l'Hospital's *Discours des raisons et persuasions de la paix* (1568), which

²⁵ F.G., *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix*, fol. D3^r.

²⁶ Ibid., fol. B4^r.

²⁷ Penny Roberts, 'The Language of Peace during the French Religious wars', *Cultural and Social History* 4:3 (2007), 297-315.

was published anonymously in La Rochelle that same year and similarly blames the recent wars on members of the court, such as the Cardinal de Lorraine.²⁸

Secondly, Jean Le Roy's extratextual address to the reader at the beginning of the *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix* indicates that the socio-historical context of the poem's publication is not the peace of Longjumeau as suggested by the title's first words but the Protestant victory in Marans. Le Roy presents the *Hymne* as a lesson whereby Protestants should never surrender their city to the enemy:

[J]e te prieray qu'il te face la grace (ô lecteur) de telleme[n]t retenir
et imprimer en ton esprit, le sens et substa[n]ce de ce présent hymne
que tu puisses à jamais chanter le triomphe et referrer le mot à mot
en les lieux et endroicts où tu feras sejour et habitation.²⁹

The poem consequently serves a didactic purpose to encourage readers to take arms to defend their city and subsequently their faith. This is further evidenced by the marginal references to the Old Testament, and the mention of biblical characters such as Sennacherib, a king who attacked the cities of Babylon and Jerusalem (II Chronicles 32).³⁰

The author, F. G., similarly hints at this more belligerent message. After his introductory ten-line poem on folio A4^v, he includes two biblical excerpts that promote peace, viz. Psalms 34:14-15 and Romans 10:15:

²⁸[Michel de L'Hospital], *Discours des raisons et persuasions de la paix* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1568) [USTC 6685] (Cf. Loris Petris, *La Plume et la tribune: Michel de L'Hospital et ses discours (1559-1562); suivi de l'édition du De initiatione Sermo (1559) et des Discours de Michel de L'Hospital (1560-1562)*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 360 (Geneva: Droz, 2002)). The present poem published outside of the collection of *Histoire de nostre temps* is not listed in Droz's work but can be consulted at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek (Franz.G.oct.575).

²⁹F.G., *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix*, fol. A4^r.

³⁰ II Chronicles 32.

Romains 10

O que les pieds de ceux qui annoncent la paix, sont heureux, et de ceux qui annoncent les choses bonnes.

Pseaume 34

Fuy le mal: fay le bien,
Cerche [*sic*] la paix, et la poursuy,
Car Dieu void et entend celuy
Qui tasche à faire bien.³¹

However, it is Psalm 118:13-14 that appears on the cover page and offers a message not of peace but of resistance against the enemy of God:

Pseaume CXVIII.

Tu as, importun adversaire,
Rudement contre moy couru,
Pour du tout, trebucher me faire,
Mais l’Eternel m’a secouru.³²

It is worth noting that the ninth verse of Psalm 118 also states: ‘It is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in princes.’³³ Finally, the ode to Peace ends with an imprecation, a curse on all those who attack the Reformed Church:

Plustost, Seigneur, en execration
Aye les tous, leurs aderans ensemble
Et les confonds: et sur iceux assemble
Ton ire et feu, Seigneur, pour les brusler:
En cest estang, on les oye hurler
Tout plein de feu, bruslant et ardant souffre [...].³⁴

³¹ F.G., *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix*, fol. A4^v.

³² Ibid., fol. A1^r.

³³ Psalm 118.9.

³⁴ F.G., *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix*, fol. E2^{r-v}.

It therefore seems that the *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix* was first and foremost meant to illustrate how the Rochelais, when under threat, should actively protect their city since their urban space is inextricably linked to their Protestant identity.

1.2.2 Urban Worship: Identity Construct in Religious Discourse

The Peace of Longjumeau, signed on 23 March 1568, provided little solace for the Protestants and the building of new fortifications around the city revealed the inhabitants' concern that war would soon arrive on La Rochelle's doorstep.³⁵ This relationship between the Rochelais and the fortified urban space is particularly evident in *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l'Église réformée* where three of the eight prayers are destined for both soldiers and builders on the city's ramparts. Published as an octavo (a cheaper and more convenient format than quarto), *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l'Église réformée* was obviously intended to be widely distributed.

Prayer books destined for soldiers were admittedly very popular in Calvinist culture. Although many of these prayer books have similar, if not identical, titles, the prayers themselves were not necessarily alike.³⁶ Except for the biblical and confessional passages, all seven prayers in the twenty folios-long issue of *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l'Église réformée* seem to be specific to this edition. The

³⁵ The fortifications were strengthened in 1568 by using the stones from the churches of Saint-Barthélemy, Saint-Sauveur and Notre-Dame-de-Cougnes. Arcère, *Histoire de la ville*, I, p. 357.

³⁶ Cf. [Anon.], *Prières ordinaires des soldats de l'armée conduit par monsieur le Prince de Condé: accommodées selon l'occurrence du temps. Prières du matin aux corps de gardes* ([Orléans]: [Éloi Gibier], 1562) [USTC 803]. Philip Benedict briefly explores the role of ministers and prayer during the siege of La Rochelle in 'Prophets in Arms? Ministers in War, Ministers on War: France 1562-74', in *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and Early Modern France*, ed. by Graeme Murdock and others, Past and Present Supplement, VII (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 163-96 (p. 170).

octavo offers several model prayers, some of them related to a specific time of the day (e.g. ‘La Prière laquelle les Soldats qui ont fait la garde la nuict font le matin [...]’), others to specific circumstances (e.g. ‘Prière des Soldats qui sont menez au combat’ or ‘Prière des Soldats Chrestiens ayans esté vaincus’).

At the meso-level, because of its intended military readership, we can expect to find a semantic isotopy (a repetition of a basic trait within a narrative) around the themes of peace and war. This lexis is similarly imbued with underlying images of martyrdom, or violence in the name of God, who is referred to on three occasions as the ‘Dieu des armées’.³⁷ For instance, in the following passage, the prayer concludes with the supplicant prepared to commit self-sacrifice in the name of Christ:

En attendant que tu nous faces ceste grace, co[n]sole et fortifie tant de pauvres affligez qu'il y a aujourd'huy parmy ce Royaume, mesmement ceux qui souffre[n]t pour ton saint nom, à fin que par la violence des maux, et infirmité de leur chair, ils ne defaillent point, ains persistent co[n]stamment, et nous aussi avec eux à glorifier to[n] saint no[m] jusques à la derniere goute de n[ot]re sang.³⁸

This imagery of suffering, ending with a passionate display of religious zeal, portrays an idealized death in the name of God (‘ton saint nom’).³⁹ Racaut connects the image of the martyr to Huguenot identification, claiming that it ‘was a keystone of Protestant

³⁷ [Anon.], *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l'Église réformée*, fols A3^r, A4^v and C3^v.

³⁸ Ibid., fol. B3^r. See also ibid., fols A3^r-A4^r; B1^r; B2^r; C2^r and C3^v-C4^r.

³⁹ See Nikki Shepardson, *Burning Zeal: The Rhetoric of Martyrdom and Protestant Community in Reformation France, 1520-1570* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2007). For more information on Christian martyrdom see Elizabeth Anne Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004); Michael Gaddis, *There is no Crime for those who have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (London: University of California Press, 2005) and Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

identity.⁴⁰ David El Kenz, however, claims that the Catholics largely contested this image of martyrdom during the religious wars and that, consequently, its symbolic power diminished. He writes that the very notion had been arrogated by the nobility but concedes that the image of the Huguenot martyr would nonetheless motivate the ranks in the Prince of Condé's army.⁴¹ Like all symbols, the meaning of martyrdom changed according to an individual's — or a group's — self-identification.

In fact, for Crouzet, in the Calvinist tradition ‘être chrétien, c'est avoir le sentiment d'être assailli, vivre chaque instant comme un siège dressé, de tous côtés, par le mal.’⁴² From 1568 to 1628, the Rochelais distinctly believed that their city was under an endless ideological siege and, more importantly, continually under the real threat of war. Martyrdom became a popular concept which the local publications endeavoured to glorify so as to ensure no one would turn away from the Reformed Church as conflict approached their walls. Just as in the *Hymne sur le triomphe de la Paix*, while the discourse aspires to the retrieval of peace, the language used in this text is nonetheless pugnacious as it consistently refers to God's ‘enemies’ and the threat of war.⁴³

One of the most popular means to disseminate ideas was through preaching and the circulation of sermons in manuscript form.⁴⁴ Religious texts were likewise

⁴⁰ Racaut, *Hatred in print*, p. 63.

⁴¹ David El Kenz, *Les Bûchers du roi: La Culture protestante des martyrs (1523-1572)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1997), p. 237.

⁴² Denis Crouzet, ‘Craindre Dieu autrement dans les sermons et pamphlets de Calvin’, in *Les Deux réformes chrétiennes: Propagation et diffusion, Colloque international Les réformes religieuses des XVI-XVIIe siècles, Haifa*, 2000, ed. by Ilana Zinguer and Myriam Yardeni (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 3-22 (p. 21).

⁴³ [Anon.], *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l'Église réformée*, fols B1^r; C2^v; C3^v; D2^r and D3^v.

⁴⁴ Cf. Max Engammare, ‘Reformed Preaching in the Sixteenth Century: the Use of Lectionaries in Zurich’, *Zwingliana*, 42 (2015), 195-224; id., ‘La Forme de la prédication à Berne au XVI^e siècle’, *Revue Historique*, 678 (2016), 33-58 and *Preaching and New Worlds: Sermons as Mirrors of Realms Near and Far*, ed. by

widely printed to propagate the ideas of the Reformation but they also provided the means to convey political thoughts on contemporary issues.⁴⁵ An unidentified writer signing with the initials J. V. (Jean-Jules Vielles(?)) transcribed a few introductory lines in the 1899 facsimile of *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l'Église réformée*, held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. He exclaims: 'Quel contraste entre la tragique histoire de ces guerres fratricides et ces quelques pages si calmes, si sereines, si profondément chrétiennes! Quels temps et quels hommes!' While it is true that the pamphlet maintains the concept of La Rochelle as a god-fearing city, we can see that on a micro-level the notion of peace is contradicted by the pamphlet's justification of war and political wariness of the French court — a stance which would last until the next century.⁴⁶ Although Calvin did encourage a non-violent approach, this was preached only, according to Katheleen Parrow, 'until the Huguenots felt the need and the strength to resist effectively.'⁴⁷ For La Rochelle, the tipping-point occurred when the Rochelais' urban identity, in the form of their historical privileges and established freedoms,, rather than their newly found religion, was threatened.

Timothy J. Johnson, Katherine Wrisley Shelby and John D Young (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018).

⁴⁵ Larissa Taylor, *Heresy and Orthodoxy in Sixteenth-century Paris: François Le Picart and the Beginnings of the Catholic Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) and Hughes Oliphant Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church: The Age of the Reformation*, 7 vols (Cambridge: Wm. B. Eedmans , 2002), IV.

⁴⁶ *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l'Église réformée*, fol. B2v: '[N]ous te supplions vouloir faire miséricorde à nostre Roy, l'illuminer en la cognissance de ta vérité, et ne luy imputer point les tyrannies qui sont commises en ce Royaume sous l'ombre de son nom'. See Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: The Age of Reformation*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), II.

⁴⁷ Katheleen A. Parrow, *From Defense to Resistance: Justification of Violence during the French Wars of Religion* (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1993), pp. 2-3.

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Although different in genre, both *Hymne sur le triomphe de la paix* and *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l’Église réformée* display a didactic function that provides us with an insight into the local discourse and ideologies. They use the pervasive symbols of Calvinist discourse, be it the continuous analogies to the Old Testament in the *Hymne sur le Triomphe de la paix* or the portrayal of a belligerent God in the *Prières pour les soldats et pionniers de l’Église réformée* or even the elevation of martyrdom in both pamphlets.

Equally, even if Protestantism was now unequivocally associated with La Rochelle’s cultural identity, the texts equate the protection of the Reformed Church with that of the urban space, which is itself, prioritized over and above the city’s relationship with the King in the discursive narrative. Both publications promote martyrdom in the name of Protestantism and in defence of La Rochelle, thus reaffirming the stance endorsed by Jeanne d’Albret who, after the death of the prince of Condé in 1569, had the following motto engraved on twelve gold coins: *pax certa, victoria integra, mors honesta* (‘A definite peace; an absolute victory; or a glorious death’).⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 377: ‘cette devise rendait toute l’intrépidité de courage d’une héroïne déterminée à acheter les succès par les plus grands efforts, ou à ne pas survivre à ses malheurs.’ See London, British Museum, 1894,0122.37 for the printed replication of the coin and motto.

2 Authenticating La Rochelle's Identity Standard in the *Déclarations et protestations* (1568 and 1569)

2.1 Cultural Identity in the 'Just War'

Sociological research has demonstrated that it is when the principles that constitute our identity are rejected that we retaliate the fiercest: first inwardly, on an emotional level and then externally, through action.⁴⁹ The royal party's refusal to acknowledge La Rochelle's identity standard during Charles IX's Royal Entry and in the following years would have affronted the Rochelais in many ways.

As seen in Chapter One, the city's Protestant identity, for a start, was rejected through the restrictions imposed by the Edict of Amboise. Furthermore, the conciliatory identity characteristic foregrounded in print and during Charles IX's Royal Entry in La Rochelle had become problematic for those identifying as Protestants since, after the conspiracy of Amboise in March 1560, they were no longer portrayed as a religious minority but as rebels and aggressive political enemies.⁵⁰ Racaut's research has demonstrated that this conspiracy 'marked the time when [the Protestants] started to be called "Huguenots" and were irremediably associated with

⁴⁹ William B. Swann, Jr, 'Self-Verification: Bringing Social Reality into Harmony with the Self', in *Social Psychological Perspective on the Self*, ed. by Jerry Suls and Anthony G. Greenwald, 2 vols (Hillside: Erlbaum, 1983), II, 33-66 (p. 33): 'One sure way to stir people up is to tell them that they are not what they think they are.[...] After they recover from their surprise, people will often rush to find ways to discredit or dismiss the feedback.'

⁵⁰ The conspiracy of Amboise was a plot organized by the Huguenots, who sought to capture François II and imprison the Cardinal de Lorraine and François de Guise. See Jacques Debû-Bridel, *La Conjuration d'Amboise* (Paris: Del Duca, c. 1963) and Lucien Romier, *La Conjuration d'Amboise: l'aurore sanglante de la liberté de conscience: le règne et la mort de François II* (Paris: Perrin, 1923).

civil disobedience.’⁵¹ Finally, with the religious restrictions and the involvement of the French court in local politics, it was also La Rochelle’s broader urban identity that was rejected: a French city proud of her independence and privileges.

A significant part of the city’s response was to retaliate in print. During this period, Berton’s publications chiefly consisted of a mix of *déclarations* and *discours* (over thirty-three percent of the titles published in that period used both terms).⁵² Unlike the previous two *déclarations* analyzed in Chapter One, the texts that we are about to examine served, in part, to authenticate La Rochelle’s (self-)identification as a peaceful Protestant city, loyal to the King and employed more virulent language to counteract the accusations. This brings us back to Burke’s perceptual control framework whereby the actions and discourse (input) of the French court cast doubt on La Rochelle’s identity standard, thereby triggering an adjustment in the city’s discourse and publications (output) that is visible in my corpus on a quantitative and qualitative level.

2.1.1 The Social Context behind La Rochelle’s *Déclarations*

The explosions of violence in January 1568 transformed La Rochelle and the neighbouring region into a bloodbath, a massacre which resulted in the loss of many

⁵¹ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, p. 68.

⁵² The term *discours* held many meanings, amongst others ‘exposé, traité, récit’, ‘propos’, ‘faulté de raisonner’, ‘raisonnement, réflexion’ (Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*, 7 vols (Paris: E. Champion-Didier, 1925-67), III (Didier, 1946), pp. 199-201). According to Randle Cotgrave’s *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611), it could equally mean ‘[a] discourse, report, relation, rehearsal of a matter; also a survey, perusal, examination, pondering of things of the mind.’ (fol. 315).

lives and the destruction of Catholic buildings. Arcère passionately describes these incidents as an appalling episode in the region's history:

[I]es temples de la ville ayant été pillés, les églises éparses dans le pays d'Aunis, et surtout celles qui étaient voisines de la ville, essayèrent les mêmes ravages, et devinrent bientôt la proie de l'avarice qui les dépouilla, et du fanatisme qui les réduit en morceau de cendres.⁵³

Berton's press dedicated much of its publications to justifying of the inhabitants' actions and to reassuring Charles IX of the city's continued allegiance to the Crown: out of the thirty-three texts that he published between 1567 and 1570, twenty-two are justifications or calls to peace, most of them written by renowned Protestant leaders such as Jeanne d'Albret, the Prince of Condé or even Wolfgang of Bavaria (1526-1569).

It is against this backdrop that the *Déclaration et protestation de ceux de la religion reformée de La Rochelle* (1568), the *Discours au vray des conseils et moyens qu'on a tenuz pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Évangile hors ce royaume* (1568) and the *Seconde déclaration et protestation de ceux de la Rochelle* (1569) circulated.⁵⁴ All three omitted Berton's address and were published anonymously. Eugénie Droz, however, identifies Jean de La Haize as the possible author of both the first and second

⁵³ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 356.

⁵⁴ [Anon.], *Discours au vray des conseils et moyens qu'on a tenuz pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Évangile hors ce royaume, et des justes et nécessaires occasions pour lesquelles ceux de la Religion ont esté conteraincts prendre les armes* (Heidelberg [La Rochelle]: Willhem Hopper [Barthélemy Berton], 1568) [USTC 2473]; [Jean de La Haize(?)], *Déclaration et protestation de ceux de la religion réformée de la Rochelle, sur la prise et capture des armes qu'ils ont fait le neuifième de Janvier dernier* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1568) [USTC 3798] and [Jean de La Haize(?)], *Seconde déclaration et protestation de ceux de la Rochelle, contenant un brief et vray discours de ce qui a passé, depuis la pacification des troubles derniers, pour répondre aux calomnies de leurs ennemis et de l'estat du Roy* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1569) [USTC 16668; with the erratum 'Second' instead of 'Seconde']. See Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 61. Cf. Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, pp. 160-63.

Déclaration et protestation. All three texts include controversial themes that broach the issues of Kingship, royal authority, and religion, but use, as we shall see, a different discourse to present their arguments. Although these *déclarations* justify the Protestants taking up arms against the Catholics, they likewise responded to the recriminations of Catholic pamphlets, mainly issued in Paris, that urged the King to act against the growing Protestant movement.

The first *Déclaration et protestations*, some twenty-four folios long, is divided into three parts as the main text is followed by postliminary poems. The first part, the declaration, itself, justifies the actions of those adhering to the Reformation and condemns the current discord in France. The second part, a ‘Hymne sur le discours précédent’, is a poetic summary of five folios, written by a certain Henri de Lany, otherwise unknown. The pamphlet ends with a sonnet on fol. F4^r, entitled ‘Sonnet à la ville de La Rochelle’ and signed with the Latin motto ‘Magnum est contemnere magna’ (‘It is a sign of greatness to despise great things’).

The following year, the *Seconde déclaration et protestation de ceux de La Rochelle* came off Berton’s press. Like its predecessor, the *Seconde déclaration et protestation* is divided into three parts as the core text is supported by two postliminary poems, ‘À la ville de La Rochelle, A. D. C.’ (i.e. André Du Cros according to Droz) and the other, a sonnet named ‘Le Printans et la paix’.⁵⁵ However, the pamphlet, also printed as a quarto, is nearly double the length (forty-four folios instead of twenty-four). On this occasion, the paratext includes detailed examples and eleven official documents (including *remonstrances*, *créances* and *harangues* — three of which were written by Jean de La Haize) that provide supporting evidence for the author’s claims.

⁵⁵ Droz, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 78. Also referred to as André Ducros, he published in La Rochelle that same year a second edition of *Discours sur les misères de ce temps* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1569) [USTC 61231].

Although this text complements the original *Déclaration et protestation*, the analysis of both pamphlets side by side reveals a change in the rhetoric which reflects the growing tension within La Rochelle. Firstly, on a micro-level, the political, religious and zealous language is more prominent and calls for action, especially in the extratextual poem, ‘A la ville de La Rochelle’, that concludes the pamphlet. This difference in tone is visible from the very first pages where the city’s opponents, a few (*quelques*) agitators, are turned into hateful and malicious enemies (*haineux et mal-veuillans ennemis*):

Il n'y a doute que plusieurs et divers jugemens ne se donnent, tant en ce Royaume que païs estrangiers, sur la prise des armes qu'ont fait dernièrement ceux de la Religion réformée de ceste ville de la Rochelle, selon que les passions poussent et transportent diversement les hommes [...]. À ceste cause pour l'importance et dignité de l'affaire qui doit estre cogneue et manifestee par tout, [...] d'autant que la conservation d'icelle [La Rochelle] sous l'obéissance du Roy ou ruyne entière en dépend, aussi retrancher le chemin et obuier aux calomnies et desguiseme[n]s de quelques esprits factieux et turbulents, ennemis de Dieu et de l'estat de ce Royaume [...].⁵⁶

Combien que depuis la pacification des troubles derniers, noz actions et comportemens rendent asses ample et suffisant tesmoignage à tout le monde, de l'obéissance pleine et entière que nous avo[n]s toujours rendu aux Edict et Ordonnances du Roy [...] si est-ce que noz haineux et mal-veuillans ennemis de Dieu, et de l'estat du Roy, perturbateurs du repos public, n'ont cessé pour cela de nous calomnier et accuser, nous improperant, et mettant sus plusieurs crimes, et faictz enormes, pour nous rendre odieux et suspects comme rebelles et seditieux.⁵⁷

A possible reason for this change in La Haize’s discourse may be due to the anger following the death of the Prince of Condé, after his defeat at the Battle of Jarnac (13 March 1569).

⁵⁶ [La Haize(?)], *Déclaration et protestation*, fol. A2^r-A2^v.

⁵⁷ [La Haize(?)], *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, fol. A2^r.

Unlike the previous examples of the *Déclaration et protestation* and *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, the third pamphlet, the *Discours au vray des conseils et moyens qu'on a tenuz pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Évangile hors ce royaume*, describes solely the crimes committed against Protestants or specific social actors, such as Jeanne d'Albret, and is signed anonymously with the initials V.B.F. ('Votre Bien Fidele').⁵⁸ Within its 145 pages, little attention is given to the details of the political context as the discourse primarily appeals to the reader's emotions. It was published a second time in 1569 under a different title: *Discours d'un gentilhomme françois, contenant au vray les conseils et moyens qu'on a tenus pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Evangile [...] Très-haut, et très-illustre Prince Frideric, Comte Palatin*.⁵⁹ Both editions are dedicated to Frederick III of Simmern, Elector Palatine (1515-1576), who defended the Protestant cause in the Holy Roman Empire and helped Calvinists in France.⁶⁰ Only the first version (the *Discours au vray des conseils et moyens* of 1568) conceals Berton's involvement by using the false address of a printer named Whillhem Hopper in Heidelberg.

According to Droz, this first edition was destined to be distributed in Frankfurt, possibly during the *Frankfurter Buchmesse*. She argues that the false imprint names Heidelberg because it was the Elector Palatine's place of residence and

⁵⁸ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 63-66.

⁵⁹ V.B.F., *Discours d'un gentilhomme françois, contenant au vray les conseils et moyens qu'on a tenus pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Évangile hors ce Royaume, et des justes et nécessaires occasions pour lesquelles ceux de la Religion ont été contraicts de prendre les armes. À Très-haut, et très-illustre Prince Frideric, Comte Palatin* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1569) [USTC 27857]. This edition is not in Droz's collection, but it was not the first time Berton changed a title page (see Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 77).

⁶⁰ Joseph Thomas, *The Universal Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*, 4 vols (London: J. S. Virtue et Co., 1887; repr. New York, NY: Cosimo Classics, 2009), II, p. 964.

the Huguenots rested their hopes on his intervention and support.⁶¹ La Rochelle's political and religious connection with Heidelberg is also borne out by another German pamphlet, the *Articul durch der Königen von Navarren und der Herren Printzen von Navarren* (1570), which conversely bears La Rochelle's imprint on its title page.⁶² Droz identifies the typography as belonging to a press in Heidelberg.⁶³ The burgeoning relationship between La Rochelle and the 'grand Prince d'Allemagne' led the local minister Alexandre Guyot to propose that the city of La Rochelle be attached to the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁴ The appeal to the Elector Palatine in both of these publications underscores the strong desire on the part of La Rochelle's advocates to reinforce their city's identity standard abroad and to call on the assistance of foreign co-religionaries.

In fact, the very first *Déclaration et Protestation* was likewise dedicated to the Elector Palatine and its first pages highlight the weight of external influence and opinions: this publication is not only destined for the eyes of the Crown but equally for the 'villes de ce Royaumes, et aux princes, Potentats et Républiques étrangères'.⁶⁵ According to the author, the atrocities of the religious wars stirred feelings of horror in foreign countries, from France's bordering nations to much further afield ('les étrangers et même les nations Barbares ont eu honte et horreur').⁶⁶ Jonas van Tol's research shows that German readers were exposed to the narratives and justifications

⁶¹ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à la Rochelle*, I, p. 66. Cf. Jonas van Tol, *Germany and the French Wars of Religion, 1560-1572* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

⁶² [Anon.], *Articul durch der Königin von Navarren und der Herren Printzen von Navarren unnd Conde abgeordnete Räthe der Kön[ig]. Würd. In Franckreich diß 70. Jars underthenigst uberraicht. Sampt dero Kön[ig] W. gegantwort, mit angehefften kurtzen erinnerungen, wrumb auff die fürgeschlagene Artickel der frid nit ervolget ist* (La Rochelle [Heidelberg]: [n. pub.], 1570) [USTC 206866].

⁶³ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 96-97.

⁶⁴ Louis Canet, *Histoire de l'Aunis et la Saintonge: de la Réforme à la Révolution*, L'Amateur Averti, 2 vols (Bouhet: La Découvrance, 2005), II, p. 29.

⁶⁵ [La Haize?], *Déclaration et protestation*, fol. A2^r.

⁶⁶ Ibid., fol. A3^r.

of the violence written by either confession and, although the German princes intervened in the religious wars between 1567 and 1569, a majority of them were reluctant to do so and had ‘a variety of different responses’ to these Protestant pamphlets.⁶⁷ For this reason, it was of vital importance for the pamphlets to paint the political representatives of La Rochelle in a positive light.⁶⁸

2.1.2 Reconciling National and Religious Identification

Within publications destined for a foreign readership, Protestantism is often portrayed as a transnational identification, that is an identity predominantly determined by faith instead of the country of origin.⁶⁹ However, this consequently suggests that Protestantism, as the seemingly most salient component of the Rochelais’ urban identity, could bring their loyalty to the French Crown into question. As I have mentioned earlier, the *Déclaration et protestation* first and foremost seeks to record and justify the true reasons behind the uprising of January 1568 and how it took place.⁷⁰ The author purportedly aims to restore faith in the inhabitants’ acclaimed loyalty ('loyauté et fidelité tant louée') and to respond to the allegations that have tarred the city as rebellious.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Van Tol, *Germany and the French Wars of Religion*, p. 234.

⁶⁸ Droz, *L’Imprimerie à la Rochelle*, I, p. 62: ‘Les notables et bourgeois de La Rochelle sentaient le besoin de se justifier [...] surtout aux calvinistes étrangers, dont ils attendaient de secours’.

⁶⁹ Cf. Pasi Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined: Changing Perceptions of National Identity in the Rhetoric of the English, Dutch and Swedish Public Churches, 1685-1772* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); David E. Lambert, *The Protestant International and the Huguenot Migration to Virginia* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2010).

⁷⁰ [La Haize?], *Déclaration et protestation*, fol. A 2^r.

⁷¹ Ibid.

A micro-level analysis of the discourse will show how the notion of identification comes into play. The main text begins with a description of France, fallen prey to the machinations of an insidious group of individuals ('quelques esprits factieux et turbulents, ennemis de Dieu et de l'état de ce Royaume').⁷² In a lyrical hyperbole, the author writes:

Quant au désordre et confusion [...] elle est si grande qu'elle surmonte de toutes parts celle du Chaos ancien, qui est la plus grande confusion que les Poètes, ayant peu fabuleusement imaginé.⁷³

The pamphleteer subsequently draws a comparison between the present turmoil and a former France which used to bask in God's glory, overshadowing the rest of Europe through its culture and military prowess.⁷⁴

The main adversaries originate from foreign nations, especially Spain, which was a common enemy portrayed in early modern French pamphlets, alongside other nations such as England. As Yardeni rightly states, '[a]u niveau des pamphlétaires, tous les défauts sont [...] d'importation étrangère.'⁷⁵ In fact, they were often used as point of comparisons to either glorify France or to warn the readers of the danger of corruption.

Philip II (1527-1598), the then King of Spain, is here labelled as the Catholic King ('Roy Catholique') and is unfavourably compared to other monarchs.⁷⁶ First, to

⁷² Ibid., fol. B 2^r.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ The mythical creation of France was a ubiquitous *topos* in the sixteenth-century literature and the glorified past of the country, said to be chosen by God himself, was used as a comparator to criticize the current affairs of the State. Yardeni writes that 'au milieu des malheurs et infortunes des guerres civiles, le bonheur passé prend des proportions démesurées. À ces réflexes profondément humains s'ajoutent encore toutes les habitudes mentales de l'époque: vénération de l'ancien et horreur du nouveau.' (Yardini, *La Conscience nationale*, p. 60).

⁷⁵ Yardeni, *La Conscience nationale*, p. 38. This is by no means a new concept, as even the Latin noun for an outside visitor (*hostis*) can also mean enemy.

⁷⁶ [La Haize?], *Declaration et protestation*, fol. B 2^r.

his father, Charles V, ‘duquel le fils ne saurait égaler l’ombre’, but also to the King of France himself, Charles IX, the ‘Roi Chrétien’.⁷⁷ Although these honorary titles were standard designations for the Spanish and French monarchs, for a Protestant, this juxtaposition between the terms *Catholique* and *Chrétien* may likewise suggest that Charles IX is not merely defined by Christian virtues but construed as an emblematic figure for all French Christians of either confession.⁷⁸ The author of the *Déclaration et protestation* thus reconciles Protestant identification with early modern French nationhood by foregrounding the common, peaceful past and portraying their King as a Christian ruler above all religious differences.⁷⁹

The soldiers of the Antichrist (‘obstinés soldats de l’Antéchrist’) form, as the reader soon discovers, a branch of the French nobility.⁸⁰ This negative portrayal is to be expected in a text published within La Rochelle: there is evidence from early modern commentators that the city, free from seignory, was historically hostile towards nobility.⁸¹ Synathroesmi (the enumerations of abusive terms) and carefully chosen adjectives throughout the text are used to describe the enemies of France. In the following passage, for instance, the author refers to the troubles caused by the nobility on a religious *and* political level:

⁷⁷ Ibid., fol. B2^r.

⁷⁸ The expression ‘très chrétien’ (*christianissimus*) was originally attributed by the popes to honour the monarch of their choice. This paralexeme became solely associated with the King of France, whereas the King of Spain was conventionally named the ‘très catholique’. For more information, see Jean de Pange, *Le Roi très chrétien. Essai sur la nature du pouvoir royal en France* (Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1949).

⁷⁹ Nico Roymans, *Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power: The Batavians in the Early Roman Empire* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), p. 2: ‘the identity of ethnic groups is to a large extent based on the notion of a communal past, hence the importance of origin myths. An idiom of kinship is often used to emphasise the social cohesion of the group.’

⁸⁰ [La Haize(?)], *Déclaration et protestation*, fol. F 2^r.

⁸¹ See for instance Filippo Cavriana, *Histoire du siège de La Rochelle sous Charles IX en 1573*, ed. and trans. by Louis Delayant (La Rochelle: A. Siret, 1856), p. 10.

pour parvenir à leurs fins, [les ennemis] tyrannisent et géhennent les pauvres consciences, ne cherchant que les moyens de mettre tant de bons serviteurs du Roi en désespoir, et leur faire quitter et abandonner leurs biens et avoir.⁸²

From beginning to end, adjectives and verbs usually come at least in pairs, the symbolic language increasing in potency so as to draw an emotional response from the reader. For example, the use of *tyrannisent* and *géhennent* ('to torment') in the passage above connotes an anguish that can be experienced on a political (*tyran*) and spiritual (*géhenner*) level. The latter verb is more evocative: not only does it suggest the depth of suffering of the French people, but it is likewise commonly related to Hell in religious writings.⁸³ The pamphlet therefore draws no clear distinction between Protestant and Catholic victims as the violent atrocities were committed with no regards to their creed. Even the title page of the second edition of the *Discours au vray des conseils et moyens qu'on a tenuz pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Evangile*, reitled the *Discours d'un gentilhomme françois*, suggests that the author's salient identification is, according to the added adjective 'françois', his nationality.

However, the *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, which adopts a more virulent discourse, points to a rift between Protestants and Catholics, as the Catholic Rochelais are depicted as outsiders ('Catholiques Romains' or 'ceux de la religion Romaine, qui s'étaient absents durant les troubles').⁸⁴ Traditionally, Protestantism was perceived as a foreign religion, which in turn invoked fear and suspicion.⁸⁵ In the

⁸² [La Haize(?)], *Déclaration et protestation*, fol. A4^r.

⁸³ Cf. Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, fol. 485: 'To racke, torture, torment; to retch or stretch upon the racke.' and Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, IV, p. 285: 'Torture infligée pour faire avouer' or 'Torture morale'.

⁸⁴ [La Haize(?)], *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, fol. B2^r. The latter quote is an understatement as local Catholics were not simply absent but pushed out of the city by their fellow citizens.

⁸⁵ Yardeni, *La Conscience nationale*, p. 201.

Seconde déclaration et protestation, however, Catholicism is considered as the foreign creed as its headquarters are established in Rome and it is led by the Pope, a foreign representative. Similarly, the author of the *Discours au vray des conseils et moyens qu'on a tenuz pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Évangile* describes Catholicism as *Catholiques Romain* whereas Protestantism is never named as by its popular epithet, *Religion réformé*, but simply as *religion*, thus erasing the adjective that differentiated the Huguenot minority from the rest of France. In short, even when Catholicism was distinguished from Protestantism, these pamphlets sought to include the Protestant identity within the broader French nationhood by singling out Catholicism as the religion with foreign ties.

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Religion is therefore considered a transnational identity that can unite and/or separate countries into collective groups.⁸⁶ These three justifications attempt to place Protestantism in the same identity category as French nationhood by emphasizing the similarities between both groups (e.g. common past, suffering, and enemy).⁸⁷ In contrast, when Catholicism is presented as the salient identity, it is associated with a foreign nation and is placed in opposition to French nationhood.

⁸⁶ Cf. Nieves Baranda, ‘Beyond Political Boundaries: Religion as Nation in Early Modern Spain’, in *Women Telling Nations*, ed. by Amelia Sanz, Francesca Scott and Suzan van Dijk (Amsterdam: Brill, 2014), pp. 63-84.

⁸⁷ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 14. Anthony D. Smith sees nation as a symbolic construct, built on concepts such as ‘common myths’, ‘common legal rights’ and ‘historical memories’.

2.2 La Rochelle's Salient Identity in Symbolic Terms

As these three pamphlets centre the religious conflict on the concept of French national identification, we are presented with an opportunity to examine how local identification compared to the broader idea of nationhood on the salience hierarchy. This section therefore focuses on La Rochelle's social identification with France or, simply put, her claimed affiliation with this larger collective group. I first offer a comparative study between the city and the rest of France and then, examine the symbolic discourse that is adopted to describe La Rochelle's values, ideologies and local customs — key characteristics, in other words, that establish her identification. As the *Seconde déclaration et protestation* largely focuses on La Rochelle, addresses the inhabitants more explicitly, and uses a speech more akin to their local discourse, most of the examples used in this section are, accordingly, taken from this pamphlet.

2.2.1 Authenticating the Regional and National Identity

It is with a rousing opening that André Ducros begins his poem 'À la ville de La Rochelle', as he urges the loyal Rochelais to no longer hesitate and to take up their pens against injustice:

Cesse peuple loyal, cesse de plus écrire
Ce qui même à la nuit désormais se fait lire:
Cesse de plus montrer par tes tristes discours
Ce qui t'a fait avoir à la force recours,
Pour repousser la force et la main meurrière
Qui traite notre France en Captive étrangère⁸⁸

⁸⁸[La Haize(?)], *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, fol. K4^r.

Writing ('écrire'), reading ('lire') and speeches ('discours') are the inhabitants' weapons in the fight for their identity authentication. Literature on the Catholic side similarly called for help as the celebrated poet Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585) urged his fellow writers to fight the religious wars through the written word. Even the anonymous Catholic author of the pamphlet *Discours sur la rebellion de La Rochelle* (1569), published in Poitiers, suggests that the power of the printed word should be used to counter the Reformation in his hometown, La Rochelle.⁸⁹

Well aware that identity is construed and fashioned both internally and externally through words, early modern individuals attached weight to verbal and printed allegations against their person.⁹⁰ The author of *Seconde déclaration et protestation* thus describes the deceit and corruption of the court by mentioning the rumours they spread against La Rochelle:

Nos calomniateurs voyant que le témoignage de la vérité les gagnait pour les convaincre de menterie, touchant la désobéissance qu'ils nous supposaient, cherchèrent autres moyens de nous rendre odieux, et firent entendre au Roi que nous équipions navire pour courir su au Roy Philippe⁹¹

The term *calomnier*, present in the full title of the pamphlet, is mentioned another fourteen times in the text and is persistently connected to the enemies of La Rochelle

⁸⁹ [Anon.], *Discours sur la rebellion de La Rochelle commis par les prétendues réformez depuis lan mil cinq cens soixante sept jusques à présent: Avec ung petit sommaire de se qui est advenu tant à Lusignan qu'autres lieux de ce pays de Poictou* (Poitiers: Bertrand Noscereau, 1569) [USTC 54322], fol. B1^r: 'j'ai employé quelque peu de temps à faire ce petit cantique ou plutôt complainte, lamentable où sont touchez aucun points de la cruauté et mutinerie des rebelles de notre Rochelle à l'exemple du grand poète prophète David, lequel aucun de mes amis voyant que Ronsard et autres excellant poètes ne faisaient leur devoir de faire.'

⁹⁰ Cf. Emily Butterworth, *Poisoned Words: Slander and Satire in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Legenda, 2006) and Baranova, *À coups de libelles* (2012).

⁹¹ [La Haize(?)], *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, fols C1^v-C2^r.

alongside other words that suggest falsehood such as *menteries* or *accusations* ('lies' or 'accusations').

These terms were commonly used in polemics. As Debbagi Baranova remarks, '[d]ans le discours moral chrétien, ces termes renvoient au péché capital, l'envie, qui vise à détruire la réputation d'autrui en secret.'⁹² These idioms accentuate the sinful nature of selected members of the nobility and the enemies of France who, according to the author of the *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, advocate a different perception of La Rochelle's identity, generating an 'error signal' between their input and the inhabitants' identity standard. In other words, it is because the Rochelais' identification as a loyal French city is being questioned by these rumours, which leads to a stronger emotional reaction or to this 'error signal', that *Seconde déclaration et protestation* adopts a more virulent discourse and includes numerous appendices to authenticate the inhabitants' self-identification.

In this appeal, La Rochelle's actions and identity characteristics are intrinsically linked to her relationship with France and the state of affairs ('Et toy Cité française, et loyale Rochelle, | Ferme comme la roche à te montrer fidèle').⁹³ It follows therefrom that the actions of other French cities would influence the country as a whole. The author of *Discours au vray des conseils et moyens qu'on a tenuz pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Évangile*, for example, names Paris, the principal seat of the French court, as the hub of sin and violence that brings ruin to the rest of France:

Mais quand bien il y eu occasion de démanteler quelques villes, ou y bâtrir citadelles, y avait-il ville en ce royaume que méritait mieux être de ce rang que celle de Paris, qui est la pépinière et semence de toutes divisions, et en laquelle tous les conseils, complots et

⁹² Baranova, *À coups de libelles*, p. 44.

⁹³ [La Haize(?)], *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, fol. K4^r.

machinations de tous les troubles avoyent esté dressées et minutées [...].⁹⁴

In the poem ‘À la ville de La Rochelle’, Ducros pushes this concept by painting a picture of a hypothetical world wherein the other French cities emulate La Rochelle:

Las ! que pleust-t-il à Dieu que le reste de France,
Que les autres citez eussent de leur puissance
Usé comme tu as, sans servir de paroi
À un tel ennemi masqué du nom du Roy:
La France ne serait (comme on voit) misérable,
La France ne serait des estrangers la fable,
La France maintenant fleurirait sous les loix
Et paisibles édits de Charles de Valois,
Elle vivrait en paix, puissante et redoutée
De tous ses ennemis, et de toute contrée:
Son peuple ne serait en telle extrémité,
Son pouvoir ne serait ainsi debilité,
Ses Princes généreux, ses braves capitaines,
Et ses hardiz soldatz n’auraient couvert les plaines
De leurs cadavres teints et tous rouges rendus ⁹⁵

The use of the subjunctive and the conditional in this excerpt emphasizes the disparity between the contemporary events and a hypothetical present where, had other French cities followed the footsteps of La Rochelle, France would have been freed from the bloody civil conflict. La Rochelle is consequently portrayed as the solution to the violence, an example that all cities should follow.

⁹⁴ [Anon.], *Discours au vray des conseils et moyens qu'on a tenuz pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Evangile*, fol. B1^r.

⁹⁵ [La Haize(?)], *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, fol. L1^r.

2.2.2 *Rebelle* or *loyale*? Reframing La Rochelle's Privileges

Within the three pamphlets studied in this section, the city's privileges are introduced as the founding characteristics of La Rochelle's identity.⁹⁶ In La Haize's *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, they are mentioned from the outset to argue in favour of their traditional role in keeping order within the city: when the French Crown challenges those established privileges, they consequently risk threatening the order. Correspondingly, when the King appointed Jacques du Lyon, sire of Grand-Fief, as the post keeper of one of the city's renowned towers, this went against the *corps de ville*'s authority and La Rochelle's rights:

[N]ous fîmes réponse, que l'ordre ancien et accoutumé pour la garde desdites tours selon nos privilèges, avait été garde en la provision d'icelle [...] suppliant sa Majesté ne rompt point l'ordre de notre police ancienne et nos privilèges, l'assurant de notre fidélité et très humble obéissance⁹⁷

As the historian Georges Weill observes in *Les Théories sur le pouvoir royal en France*, most pamphlets rejected political developments and instead wished to reinstate *quondam* traditions and to return to a golden age.⁹⁸ In the *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, the well-established privileges thus ensured peace and order within the city, a contrast to the conflict and chaos reigning in the rest of France.

⁹⁶ Cf. Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, pp. 161-63.

⁹⁷ [La Haize(?)], *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, fol. B2^r. See Barbot, *Histoire de La Rochelle*, II, p. 76.

⁹⁸ Georges Weill, *Les Théories sur le pouvoir royal en France pendant les guerres de religion: thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris* (New York, NY: Burt Franklin, 1967), pp. 289-90.

This belief is also brought up in Ducros's poem addressed to the Rochelais, wherein the poet links their privileges to their loyalty.⁹⁹ He claims that the true worth of La Rochelle's civil liberties stems from the fact that they are a gift from the Crown to thank the inhabitants for their fidelity:

Toy-mesme te remis dessous le Roy de France:
Qui voulant guerdonner telle fidélité,
Et en laisser memoire à la posterité,
Te fit de beaux presens et faveurs singulières,
T'orna d'immunitez et lois particulières. ¹⁰⁰

Similarly, the Rochelais evidently perceived the Royal Entry and its ensuing penalties as a rejection of their core values and rights. In the *Déclaration et protestation*, the Duke of Montmorency's actions against La Rochelle exemplified how the city's key identity characteristics, that also represented her independence, were denied and how this resulted to civil unrest. Since Charles IX's Royal Entry in 1565, the presence of Montmorency's army was cautiously regarded as a threat to the city. In the following passage from *Déclaration et protestation*, for instance, the author relates how Montmorency separated the city from its defining structures and representatives:

[Montmorency] nous fit déposséder des tours (principale forteresse de cette ville) et exiler et confiner plusieurs de nos concitoyens gens de bien et honneur, et bons serviteurs de Dieu et du Roi, et nommément Jean Pierre ¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Cf. Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, p. 163: ‘Gerade durch ihre nationale Verantwortung als Begründung für die rechtliche Sonderstellung im Konigreich und die daraus resultierende herausgehobene, im Wortsinne privilegierte Position erweist La Rochelle seine spezifische Loyalität.’

¹⁰⁰[La Haize(?)], *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, fol. L1^r.

¹⁰¹ [La Haize(?)], *Déclaration et protestation*, fol. E2^v.

By depriving the inhabitants of their control over their space and their political independence — key characteristics of their self-identification — Montmorency apparently reshaped the Rochelais' identity into one of traitors to the Crown:

[L']injuste oppression et calamité nous revenait à grand crève-cœur, après nous avoir fait noter par le conseil du Roi tous les habitants de cette ville de rébellion et désobéissance, reconnaissance indigne du doux et pacifique comportement, [...] au moyen de quoi ne pouvions plus rien espérer de bon de lui¹⁰²

*

From the perspective of Burke's perceptual control framework, the *Déclaration et protestation*, the *Seconde déclaration et protestation* and the *Discours au vray des conseils et moyens qu'on a tenuz pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Évangile* were all published as an output to authenticate and protect La Rochelle's identity standard and, consequently, the city's reputation vis-à-vis a discrepant external perception. The publications destined for a wider circulation, that is the *Déclaration et protestation* and the *Discours au vray des conseils et moyens qu'on a tenuz pour exterminer la pure doctrine de l'Évangile*, endeavoured to link La Rochelle's religious identification to a broader French national identity by including Protestantism in the country's identity characteristics.

The *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, on the other hand, seems to have been destined for a local readership, here, the salient identity changes to a more political and cultural identification that advocates the city's privileges and traditions. The religious element is no longer placed centre stage as Catholicism and Protestantism are each mentioned only three times in the whole publication. In fact,

¹⁰² Ibid., fol. E3^r.

as I shall now argue, it was external social actors that cemented the religious element to La Rochelle's external, and later self-, identification.

3 Providing La Rochelle with a Voice: the Social Actors of the *Cause*

3.1 Jeanne d'Albret and the Huguenot Identity in La Rochelle

The period of 1566-1572 coincided with the return of Jeanne d'Albret in La Rochelle in 1568, with her son Henri, the future King of France. She fled to the city after she was considered a possible threat to the French court: as Queen of Navarre, her political influence was significant, especially after her public conversion to Protestantism in December 1559. Furthermore, since she played a pivotal role in the propagation of Protestant literature and thought, her presence in the city instigated a visible change on the local culture.¹⁰³

On the surface, d'Albret's relationship with the Rochelais was symbiotic. At her arrival, she was welcomed with open arms in an address from Jean de La Haize and during her stay, she sought to better the lives of the Rochelais by introducing laws of conduct which adhered to her puritan stance.¹⁰⁴ She likewise encouraged the development of print within the city walls through her patronage and commissions. It is therefore in this following section that we explore the printed works of Jeanne

¹⁰³ Éliane Viénot, 'Les Femmes dans les "troubles" du XVIe siècle', *Clio. Histoire, femmes et sociétés*, 5 (1997) <<http://clio.revues.org/409>> [accessed 23 December 2014] (para. 12 of 24); Nancy Lyman Roelker, *Queen of Navarre; Jeanne d'Albret, 1528-1572* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 301-10 and Robert Vareilles, *Jeanne d'Albret, La Déborah calviniste: La Rochelle 1568-1571* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2010).

¹⁰⁴ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville*, I, pp. 369-70. Jean de La Haize welcomed the Prince and his mother with an oration stating that their arrival would bring peace and hope to the inhabitants.

d'Albret and how, as a social actor who became an embodiment of the Protestant *Cause* and reciprocally the city, she influenced La Rochelle's identification on a social and cultural level.

3.1.1 The *Académie protestante* and Pierre Haultin's arrival

Jeanne d'Albret's main legacy to La Rochelle was the *Académie protestante*. Building works for a college began in 1566, two years before Jeanne d'Albret's and Prince of Condé's arrival. Nonetheless, the Queen of Navarre's value for education greatly influenced its development and in 1571, the coat of arms of Jeanne d'Albret, Condé and Coligny adorned the main door of the newly-founded *Académie protestante de La Rochelle*. Similarly, Jeanne d'Albret proactively searched for educators and invited them to La Rochelle to ensure that Greek, Hebrew and Latin would be taught with the confessional practice in mind.¹⁰⁵ Flouret's research reveals that she would even organise the payments of the teachers.¹⁰⁶ Her tireless effort to fashion La Rochelle into the seat of Protestantism attracted renowned philosophers and teachers such as Pierre Martini (c. 1530-1594), who came to replace the recently deceased teacher Nicholas de Grouchy (1510-1572) in 1572 after he passed away.¹⁰⁷

The foundation of the *Académie* instigated change in the local print as, in 1571, most of Berton's publications were geared towards education.¹⁰⁸ Yet, his own

¹⁰⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français (SHPFr), MS. 882.

¹⁰⁶ Flouret, 'L'Éducation des jeunes Rochelais à l'époque d'Henri IV', p. 78.

¹⁰⁷ Pierre Martini, *Petri Martinii Morentini Navarri Gratulatio ad Senatum civésque Rupellense, de Academia ab ipsis instituta* (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1572) [USTC 111417].

¹⁰⁸ See for instance Arnold du Faur, *Arnoldi Fabricii Aquitani, viri Latinitatis purioris in primis studiosi, et docti, epistolæ etiam aliquot* (La Rochelle: Barthélémy Berton, 1571) [USTC 111416]; Jean Gelida, *Joannis Gelidæ Valentini, Burdigalensis*

limited schooling and resources rapidly presented difficulties: as Droz states, Berton was no humanist, his workers did not know Latin, and he did not possess enough money to employ a proof-reader.¹⁰⁹ In 1570, Pierre Haultin was called from Paris and began his prolific career in La Rochelle. His first publications answered to the demands of a more cultured readership and to Jeanne d'Albret's desire to spread Protestantism throughout France.¹¹⁰

Jeanne d'Albret's active proselytism was likewise evident in print.¹¹¹ The book historians Desgraves and Arcocha-Scarcia suppose that she orchestrated the arrival of the printer Pierre Haultin to publish a Basque rendition of the New Testament, *Jesus Krist Gure Jaunaren Testamentu Berria* (1571), translated by Jean de Liçarrague (or Leizarraga).¹¹² This book proudly displays Jeanne d'Albret's influence and identity as, not only is it written in her native language, but the coat of arms of the *maison d'Albret* also decorates the front page (Figure 7).

ludimagistri, epistolæ aliquot, et Carmina (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton, 1571) [USTC 111415]; Jean de Liçarrague, *ABC, edo christionoen instructionea othoitz equiteco formarequin* (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1571) [USTC 80630] or Terentius, *Aucunes scènes de l'Andrie de Terence, des plus faciles, exposées en françois et départies en leçons, pour les petits enfans; Reveuës et corrigées de nouveau* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton, 1571) [USTC 80629].

¹⁰⁹ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, p. 116.

¹¹⁰ Desgraves, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, II, p. xiv.

¹¹¹ Nancy Lyman Roelker, 'The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2.4 (1972), 391-418 (p. 400).

¹¹² Aurelia Arcocha-Scarcia, 'Deux imprimeurs rochelais du XVIe siècle: Pierre Haultin imprimeur du Testament Berria (1571) traduit par Jean de Liçarrague, et Jean Portau, imprimeur de l'édition 1579 des Voyages avantvrevx du capitaine-pilote Martin de Hoyarsabal de Ciboure', in *Actes du colloque sur Eugène Goyhenecche*, 20 (Donastia-San Sebastián: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 2001), pp. 53-83 (p. 61) and Desgraves, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, II, p. xv.

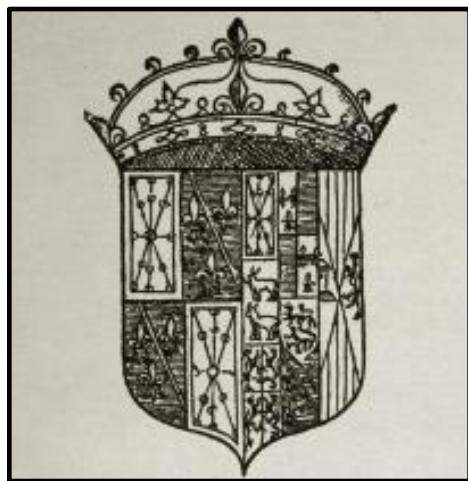


Figure 7 – Coat of arms on the title page of *Jesus Krist Gure Jaunaren Testamentu Berria* (1571)

The Basque Bible happened to be published the same year that the Confession of La Rochelle (or *Confessio Gallicana*) was solemnized.¹¹³ This was the first confession of faith, initially adopted by the Synod in 1559 in Paris, and endorsed by Béarn and Geneva in 1571, during the seventh national Synod.¹¹⁴

D'Albret's puritan influence and political activities, however, were not necessarily accepted by all the inhabitants and some of her decisions, notably her requests for financial aid, were met with considerable resistance.¹¹⁵ Nonetheless, before her arrival, the publications that circulated from Berton's shop were limited in that they primarily sought to defend La Rochelle and Protestantism on a local scale or with the city's allies. Within two years of her arrival, d'Albret exercised the necessary authority to allow printed works to gain a more assertive voice. This would later influence the response of local publications to a wider political discourse, which, as

¹¹³ See Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, pp. 389-92.

¹¹⁴ Aymon, *Actes Ecclesiastiques*, I, pp. 98-111. See Michel Reulos, ‘Le Synode national de La Rochelle (1571) et la constitution d'un “parti” protestant’, *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (1974), 707-19.

¹¹⁵ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, pp. 373-74.

we shall see in Chapter Five, did not necessarily correlate with La Rochelle's (self-)identification.

3.1.2 Jeanne d'Albret's *Lettres* and the Protestant Identity

As the main advocate for the Protestant cause, Jeanne d'Albret's actions and symbolic interactions influenced Protestant identification as well as La Rochelle's (self-)identification. Her political texts, for one, were published exclusively in La Rochelle and the city's name appears on *Les Articles présentez au Roy, par les députez de la royne de Navarre* (1570) and the *Lettres de trèshaute, trèsverteuse, et trèschrestienne Princesse, Jane Royne de Navarre* (1569).¹¹⁶ Even though the collection of letters that we shall examine in this section remain a reflection of her personal identification/authentication, as a prominent voice for the Protestant cause and through the relocation of her court to La Rochelle, the Queen of Navarre indirectly

¹¹⁶ Jeanne d'Albret, *Lettres de trèshaute, trèsverteuse, et trèschrestienne Princess, Jane Royne de Navarre, au Roy, à la Royne Mere, à Monsieur frère du Roy, à Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon son beau frère, à la Royne d'Angleterre. Contenant les justes occasions de son partement, avec Monseigneur le Prince et Madame Catherine ses enfans, pour se venir joindre à la cause générale, avec Monseigneur le Prince de Condé son frère* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1568) [USTC 12092]; ead., *Lettres de la Royne de Navarre, au Roy, à la Royne sa mère, à Monsieur frère du Roy, à Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon son beau-frère, et à la Royne d'Angleterre. Avec une ample déclaration d'icelles, contenant les occasions de son partement avec Monseigneur le Prince et Madame Catherine ses enfans, pour se venir joindre à la cause générale avec Monsieur le Prince de Condé son beau-frère. Ausquelles on a adjousté une lettre escripte de la Cour par l'agent du Cardinal de Crequy à son maistre, le neufiesme d'Aoust, mil cinq cens soixanteneuf* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Berton, 1569) [USTC 16667] and *Les Articles présentez au Roy, par les députez de la royne de Navarre, et de messeigneurs les Princes, ensemble la responce qui y a esté faitte, avec les apostilles* (La Rochelle: [Pierre Haultin], 1570) [USTC 61322]. Cf. Jeanne d'Albret, *Letters from the Queen of Navarre with an Ample Declaration*, ed. and trans. by Kathleen M. Llewellyn, Emily E. Thompson and Colette H. Winn (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2016).

represented the city and so influenced the French court's perception of the Huguenot bastion.

The *Lettres de trèshaute, trèsverteuse, et trèschrestienne Princesse, Jane Royne de Navarre* is presented as a collection of open letters addressed to distinguished political figures, each purposefully named in the title. The first two recipients of her letters are the monarch, Charles IX and his mother, Catherine de Médicis. Further letters then address other figureheads sympathetic to the Protestant cause, such as the Cardinal of Bourbon and — perhaps more surprisingly — the Queen of England, Elizabeth I. This publication was well received and was reprinted several times as, according to the USTC, it went through three editions between 1568 and 1569, all of which were printed by Berton. The augmented edition of 1569 contains an additional text entitled 'Ample declaration', which, for Droz, is the most important excerpt of the publication.¹¹⁷

Although the aim of the letters was to promote peace and justify the actions of the Huguenots, which have been interpreted by outsiders as a form of *lèse-majesté*, they were primarily written to explain the reasons behind Jeanne d'Albret's departure from Noyers and her flight to La Rochelle.

A micro-analysis of these texts reveals that identity authentication is central in Jeanne d'Albret's discourse. As the main aim of these letters is to convince, Jeanne d'Albret brings an *argumentum ad hominem* into play but also appeals to the readers' emotions and memory. In her letter to Catherine de Médicis, for example, she repeats 'Je vous supplie trèshumblement vous rememorer quelle fidélité vous trouvastes en moy', 'Je vous supplie encore trèshumblement, Madame, vous souvenir'.¹¹⁸ This

¹¹⁷ Droz, *L'Imprimerie de La Rochelle*, I, p. 81. This will be the edition I will be using.

¹¹⁸ Jeanne d'Albret, *Lettres de la Royne de Navarre*, fol. A5r.

rhetoric serves two purposes in her argument: besides providing undisputable proof of her loyalty to the French Crown by evoking a common memory, she establishes an intimate relationship between herself and her addressee and, indirectly, between the reader of the published version.

Memory is similarly used as a point of comparison between the past and the present. When writing to her brother-in-law, the Cardinal of Bourbon, she recalls:

[S]ouviene [sic] vous des vespres Siciliennes, [que le Cardinal de Lorraine] voulait et ses complices faire, lorsque la Royne fut dernièrement si malade. Vous en fustes esmeu pour une nuict, et en perdistes le dormir: et tout cela est allé en fumée: il vous a emmiellé de belles paroles.¹¹⁹

As Andrew Smith notes, memory is the key foundation of identity and Jeanne d'Albret places emphasis on this commonality to draw on shared identity characteristics between herself and her letters' recipients.¹²⁰ This commonality is further highlighted by suggesting a 'family bond' through the allegorical representation of France, portrayed as a mother and victim of her children's violence, a symbol often used in early modern writing ('ceste France, mère et nourrice de tant de gens de bien, ne puisse estre tarie pour laisser mourir ses enfans' or, to the Duke of Anjou, 'cest orage que nous voyons dejia trop souvent tomber sur ceste pouvre France').¹²¹

Finally, Jeanne d'Albret connects symbols that are usually subjects of divisiveness: religion, authority, nationhood and blood. Throughout the letters, these

¹¹⁹ Ibid., fol. B2^r. This memory includes a comparison with the Sicilian Vespers of 1282, lasting for six weeks, in which the Sicilians rebelled against Charles I and massacred up to three thousand French citizens, a chilling foreshadowing of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre. See Athanasius of Iaci, *Sicily's Rebellion against King Charles: The Story of the Sicilian Vespers*, trans. by Louis Mendola (New York, NY: Trinacria, 2015).

¹²⁰ Smith, *National Identity*, p. 29.

¹²¹ Jeanne d'Albret, *Lettres de la Royne de Navarre*, fols A7^r and A8^r.

four expressions are often mentioned together, in a form that mimics the rhythm of a chant, a prayer: ‘le service de mon Dieu et de mon Roi, l’amour de ma patrie et de mon sang’.¹²² For instance, when she defends her flight to La Rochelle and authenticates her identity as a loyal subject of the Crown, her four arguments are divided in congruence with these symbols: ‘le service de mo[n] Dieu’, ‘le service de mon Roy’ ‘et nostre Patrie’ ‘et le sang’.¹²³ Blood here represents both the concept of her noble dynasty and the sacrificial blood of Christ, not the violence of the religious wars. Although Jeanne d’Albret uses different symbols to those we uncovered in *Déclaration et protestation* and *Seconde déclaration et protestation*, the identity standard she seeks to authenticate is similar: as she emphasizes her submission to the Crown and her connection to the court, she detaches her Protestant identity from the notion of ‘rebel’.

However, the final letter, addressed to the Queen of England, Elizabeth I, seems to contradict this intention. Jeanne d’Albret’s contemporaries could easily have interpreted its controversial presence as a threat in a publication meant to reaffirm her loyalty to the Crown. Roelker’s study confirms that, as Jeanne d’Albret strengthened her union with the Queen of England (at the detriment of the Rochelais), Catherine de Médicis’s letters between 1568 and 1569 corroborate the growing tension between these two women of power.¹²⁴

¹²² Ibid. fol. A7^r.

¹²³ Ibid. fol. A5^v.

¹²⁴ Nancy Lyman Roelker, *Queen of Navarre Jeanne d’Albret (1528-1572)* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 304-08.

*

Jeanne d'Albret's political discourse suggests that proto-national identification was established in the French court as she refers to identity characteristics that draw on common memories or values, all the while consigning her Protestant faith to the background. This allows her to place herself and the faction she represents within the court's collective identity and to rebuff the claims of rebellion.

Furthermore, according to sociological research, the use of 'first-person rhetorical strategies' has a more positive impact on low identifiers.¹²⁵ Although Jeanne d'Albret's local politics were not always well-received by the Rochelais, she was nonetheless accepted as their representative, their voice; so much so that from thereon, La Rochelle's urban personification removed itself from the poetic — and more passive — female allegory present in Jean de La Haize's *Carmina* discussed earlier in Chapter One. Instead, as we shall explore in Chapter Four, strong (biblical) female characters, similar to the Queen of Navarre, became role models for the inhabitants. The city consequently acquired a strong, feminine voice: she became 'belle et rebelle', a fighter for political *and* religious freedom. Conversely, Jeanne d'Albret's public alliance with England ensured that La Rochelle's connection with foreign nations was engrained in externalized identification in the years to come.

¹²⁵ Matthew J. Hornsey, Leda Blackwood and Anne O'brien, 'Speaking for Others: The Pros and Cons of Group Advocates using Collective Language', *Group Processes et Intergroup Relations*, 8.3 (2005), 245-57 (p. 253).

3.2 Identity Politics and Social Actors

Over thirty percent of the texts published between 1566 and 1572, that is over half of the political publications, excluding those republished in the *Histoire de nostre temps* discussed earlier in this chapter, were either written by a named social actor or narrates the actions and/or feats of a named social actor. Advocates for Protestantism made the best use of these figureheads whose image and reputation were then exploited to mobilize support in La Rochelle. The texts endorsed leaders of foreign alliances who were sympathetic to the Huguenot *Cause*, such as the Emperor Maximilian II, Queen Elizabeth I or Prince Wolfgang. Although the inhabitants often disapproved foreign coalitions, they were nonetheless established in the local discourse.

Most of these publications were printed exclusively in La Rochelle, which leads us to two theories: (1) that the Protestants of La Rochelle (or at the very least the *corps de ville* and the vast majority of the *bourgeois*) accepted these actors as advocates for their cause, which, in turn, infers that the city identified with them and their ideology (2) that the social actors' portrayal consequently influenced La Rochelle's collective identification, both internally and externally. As we shall explore in Chapters Six and Seven, the connection between La Rochelle and some of these social actors, most notably Elizabeth I and Jeanne d'Albret, had terrible repercussions on the city's external identification in the following century. This section examines how social actors were portrayed in La Rochelle's publications and determines which identity characteristics fashioned the city's own identification.

3.2.1 Louis de Bourbon, the Prince of Condé

According to historical accounts, the Prince of Condé's relationship with La Rochelle was similar to the one Jeanne d'Albret developed with the inhabitants: ambivalent. Condé entered the city on 19 September 1568 under the conditions that Protestantism would be the only religion that would be allowed in La Rochelle and that the inhabitants' privileges would remain untouched.¹²⁶ Upon his arrival with his family, he gave an emotional speech that, reportedly, brought the whole town to tears. Jean de La Haize answered by hyperbolically comparing the Prince's dangerous crossing of the Loire river to that of Moses' crossing the red sea.¹²⁷ However, like Jeanne d'Albret, he requested a steep financial aid from La Rochelle which inevitably led to a wave of disgruntlement through the city. Arcère even suggests that the Rochelais regarded his ties with the English court as a threat to their own independence.¹²⁸

Soon after his arrival, Condé published two pamphlets: the *Déclaration et Protestation de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, des causes qui l'on constraint de prendre les armes* (1568) and the *Lettres et requeste envoyez au roy, par Monseigneur le Prince de Condé* (1568).¹²⁹ In the former, Condé attempts to justify his actions with a lexical field focused on order and honesty and arguments that expound his fight for religious freedom against the Cardinal of Lorraine and his supporters, who are acting against the King's intentions and will ('contre le vouloir et intention de sa Majesté').¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 368.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 369.

¹²⁸ Ibid., pp. 373-74.

¹²⁹ Louis I^{er} de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, *Déclaration et protestation de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, des causes qui l'ont constraint deprendre [sic] les armes* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1568) [UTSC 38551] and id., *Lettres et requeste envoyez au roy, par Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, contenant les causes et raisons de son despart de Noyers* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1568) [USTC 12080].

¹³⁰ Prince of Condé, *Déclaration et protestation*, fol. A2^v.

His *Déclaration*, however, is only one folio long as the pamphlet finishes with an appendix of eight folios entitled ‘Ordonnance de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, sur le reiglement et discipline qu’il veut et entend estre gardée en son armée’. This decree explains the vital link between order, truth and honour; as opposed to the chaos, lies and disrepute, associated with the Cardinal de Lorraine in the first two pages. The poem in *Déclaration et protestation*, discussed earlier, presents a polarity between the action-driven ‘vrai Prince du sang’ and the absent sovereign (‘l’absence du Roi’), which in turn suggests that Condé was an authoritative leader, suitable for the French Crown:

[L]e Prince premier de ce haut sang royal,
Pour rendre généreux un service loyal
À Dieu et à son Roy, attendant que son âge
Lui permette jour de Roi le personnage,
Voyant cependant la France s’attendait
À lui seul, comme ayant seul intérêt et droit
En l’absence du Roi, hardi a pris son glaive
De vrai Prince du sang, et courageux s’élève
Pour maintenir les lois et briser les dessins
De ceux qui des états rendaient les édits vains¹³¹

The author of *Déclaration et protestation* furthers Condé’s authority by justifying the Rochelais’ actions to ‘le bon et loyal devoir auquel nous sommes mis sous l’autorité de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé’.¹³²

After the death of the Prince of Condé, Berton’s shop published pamphlets that introduced new social actors to replace their fallen hero.¹³³ The *Nouvelle protestation faite par les princes, seigneurs, gentils-hommes, Capitaines et soldats de*

¹³¹ [La Haize(?)], *Déclaration et protestations*, fol. F3^r.

¹³² Ibid., fol. A2^v.

¹³³ Berton also published an anonymous piece in honour of the prince, entitled *La Reueste de Janvier, À Monseigneur le Prince de Condé* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélémy Berton], 1569) [USTC 54234].

l'armée des fidèles (1569) and *Petit discours sur une lettre responsive de l'empereur Maximilian au Roy, 1568. Plus une copie de la conspiration de deux co[m]tes d'Angleterre contre leur Royne* (1570), for example, would reassure the Huguenots — the Rochelais specifically — that, even if one of its main advocate had died, the *Cause* still had many (important) allies.¹³⁴ The *Déclaration et protestation du Très-illustre Prince Wolfgang*, to return to another example, was written in reaction to the execution of the Prince of Condé and the author, Prince Wolfgang (1526-1569), published this text exclusively in La Rochelle.¹³⁵ This seems to suggest that social actors for the Reformed Church played an important role in motivating the engagement of low identifiers to the *Cause* in La Rochelle.

3.2.2 ‘Know Your Enemy’: Painting the Opponent in Print

In the course of this chapter, I have already briefly mentioned how authors sought to name the true culprits of the religious conflicts. While foreign courtiers fulfilled their role as manipulative Iagos, worthy of a Shakespearean tragedy, the pamphleteers also accused specific figureheads of inciting violence. These were primarily the Cardinal

¹³⁴ [Anon.], *Nouvelle protestation faite par les princes, seigneurs, gentils-hommes, Capitaines et soldats de l'armée des fidèles: avec deux lettres de Messieurs d'Anjou et Prince de Navarre, et un petit poesme fait sur icelles* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1569) [USTC 16672] and [Anon.], *Petit discours sur une lettre responsive de l'empereur Maximilian au Roy, 1568. Plus une copie de la conspiration de deux co[m]tes d'Angleterre contre leur Royne, sous ombre de la religio[n], et de l'arrest de ladite Dame Royne contre lesdits Comtes* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1570) [USTC 39982]. See Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, pp. 376-77.

¹³⁵ Wolfgang, duc de Deux-Ponts, *Déclaration et protestation du Très-illustre Prince Wolfgang, Comte Palatin, du Rhin. Duc de Bavieres et des deux Ponts, Prince du saint Empire, des causes qui l'ont meu à venir en France au secours de ceux de la Religion reformée, envoyée au Roy. Avec une lettre par lui écrite, sur l'inhumain et cruel massacre commis en la personne de feu Monseigneur le Prince de Condé* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélemy Berton], 1569) [USTC 12116]. Prince Wolfgang was a supporter of the Protestant cause and came to their aid in 1569.

of Lorraine, who has already made several appearances in this chapter; and the Guise family. Why were the description of these figureheads featured so prominently in political pamphlets? The answer, once again, revolves around identity theory.

As we have seen in the Introduction, the core of a collective identity is the concept of sameness, that is a group which shares similar characteristics (e.g. ideologies, traditions, values etc.). Similarly, a collective identity is construed around the notion of difference: the group is conscious that its individuals share similar differences to other groups. By identifying these differences, the authors of La Rochelle's publications are identifying and reinforcing the similarities within their collective group (see Figure 8).

US	Loyal	Religious	Truthful	Peaceful	Order (...)
THEM	Disloyal	Heretic	Deceitful	Belligerent	Chaos (...)

Figure 8 - Protestant identity characteristics

Tatiana Debbagi Baranova's analysis of political identity in defamatory pieces, reveals that by naming an opponent as a common enemy (in this case, the Cardinal of Lorraine), they become a unifier that, to a certain extent, merges otherwise distinct groups.¹³⁶

The Cardinal de Lorraine thus appears in most Protestant polemical pamphlet as the instigator of civil unrest.¹³⁷ He was part of the influential Guise family and was

¹³⁶ Tatiana Debbagi Baranova, 'Le Rôle des écrits diffamatoires dans la formation de l'identité des partis politiques pendant la première moitié des guerres de Religion (1559-1570)', in *Identités, appartenances, revendications identitaires (XVIe-XVIIe siècle)*, ed. by Marc Belissa and others (Paris: Nolin, 2005), pp. 113-22 (p. 118).

¹³⁷ Among the many studies on the Cardinal of Lorraine available, see Philip Benedict, 'From Polemics to Wars: The Curious Case of the House of Guise and the Outbreak of the French Wars of Religion', *Historein*, 6 (2006), 97-105; Jacqueline Boucher; 'Le Cardinal de Lorraine, premier ministre de fait ou d'ambition (1559-1574)', in *Le Mécénat et l'influence des Guises: actes du Colloque organisé par le Centre de Recherche sur la Littérature de la Renaissance de l'Université de Reims et tenu à Joiville du 31 mai au 4 juin 1994*, ed. by Yvonne Bellenger, Colloques, congrès et

often criticized by his contemporaries in defamatory pamphlets for his self-serving policies and his fierce defence of the Catholic Church.¹³⁸ As the advocate for Catholicism, he logically became the preferred target of the advocates of Protestantism. In fact, Jeanne d'Albret finds a benchmark in the Cardinal of Lorraine and contrasts her self-identification by portraying him as the traitor that has led France to its ruin. She describes him, and his following, as Machiavellian characters who achieve their goals through deceit ('Et faut juger par là de quelz artifices ilz se sçave[n]t aider, lors qu'ilz veulent attirer une personne pour la ruiner.') and dehumanises him to the status of an animal.¹³⁹

The Cardinal features prominently in local publications that justify Protestant violence; he even takes on the title role in some pamphlets, such as the *Brief Discours sur les moyens que tient le Cardinal de l'Orraine [sic], pour empescher l'establissement de la Paix, et ramener les Troubles en France* (1568) and *Sommaire discours sur la rupture et infraction de la paix et Foy publique, et sur les moyens que*

conférences sur la Renaissance, 9 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997), pp. 295-310; Stuart Carroll, 'The Compromise of Charles Cardinal de Lorraine: New Evidence', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 54:3 (July 2003), 469-83; *Un prélat français de la Renaissance: le cardinal de Lorraine, entre Reims et l'Europe*, ed. by Jean Balsamo, Thomas Nicklas and Bruno Restif (Geneva: Droz, 2015); Jean-Jacques Guillemin, *Le Cardinal de Lorraine, son influence politique et religieuse au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Chez Joubert, 1847) and Michel Pernot, 'Le Rôle du cardinal Charles de Lorraine dans la vie politique et religieuse de la France au troisième quart du XVIe siècle', *Les Cahiers haut-marnais*, 188-90 (1992), 19-41.

¹³⁸ See for example [François Hotman], *Epistre envoyée au tigre de la France* ([Strasbourg]: [Christian Myllius], 1560) [USTC 203]. Although accustomed to libellous tracts sulllying his name, the cardinal was deeply angered by this particular pamphlet (Jean-Jacques Guillemin, *Le Cardinal de Lorraine*, pp. 134-36). The criticism of the Cardinal of Lorraine naturally extended to his family, although they feature less prominently in this period and were more often described as the Cardinal's associates or simply with the pronoun 'ils'. Yet, the *anti-guisard* sentiment, expressly against François de Guise, was widespread amongst the supporters of Condé.

¹³⁹ Jeanne d'Albret, *Lettres de la Royne de Navarre*, fol. B6^r: 'O combien de larmes de Crocodile ce Cardinal a espenduës, et de co[m]bien de finesse renardes ilz se sont aidez, lui et son frère.'

tient le Cardinal de Lorraine, pour subvertir l'estat de la France et en investir l'Espagnol (1568).¹⁴⁰ These headings explicitly places the Cardinal in opposition with peace.¹⁴¹

Naturally, when the Rochelais pamphleteers shifted their attention to local events, they named other members of the Catholic nobility, more specific to the city. In *Déclaration et protestation*, for example, we saw that Montmorency had denied La Rochelle's expression of their cultural identity by seizing control of their urban space. The author specifically mentions two other noblemen who, as a result of their negative portrayal, are used to exonerate La Rochelle's citizens and authenticate the urban identity. For example, the Count of Lude, Guy de Daillon (c. 1530-1585) is said to have wished to murder the Rochelais who had welcomed him in their city ('[il] ne tenait propos que de faire mourir ceux de cette ville qui y avaient prêté conseil, aide, et faveur').¹⁴² Introduced as an individual who would betray the kindness displayed by the council and the townspeople, the author places Lude in direct contrast to the *corps de ville* of La Rochelle. The second social actor, Beauregard (15.. - c. 1573), is not depicted favourably either as the author reports that upon hearing the chant of

¹⁴⁰ [Anon.], *Brief discours sur les moyens que tient le Cardinal de l'Orraine, pour empescher l'establissement de la Paix, et ramener les Troubles en France* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélémy Berton], 1568) [USTC 16623] and [Anon.], *Sommaire discours sur la rupture et infraction de la paix et Foy publique, et sur les moyens que tient le Cardinal de Lorraine pour subvertir l'estat de la France et en investir l'Espagnol* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélémy Berton], 1568) [USTC 12099]. See Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 76 and 102.

¹⁴¹ See [Anon.], *Discours par Dialogue, sur l'Édict de la revocation de la paix, publié à Paris le vingthuictieme jour de Septembre, l'an mil cinq cens soixante huict* ([La Rochelle]: [Barthélémy Berton], 1569) [USTC 12104] in which the Cardinal is compared to a fake prophet ('oracle de Papimanie'). Cf. Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, I, pp. 76-77.

¹⁴² [La Haize(?)], *Déclaration et protestation*, fol. D3v. Little is known about this figure who was the governor of the Poitou but his correspondence has been published (see *Lettres adressées à Jean et Guy de Daillon, comtes de Lude, gouverneurs de Poitou de 1543 à 1557 et de 1557 à 1585*, ed. by Bélisaire Ledain, 2 vols (Poitiers: Oudin, 1882-83)).

psalms, he flew into an uncontrollable rage ('ayant ouï chanter des psaumes, il entra en fort merveilleuse colère, et jura qu'avant que ce fut trois jours on ferait bien de chanter aux Huguenots autres chansons').¹⁴³ Both of these noblemen display important flaws of character that disregard Christian virtues: Beauregard, similar to a demon, reacts as if possessed upon hearing religious texts whereas the Count of Lude defies the sacred rituals and rules of hospitality.¹⁴⁴

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Social actors were exploited in polemical pamphlets that justified social actions. They were used to showcase the differences between the identity characteristics of the Protestants/Rochelais and the Catholics/Nobles. This enabled the Huguenots to dissociate their enemies from the French collective identity and consequently determine that the Protestants, being part of that broader national identity, were not guilty of lèse-majesté.

Social actors also hegemonized a collective identity in a twofold manner. First, their actions and discourse defined the common identity characteristics of Protestants and Catholics alike. Secondly, as embodiments of the Catholic/Protestant movements and the offences associated with these collective groups, low identifiers

¹⁴³ Ibid., fol. D4^r. Again, very little is known about Beauregard. Arcère only briefly mentions in a footnote that he was a 'gentilhomme nommé lieutenant du Roi au gouvernement de la Rochelle sous les ordres de M. de Biron' (*Histoire de la ville*, I, p. 519).

¹⁴⁴ Hospitality enabled both the host and guests to present their Christian virtues to each other. This concept (named *xenia* (receiving strangers)) was also very much present in ancient Greece. For further reference to early modern hospitality, see Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

on either side were more likely to take part in the conflict when the cause of the wars could be simplified and associated with a named individual.

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* * *

In this chapter, I have argued that even though Protestantism was part of the city's identity, it was not conceived as her salient identity. Berton tirelessly applied a selective censorship to push forward a hegemonized narrative that served the Protestant agenda, but print media ensured that locality was taken into account when addressing the Rochelais. Similarly, the pamphlets that were published to convince the inhabitants to take action and support the decisions made by the *corps de ville* and the resident nobles, either in political (*Seconde déclaration*) or literary publications (*Hymne sur le triomphe de la Paix*), focused on threats made to the Rochelais' urban identity rather than to their religious freedom. The use of printed ephemera and localized discourse thus confirms the witness accounts collected by Amos Barbot and Arcère: while their Protestant identity was developing, the Rochelais deemed their urban identification more important and held little interest in events that occurred beyond their territory.

It is also during this period of 1566-1572 that Protestant nobles, who acted as advocates for the Protestant cause and resided within the city, began to use La Rochelle's press to disseminate their publications outside the city walls. Because of the shared aristocratic background, their discourse actively engaged in symbolic interactions with the French court. Yet, their residing in La Rochelle and the use of the city's press meant that, to the external observer, La Rochelle and the social actors'

identities converged. Rambeaud argues that, compared to the local pastors, ‘Calvinism was better spread by the elite’.¹⁴⁵ This was not only because of their use of print but also because, as they united collective groups, they streamlined the conflict into a battle between ‘us’ and ‘them’. In other words, it was social actors, through the use of print, that turned out to have the most significant influence on La Rochelle’s (self-)identification.

By 1569, many Protestants from all over the country found refuge in La Rochelle.¹⁴⁶ Rambeaud’s research reveals that most refugees originated from the surrounding regions and that they integrated well within the local community.¹⁴⁷ Protestantism emerged as the main identity characteristic that brought citizens and refugees together but it was especially after the First Siege of 1572-1573 and the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of 1572, instigated by the union between Marguerite de Valois (1553-1615) and Henri de Navarre, that the city’s religious identity gained a foothold within the urban identity.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Rambeaud, ‘The Origins of Rural Calvinism in Aunis: Sphere of Influence of La Rochelle’, p. 395.

¹⁴⁶ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 379.

¹⁴⁷ Pascal Rambeaud, ‘The Refugees in La Rochelle during the Third War of Religion, 1568-1570’, *French History*, 14.1 (2000), 1-12.

¹⁴⁸ See Pascal Rambeaud, ‘Le Peuple de Dieu face aux Philistins: le refuge Huguenot à La Rochelle (1572-1573)’, in *D’un rivage à l’autre. Villes et Protestantisme dans l’aire atlantique*, ed. by Guy Martinière and others (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1999), pp. 75-86.

Chapter Three: The First Siege: Converging History and Locality (1572-1576)

[T]he siege of a city (especially if not victorious) often led to its transformation through expansions and fortifications, which were then celebrated with explosive urban parties. These celebrations were all inevitably connected to the post-conflict pursuit of state identity, which frequently clashed with the urban and civic identity of the city [...].

- Martha Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*, 2010

The year 1572 soon put an end to the fragile peace. Jeanne d'Albret's death in June 1572 and the slaughter of Protestants during the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre on 24 August 1572, which claimed the life of Gaspard de Coligny, weakened the Protestant leadership and, consequently, their effort.¹ The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre was shortly followed by an eruption of violence through the country and reached the walls of La Rochelle that, with Sancerre, was placed at the centre of the Fourth War (1572-1573).²

Returning briefly to the texts analysed in the first two chapters, it is evident that the majority of the city did not care for a direct involvement in the conflict and

¹ A rumour circulated that Catherine de Médicis had poisoned Jeanne d'Albret. This was disproved by an autopsy. See Mark Strange, *Women of Power: The Life and Times of Catherine de Medici* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), pp. 155-56. It is also worth noting that many foreigners, including Italians, were killed during the massacre. The rough estimate of the number of victims falls between 10 000 and 30 000. For further information see Arlette Jouanna, *La Saint-Barthélemy: les mystères d'un crime d'État, 24 août 1572* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007) and Denis Crouzet, *La Nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy: Un rêve perdu de la Renaissance* (Paris: Pluriel, 2012).

² On the siege of Sancerre, see Jean de Léry's journal, *Histoire mémorable de la ville de Sancerre. Contenant les Entreprises, Siège, Approches, Bateries, Assaux et autres efforts des a[ss]iègeans: les résistances, faits magnanimes, la famine extrême et délivrance notable des a[ss]iegez. Le nombre des coups de Canons parjournées distinguées. La catalogue des morts et blessez à la guerre, sont à la fin du Livre. Le tout fidèlement recueilly sur le lieu, par Jean de Léry ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1574) [USTC 191].*

that, after the royal entrance of Charles IX, publications showed visible concern to appease the city's relationship with the Crown. However, civil war is a fertile ground for paranoïa and suspicion as those who shared the same national identity and the same King, betrayed and fought their neighbours. In November 1572, the Rochelais, swayed by rumours, distrust and the local *zélés*, refused the entry of the baron de Biron (1524-1592) in the city who was sent by the King.³ This event marked the beginning of the First Siege.

The publications during this period (1572-1573) offers us a first concrete purview into how La Rochelle's identity standard was interpreted outside her walls and how her identification compared to the broader French national identity that was developing. As Burke and Stets argue, '[i]n order to interact with others, we must first establish both who they are and who we are' and this shift on nationhood meant that the texts focused on La Rochelle's identification.⁴ In fact, according to Cécile Huchard, the goal of these publications was to create a division between La Rochelle and the Catholics' understanding of the 'bon François', represented by Charles IX, the future king Henry III and the royalist army.⁵

Since identity is construed both externally and internally, it 'is a process, not an essence, which is continually being remade in consistent ways, through an "internal-

³ Arcère's compilation of historical witnesses has amassed a lot of accounts which describes the confusion of the inhabitants during that period, most notably after the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre and the exchange made between the local government and the baron de Biron. Cf. Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, I, pp. 406-10.

⁴ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 13.

⁵ Cécile Huchard, 'Victoire, défaite et propagande: discours et récits du siège de La Rochelle de 1573', in *Le Bruit des Armes: Mises en formes et desinformations en Europe pendant les guerres de Religion (1560-1610)*, ed. by Jérémie Foa and Paul-Alexis Mellet, Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance, Le Savoir de Mantice (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012), pp. 215-31 (p. 222).

external dialectic”.⁶ The materials I have selected for this chapter thus focus on signs, symbols, and language that described La Rochelle and are essential to understanding the development of La Rochelle’s (self-)identification. I aim to study how the First Siege was portrayed by external observers with the eventual intention of examining how their identification ultimately influenced La Rochelle’s (self-)identification in the following years.

1 The Siege and the Urban Space

1.1 The First Siege through French Lenses

It is not surprising to observe that, during the period of the First Siege, La Rochelle’s name increasingly appeared in external pamphlets that alluded to the conflict.⁷ This growing fascination, which occurred as a result of the First Siege, attracted both Protestants and Catholics across Europe, including the Holy Roman Empire and Italy. Printed materials endeavoured to depict the city to a wider audience and thus began to focus on her identity, especially her topography, instead of responding to her local print. The materials published consequently included a visible rise of pictorial placards, including maps.

La Rochelle’s print activity naturally diminished during the siege yet the city’s presses still published five different texts, two of which bearing the false address of Basel; similarly, during that same period, five various publications adopted the false

⁶ Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002), p. 24.

⁷ See Corpus, pp. 23-27.

imprint of La Rochelle.⁸ In France, outside La Rochelle, printed publications on the First Siege mainly originated from Catholic cities such as Paris, Lyon, Rouen and Narbonne (Figure 9).⁹

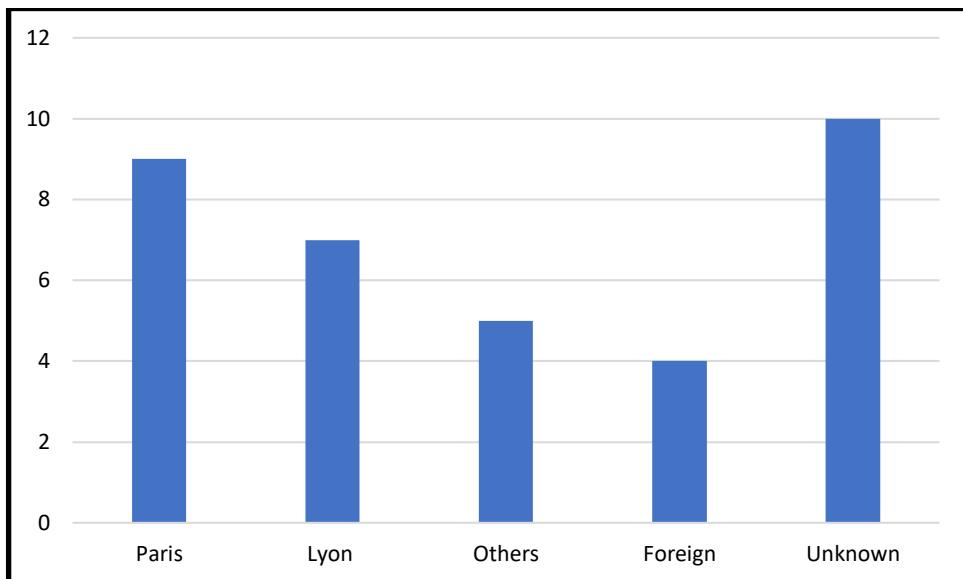


Figure 9 - External publications on La Rochelle, published between 1572 and 1574

1.1.1 Transposing History to the Present: Narrating the Siege in Pamphlets

My corpus shows that external publications were generally political or historical, consisting of royal proclamations and decrees as well as accounts of the events during the Siege. The most popular narrative in circulation was the arrival of Montgomery's fleet to La Rochelle's aid on the 19 April 1573.¹⁰ Its appearance near the Huguenot

⁸ I discuss these publications in more detail in Chapters Four and Five.

⁹ I have included in these statistics facsimiles. The only Protestant place that published texts pertaining to La Rochelle is Caen but it is a reproduction of Charles IX's *Édict sur le plaintes, dolleance et supplications des habitants de La Rochelle* (Caen: Bénédic Macé, 1573) [USTC 5234].

¹⁰ The Duke of Montgomery, best known for the fatal injury he inflicted on Henry II during a tournament, became one of the major leaders of Protestantism outside of France. He was captured and beheaded the following year (1574). Cf. Alain

bastion was an answer to the local government's plea which, in turn, exacerbated tensions between Elizabeth I and Charles IX.¹¹ Montgommery's failure to help the inhabitants, however, was broadcasted to renew the royalists' depleting enthusiasm and interest in the siege.¹² In fact, the fame of Henri, Duke of Anjou's (1551-1589) defeat over the English fleet was such that it was republished in 1588 in Lyon and Paris. This later text was followed by an account of the *journée des barricades* in Paris to draw a feeble comparison between the Duke of Anjou's victory over Montgommery and the Duke of Guise's victory on behalf of the Catholic League.¹³

Montgommery's defeat, however, painted the English fleet as the true enemy and diverted the attention from La Rochelle to instead focus the conflict on the foreigners' influence. The disidentification between La Rochelle and outsiders ('us versus them') is not as explicit in other accounts of the siege, such as the *Discours et recueil du siège* (1573), which links La Rochelle's rebellion to the presence of foreigners within the city.¹⁴ According to the anonymous author, both refugees and

Landurant, *Montgommery, le régicide, Figure de proue* (Coudray-Macouard: Cheminements, 2008).

¹¹ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, I, p. 499.

¹² In fact, the atmosphere in the camp was described as being dreadful with soldiers dying from poor hygiene and deserting the ranks. Cf. Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, I, p. 486.

¹³ [Anon.], *Brief discours ce qui est advenu sur la Mer entre l'armée du Roy, les Anglois venuz pour secourir ceux de la Rochelle* (Lyon: Jean Phillehotte, 1588) [USTC 11588]. During the *journée des barricades*, Paris and the Ligue revolted against Henry III in fear that he would name Henri de Navarre, a Protestant, as successor to the throne. For more information, see Jean-Marie Le Gall, 'Saint-Denis, les Guise et Paris sous la Ligue, 1588-1590', *French Historical Studies*, 24.2 (2001), 157-84; Danis Richet, 'Les Barricades à Paris, le 12 mai 1588', *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 2.45 (1990), 383-95 and Stuart Carroll, 'The Revolt of Paris, 1588: Aristocratic Insurgency and the Mobilization of Popular Support', *French Historical Studies*, 23.2 (2000), 301-37.

¹⁴ [Anon.], *Discours et recueil du siège de La Rochelle en l'année 1573. Contenant les assaux donnés à ceux de la ville, ensemble les sorties par eux faicte, avec le no[m]bre des Chefs plus remarquables qui y sont morts: et de l'ordre qui fut donné pour les blessez. Le tout fidellement recueilly et mis par ordre de moys à moys, et jours par jours* (Lyon: Jean Saugrin, 1573) [USTC 11260]

immigrants from Protestant nations spurred on the local inhabitants and municipality to refuse the Duke de Biron's entry in the bastion: 'l'entrée d'icelle ville luy fust refuse par les Maire, Echevins et habitans, et à la suasion de plusieurs de la nouvelle opinion estrangers, s'estans retirez dans ladite ville'.¹⁵ In an otherwise neutral text that emphasizes the irrationality of the war, the author presents a disidentification between La Rochelle and the royalists: on one side, there is a chaotic city influenced by belligerent foreigners, on the other side, there is the royalist camp, comprised of true Frenchmen (or 'bon François'), who remain loyal to the King.

Historical pamphlets did not only rely on the symbolic value of foreigners to fashion La Rochelle's identification against the identity of the 'bon François' but also considered other characteristics, including her history and her publications. A seemingly innocuous octavo entitled *Le Voyage du roy F[rançois] I en sa ville de la Rochelle* (c. 1573), for example, was printed in Paris by Guillaume Nyverd and recounts the royal entry of François I in La Rochelle to warn the Rochelais against rising up against their King. Similarly, the anonymous author of *Le Vray discours des rebellions de la ville de la Rochelle*, published in Paris and Lyon in 1573, convinces all 'bon françois' to fight against La Rochelle by reusing discourses published by the city since 1568 as illustrative examples that questioned the Rochelais' allegiance to Charles IX.¹⁶ Historical narrations thus reveal how La Rochelle's history, be it with England or her previous relationship with monarchs, and her local publications were used to establish persuasive arguments that sought to identify the city.

¹⁵ Ibid., fol. 2^v.

¹⁶ [Anon.], *Le Vray discours des rébellions de ceux de la ville de la Rochelle, depuis l'an mil cinq cens soixante sept, continuées jusques présent* (Paris: Gervais Mallot, 1573) [USTC 34745].

1.1.2 Mapping the Atlantic City: a Common Vision

With the increase of visual and literary representations of the city during the siege, the desire to represent, and consequently identify, La Rochelle was evidently important. Published on a broadsheet in Paris in 1573, François Desprez (c. 1530–c. 1580) offers a detailed and coloured birds-eye view of a city filled with soldiers (Figure 10).¹⁷ Each building is represented in minute detail with inscriptions, guiding the readers through the streets and the landscape. The address to the reader in the top left-hand corner and the title depict La Rochelle as a fortified city that is built and inhabited by rebels, who have reshaped the urban space for a military purpose ('tu pourras remarquer comment pour cest effaict rien n'a esté par eux espagné, ayant reduict plusieurs Églises en plate formes, et grands Cavalliers, pour servir à l'extremité de contre-defenses aux Boulevars'). At the bottom and top of the map, the royalist army is pictured attacking the city.

Interestingly, a facsimile is later produced with this original print but adds on scenes from the King's camp and the King's armory on the right-hand side corner (Figure 11).¹⁸ This suggests that, while the maps clearly focus on a detailed representation of the city, they were produced to offer a visual aid for the military movements. Indeed, the augmented title and depiction of this second map ('avec partie du Camp, dont elle est assiégée') focuses on the depiction of the royal troop, which

¹⁷ François Desprez, [P]ortrait de La Rochelle, et des Forteresses q[ue] les Rebelles y ont faict, depuis les p[re]miers troubles jusque à p[ré]sent (Paris: François Desprez, 1573) [USTC 64556].

¹⁸ François Desprez, *Pourtrait de La Rochelle, des Forteresses que les Rebelles y ont fait, depuis les premiers troubles jusque à présent, 15[73], avec partie du Camp, dont elle est assiégée* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [c. 1573]) [USTC 77494].

suggests that, as Desprez states in his address to the reader, these maps were published to ‘contenter le désir des plus curieux’.



Figure 10- [P]ortrait de La Rochelle, et des Forteresses q[ue] les Rebelles y ont fait, depuis les p[re]miers troubles jusque à p[ré]sent (1573)

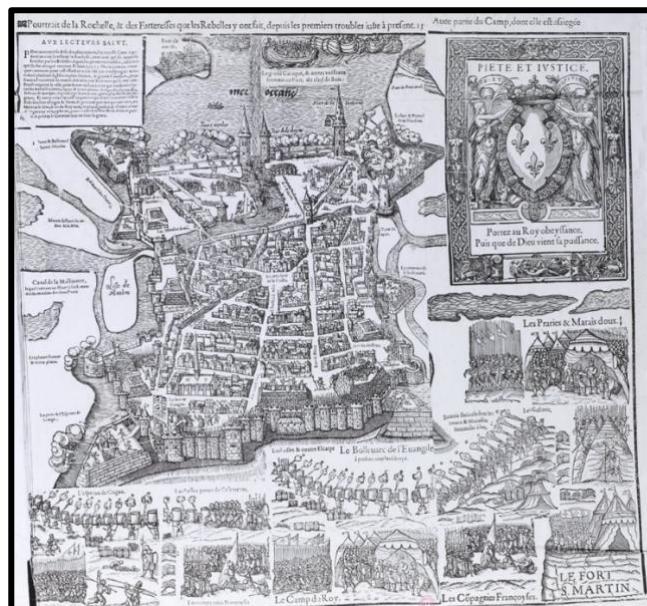


Figure 11 - Pourtrait de La Rochelle, et des Forteresses que les Rebelles y ont fait, depuis les premiers troubles jusque à présent, 15[73], avec partie du Camp, dont elle est assiégée (c. 1573)

1.2 Spreading the Word: the Siege outside of France

News of the First Siege also drew interest from Protestant territories in the Holy Roman Empire, and in the Catholic realm of Italy. During the French religious wars, the country had become a theatre for the dispute between both factions. La Rochelle, having become the focal point of the Fourth War, thus garnered the attention of both countries.

Maps and placards evidently circulated more easily than pamphlets for two reasons: it provided a visual aid to describe events akin to miracles and enabled to overcome language barriers. This meant that the visual representation of the city and the siege were decidedly more valuable. In these illustrated representations, the focus was as much on the locality of the event, that is the people and their faith, as on the Siege itself.

1.2.1 Beyond Borders: Recycling Maps in the Holy Roman Empire

Between 1573 and 1575, four publications issued from the Holy Roman Empire report the conflict of the First Siege, two of which were in the form of a map. The first map, *Ware Contrafactur und belegerung der Statt Rochelle* (Figure 12), published in 1573, is a faithful duplicate of Desprez's own engraving, that used vellum as a support instead of paper.¹⁹ The map uses both French and a German translation to describe La Rochelle's topography; it includes the title of the original piece in the cartouche on the top right-hand side.

¹⁹ [Anon.], *Ware Contrafactur und Belegerung der Statt Rochelle, wie sie zu diser zeit von König in Franckreiche belagert* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], c. 1573) [USTC No classification, BnF RESERVE QB-201 (7)-FOL].

However, modifications suggest that this representation of La Rochelle, issued from the Holy Roman Empire, focused on the urban space rather than the rebellious identity of the city. The full German title, for instance, lists the physical construction of the bastion in great detail ('fortified dwellings, ramparts, fortifications, towers, churches, markets, waterways and streets') but does not include an equivalent for the French term *rebelles* to refer to the inhabitants. Similarly, at the bottom of the map, the royal camp is portrayed in greater detail than the French counterpart, probably to prioritize a dramatic rendering of the siege over an updated narration of the conflict.

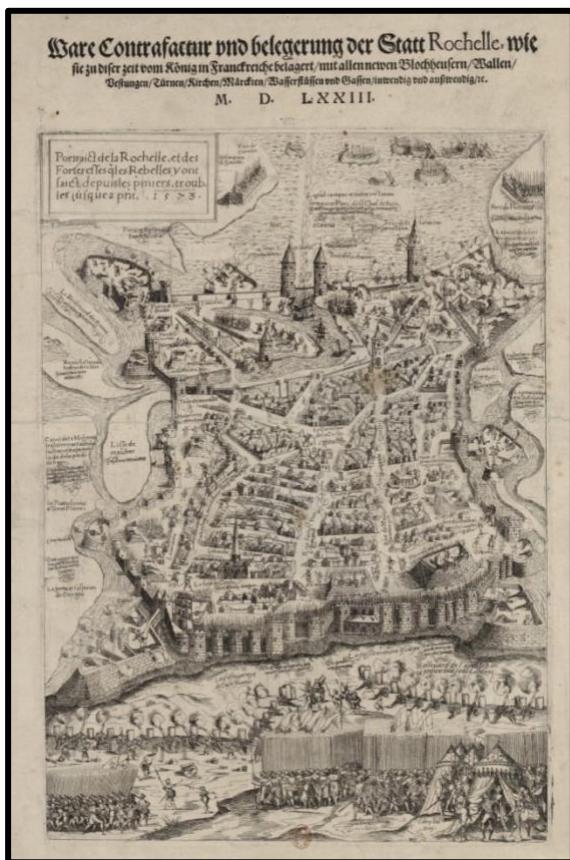


Figure 12- Ware Contrafactur und belegerung der Statt Rochelle (c. 1573)

Desprez's portrayal of La Rochelle inspired foreign engravers after the end of the siege, such as George Braun (1541–1622) and Frans Hogenberg (1535–1590), who in 1575 included a detailed and coloured map of the city in the second volume of their

Civitates Orbis Terrarum (Figure 13).²⁰ Although the title of the map is latinized, the legend and inscriptions remain in French. Once again, key differences between the original piece and this engraving reveal an interest in identifying La Rochelle as a strong bastion ('Munitissimum Galliae Opp[idum]'). On this occasion, however, Braun and Hogenberg have also made sure to evoke the city's religious identity. For example, the army at the bottom has been replaced by civilian figures in Protestant garb: the group seemingly depicts a pastor talking to a couple.



Figure 13 – ‘Rochella munitissimum galliae opp.’, in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1575)

²⁰ George Braun and Franz Hogenberg, ‘Rochella munitissimum Galliae opp.’, in *Civitates orbis terrarum. De præcipuis, totius universi urbibus, liber secundus*, 2 vols (Cologne: Braun, 1575), II, p. 111 [USTC 411925].

1.2.2 Portraying the Factions: between Fact and Fiction

Among the collection of placards that were issued from the Holy Roman Empire, two pictures depict battle scenes from the Siege. Both of these engravings are accompanied by a short text that describe the event illustrated above: a fictitious battle or event that supposedly took place in the later part of March and places the Rochelais as victors owing to an outside intervention either in the Duke of Montgomery or God. In fact, the urban space is either placed in the background or is absent from the picture.

The first piece is untitled but was carved by Frans Hogenberg (Figure 14).²¹ It shows a battle that allegedly took place on the night of the 16 March during which the royalist army was pushed back by the arrival of the Duke of Montgomery. The Duke is placed at the centre of the engraving, on horseback, with his fleet in the background, on the left of La Rochelle.

In reality, the Duke did not arrive to La Rochelle's aid until 19 April and, outside of the daily scuffles that occurred, there are no records of a battle having taken place that particular day. Although this fictitious combat may have some elements of truth of the fights between the Rochelais and the army camped outside, it is evident that the sole purpose of this placard is to celebrate Montgomery and the victory of Protestantism over the murderous Catholics, as suggested by the poem beneath the woodcut.²²

²¹ [Franz Hogenberg], *Siège de la Rochelle. Anno Dni M. D. LXXIII. Den XVI martii in der nacht umb. XII uhren* ([Cologne]: [Franz Hogenberg], c. 1576) [USTC No classification, BnF RESERVE QB-201 (7)-FOL].

²² [Hogenberg], *Siège de la Rochelle*: ‘Auch sampt dem Hern Mongomeri, | Der mitt Reuttern und knecht gar frei | Sich zu den andern hat aufgemacht | Und gar starck vor Rosschell gelacht | Damitt des Kunigs Regiment | Rosschell mit uberfield behendt.’

The other placard (Figure 15) is a woodcut that has not yet been studied and was carved by Valentin Kröner (fl. 1561-1598), under the pseudonym Johannes Frisch in 1573. It retells the miracle of a star appearing in the sky over La Rochelle for three hours on 30 March 1573.²³

This engraving was published in Schweinfurt, a village at the centre of conflict during the Reformation. Renowned for its Protestant affiliation, there is a clear propaganda agenda behind this placard as, once again, there are no other records of this event ever taking place.²⁴ On the right-hand side of the woodcut the royalists and Swiss army are depicted threatening the Rochelais with bloody spears. On the left, the Rochelais are kneeling before a bloody sun and chanting psalms. The Protestants are thus represented as faithful servants, protected by God.



Figure 14 - *Siège de la Rochelle par le duc d'Anjou* (c. 1576)

²³ [Valentin Kröner], *Wunderzeichen, welches zü Roschel am himmel gestanden, und alda ist gesehen worden, den xxx. tag Mertzens, in diesem M. D. Lxxiii. Jar* (Schweinfurt: [Valentin Kröner], 1573) [USTC 752119].

²⁴ The closest ‘divine intervention’ I have managed to find is a storm which stopped the royalist army. See Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, I, p. 485.



Figure 15- Wunderzeichen, welches zu Roschel am Himmel gestanden (1573)

1.2.3 Wiping Away the City: the Italian Accounts of the Siege

Likewise, the maps that circulated from Italy demonstrate that it was not only the Holy Roman Empire that offered their identification of La Rochelle in the context of the First Siege. As the seat of Catholicism and with Catherine de Médicis as France's regent queen, Italy had a vested interest in the French religious wars and two different maps of La Rochelle were published following the events during the Fourth War.

The first map, *Pianta della Rocella* (Figure 16), is an anonymous etching that represents La Rochelle's fortifications and the position of Charles IX's army.²⁵ The walls and inner fortifications that had impressed early modern contemporaries are

²⁵ [Anon.], *Pianta della ROCELLA assedata dall exerciso del re Christianiss[im]o di Franza* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [c. 1573]) [USTC No classification, La Rochelle, Musée d'Orbigny-Bernon (Mus. OB) MAH. 1937.9.2].

there but an outline. The city is portrayed as an empty shell where the only details provided by the cartographer are cannons firing towards the Huguenot bastion who is depicted without a military defence.

The second map, *Il vero sito della Rocella* (

Figure 17), was made by the cartographer Antoine Lafréry (1512-1577), a French native who moved to Rome in the 1540s.²⁶ Once again, the inside of La Rochelle is empty for the most part but Lafréry details the position the towers in and surrounding the city, one of her identifying factors. Similarly, the sea, marshes and harbour are depicted with greater attention. The focus is therefore placed on the fortifications and the ships, which were often symbolically associated with the city. The map thus giving prominence to the surrounding landscape rather than the inner structure of La Rochelle.

Both plans suggest to the religious conflict in the title by referring to Charles IX as the Chrisitan King and, in *Il vero sito della Rocella*, Lafréry names the Rochelais heretics. It is uncertain whether both engravers were unfamiliar with Desprez's more thorough *Pourtrait de la Rochelle* or this was a deliberate choice. However, an Italian line drawing of La Rochelle, heavily based on Desprez's map, was made in 1573, which suggests that a detailed plan of the city was in fact circulating in Italy at the time.²⁷ Furthermore, during his survey of Italian Atlases and maps, Ronald Tooley notices Italian cartographers relied on 'the maps of their Germanic and French competitors, which they procured and reproduced in a superior manner on

²⁶ Antoine Lafréry, *Il vero sito della Rocella hora occupata da heretici et Ribelli di sua Maestà Christianissima della Quale sono Assediati* ([Rome]: [Antoine Lafréry], [c. 1575]) [USTC No classification, London, British Library (BL) K.58.108.]. Lafréry was a renowned cartographer, famed for his maps on Rome.

²⁷ Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek Salzburg (UB Salzburg), MS Handzeichnung H. 16.

copperplates, either in their original or on a reduced scale.²⁸ This does indeed suggest that the absence of detail was a deliberate choice to strip the Huguenot bastion of its military function as an impenetrable fortress, erasing all life within the city, to focus instead on the movement of the conflict.

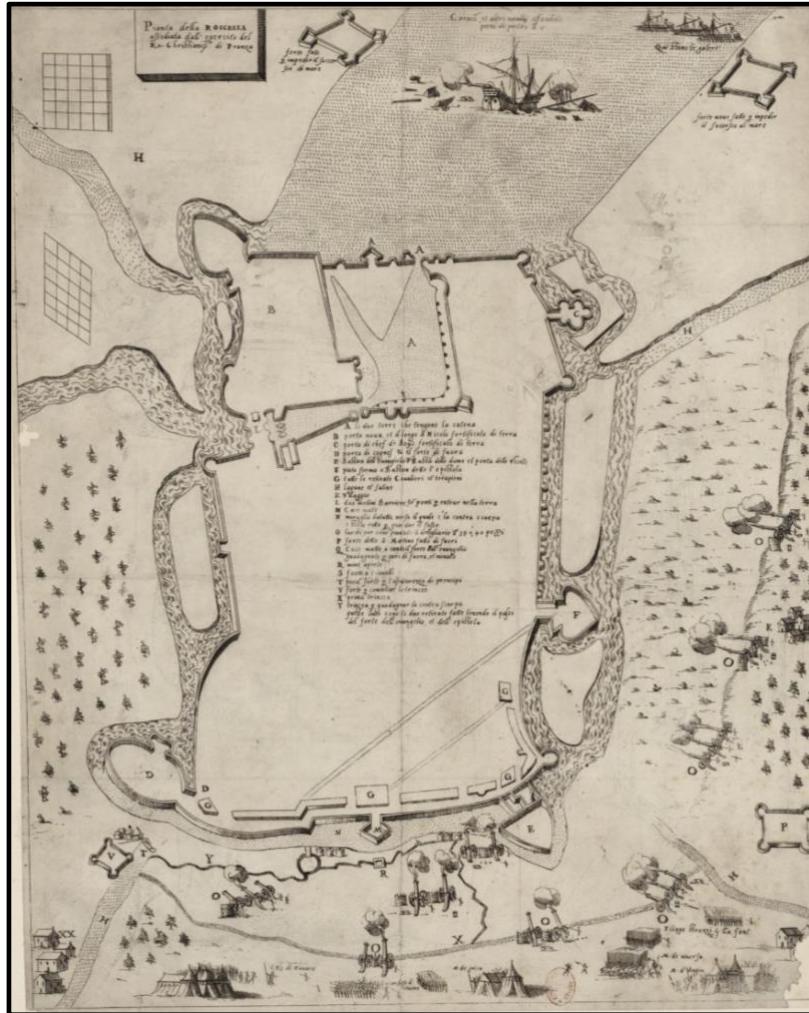


Figure 16 – Pianta della ROCCELLA assedata dall’exercito del re Christianiss-o di Franza (c. 1573)

²⁸ Ronald Vere Tooley, ‘Maps in Italian Atlases of the Sixteenth Century, Being a Comparative List of the Italian Maps Issued by Lafreri, Forlani, Duchetti, Bertelli and Others. Found in Atlases’, *Imago Mundi*, 2 (1939), 12–47 (p. 13).

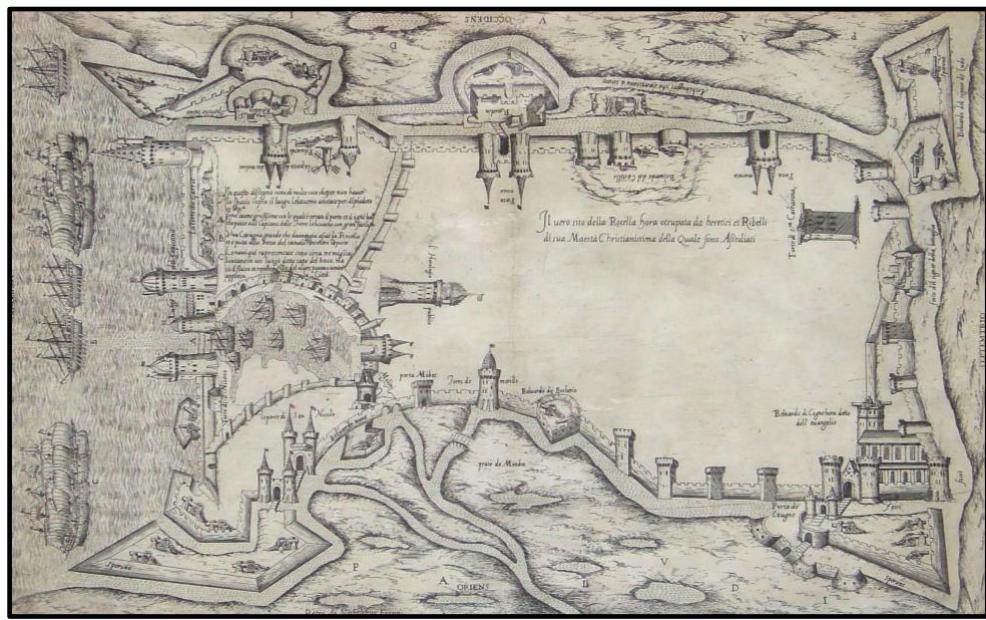


Figure 17 –Il vero sito della Rocella hora occupata da heretici et Ribelli di sua Maestà Christianissima della Quale sono Assediati. (c. 1575)

*

Martha Pollak's study of early modern military urbanism leads her to conclude that '[s]iege plans and views [...] display the city as an object of political and military desire, [...]; they make a fundamental, significant contribution, serving to both formulate the city's identity and to document urban military conflict.'²⁹ During the First Siege of La Rochelle, maps and engravings that were issued from three different countries did indeed proffer three different identities. In France, historical pamphlets and Desprez's map focused on the militarization and fortifications of the city that, to the royalists, represented the inhabitants' intention of revolt. This hypothetical intention thus initiated a symbolic response, which is evidenced in the symbolic

²⁹ Martha Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 118

labelling of La Rochelle and her inhabitants as rebels.³⁰ This labelling, in turn, identified the Rochelais as separate from the ‘bon François’, as the ‘Other’.

Foreign illustrations included the religious aspect of the conflict. The two plans issued from Italy depicted the fortifications that surrounded the city, alongside the added symbol ‘heretici’ in one of the maps, and portrayed the First Siege as a conflict between a rebel city and the French Christian King. The advocates for Protestantism in the Holy Roman Empire similarly associated La Rochelle with religion in a fictionalized retelling, especially after her foreseeable victory, and began to perceive the urban space as a Protestant space.

2 La Rochelle’s External Identification in Language

2.1 A Rebellion against Fate: Jean de La Gessée’s *La Rochelleide*

Unlike the siege of Sancerre that was documented by one of the city’s ministers, the explorer Jean de Léry, the First Siege of La Rochelle did not feature in the local press in the form of testimonies or *mémoires*.³¹ The only prosaic narratives or poetry that circulated on the subject during and after the siege were from non-Rochelais who either participated in the siege (e.g. Duke of Nevers) or, in the case of the Scottish lawyer Hercules Rollock (fl. 1577–1619), who resided within the city.³²

³⁰ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 13.

³¹ Jean de Léry, *Histoire mémorable de la ville de Sancerre* (1574). I use the term *mémoire* in its broader sense whereby the author reflects on a past event or experience. They were mostly written by nobility and published much later in their life; such as Duke of Nevers’ *Journal du siège de La Rochelle, du 11 février au 21 mars 1573*. [Bnf, MS. Français 3950.32].

³² For a further study on Hercules Rollock’s poem, see ‘Chapter Four’, p. 217.

Jean de La Gessée's (c.1550-c.1600) *La Rochelleide* (1573) offers one of the earliest literary representations of the siege and, accordingly, of La Rochelle.³³ The octavo was first published in Paris by Gilles Blaise, a printer who was renowned for his political and royalist prints during the Wars of Religion, and then in Rouen by Richard Petit that same year.³⁴ La Gessée employs formulaic language and decasyllables traditionally associated with epic poetry to narrate the historical events surrounding the siege of La Rochelle. As Raymond concludes, these two literary features imitate Ronsard's *La Franciade* and other works.³⁵

³³ Jean de La Gessée, *La Rochelleide, contenant un nouveau discours sur la ville de la Rochelle, suivant les choses plus mémorables avenues en icelle, et au camp du Roi, depuis le com[m]ancement du siège, jusqu'à la fin du mois de Mars dernier: avec une louange des Princes, grands Seigneurs, et Chefs de l'armée. Partie. À très Haut, et Très-puissant Prince Henri, duc d'Anjou, et Frere du Roi Très-Chrstien* (Paris: Gilles Blaise, 1573) [USTC 43339] and La Gessée, *La Rochelleide contenant un nouveau discours sur la ville de La Rochelle, suvant les choses les plus mémorables avenues en icelle, au Ca[m]p du Roy, depuis le commencement du siège: avec une louange des Princes, gra[n]ds seigneurs et chefs de l'armée. Ie partie. À très haut et très puissant prince Henry, duc d'Anjou, et frère du Roy très-chrestien* (Rouen: Richard Petit, 1573) [63039] (I will be using the publication issued from Paris in my study).

³⁴ Whilst the exact day of publication is unknown, scholars have concluded that the poem was published before the end of the siege, in July 1573. Both the dedication at the beginning of the poem (dated March 1573) and the authorization conceded to Gilles Blaise to print the work on the 8 April 1573 support this claim. The fact that this epyllion was published in April 1573 and written during of the siege, before the outcome of the conflict was determined, means that it was composed in the heat of the moment.

³⁵ Marcel Raymond, *L'Influence de Ronsard sur la poésie française (1550-1585)* Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 2 vols, 73 (Geneva: Droz, 1927), II. Only the first four songs of *La Franciade* were published: the project, originally commissioned by Charles IX, ended with his life. Marcel Raymond finds idioms, similar to the ones used by Ronsard, scattered throughout the works of La Gessée. The use of decasyllables, on the other hand, is more often associated with the medieval epic genre, the *chanson de geste*, and at the turn of the sixteenth century, alexandrines were more commonly used in epopees. However, there were some exceptions: Ronsard favoured the decasyllables in *La Franciade*, a surprising choice given his incontrovertible ability to write with alexandrines as was proven by his famous *Discours des misères de ce Temps. À la Royne mère du Roy. Par P[ierre] de Ronsard Vandemois* (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1562) [USTC 14915]. Marcel Raymond indicates that this decision influenced La Gessée's *La Rochelleide*. (See *L'Influence de Ronsard*, II, p. 172).

La Gessée's religious stance during the French Wars of Religion is, even now, unclear.³⁶ Bruno Méniel describes him as a Huguenot on account of his Protestant origins and his strong advocacy for amity.³⁷ Yet, his poems show that, throughout his career, he was a man of the court and a royalist at heart.³⁸ La Gessée published nine different pamphlets in 1573 to support the King's army, most of which were printed in Gilles Blaise's press, which might also suggest that the poet was looking for patronage, a theory that is certainly supported by the liminary texts that dedicated to Charles IX.³⁹

Previous researchers have so far offered an intertextual and literary study of *La Rochelleide* that primarily focuses on the publication's broader historical context. None have therefore offered a reading that explores the writer's symbolic interaction with La Rochelle's identity, a research gap that I will now address. Indeed, if we take into consideration his moderate stance, how did La Gessée's identity, as a moderate if not as a Huguenot, influence his identification of La Rochelle?

³⁶ Jean de La Gessée, very occasionally referred to as La Jessée by scholars, is a poet who would be highly renowned for his satirical texts published from 1578 onwards.

³⁷ Bruno Méniel, *La Renaissance de l'épopée: la poésie épique en France de 1572 à 1623*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 389 (Geneva: Droz, 2004), p. 157. Méniel addresses the problem surrounding La Gessée's religious affectation but considers, like most, *La Rochelleide* as a protestant poem.

³⁸ Klára Csűrös, 'Poème héroïque et l'actualité: *La Rochelleide* de Jean de la Gessée', in *Poétique et narration: mélanges offerts à Guy Demerson*, ed. by François Marotin and Jacques-Philippe Saint Gérand (Paris: Slatkine, 1993), pp. 293-308 (p. 296).

³⁹ The most widespread pamphlet, the *Nouveau discours sur le siège de Sancerre*, was printed in three difference cities — Rouen, Lyon and Paris — in that same year. Most of his prolific production of work were dedicated to royalty.

2.1.1 Proteus: a Sea Change in the Portrayal of La Rochelle

La Rochelleide opens with a summary of the First Siege and an invocation that asks for the Muse's blessing. Proteus, the god of the seas and rivers, then appears from the sea to prophesy the defeat of La Rochelle.⁴⁰ The Rochelais and writers of local pamphlets, such as Jean de La Haize in his *carmina*, generally regarded the sea as the source of La Rochelle's prosperity. Yet, in *La Rochelleide*, these familiar waters are no longer protecting the fortress against intruders, but are instead predicting her fall.⁴¹ Proteus' mere presence and words strip La Rochelle of her topographical protection: the sea and the walls.⁴² In the following passage, for instance, Proteus compares La Rochelle to Troy with the intention of undermining the strength of the fortifications:

Bien qu'à ce coup l'on te dise garnie
D'hommes vaillans, et de vivres munie:
Bien qu'en tes murs, et fossœufs rampars,
On voie au long fourmiller tes soldars [sic]:
Bien qu'on te vante, et qu'on nous mette en conte
Tes gros Canons, et grand's pieces de fonte
Si verras tu (quoi qu'il nous tarde) à temps
En pleurs, et cris, changés tes passetems,
Et seras mise à tes haineus en proïe:
Car tu n'es point une seconde Troïe⁴³

⁴⁰ In Homer's *Odyssey*, the mortal men who managed to capture Proteus were allowed to gain access to his knowledge of the future. See William E. Burns, “‘A Proverb of Versatile Mutability’: Proteus and Natural Knowledge in Early Modern Britain’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 13.4 (2001), 969-80 (p. 972).

⁴¹ La Gessée, *La Rochelleide*, fols B1^r-B2^v. This imagery was actually more common in early modern thoughts as the ocean was often perceived as dangerous and destructive, a world filled with monsters. For more information, see Marie-Thérèse Jones-Davies, *Monstres et prodiges au temps de la Renaissance* (Paris: Touzot, 1980).

⁴² As previously discussed, La Rochelle's fortifications and the presence of the sea and marshes were construed as a great tactical advantage to the city's protection.

⁴³ La Gessée, *La Rochelleide*, fol. B2^v.

Overall, Proteus concurs that La Rochelle's military strategy and fortifications should lead the city to victory with the emphasis placed on the glory of the fortress and the significance of the symbolic military presence, but the repetition of the conjunction *bien que* ('although') suggests that defeat is inevitable. La Gessée thus conscientiously uses military assets that are intrinsically paired with La Rochelle's (self-)identification.

2.1.2 A Naturally Rebellious City

Most of the poem, and even the pamphlet, is a glorification of the royal army, Charles IX, Paris, and finally France. La Gessée condemns La Rochelle because of her rebellious nature and from the royalist point of view, this was the true point of contention: 'Et qu'il te plait (rebelle) t'obstiner | Contre celui qui vient mâtiner'.⁴⁴ I would even argue that the symbolic meaning of Proteus further connects La Rochelle with the term 'rebellion'. He was first used as an allegory in the mid-sixteenth century to symbolize change and alteration: his omniscience and power of mutation often led him to be associated with alchemy but also deception.⁴⁵ Inconstancy was generally perceived as contrary to the ideal of the Renaissance and was often associated with Machiavellian political philosophy.⁴⁶ Proteus's ever-changing nature may therefore indirectly refer to the morals of La Rochelle, which were constantly challenged because of the city's unreliable allegiances with other countries, such as England.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid. By placing the adjective *rebelle* in brackets, our poet draws attention to the word. This was most commonly used when addressing people by their title.

⁴⁵ Burns, "A Proverb of Versatile Mutability", p. 969.

⁴⁶ See for instance Innocent Gentillet, *Discours sur les moyens de bien gouverner* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1576) [USTC 15342].

⁴⁷ This concern can be found in almost any Catholic pamphlets that criticize La Rochelle, especially after Jeanne d'Albret formed an alliance with Elizabeth I in 1568.

It is the city's (hypothetical) intention to pursue conflict that is therefore emphasized, or, in other words, it is the term *rebelle* that has become La Rochelle's salient identity. To take another illustration, La Gessée refers to the city's history and more specifically to the events during the Hundred Year's wars:

Et bien! Humaine et populeuse, et riche,
Tenant l'Empire un Charles Quint d'Autriche,
Tu voulus être alors au Roi français,
Et non Anglais! Ainsi rebelle ainsi
Te révoltant, (et non sans repentance)
Contre raison tu lui fis résistance:
Mais sa douceur, et sa facilité,
Surmonta lors ton infidélité ...⁴⁸

As we have seen in Chapter One, this event was previously used by the Rochelais to affirm their identity as a city loyal to the Crown. La Gessée, however, reinterprets the inhabitants' underlying intentions during the event. As a result, he depicts La Rochelle as a city swayed by desires and passions rather than loyalty and reason. These passions are further exemplified through the use of exclamation marks and the lexical field of political insurgence (in this passage alone: *infidélité*, *résistance*, *rebelle*, *révoltant*), a contrast with La Gessée's portrayal of Troy, which he conceives to be more honourable.

Scholars have persuasively argued that La Gessée was a strong opponent to the Wars of Religion and that this text is yet another illustration of his admonition against violence rather than against the Rochelais themselves.⁴⁹ I would argue that, although the Rochelais are not individualized (unlike their royalist counterparts who

⁴⁸ La Gessée, *La Rochelleide*, fol. C3r.

⁴⁹ Csűrös, 'Poème héroïque et l'actualité', p. 298: '[c]e solitaire qui a connu la prison [...] construit sa *Rochelleide* non sur la louange, mais sur un message patriotique grave et pathétique, qui étonne par sa sagesse modérée dans ce temps de passions fratricides.'

are individually named), the city is nonetheless established as a social actor and thus becomes a symbol of rebellion against royal authority.

2.2 *De obsidione Rupellae*: a Spy's Report

After the siege of La Rochelle, a Neo-Latin *mémoire* entitled *De obsidione Rupellae* began circulating in manuscript form but was not translated and published until 1856.⁵⁰ Even though this work is not a printed material, I have decided to include a brief discourse analysis of it in my thesis since the nature of the text offers a rare opportunity to compare La Rochelle's external identification in printed publications with more personal accounts. Composed by the Italian physician, Filippo Cavriana (c.1536-1606), this document provides an interesting case-study due to the detailed descriptions of La Rochelle and her inhabitants throughout the siege of 1572-1573. Bruno Spigarolo's research on Cavriana reveals that he was an informant for the Duke of Florence as well as for Spain.⁵¹ The author's choice to communicate in Latin instead of French or even Italian certainly indicates that the manuscript was destined for a specific audience and that Cavriana possibly wanted to expand his readership to other countries such as Italy or Spain.

Yet, since the *mémoire* is, above all, a witness account of the events of the siege of La Rochelle, it is a personal view of the siege and includes certain events that

⁵⁰ The text itself has attracted surprisingly little historical interest so far and was only translated once by Louis Delayant. It will be from this edition that this chapter draw its excerpts.

⁵¹ Bruno Spigarolo, *Filippo Cavriana: montavano del XVI secolo, letterato tacitista, storico e politico* (Mantova: Sometti, 1999). See also Robert J. Sealy, *The Palace Academy of Henry III* (Geneva: Droz, 1981), p. 36-37.

did not necessarily happen. Some of the dates are even erroneous or totally omitted.⁵²

Cavriana's text is therefore unique in that it provides an outsider's personal point of view and a narrative that does not solely reflect the opinions of the French court.

2.2.1 La Rochelle: the Converging of Nature and Culture

Cavriana opens with a topographical description of La Rochelle. Similar to the maps issued from France and the Holy Roman Empire, he describes every part of the city with surgical precision. This detailed description is probably influenced by the purpose of his report as his intended reader is not familiar with La Rochelle. His report particularly concentrates on the strategic advantage of the city and her ramparts. Even the ruins become part of La Rochelle's military strategy.⁵³ The same can be said of the role of Nature during the siege. Cavriana portrays the sea and the weather as actively helping the inhabitants. This is typified by the Rochelais' use of the weather as a strategic weapon against the royalists.⁵⁴

Similar to La Gessée, Cavriana pays particular attention to the ocean and the surrounding waters but depicts them here as protecting the harbour.⁵⁵ Throughout *De*

⁵² Louis Delayant expands on this matter in the introduction of his translation. See Filippo Cavriana, *Histoire du siège de La Rochelle sous Charles IX en 1573*, ed. and trans. by Louis Delayant (La Rochelle: A. Siret, 1856), p. xxv.

⁵³ Cavriana, *Histoire du siège de La Rochelle*, p. 4: ‘De la tour de l’Église, dont les citoyens ont soigneusement abattu le faite, il reste le mur; on y a placé des pièces de campagne qui tirent merveilleusement sur les champs voisins, et il semble être pour toute la ville un lieu d’observation’.

⁵⁴ Cavriana, *Histoire du siège de La Rochelle*, p. 43: Comme on ne faisait encore que commencer à couler les navires, par la pleine lune, temps où ont lieu dans l’Océan les plus grandes marées, par un vent favorable pour venir d’Angleterre à la Rochelle, six navires [...] entrèrent à pleines voiles dans le port sans être ni coulés ni arrêtés par les boulets que leur envoyèrent les plus fortes pièces de la Carraque et des forts, poussés qu’ils étaient dans la ville par la force du vent.’

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 5: ‘L’espace que nous venons de décrire est parfaitement défendu par l’Océan ou par des fossés pleins d’eau et des marais destinés à faire du sel’.

obsidione Rupellae, the descriptions evince a striking correlation between the natural elements and the manmade city. For instance, the author's parallels between the nature of the sea and the Rochelais are pervasive:

Fortifiée ainsi par la nature et par l'art, la Rochelle nourrit une race d'hommes rude et grossière, adonnée aux travaux du commerce et de la navigation, riche et naturellement orgueilleuse. Aussi, pleine de confiance dans la nature du lieu et accoutumée à la liberté, a-t-elle toujours paru dédaigner l'empire du roi.⁵⁶

Like Plato, the early modern school of thought believed that local climate and topography had an impact on people's personality traits and physical appearance.⁵⁷ Cavriana thus offers his readers an exhaustive description of the surrounding topography to which he ascribes the inhabitants' behaviour and, consequently, identity. The influence of Nature on their behaviour also intimates that their love for independence and their rebelliousness are inherent to their identity: 'ils sont prompts à la révolte, comme nous savons qu'on en a souvent fait l'épreuve.'⁵⁸

2.2.2 A City of Indomitable Barbarians

Above all, however, La Rochelle's love of independence is mirrored in her anarchic social constructs. Cavriana here points to the chaos in the city due to the lack of governance by nobility and to the division between the *bourgeois* on the one hand and

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 7 and 9.

⁵⁷ Plato, *Dialogues of Plato: Translated into English, with Analyses and Introduction*, ed. and trans. by Benjamin Jowett, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), IV, p. 50: 'For the sea, although an agreeable, is a dangerous companion, and a highway of strange morals and manners as well as of commerce.'

⁵⁸ Cavriana, *Histoire du siège de La Rochelle*, p. 11.

the rest of the inhabitants on the other. For the author, this love of freedom causes the Rochelais to be governed by irrational thoughts and emotions.⁵⁹

Cavriana similarly compares the Rochelais' notorious lack of reason to the rationality of other political and influential figures such as La Noue.⁶⁰ According to Cavriana, when Charles IX sent La Noue to negotiate with the citizens, La Noue first refused to go, stating that ‘s’il venait à la Rochelle on l’y retiendrait; que c’était une population barbare, obstinée en toutes choses’.⁶¹ Similarly, Cavriana juxtaposes La Rochelle to other cities and towns, and likens the Huguenot bastion to a small country with its own rights, with its own customs and beliefs: La Rochelle thus no longer belongs to the broader French space but is portrayed as the outsider, the ‘Other’. He goes so far as to contrast the honour of the royal army with the deceitfulness of the Rochelais by recounting how the inhabitants wore the clothing of the royal army, hiding their true identity.⁶²

La Rochelle’s exclusion from a broader French identity is reiterated when Cavriana relates the city’s commercial origins and states that she is bound to other nations not only by her a commercial partnership, but also by her Protestant identity: ‘Elle jouit de l’amitié des Anglais et des Flamands, avec lesquels elle est liée non seulement par le commerce, mais encore par la religion réformée, comme ils

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 19.

⁶⁰ Cf. James J. Supple, ‘The Role of François de La Noue in the Siege of La Rochelle and the Protestant Alliance with the Mécontents’, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 43.1 (1981), 107-22.

⁶¹ Cavriana, *Histoire du siège de La Rochelle*, p. 25.

⁶² Ibid., p. 35: ‘les ennemis se plaçant en embuscade dans des chemins creux , [...] les provoquaient au combat , puis se retirant par ruse , les attiraient dans ces lieux bas et obscurs’ and ‘Ces désavantages s’accrurent par la ruse des soldats qui, revêtant à dessein les mêmes insignes que nous, trompaient beaucoup des nôtres et en se promenant avec eux voyaient et apprenaient en causant ce que nous faisions. Cette ruse causa la prise de Sainte-Clombe, de la Guienne, très-brave officier.’

l'appellent.⁶³ In their representation of the city, La Rochelle's critics therefore exploited her openness towards other cultures and ideologies as it enabled them to question her French identity and, consequently, her loyalty to the French Crown.⁶⁴

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When writers draw the ‘boundaries’ between ‘us’ and ‘them’, especially in the building of a national identity, they gather ‘reified notions of history and roots, cultural traditions, and often exploit popular symbolic images, rituals, sites and objects.’⁶⁵ During the French Wars of Religion, both Catholics and Protestants used the written word to justify their belonging to a broader French collective identity. As Barker mentions, the numerous pamphlets published in this period reveal both sides of the conflict valued ‘order, loyalty to one’s country and monarch, and the fundamental greatness of the French nation.’⁶⁶

The macro- and meso-level study of La Gessée’s and Cavriana’s texts may reveal that they were written for different purposes and in a different format, yet La Rochelle’s identification is similar in each. Even if both authors play down her Protestant identity, La Rochelle is nonetheless described as innately chaotic, disloyal and independent from the Crown. To La Gessée and Cavriana, La Rochelle’s salient identity is that of a rebel city but not (solely) because of the Rochelais’ Protestant

⁶³ Ibid., p. 9.

⁶⁴ Yardeni, *La Conscience nationale*, p. 201.

⁶⁵ Edensor, *National Identity*, p. 25.

⁶⁶ Sara K. Barker, *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest: the Vernacular Writings of Antoine de Chandieu (c. 1534-1591)* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), p. 159.

creed. Rather, it is her history, traditions and, more importantly, the inhabitants' intrinsic relationship with their environment, that ultimately labels the city as 'un-French'.

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* * *

During the siege of 1573, La Rochelle was placed at the centre of religious and political confrontation and, although French publications focused on the political aspect and the notion of nationhood, the printed materials issued from the Holy Roman Empire and Italy highlighted the religious nature of the topic. La Rochelle's identification (and disidentification) focused on similar symbolic images, namely her fortress and the sea, both of which represented, for the royalists and the Catholics, the Rochelais' rebellious intentions.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that the symbolic interpretation of La Rochelle's topography was key to the city's identification. Yet, it is also evident that La Rochelle's history and traditions contributed to shaping her identity during the Wars of Religion, either through the Rochelais' relations with other countries or their attachment to their privileges. From then on, La Rochelle's opponents (and even occasionally her allies) identified the city as 'the Other' to which they opposed an arbitrary French national identity. However, following La Rochelle's victory over Charles IX's army, the Rochelais and other Protestants established the city's salient identity in religious terms, in part by reinterpreting the symbolic images of her topography and comparing her to the New Jerusalem.

Chapter Four: The Sacralization of La Rochelle (1573-1609)

And what can men do more than starve and die

For a dream, for a faith, for a pledged word?

- Richard Aldington, 'La Rochelle', 1931

La Rochelle's status as the French Protestant capital was widely recognized after the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre and the city's victory over the royal army in 1573. Both events further encouraged the arrival of Protestant refugees and, within the city walls, conversions to Protestantism increased between 1573 and 1586.¹ The growing demand for religious leaders was such that La Rochelle regularly sought help from Geneva and, in 1588, the Protestant *assemblée* voted for the establishment of a university to train ministers.² The relationship between La Rochelle's general population and her religious leaders was, however, far from peaceful and the city was continuously divided.³

¹ Trocmé, *L'Église réformée de la Rochelle*, p. 141.

² Vray, *La Rochelle et les Protestants*, p. 82. Huguenot political assemblies (or *assemblée*) were different from national synods in that they allowed deputies, elected by the Protestant Church, to discuss the articles of the edicts of pacifications throughout the religious wars and, after the Edict of Nantes (1598) that ended the Eighth Religious War, ensured the articles of the peace treaty were implemented. See Léonce Anquez, *Histoire des assemblées politiques des réformés de France (1573-1622)* (Paris: A. Durand, 1859); Pierre S. J. Blet, *Le Clergé de France et la monarchie* (Rome: Librairie éditrice de l'Université grégorienne, 1959), pp. 391-408; Emma Lorimer, 'Huguenot General Assemblies in France, 1579-1622: 'Public Opinion', Pamphlets and Political Memory', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 30.1 (2008), 52-63; ead., 'Huguenot General Assemblies in France, 1579-1622' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2004) and ead., 'Une "voie publique pour efficacement agir": Les assemblées générales des Églises réformées de France (1579-1622) devant l'insécurité des guerres civiles', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 154 (2008), 463-80.

³ Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea*, p. 129. See also Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, pp. 111-12 and Aymon, *Actes Ecclesiastiques*, I, p. 208.

It is against the backdrop of these events that we shall explore religious texts connected to La Rochelle's (self-)identification as a Protestant, and even sacred, urban space. These will include Bible translations, meditations, conversion narratives, textual paraphrases and exegetical writings. Beyond a general desire to promote Protestant beliefs, printed texts produced in La Rochelle were often destined to unite the Rochelais readership and motivate the inhabitants to fight for the *Cause*. This mission became more prominent after 1584, following the death of the Duke of Alençon (1555-1584), since this meant that a Protestant, Henri de Navarre, could potentially succeed to the French throne. Henri's claim to the Crown and his subsequent conversion to Catholicism in 1593 led to a renewal of confessionally motivated publications in La Rochelle. His conversion was perceived as a 'grand tort' by key Protestant figures, including Catherine de Parthenay, and this led to an increase in pamphlets that openly engaged with national theological debates.⁴

This chapter opens with a summary of religious publications issued in La Rochelle between 1573 and 1609 and then examines how religious texts interacted with the city's (self-)identification. During that period, the printing shops in La Rochelle changed owners on several occasions. Following Barthélemy Berton's death in 1573, his widow, Françoise Pierres (fl. 1573-1574), and her partner Théophile Bouquet (d. 1575) owned the shop for two years, after which Jean Portau (d. 1590) acquired it and published there from 1576 to 1590. Likewise, after Pierre II Haultin passed away in 1588, his nephew, Jérôme Haultin (d. 1600) inherited the shop until his death in 1600. It then passed to Corneille Hertmann (d. 1620), who published under the name Les Héritiers Haultins until 1616, thus benefitting from the reputation of his predecessors.

⁴ Vray, *La Rochelle et les Protestants*, p. 84

1 Religious Print in La Rochelle (1573-1609): An Overview

1.1 A Summary of the Development in Print

1.1.1 Contextualizing the Printing Trends

A diachronic study of publications from La Rochelle between 1573 and 1609 reveals that, unsurprisingly, contemporary events played an important part in shaping local print. The plagues of 1582, 1586 and 1603-1604, which afflicted the inhabitants and caused the death of Catherine de Parthenay's husband, René II of Rohan (1550-1586), gave rise to religious pamphlets that broached the subject of death.⁵ These included consolatory works and texts akin to the *ars moriendi* such as Jean de l'Espine's (Delespine) (1506–1594 / 1597) *Traicté pour consoler les malades* (1588) and *Traicté pour oster la crainte de la mort* (1586 and 1589), or Mornay's more philosophical opus, initially published in Lausanne in 1576, entitled *Excellent discours de la vie et de la mort* (1581 and 1585).⁶ Texts of a more scientific nature were also published:

⁵ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, pp. 53 and 115.

⁶ Jean de L'Espine, *Traicté pour oster la crainte de la mort, et la faire désirer à l'homme fidèle. Avec une briève déclaration de la Résurrection des morts, avecques quelques Prières et méditations P.M.J.D.L'E* (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1586) [USTC 3555]; Jean de L'Espine, *Traicté pour consoler les malades, et les asseurer contre les frayeurs et apprehensions de leurs pechés, et de la Mort. Reveu et corrigé de nouveau. Par M. J. D. L.* (La Rochelle: Jean Portau, 1588) [USTC 19518]; Philippe de Mornay, *Excellent Discours de la vie et de la mort. Par Philippes de Mornay Seigneur du Plessis Marlin [sic], gentil-homme François Pour mourir bien-heureux à vivre faut apprendre, Pour vivre bien-heureux à mourir faut entendre* (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1581) [USTC 2642] and Philippe de Mornay, *Excellent Discours de la vie et de la mort Par Philippes de Mornay Seigneur du Plessis Marlin, gentilhomme François. Pour mourir bien-heureux à vivre faut apprendre Pour vivre bien-heureux à mourir faut entendre* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 21076]. On Jean de L'Espine, see Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, pp. 104-08.

the local physician Olivier Poupart (15..-?), who served under Henri de Navarre, published medical treatises, including Latin translations of Galen's fourteenth book of the *Method of Medicine* and Hippocrates's *Aphorisms*, the latter of which was dedicated to the *lieutenant-général* Jean Pierres.⁷ As a response to the plagues, Poupart published the *Conseil divin touchant la maladie Divine* (1583), which he dedicated to the local magistrates.⁸

Although few publications represent the maritime interest and identity of La Rochelle's local readership, each of them was reprinted in several editions, attesting to their popularity: *Les Voyages avantageux du capitaine Jan Alfonse* by the Calvinist missionary Jean Alfonse (c. 1484-1544/1549) and Pierre Garcie's (1441-1502) *Le Grand routier* were each published three times between 1579 and 1609.⁹

⁷ Galen, *Cl. Galeni pergamini de methodo medendi libri quatuordecim in compendium coacti. Per Oliverum Popardum Pictoment Sammaxentinum: Medicum*, trans. by Galen (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1581) [USTC 111435] and Hippocrates, *Hippocratis Aphorismi, ordine quam antea meliore compositi, et latini facti per Oliuerum Popardum medicum. Ad. Nobilem Janum Petraeum consiliarium urbis Rochelliae illiusq[ue] Diocaeos regium supraefectum*, trans. by Olivier Poupart (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1580) [USTC 111434].

⁸ Olivier Poupart, *Conseil divin touchant la maladie Divine, et la Peste en la ville de la Rochelle. Item Deux notables Histoires: l'une de la Scorzonere, l'autre de la Pierre Bèzeare, qui sont deux excellens theriques. Faict, premierement, latin. Puis françois, par Olivier Poupart, Poictevin, de S. Messant, Medecin ordinaire de la dite ville de la Rochelle* (La Rochelle: Jean Portau, 1583) [USTC 2664]. On Olivier Poupart, see Arcère, *Histoire de La Ville de La Rochelle*, II, pp. 87-88 and Pierre Damien Rainguet, *Biographie Saintongeaise, ou dictionnaire historique de tous personnages qui se sont illustrés par leurs écrits ou leurs actions dans les anciennes provinces de Saintonge et d'Aunis. Formant aujourd'hui le département de la Charente-Maritime, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Saintes: M. Niox, 1852), p. 470.

⁹ Jean Alfonse, *Les Voyages avantageux du capitaine Jean Alfonse Sainctongeois. Contenant les Reigles et enseignmens nécessaires à la bonne et seure Navigation. Reveue et de nouveau augmenté outre les précédentes impressions* (La Rochelle: Jean Portau, [Between 1576 and 1582]) [USTC 20614]; id. *Les Voyages avantageux du capitaine Jean Alfonse Sainctongeois. Contenant les Reigles et enseignmens nécessaires à la bonne et seure Navigation. Reveue et de nouveau augmenté outre les précédentes impressions* (La Rochelle: [Jean Portau], [after 1582]) [USTC 34789]; id. *Les Voiages avantageux du Capitaine Jean Alfonse Saintongeois. Contenant les Reigles et enseignemens nécessaires à la bonne et seure Navigation Reveu et corrigé de nouveau, Selon la réformation du Calendrier, qui fut faite l'An mil cinq cens quatre*

Despite these publications, which show interest in local affairs and culture, it was political and especially religious texts that dominated the print landscape in La Rochelle and that engaged with contemporary events outside the city walls, such as Henri de Navarre's succession to the throne.¹⁰ For instance, following the death of Henri III, Jérôme Haultin published *Advertissement au Roy, où sont déduictes les raisons d'Estat, pour lesquelles il ne lui est pas bien séant de changer de Religion* (1589).¹¹ This pamphlet was written anonymously by the poet Jean de Sponde (1557-1595). In his youth, Sponde had enjoyed the patronage of Henri de Navarre, who provided financial support for him to study under the tutelage of Théodore de

vingt deux (La Rochelle: [Les Héritiers Haultin], 1605) [USTC 6803705]; Pierre Garcie, *Le Grand routier, pilotage, et encrage de mer: tant des parties de France, Bretaigne, Angleterre, que haultes Alemaigne: les dangers des ports, haures, riuiers, et chenals des regions susdictes: compost ou calendrier trèsnecessaire pour la mer: les jugemens d'Oléron, touchant le fait des nauires par Pierre Garcie, dit Ferrande. Reveu et corrigé de nouveau* (La Rochelle: [n.pub., Jean Portau(?)]), 1584) [USTC 75160]; id., *Le Grand routier, pillotage et encrage de mer ...* (La Rochelle: Jean Portau, 1590) [USTC 20615] id., *Le Grand routier pilotage et encrage de mer, tant des parties de France, Bretaigne, Angleterre, que haultes Alemaignes, Les dangers des ports, havres, rivières et chenaus des régions susdites. Les jugemens d'Oleron touchant le fait des navires. Dernière édition. Reveüe et corrigée de nouveau, et augmentée du Calendrier reformé selon le retranchement des dix jours tres-necessaire pour les gens de marine. Composé par Pierre Garcie, dict Ferrande. Recentement reveu et corrigé* (La Rochelle: Les Héritiers Haultin, 1609) [USTC 6803752]. Pierre Garcie was also occasionally referred to as Ferrande. For more information on the English distribution of this work, see Susanna De Schepper, “Foreign” Books for English Readers: Published Translations of Navigation Manuals and their Audience in the English Renaissance, 1500-1640’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2012), pp. 47 and 50-52. Desgraves also refers to a lost copy of Pedro de Medina’s *L’Art de Naviguer* (La Rochelle: Martin Villepoux [Jean Portau(?)], 1584) [USTC 75177] (Desgraves, *Repertoire bibliographique*, XVI, p. 52).

¹⁰ According to my corpus, religious texts represent over sixty percent of the publications printed in La Rochelle during this period.

¹¹ [Jean de Sponde], *Advertissement au Roy, où sont déduictes les raisons d'Estat, pour lesquelles il ne lui est pas bien séant de changer de Religion. Toutes les autres vertus combattent, mais la seule constance triomphe* ([La Rochelle]: [Jérôme Haultin], 1589) [USTC 20404]. See Alan Boasse, ‘Introduction’, in *Méditations, avec un Essai de poèmes chrétiens*, by Jean de Sponde (Paris: José Corti, 1954), pp. i-clxxiv (p. i).

Bèze in Basel and after his imprisonment by the Catholic League in Paris in 1589, he was named the *lieutenant-général* of the *sénéchaussé* in La Rochelle.¹²

1.1.2 La Rochelle: The French Geneva

Haultin's press was renowned for the numerous theological texts it produced. It printed works from the most prominent Huguenots of the time such as Théodore de Bèze's *Traicté des vrayes, essentielles et visibles marques de la vraye Église Catholique* (1592).¹³

Most of Haultin's texts had previously been published in Geneva yet, as religious print developed in La Rochelle, the city began to compete with the Swiss press. As my corpus reveals, the regular reprints of the translated Bible and Book of Psalms dramatically increased after the National Synod of 1596 in Saumur specified that French Bibles would thenceforth be printed by Haultin. In exchange Haultin promised to set a fairer price than his Genevan rivals whose Bibles were not only expensive but rare.¹⁴ Between 1572 and 1612, Haultin's shop produced an impressive twenty-two editions of the French translation of the Psalms by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze.¹⁵ Haultin's success naturally displeased the ministers of Geneva, as evidenced by the complaints at the 1603 Synod.¹⁶

¹² For more details on Jean de Sponde's life, see Alan Boase, *Vie de Jean de Sponde* (Geneva: Droz, 1977), François Runchon and Alan Boase, *La Vie et l'œuvre de Jean de Sponde*, Collection d'Études et de Documents Littéraires (Geneva: Éditions Pierre Cailler, 1949) and Josiane Rieu, *Jean de Sponde ou la cohérence intérieure* (Paris: Champion, 1988).

¹³ Théodore de Bèze, *Traicté des vrayes essentielles et visibles marques de la vraye Église Catholique. Par Theodore de Bèze* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1592) [USTC 7165].

¹⁴ Aymon, *Actes Ecclesiastiques*, I, p. 202.

¹⁵ Desgraves, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, II, p. xxv.

¹⁶ Aymon, *Actes Ecclesiastiques*, I, p. 272.

In effect, La Rochelle's reputation as a hub for Protestant thought was of keen interest to Geneva. As early as 1584, Eustache Vignon (1530-1588), a Huguenot printer from the Low Countries who had settled in Geneva in 1555 to escape religious persecution, used the false address 'La Rochelle: Théophile Le Roy' on the anti-Jesuit treatises by the Lutheran theologian, Martin Chemnitz (1522-1586) (see Figure 18).¹⁷

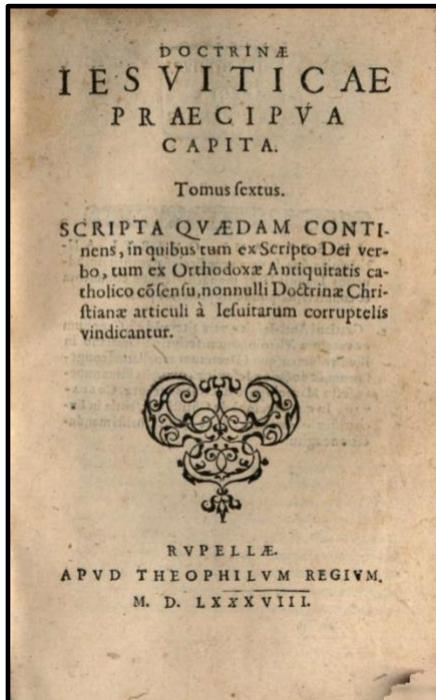


Figure 18- Title page of Martin Chemnitz's *Doctrinae Jesuiticae Praecipua Capita* (1588)

As we have seen, the use of false imprints, were used to profit from a city's reputation or to circulate clandestine print. In this case, however, adopting La Rochelle's name on these anti-Jesuit publications would have protected the political relationship

¹⁷ See Corpus, n°133 and n°148-53. On Eustache Vignon, see Jean-François Gilmont, 'Les Mémoires d'Eustache Vignon (1588): souvenirs d'un éditeur genevois du XVI^e siècle', in *Palaestra typographica: aspects de la production du livre humaniste et religieux au XVI^e siècle*, ed. by Jean-François Gilmont (Aubel: Librairie Gason, 1984), pp. 165-99 and Jean-François Gilmont, 'Les Imprimeurs genevois du XVI^e siècle originaires des XVII Provinces', in *Printers and Readers in the Sixteenth Century: Including the Proceedings from the Colloquium Organised by the Centre for European Culture, 9 June 2000*, ed. by Chris Coppens, *Bibliologia*, 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 47-59.

between Geneva and the French monarchy.¹⁸ Indeed, as an accomplished businessman, Vignon printed a wide-range of publications and collaborated with various printers in Geneva and Lyon, including Antoine Chuppin and Jacob Stoer.

From 1584 to 1588, Vignon used the false imprint of La Rochelle nine times: seven times for works by Chemnitz, once for Jean de l'Espine's *Excellens discours de J. de L'Espine Angevin* (1588), and once more for the Cambridge theologian, William Whitaker (1548-1595) and his work *Responsionis ad decem illas rationes quibus fatus Edmundum Campianum certamen ecclesiae Anglicane obtulit defensio* (1584).¹⁹ This practice continued after Vignon's death as his heirs once again applied La Rochelle's address in 1589 to another work from Martin Chemnitz.²⁰

¹⁸ George Hoffmann, 'From Communion to Communication: The Creation of a Reformation Public through Satire', in *Memory and Community in Sixteenth-Century France*, ed. by David P. LaGuardia and Cathy Yandell (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 113-36 (p. 126).

¹⁹ Jean de l'Espine, *Excellens discours de J. de L'Espine Angevin. Touchant le repos et contentement de l'Esprit, contenans infinies doctrines et fermes consolations à toutes sortes de personnes affligées, en ces derniers temps. Distinguez en sept livres, nouvellement mis en lumière, avec sommaires et annotations qui monstrent l'ordre et la suite des Discours. Ensemble un ample Indice des principales matières y contenues* (La Rochelle [Geneva]: Théophile Le Roy [Eustache Vignon], 1588) [USTC 1898] and William Whitaker, *Responsionis ad decem illas ationes, quibus fatus Edmundus Campianus certamen Ecclesiae Anglicanae ministris obtulit in causa fidei, Defensio contra Confutationem Joannis Duraei Scoti, Presbyteri Jesuitae: Authore Guilielmo Whitakero Theologia in Academia Cantabrigiensi professore Regio. In hoc libro controversiae pleraque omnes, quae inter nostras et pontificias Ecclesias intercedunt, breviter ac dilucidè pertractantur* (La Rochelle [Geneva]: Théophile Le Roy [Eustache Vignon], 1584) [USTC 111443].

²⁰ Martin Chemnitz, *Doctrinae jesuitaru praecipua capita. A doctis quibusdam Theologis (quorum libri sequente pagina continentur) retexta solidis rationibus testimoniisque sacrarum Scripturarum et Doctorum veteris Ecclesiae confutata. Altera Editio, priore emendatior, et duplo auctior* (La Rochelle [Geneva]: Théophile Le Roy [Eustache Vignon], 1589) [USTC 111444].

The religious literature published in La Rochelle contains an assortment of devotional pieces, including meditations, sacred music, and dogmatic theologies (e.g. treatises or conversion narratives) that pertained to a broader religious debate outside the city walls. Some of these publications were penned by writers whose names frequently appear in the corpus, such as Jean de L'Espine and Philippe de Mornay, both of whom favoured La Rochelle over other Protestant cities.

Other religious publications were written by pastors who lived, if but temporarily, in La Rochelle, including Louis Hesnard (fl. 1591-1597), who wrote the *Traité de l'enchantement qu'on appelle vulgairement le nouement de l'esguillette* (1591) and *Le Chemin droict des pratiquants de la loy de Dieu* (1597), as well as the Italian-born Jean-Baptiste Rotan (d. 1598), author of the *Response à la copie d'une lettre missive de M. Pierre Cayer apostat* (1596).²¹ Such occasional pamphleteers were, needless to say, more predisposed to write about local events.

²¹ Louis Hesnard, *Traité de l'enchantement qu'on appelle vulgairement le nouement de l'Esguillette, en la célébration des mariages en l'Église réformée, et des remèdes à l'encontre pour le soulagement des fidèles* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1591) [USTC 7773]; id., *Le Chemin droict des pratiquants de la loy de Dieu* (La Rochelle: [Jérôme Haultin], 1597) [USTC 75240] and *Response à la copie d'une lettre missive de M. Pierre Cayer apostat: En laquelle il rend raison de sa prétendue conversion. Par J[ean] Baptiste Rotan, Pasteur et Docteur de l'Église de la Rochelle* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1596) [USTC 52992]. Cf. Kevin C. Robbins, 'Magical Emasculation, Popular Anticlericalism and the Limits of the Reformation in Western France Circa 1590', *Journal of Social History*, 31.1 (1997), 61-83.

1.2.1 ‘Songs of Praise’: Promoting the Protestant Ideology through Music

Apart from numerous editions of the Bible and the *Psautier*, the devotional pieces published in La Rochelle consisted of sacred music and meditations on the Psalms. The Psalms gained popularity during the Reformation since Calvinists identified themselves with David, the author of the Book of Psalms, who in the biblical narrative rose to importance, first through music and later by slaying the giant Goliath. According to John B. Roney, his story resonated with the Protestant community as it was ‘[his] courage and triumph in the face of overwhelming adversity that had been the result of divine favor’.²²

Nonetheless, the singing of psalms in Calvinist practice was not merely a ritual associated with the Reformation: it also served to publicize political and religious messages. For instance, Natalie Zemon Davis’s study of the Protestant community in Lyon mentions how psalms were sung in the streets for all to hear.²³ Psalms and music were thus undeniably a means to propagate ideas during the Wars of Religion: they were a medium that transcended class and gender, conveying political and theological thoughts through familiar tunes.

In 1598, Claude Le Jeune (c. 1530–1600), a composer who resided in La Rochelle in the early 1590s, published his *Dodecacorde contenant douze pseaumes de David* with Jérôme Haultin. Well-known throughout Europe, Le Jeune’s *Dodecacorde* was, and still is, arguably, one of his most popular works. Le Jeune’s publication was supported by a royal privilege as well as a privilege from the Dutch government, a

²² John B. Roney, ‘Introduction’, in *The Identity of Geneva: The Christian Commonwealth 1564-1864*, ed. by John B. Roney and Martin I. Klauber (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998), pp. 1-20 (p. 4).

²³ Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon’, *Past & Present*, 90 (1981), 40-70 (p. 58).

country that was experiencing its own religious wars between Protestants and Catholic Spain.²⁴

However, instead of dedicating his work to Henri de Navarre, as we might expect given that the time of publication coincided with the Edict of Nantes that ended the Eighth Religious War, Le Jeune instead devotes it to Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, Duke of Bouillon (1555-1623). The Duke of Bouillon was the marshal of France who had devoted himself to the Protestant cause from 1576. Later, in 1598 at the end of the Wars of Religion, he allied himself with the Duke of Biron (1562-1602) against Henri de Navarre, who had by then converted back to Catholicism.²⁵ Le Jeune's *Dodecacorde* was therefore above all an overt Protestant publication that was endorsed by key defenders of the *Cause*, such as the soldier-poet Odet de La Noue (d. 1618) and the minister Jérémie Boisseul (d. 1609).²⁶

Haultin's repertory also contains the five collections from the repertoire of a renowned Catholic composer, Roland de Lassus (1532-1594).²⁷ The original publication of Lassus's *Mellange* (1570) by the Parisian printers, Adrian Le Roy and

²⁴ Claude Le Jeune, *Dodecacorde contenant douze pseaumes de David, mis en musique selon les douze modes, approuvez des meilleurs Autheurs anciens et modernes. à 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. Et 7. voix. Par Claud. Le Jeune, Compositeur de la Musique de la chambre du Roy* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1598) [USTC 6300, 16842 48668-71], fol. x3v. See *Claude Le Jeune et son temps en France et dans les États de Savoie, 1530-1600: Musique, littérature et histoire: Actes du colloque international de Chambéry 4-7 novembre 1991*, ed. by Marie-Thérèse Bouquet-Boyer and Pierre Bonniffet (Berne: Peter Lang, 1996) and Isabelle His, *Claude Le Jeune (v. 1530-1600): un compositeur entre Renaissance et Baroque* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2000).

²⁵ See Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, *Les Mémoires de Henry de La Tour d'Auvergne, Souverain duc de Bouillon. Adressez a son fils Le Prince de Sedan* (Paris: René Guignard, 1666).

²⁶ Le Jeune, *Dodecacorde*, fol. x4r.

²⁷ Also identified as Orlando di Lasso or Orlande de Lassus

Robert Ballart, is dedicated to Albert v of Bavaria (1528-1579), a fervent admirer of Lassus and an ardent Catholic.²⁸

Although the original publication was strongly entrenched in the Catholic camp, Lassus's *Chansons* were also used by Protestants, such as Simon Goulart (1543-1628) and Thomas Vautrollier (d. 1587).²⁹ Vautrollier's London edition, published in 1570, was a *contrafactum*, a setting of sacred words to popular tunes, which in turn facilitated the spread of Protestantism. However, the Huguenot printer also sought to reconcile the two faiths and dedicated the publication to Henry FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel (1512-1580), a Roman Catholic.

In La Rochelle, a local poet, Jean Pasquier, similarly edited Lassus's work into a *contrafactum* and the omission of the royal privilege confirms that he did not have the consent of the original writer to republish his work.³⁰ Pasquier's appropriation of Lassus's work went beyond a simple reworking of his lyrics, as he exploits Lassus's

²⁸ Roland de Lassus, *Mellange contenant plusieurs chansons, tant en vers latins qu'en ryme françoise à quatre, cinq, six, huit, dix parties* (Paris: Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1570) [USTC 2506 and 39705-08].

²⁹ Roland de Lassus, *Recueil du mellange contenant plusieurs chansons à quatre et cinq parties* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1570) [USTC 76588-92]. See Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso: Music, Piety, and Print in the Sixteenth-Century France* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2001) and Wolfgang Bötticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, 1532-1594* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958).

³⁰ It is worth noting that Thomas Vautrollier's *contrafactum* does not include the royal privilege either but, as the text was published outside of France, the copyright rules did not apply. Cf. Helen L. Deeming, 'Music, Memory and Mobility: Citation and Contrafactum in Thirteenth-century Sequence Repertoires', in *Citation, intertextuality and memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano Di Bacco and Stefano Jossa, 2 vols (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), II, pp. 67-81. Pasquier also published a compilation of various *cantiques*: Jean Pasquier, *Premier livre des Cantiques et Chansons Spirituelles à quatre parties En quatre volume recueillies de plusieurs Excellens Musiciens* (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1578) [USTC 6293 and 62045-47] and Jean Pasquier, *Second livre des Cantiques et Chansons Spirituelles à quatre parties En quatre volume recueillies de plusieurs Excellens Musiciens* (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1578) [USTC 62048-50 and 61995].

reputation with the aim of spreading the Reformation by firmly affixing *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* with Protestant identity characteristics. Pasquier dedicates the first edition of the collection, published in 1575, to Catherine de Parthenay and the second, published the following year, to François de la Noue, two key patrons of the Protestant *Cause*.³¹ In fact, in both prefaces, Pasquier mentions the horrors of the religious wars and how music, elevated from the profane, can be used to serve the greater good.³²

1.2.2 Meditations and their Political Messages

David's psalms, I have already suggested, frequently featured in Protestant literature and especially in meditations, a literary genre that established itself during the latter years of the religious wars, with Bèze's *Chrestienes méditations sur huict pseaumes du prophète David* (1582) and Antoine de Chandieu's (c. 1534-1591) *Méditations sur le Psalme XXXIII* (1583).³³ Desgraves's research has shown that an impressive twenty-two pieces, both political and religious in nature, are attributed to Philippe de

³¹ Pasquier also includes his own students in the dedicatory passage: Marie Blanc, Judith Mage, Jaquette Rolland in the 1575 publication and Susanne Poussart, Elizabeth de la forest and Esther Boisseau in the 1576 publication. With the help of Judith Pugh Meyer, Freedman has attempted to retrace their story through archival records (see footnotes Freedman, *The Chansons of Orland di Lasso*, p. 216).

³² Jean Pasquier in *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus*, fol. x2r: 'Après m'estre retiré en ce lieu, pour me sauver des misères et calamitez de ce tems très difficile et dangeureux, de peur que ne fusse trouvé oysif et inutile en L'Église de Dieu, Je me déliberay y faire profession de la Musique: offrant à mes frères l'usage du petit talent que le Seigneur m'auroit commis, pour le faire proffiter à mon possible.'

³³ Théodore de Bèze, *Chrestienes Méditations sur huict Pseaumes du prophète David* ([Geneva]: Jacques Bérion, 1582) [USTC 4960] and Antoine de Chandieu, *Méditations sur le Psalme XXXIII* ([Geneva(?)] Guillaume de Laimarie, 1583) [USTC 65850]. Cf. Terence C. Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France c.1570-1613* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) and Barker, *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest* (2009).

Mornay, all of which were published by the Haultins between 1581 and 1600.³⁴ They include three meditations: *Méditations chrestiennes* (1586), *Méditation sur le psalme cent-trante* (1594) and *Méditation sur le psalme cent-un* (1594).³⁵ The psalm-meditation is usually written in the first person, referred to as the *méditant*, who enters into an intimate dialogue with God but may also speak on behalf a congregation.³⁶ Mornay's psalm-meditations mostly adhered to these common criterias.³⁷ Occasionally, however, the meditation could address the reader as an additional character, when, according to Terence Cave, the rhetorical structure and the tone of the text becomes comparable to that of a sermon.³⁸

The dedicatory epistle of *Méditations chrestiennes* dates from 1585 and is addressed to Catherine de Bourbon (1559-1604), Henri de Navarre's sister, at approximately the same time she became the intended bride of James VI of Scotland.³⁹ The year of publication of the other two *Méditations* and the dedicatory 'au Roy',

³⁴ Desgraves, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, II, pp. xxv-xxvi.

³⁵ Philippe de Mornay, *Méditations chrestiennes sur les Pseaumes 6 25 30 et 32 par Philippe de Mornay Seigneur du Plessis Marly. Plus sur le Pseaume 137 par P. de Pelisson. P.* (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1586) [USTC 3560]; [Philippe de Mornay], *Méditation sur le psalme cent-trante* ([La Rochelle]: [Jérôme Haultin], 1594) [USTC 20459] and [id.], *Méditation sur le psalme cent-un* ([La Rochelle]: [Jérôme Haultin], 1594) [USTC 20458]. As Sara Barker points out, Mornay first explored the genre in the Parisian edition of his *Discours de la Vie et de la Mort* (1584), which includes Girolamo Savonarola's (1452-1498) meditations. (Barker, *Protestantism, Poetry and Protest*, p. 248).

³⁶ Véronique Ferrer, 'Derniers feux d'un genre: les Méditations sur les Pseaumes d'Agrippa d'Aubigné', *Albinea*. *Cahiers d'Aubigné*, 13 (2001), 119-31 (p. 122).

³⁷ See Philippe de Mornay, *Méditations sur les psaumes: édition critique par Pascale Blum-Cuny*, ed. by Pascale Blum-Cuny (Paris, Champion, 2004) and Pascale Blum-Cuny, 'L'Idée de Bonheur dans les *Méditations sur les psaumes* de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay', *Albinea*, *Cahiers d'Aubigné*, 18 (2008), 213-25.

³⁸ Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France*, p. 36. Cf. Véronique Ferrer, "La Vraye voix de l'ame": méditation et lyrisme chez Duplessis-Mornay', *Albinea*, *Cahiers d'Aubigné*, 18 (2006). 227-41.

³⁹ Marie-Hélène Grintchenko, *Catherine de Bourbon (1559-1604): Influence politique, religieuse et culturelle d'une princesse calviniste* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2009), p. 120.

however, suggest that the timing of these psalm-meditations carried stronger political connotations. Since Henri de Navarre was crowned in 1594 and Psalm 101 was often used as a *miroir des princes*, that is, broadly speaking, a behavioural and moral guide for rulers, we may easily assume Mornay's *Méditation sur le psalme cent-un* was intended for the new King. Mornay portrays David as an idealized ruler, an example that (according to Mornay) Henri de Navarre should follow. Yet, Mornay imparted his words of caution with enough authority that a close contemporary, most likely his secretary David de Licques, considered the meditation to be officious. In a biography published in 1647, Licques states: '[Mornay] l'admoneste avec beaucoup de liberté, comment il doit ordonner ses actions pour un droict gouvernement.'⁴⁰

1.2.3 Conversions works and the Anti-Jesuits Sentiment

In his article 'Aspects des controverses entre catholiques et protestants dans le Sud-Ouest', Desgraves compiles a list of religious polemical pamphlets published between 1580 and 1630 and reviews in detail the common trends and debates in these printed discussions.⁴¹ He identifies three subgenres: theological doctrines, conversion narratives, and accounts of conferences between Catholics and Protestants.

Rather than analyzing the content of these pieces on a micro-level, which, to a certain extent, has already been done in Desgraves's article and is the subject of

⁴⁰ [David de Licques(?)], *Histoire de la vie de Messire Philippe de Mornay Seigneur Du Plessis Marly, etc. Contenant Outre la Relation de plusieurs événemens notables en l'Estat, en l'Église, és Cours, et és Armées, divers Advis Politiqs [sic], Ecclesiastiqs [sic], et Militaires sur beaucoup de Mouvemens importans de l'Europe: sous Henry III. Henry IV. et Louys XIII* (Leiden: Bonaventura Elsevier and Abraham I Elsevier, 1647), p. 158 [USTC 1027971].

⁴¹ Louis Desgraves, 'Aspects des controverses entre catholiques et protestants dans le Sud-Ouest, entre 1580 et 1630', *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale*, 76.67 (1964), 153-87.

various other broader studies that examine the conflict between Catholics and Huguenots, I will instead contextualize the pamphlets and their potential connection to the city's identification. I also exclude from this section texts published against the Catholic League, as they will be discussed in the following chapter.

Conversion narratives were typically written by renowned figures who publicized the reasons behind their conversion to another religion, usually to Catholicism.⁴² Between 1573 and 1609, thirteen conversion narratives, including reeditions, were published in La Rochelle, most of which were exclusive to the city.⁴³ In these accounts, the authors were able to expose the doctrines of their newly-found religion to subsequently convince the reader that theirs was the right choice. The texts therefore had a proselytising agenda, evident in pamphlets such as *Abjuration des erreurs de l'Église Romaine* (1603).⁴⁴ For example, this account, written by Martin Bartox (1567-16..), a minister of La Rochelle who used to be a Trinitarian monk, was published in two different editions: one in French and the other in Latin, which shows a desire to spread his conversion story to a wider, international audience.⁴⁵

⁴² Cf. Yann Sordet, 'Controverse, exposé des motifs, cheminement de la conscience repentante: la mise en page de quelques récits de conversion aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles', in *La Mise en page du religieux (XIII^e-XX^e siècle)*, ed. by Annie Charon, Isabelle Diu and Élisabeth Parinet (Paris: École des chartes, 2004), pp. 81-104 and Abigail Shinn, *Conversion Narratives in Early Modern England: Tales of Turning* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

⁴³ Desgraves only mentions five of them in his article.

⁴⁴ Martin Bartox, *Abjuration des Erreurs de l'Église Romaine faite à la Rochelle au mois de Mars 1603. Par Martin Bartox ci devant Docteur en Théologie, en Espagne, Vicaire Provincial et Visiteur de l'ordre de la Saincte Trinité pour le rachat des captifs, es royaume et Couronne d'Arragon, et Prieur du principal Convent dudit ordre en la cité de Valence. Traduit de Latin en François* (La Rochelle: Les Héritiers Haultin, 1603) [USTC 6803678].

⁴⁵ Ibid. and id., *Abnegatio errorum Ecclesiae Romanae facta Rupellae, mense martio 1603 a Martino Bartox* (La Rochelle: [n. pub.], 1603) [USTC 6803679].

Jean de Sponde's conversion to Catholicism in 1593 sparked the biggest response in La Rochelle.⁴⁶ After his second imprisonment by the League that same year, he converted to Catholicism and wrote a *Déclaration des principaux motifs qui induisent le sieur de Sponde [...] à s'unir à l'Église Catholique* (1593) with royal privileges supporting the publication.⁴⁷ According to my research, the three primary responses to his declaration were first published in La Rochelle. Two of the three reactions were composed by religious leaders, Etienne Bonnet (15..-....), pastor of Saintes, and Bernard Sonis (1562-1617), a minister and Professor at Montauban. The French writer Pierre de La Primaudaye (1549-1619) also published a response under the initials P.D.S.D. This was a conscientious choice by the author as, before his conversion, Sponde himself published *Confession de foy de l'Église Catholique Romaine* (1593) under the same pseudonymous initials in La Rochelle, a work he refuted that same year with *Response d'un catholique Apostolique, Romain*.⁴⁸ The polemic surrounding Sponde's conversion continued until well after his death in 1595, when his brother, Henri de Sponde (1568-1643), published a *Défense de la déclaration du feu sieur de Sponde* (1597) that instigated further responses in La Rochelle,

⁴⁶ Desgraves, 'Aspect des controverses entre catholiques et protestants', pp. 168-72.

⁴⁷ Jean de Sponde, *Déclaration des principaux motifs qui induisent le sieur de Sponde, Conseiller et Maistre des Requestes du Roy, à s'unir à l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine: Adressée à ceux qui en sont séparez, et distinguée en deux Parties* (Melun: Claude Bruneval, 1593) [USTC 19063].

⁴⁸ P.D.S.D. [Jean de Sponde], *Confession de foy de l'Église Catholique Romaine, À laquelle est opposée d'article en article celle des Protestans de réformation, pour raison de quoy ladite Église les condamne hérétiques. Avec une requeste au Roy, pour l'instruction desdits Protestans* (La Rochelle: [n. pub.], 1593) [USTC 66434]; Jean de Sponde, *Response d'un catholique Apostolique, Romain. Au Protestant de Réformation. P.L.S.D.S.* (Chartres: Claude Cottreau, 1593) [USTC 10809] and P.D.S.D. [Pierre de La Primaudaye], *Examen de la Responce de Sponde, Catholique, Apostolique Romain, à la Confession de Foy du Protestant de réformation, opposée à celle de l'Église Romaine. Où ce qui concerne l'église, l'hérésie et le schisme est principalement touché* ([La Rochelle]: [Jérôme Haultin], [c. 1595]) [USTC 5928]. See Alan Boase, *Vie de Jean de Sponde*, pp. 101-02 and Desgraves, 'Aspects des controverses entre catholiques et protestants', p. 169.

including Jérémie Boisseul's *La Confutation des déclarations de M. Jean Sponde* (1598).⁴⁹

The bibliographical evidence thus suggests that the number of public responses to conversion narratives correlated (as one might expect) to the renown of the person who had been converted. Although these reactions were published in La Rochelle, they were mostly penned by writers living outside the city, for instance in Montauban, another Protestant stronghold which had its own, but perhaps less far-reaching, print. It seems plausible, therefore, that authors purposely chose to have their work printed in La Rochelle, specifically because of the city's growing reputation (and identification) as a hub for Protestant thought.

However, the vast majority of religious texts published in La Rochelle fall into a different category and were generally dogmatic theological treatises that, on the surface, were destined for a Protestant audience to explore key themes of the Reformed church. The majority of these texts displayed the printer's full address or, at the very least, included the city's name on the title page. André Rivet (1572-1651), for example, a Huguenot theologian who studied in La Rochelle, published *Sommaire et abrégé des controverses de notre Tems touchant la religion* (1600) with only the name of the city on the title page.⁵⁰

This category similarly appealed to staunch defenders of the Protestant *Cause*, such as Antoine de Chandieu whose *Responce à la profession de foy publiée*

⁴⁹ Henri de Sponde, *Défense de la déclaration du feu sieur de Sponde. Par Henry de Sponde son Frère, Conseiller et Maistre des Requests du Roy en Navarre, Converty à l'Église Catholique. Contre les Cavillations des Ministres Bonnet et Sonis* (Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1597) [USTC 16792] and Jérémie Boisseul, *La Confutation des déclarations de M. Jean Sponde et des arguties de Robert Bellarmini, jésuite* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1598) [USTC 16807].

⁵⁰ André Rivet, *Sommaire et abrégé des controverses de notre Tems touchant la religion* (La Rochelle: [Jérôme Haultin], 1600) [USTC 74192].

contre ceux de l'Église Reformée (1586) was published by Pierre Haultin and later again by his nephew Jérôme Haultin under the title *Response à la profession de foy publiée en Guyenne par les Moines de Bordeaux* (1593 and 1595).⁵¹ Other prominent authors include Pierre Du Moulin (1568-1658), Jean de l'Espine and Mornay. As Desgraves indicates, some of these publications participated in or prompted a heated exchange with Catholic polemists, including Bertrand de Loque's *Les Principaux abus de la Messe* (1596 and 1597), followed by *La Seconde Partie des Abus de la Messe* (1597) as well as Mornay's *De l'Institution, usage et doctrine du Sainct Sacrement* (1598), published in two different editions the same year.⁵²

Many of the theological doctrines, Protestant and Catholic alike, were written against Jesuits, a Catholic order established in 1540.⁵³ One such piece, *Le Catéchisme des Jésuites* (1602), was first printed in La Rochelle anonymously and with the false address Villefranche.⁵⁴ The writer of this pamphlet was none other than the Catholic jurist, Étienne Pasquier (1529-1615), noted for his previous attacks on the *Compagnie de Jésus* as their allegiance lay first and foremost with the Pope, not the French King.⁵⁵

⁵¹ [Antoine de Chandieu], *La Responce à la profession de foy publiée contre ceux de l'Église Reformée. Avec la réfutation tant des calomnies qui y sont contenues, que généralement des erreurs de l'Église Romaine prétendue Catholique* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1586) [USTC 3633]; id., *Response à la profession de foy publiée en Guyenne par les Moines de Bordeaux pour estre un formulaire d'ajuration de la vraye Religion. Avec la réfutation tant des calomnies, qui y sont contenées, que généralement des erreurs de l'Église Romaine prétendue Catholique. Par Antoine de Chandieu. Reveüe augmentée par l'Autheur* (La Rochelle: [Jérôme Haultin], 1593) [USTC 3664] and id., *Réponse à la profession de foi publiée par les moines de Bordeaux* (La Rochelle: [n. pub.], 1595) [USTC 74532].

⁵² Desgraves, 'Aspects des controverses entre catholiques et protestants', pp. 6-9.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 165.

⁵⁴ [Étienne Pasquier], *Le Catéchisme des Jésuites: ou Examen de leur doctrine* (Villefrance [La Rochelle]: Guillaume Grenier [Les Héritiers Haultin], 1602) [USTC 6803676]. Cf. the critical edition, Etienne Pasquier, *Le Catéchisme des Jésuites ou examen de leur doctrine*, ed. by Claude Sutto (Sherbrooke: University de Sherbrooke, 1982).

⁵⁵ F. Michaux, 'Estienne Pasquier et les Jésuites', *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 33:1 (1926), 87-97. See also, Paul Bouteiller, *Recherches sur la vie et la*

It may come as a surprise that the *editio princeps* of such a work, written by a renowned Catholic, was printed in La Rochelle, a city which was, by then, acknowledged as a Protestant capital.

In fact, this paradox caught the attention of the theologian Louis Richeome (1544-1625), a Jesuit who, in 1603, published a response in the form of a satirical dialogue entitled *La Chasse du renard Pasquin*.⁵⁶ Writing under the pseudonym ‘Félix de la Grace’, Richeome condemns and insults Pasquier, whom he compares to a deceitful fox.⁵⁷ Interestingly, Richeome reveals the salience of La Rochelle’s Protestant identity as he identifies Pasquier as a Protestant because of the jurist’s association with La Rochelle. Even though *Le Catéchisme des Jésuites* was published with a false address, Richeome uncovers its true origin all the while alluding to the writer’s friendship with the local inhabitants who adhered to Protestantism:

Le Seigneur. [...] ou l’as-tu faict imprimer?

Pasquin. Messieur je vous prie ne vous en scandaliser point, je vous diray franchement. La Rochelle m’a fait ce bon office, ou tout le monde m’est amy, sauf quelques bigots Catholiques que je hais autant qu’ils me peuvent hair.

Le Seigneur. Et l’imprimeur est il Huguenot?

Pasquin. N’en doutez-pas, et aussi grand amy des Jesuites que moy.⁵⁸

carrière d’Étienne Pasquier, historien et humaniste du xvi^e siècle (Paris: I.S.I., 1989); James H. Dahlinger, *Etienne Pasquier: On Ethics and History* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2007); Dorothy Thickett, *Etienne Pasquier (1529-1615), The Versatile Barrister of 16th Century* (London: Regency Press, 1976) and Suzanne Trocmé Sweany, *Etienne Pasquier (1529-1615) et nationalisme littéraire* (Paris: Champion, 1985).

⁵⁶ Felix de la Grace [Louis Richeome], *La Chasse du renard Pasquin, descouvert et pris en sa tannière du libelle diffamatoire faux-marqué le Catechisme des Jésuites. Par Le Sieur Fœlix de la Grace gentil-homme François, Seigneur dudit lieu* ([Arras]: [Robert Maudhy], 1603) [USTC 6017187].

⁵⁷ On Louis Richeome, see Claude Sutto, ‘Le Père Louis Richeome et le nouvel esprit politique des Jésuites français’, in *Les Jésuites parmi les hommes aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles: actes du Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand (avril 1985)*, ed. by Geneviève Demerson and others (Clermont-Ferrand: Association des publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Clermont-Ferrand, 1987), pp. 175-84.

⁵⁸ [Richeome], *La Chasse du renard Pasquin*, pp. 25-26.

Richeome finally concludes that Pasquier is, in fact, a Huguenot in disguise *because* his book was printed in La Rochelle: ‘Autrement son livre n’eust pas esté le bien venu à La Rochelle.’⁵⁹

*

This broad overview of the religious texts published between 1573 and 1609 confirms the potency of La Rochelle’s Protestant voice. The devotional texts published within the city, for one, fully endorsed the Protestant identity, not only because of their contents but also through their deliberate and consistent association with Protestant figureheads, and even, in the case of the Dutch privilege attached to Claude Le Jeune’s *Dodecacorde*, with countries that favoured the Reformation.

More importantly, this initial study of La Rochelle’s religious publications reveals that local publications were now aggressively engaging in external theological debates and systematically defended the Protestant identity standard against Catholic, especially Jesuit, pamphlets. The fact that La Rochelle’s name was, more often than not, on the title page and that many of her printed texts came notorious defenders of the *Cause*, including Mornay, who later became known as the *Pape des Huguenots*,

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 74. It is worth noting, however, that Richeome had concluded in a previous pamphlet that the Jesuits’ opponents were, at heart, Protestants. Cf. Louis Richeome, *Plainte apologetique au Roy très-Chrestien de France et de Navarre pour la Compagnie de Jésus. Contre le libelle de l'auteur sans nom intitulé Le franc et véritable discours etc. Avec quelques notes sur un autre libelle dict le Cateschisme de Jesuites. Par Louis Richeome, Provençal Religieux d'icelle Compagnie* (Bordeaux: Simon Millanges, 1602) [USTC 6800090].

meant that outsiders considered the city as the locus of Protestantism in France and to be associated with her, was to adopt her identity.⁶⁰

2 The Gendering of the City

2.1 Deborah and Judith, the Calvinist Paradigm

Now that we have explored the overall corpus for this chapter and the religious trends, it is time for us to examine the texts that directly engage with La Rochelle's (self-)identification. Few sermons and other forms of oral transmission survive but printed materials as well as letters show that, similar to other Protestant cities, La Rochelle was often associated with biblical cities resisting religious tyranny. For La Rochelle, following her victory at the First Siege, this also translated into analogies between the city and female biblical figures from the Old Testament.

It was not just local ministers who may have encouraged this analogy: poets and leaders also likened the city's identity and her inhabitants to exemplary, courageous women.⁶¹ Throughout history, comparisons between a besieged city and the female body have been a customary trope, going so far as to sexualize the siege.⁶² It was only fitting for La Rochelle, a city previously represented by a female Protestant

⁶⁰ For more information on Mornay's activity as a Protestant official, see Raoul Patry, *Philippe Duplessis-Mornay. Un huguenot homme d'État* (Paris: Fishbacher, 1933) and Hugues Daussy, *Les Huguenots et le roi: le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1572-1660)*, Travaux d'Humanisme Renaissance, 364 (Geneva: Droz, 2002).

⁶¹ Ministers across the country used such comparisons and biblical prophecies for propagandist purposes. Philipp Benedict explores their discourse and its use during the Wars of Religion in more detail in 'Prophets in Arms? Ministers in War, Ministers on War: France 1562-74', in *Ritual and Violence: Natalie Zemon Davis and Early Modern France*, ed. by Graeme Murdock, Penny Roberts and Andrew Spicer, Past and Present Supplement, 7 (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2012), pp. 163-96.

⁶² Rublac, 'The Fortunes of War', p. 1.

social actor, Jeanne d'Albret, to use femininity and religion in her local discourse during her struggle against the Catholic enemy.

During the religious wars, publications that were seemingly unrelated to the events of their time, were still, more or less, inspired by the socio-historical context.⁶³ Our aim, then, is to identify how La Rochelle related to these biblical tales, first in a macro- and meso-level contextualization and second, by examining the discourse on a micro-level and comparing it to surviving testimonies.

2.1.1 Female Warriors: A Macro-level study of *Cantique de Debora* and Bartas'

La Judit

Jérôme Haultin's printing shop published two works that spotlighted biblical women who fought for religious (and political) freedom: Pierre Merlin's (15..-1603) *XXVI sermons sur le livre d'Ester* (1591) and Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas's (1544-1590) *La Judit* (1591).⁶⁴ The Protestant minister, Pierre Merlin first issued his sermons on the Book of Esther in La Rochelle before their reeditions in Geneva (1593 and 1594). Each sermon examines a passage from the story of Esther, a Jewish Queen who saved her people from viceroy Haman's fury after her uncle refused to bow to him. When I examined this publication through Fairclough's three-levelled framework, it is evident that the sermons were not only dedicated to Henri de Navarre, but were, like

⁶³ Raymond Lebègue 'La Littérature française et les guerres de religion', *The French Review*, 23.3 (1950), 205-13 (p. 211).

⁶⁴ Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, *La Judith de G. de Saluste Seigneur du Bartas. Reveue et augmentee d'Argumens, Sommaires et Annotations. A Madame Marguerite de France, Royne de Navarre* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1591) [USTC 19113] and Pierre Merlin, *XXVI Sermons sur le livre d'Ester, par Pierre Merlin Ministre de la parole de Dieu en l'Église de Laval* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1591) [USTC 3135].

Mornay's meditations, probably meant to advise him.⁶⁵ Merlin was a religious advisor to Condé and, while these sermons are indeed a commentary on contemporary events, the minister states in his introduction that they were written as a result of the *États de Blois* in 1589, when Henri III had the Duke of Guise assassinated.⁶⁶ Because I could not specifically associate this publication to the city's (self-)identification, I have instead focused my research on the next two publications.

Indeed, it is easier to establish a connection between La Rochelle's identification and Du Bartas's *La Judith*. Praised for his biblical poetry, Du Bartas was given the task of rewriting the story of Judith in alexandrines but the inspiration for his poem is still open to debate as the biblical epic was commissioned by Jeanne d'Albret between 1563 and 1566.⁶⁷ The occasion that warranted a retelling of Judith's killing of Holofernes was therefore not the 1572-1573 siege of La Rochelle but more likely the siege of Orléans (1563) when, on 18 February, the Protestant nobleman Jean de Poltrot (c. 1537-1563) assassinated the leader of the Catholic troops, François de Guise (1519-1563).⁶⁸

Du Bartas's poem, however, was published nearly ten years later in 1574, shortly after the end of the First Siege of La Rochelle. This first edition, printed in Bordeaux as part of the collection *La Muse chrestienne*, appears to have been rushed

⁶⁵ Merlin, *XXVI Sermons sur le livre d'Ester*, fol. x2^r

⁶⁶ Also called *les États généraux*. Cf. Manfred Orlea, *La*

⁶⁷ This is clearly stipulated in Du Bartas's *Advertissement au lecteur* at the beginning of the book where he declares that he was 'commandé, il y a environ quatorze ans, par feu très-illustre et très-verteuse Princesse Jeanne Royne de Navarre, de rédiger l'histoire de Judith en forme d'une Poëme Epique' (Du Bartas, *La Judith*, p. 8). For more information on Du Bartas' life and work, see Yvonne Bellenger and Jean-Claude Ternaux, *Du Bartas*, Bibliographica. Bibliographie des écrivains Français, 12 (Paris: Memini, 1998); James Dauphiné, *Guillaume de Saluste Du Bartas: poète scientifique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983) and Georges Pellissier, *La Vie et les œuvres de Du Bartas* (Paris: Hachette, 1883).

⁶⁸ See Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, III, pp. 249-50.

as, five years later, Du Bartas felt compelled to produce a revised edition.⁶⁹ André Baïche offers a meticulous analysis of these variants, claiming (unlike most scholars of his time) that the changes were not made for political or religious reasons but out of an avowed desire on Du Bartas's part to improve his style.⁷⁰ However, Jeanne d'Albret's connection with the work, the particular time of its *editio princeps* and, as we will discover, the discourse, arguably reveal that the text would have almost certainly heightened the work's political message for the local readership in La Rochelle.

The third publication was issued from the printing shop of Théophile Bouquet. The anonymous translation of The Song of Deborah (Judges 5), entitled *Cantique de Debora, traduit en rime, à la faveur de la Rochelle, laquelle est représentée par Debora, et le Magistrat d'icelle par Barac* (1574), is a key piece that attests to the analogy between La Rochelle and female biblical figures but has not yet been properly studied.⁷¹ As indicated in the octavo's full title, the translator considers Deborah to be a metaphor for La Rochelle and the military commander Barak, who defeated the Canaanite armies with Deborah, as a metaphor for the local magistrate. According to the title page, the *Cantique de Debora* was supposedly published in 'Basel', a year after the end of the First Siege of La Rochelle. As a Reformed town in

⁶⁹ See Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas, *La Judit*, ed. by André Baïche (Toulouse: Association des publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, 1971), p. xiv.

⁷⁰ Du Bartas *La Judit*, ed. by Baïche, p. xxv.

⁷¹ [Anon.], *Cantique de Debora traduit en rime, à la faveur de la Rochelle, laquelle est représentée par Debora, et le Magistrat d'icelle par Barac. Les gens de bien qui ont tenu leur parti sont louez soubz les lignées qui marchèrent soubz Debora et Barac: et les déserteurs de la cause de l'Évangile sont vituperez avec les lignées qui furent laschés en la défence de l'Église de Dieu* (Basel [La Rochelle]: Martin Cousin [Théophile Bouquet], 1574) [USTC 64136]. Cf. Jean Vignes, 'Paraphrase et appropriation: les avatars poétiques de l'*Ecclésiaste* au temps des guerres de religion (Dalbiac, Carle, Belleau, Baïf)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 55.3 (1993), 503-26.

Switzerland, Basel had established itself as one of the main printing hubs for Protestant books, on a par with Geneva.⁷² Yet, like Edinburgh, ‘Basel’ and the press of ‘Martin Cousin’ were common false imprints that the Rochelais printer Théophile Bouquet used after the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre.⁷³ This pamphlet’s title, its rarity (I have only found one surviving copy) and the fact that it was printed under a clandestine name, which identified the polemical nature of the piece to the reader, all suggest that this publication was meant to inspire Protestant military effort specifically in La Rochelle, to support François de La Noue at a time when the inhabitants feared another massacre and Catholic conspiracy.⁷⁴

2.1.2 Acting the Part: Biblical Heroines and Social Actors

As I have mentioned above, the representation of the siege in early modern Europe was commonly sexualized and ‘[v]irginity became a metaphor of transition to the bride or the violated body of the city’.⁷⁵ Deborah and Judith (and even, arguably, Jael),

⁷² Daniel DiMassa, ‘The Politics of Translation and the German Reception of Dante: Johannes Herold’s *Monarchey*’, in *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by José María Pérez Fernandez and Edward Wilson-Lee, pp. 107-25 (p. 108). Cf. Urs B. Leu, ‘Die Bedeutung Basels als Druckort im 16. Jahrhundert’, in *Basel als Zentrum des geistigen Austauschs in der frühen Reformationzeit*, ed. by Christine Christ-von Wedel and others (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), pp. 53-78; Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 55 and Pierre L. Van der Haegen, *Der frühe Basler Buchdruck. Ökonomische; sozio-politische und Informationssystematische Standortfaktoren und Rahmenbedingungen* (Basel: Schwabe, 2001).

⁷³ Théophile Bouquet used the false imprint ‘Basle’ and ‘Martin Cousin’ five times during that period. As Eugénie Droz points out, the name Martin Cousin ‘désigne tout le monde, n’importe qui, [c’est] une dupe anonyme issue des farces.’ (Droz, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, p. 14). On ‘Edinburgh’, see Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, ‘Printers, Patrons, Readers, and Spies: Importation of French Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25.4 (1994), 853-72 (p. 859).

⁷⁴ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, pp. 560-63.

⁷⁵ Rublac, ‘The Fortunes of War’, p. 2. Judith’s own city, Bethulia, is an allegorical representation of Jerusalem whose name derives from the Hebrew meaning of the ‘house of God’ or ‘Yhwh’s virgin’.

however, do not adhere to this trope: they are already married or widowed (thus no longer at risk of losing their virginity to the invader) and they are active participants in their story, not victims whose identity depends on the subsequent actions of the conqueror. Instead, as Crawford suggests, ‘these women receive their identity from their actions’.⁷⁶ Deborah and Judith can consequently be acknowledged as (fictional) social actors that best represented early modern women since during sieges, unlike most other forms of warfare, women actively participated in the building of fortifications or, in some cases, fought against the enemy.⁷⁷

The comparison between these three biblical figures and contemporary female social actors is therefore inevitable. Particularly during the Wars of Religion, early modern female figureheads were commonly compared to a biblical equivalent. The infamous Phoenician princess Jezebel (1 Kings), for example, was frequently invoked to slur Catherine de Médicis.⁷⁸ Deborah was a particularly compelling figure for the Protestant *Cause*: Bèze notably included the Song of Deborah amongst other canticles in his French translation of the Psalms and her name was often associated with Queen Elizabeth I.⁷⁹ Unsurprisingly, Jeanne d’Albret too was likened to the

⁷⁶ Sidnie White Crawford, ‘In the Steps of Jael and Deborah: Judith as Heroine’, in “*No One Spoke Ill of Her*”: Essays on *Judith*, ed. by James C. VanderKam (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), pp. 5-16, (p. 7). White Crawford offers a comparison between the stories, concluding that the similarities go beyond the story telling but also relate to the protagonists’ character and to the structure of the respective Books

⁷⁷ Megan McLaughlin, ‘The Woman Warrior: Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe’, *Women’s Studies*, 17 (1990), 193-209 and B.C. Hacker, ‘Women and Military Institutions in Early Modern Europe: A Reconnaissance’, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 6.4 (1981), 643-71.

⁷⁸ Lebègue, ‘La Littérature française et les guerres de religion’, p. 205.

⁷⁹ Théodore de Bèze, *Les Pseaumes de David et les cantiques de la Bible, avec les argumens et la paraphrase de Théodore de Besze. Le tout traduit de nouveau de latin en françois. Jointe aussi la rime françoise de pseaumes* (Geneva: Jacques Bérion, 1581) [USTC 52790]. On Elizabeth I, see Carol Blessing, ‘Elizabeth I as Deborah the Judge: Exceptional Women of Power’, in *Goddesses & Queens: the Iconography of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Annalise Connolly and Lisa Hopkins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 19-33; Alexandra Walsham, ““A Very Deborah?” The

Prophetess by none other than Agrippa d’Aubigné, who referred to Jeanne as ‘noztre Debora’.⁸⁰ Likewise, Deborah is the only female among the biblical Judges, a group of individuals who were said to be sent by God to aid the people of Israel in their time of need. The Judges were not only officials but also military leaders, which made Deborah even more unique and more similar to Jeanne d’Albret’s active role during the religious wars.⁸¹

Judith’s portrayal is, however, ambiguous. Jody Enders mentions that Judith had previously been rejected by Protestants who removed her tale from the Bible as they considered that it advocated deception, whereas the Catholic Douay Bible included her story.⁸² Whether she was portrayed as a hero or a villain, according to André Blanc, her story inspired at least three long poems and five tragedies between 1570 and 1695.⁸³

The reading of Du Bartas’ own interpretation of Judith’s tale, and how it relates to La Rochelle’s (self-)identification, cannot be completed without alluding to Jeanne d’Albret’s influence, beyond that of a patron. André Baïche suggests, for instance, that Jeanne’s religious resolve was probably the true inspiration behind du

Myth of Elizabeth I as a Providential Monarch’, in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 143-68 and Robert M. Healey, ‘Waiting for Deborah: John Knox and Four Ruling Queens’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25.2 (1994), 371-86.

⁸⁰ Théodore-Agrippa d’Aubigné, *Les Tragiques: donnez au public par le larcin de Prométhée* (Geneva: Aubert, 1616) [USTC 6702706], p. 196. Historian Robert Vareilles also refers to her as the ‘Déborah calviniste’ in his monograph of the same name, *Jeanne d’Albret, la Deborah calviniste: La Rochelle 1568-1571* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2010)

⁸¹ Michael D. Coogan, *The Old Testament: A Very Short Introduction*, Very Short Introductions (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 115.

⁸² Jody Enders, *Death by Drama and Other Medieval Urban Legends* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 191.

⁸³ André Blanc, ‘Les Malheurs de Judith et le bonheur d’Esther’, in *Poésie et Bible de la Renaissance à l’âge classique*, ed. by Pascale Blum and Anne Mantero (Paris: Champion, 1999), pp. 83-101 (p. 83).

Bartas' retelling. He writes: 'Judith est la dernière chance du peuple hébreu assailli; Jeanne, la nouvelle Débora, devenue une figure de proue de la Réforme, tient dans ses mains, après la mort de son mari, le sort et la vie du peuple élu.'⁸⁴ Even if *La Judith* was, in the end, dedicated to Charles IX's sister, Marguerite de Valois, her faith and devotion to Catholicism does not truly befit the story of Judith. As Kathleen M. Llewellyn fittingly writes, Judith is '[...] neither silent nor invisible, she is the very conspicuous center of the struggle to save her people, the subject of her own story', making her a more compelling figure to mirror Jeanne d'Albret's own involvement in the religious wars.⁸⁵

When Du Bartas concludes his work with a 'remerciement à la Royne de Navarre', which he places in the marginalia alongside the final verses: '[J']achève ici, | Rendant graces à Dieu: à vous, Madame, aussi', this acknowledgment could equally refer to Jeanne as to Marguerite.⁸⁶ In fact, the volume's concluding poem, entitled 'Poème dressé par G. De Saluste [...] pour l'accueil de la Royne de Navarre', links the title of Queen of Navarre to identity characteristics closely associated with Jeanne. Three Nymphs each argue in their own language who should win the privilege of welcoming the Queen of Navarre at Nerac. Not only is the location of Nerac the seat of the Albret family, but the Nymph who wins and concludes the poem is the one who communicates in *gascon*, the dialect of Du Bartas but also of Jeanne d'Albret.⁸⁷

In fact, Judith's bravery and devotion to her city in the face of adversity inspired another social actor within La Rochelle: Catherine de Parthenay. During the

⁸⁴ Du Bartas, *La Judit*, p. xxxii.

⁸⁵ Kathleen M. Llewellyn, 'The Example of Judith in Early Modern French Literature', in *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies Across the Disciplines*, ed. by Kevin R. Brine and others (Open Book Publisher, 2010), pp. 213-22 (p. 214).

⁸⁶ Du Bartas, *La Judith*, p. 101.

⁸⁷ I discuss the role of language and La Rochelle's identity in further detail in Chapter Six, p. 297-99.

siege of 1572-1573, she wrote *Holofernes*, a retelling of Judith's story which was performed amidst the conflict and served to embolden the Rochelais in the face of adversity.⁸⁸ Sadly, her work has not survived but it is evident that the figure of Judith was fully embraced by Protestant female social actors connected to La Rochelle and thus helped to shape the local identity and 'fan the flame of resistance'.⁸⁹

2.1.3 La Rochelle and the Female Voice: A Micro-level Study of *La Judit* and the *Cantique de Debora*

We shall now see that the story of Judith, Jael and Deborah were not only adopted as icons of the city's resistance because of their shared similarities with La Rochelle's female social actors but also because these stories used symbols that were associated with the inhabitants' (self-)identification. In the *Cantique de Debora*, the anonymous translator draws parallels between the Prophetess' song and the socio-political situation in La Rochelle in 1574, when La Noue came to La Rochelle, begging for help on behalf of the Prince of Condé. The Rochelais were, nonetheless, reluctant to take arms ('les Rochellois en général n'étoient nullement disposés à la reprise d'armes').⁹⁰

Marginalia were used for a variety of reasons, whether to draw attention to a certain passage, to cite a source or to help the reader navigate through the book.⁹¹ The *Cantique de Debora*, however, includes a liberal amount of marginalia, some of which expand over to the next verse and guide the reader to a metatextual reading in order to

⁸⁸ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 568.

⁸⁹ Roekler, 'The Appeal of Calvinism', p. 403.

⁹⁰ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 563.

⁹¹ See footnote 100, p. 68.

strengthen the cohesive narrative between the *Cantique* and contemporary events. For example, when Deborah claims ‘Et vous qui sur blanches mulles | Estes montez si adroit | En despit des incrédules’, the annotation suggests that Deborah specifically addresses the merchants (‘aux marchans’), who represented the majority of the bourgeoisie in La Rochelle, and not the higher strata of society (e.g. noblemen) as suggested in the original text.⁹² This is thrown into sharp relief in the stanza that condemns the cursed city, Meroz:

Hà, que Meros soit Maudite,
Dit l’Ange du Seigneur Dieu:
Et quiconque en elle habite,
Soit exécrable en tout lieu:
Que Meros soit, désormais,
Malheureuse à tout jamais.⁹³

The marginalia that accompanies the verses reads: ‘Malédictio[n] sur Meros, c'est à dire sur ceux qui estans requis, o[n]t fait la sourde oreille aux affligez’.⁹⁴ In any other translation, the explanation, introduced by the adverb *c'est-à-dire*, would have been omitted but its presence here serves as a warning to the Rochelais who did not support La Noue.

Even Du Bartas’ *La Judith*, which was not destined exclusively for the Rochelais, occasionally emulates La Rochelle’s local discourse. Admittedly, between 1590 and 1591, the Haultin shop published the poem and other works by Du Bartas following the author’s death, which suggests that Du Bartas’s *La Judith* was not destined exclusively for the Rochelais but rather was of a commercial interest. However, the work occasionally emulates the words uttered in the reported discourses

⁹² *Cantique de Deborah*, fol. A3^v

⁹³ Ibid., fol. B2^r.

⁹⁴ Ibid., fol. B2^r.

of notable figures within La Rochelle. In the following excerpt from *La Judith*, the narrator points the finger at the inhabitants who wish to flee the city, brandishing them as cowards: ‘Couvards, où fuyez-vous? Hé ! Quelle autre cité, | Quel mur, quel fort vous reste, ayant ce Fort quitté?’⁹⁵ This mirrors the speech and arguments presented by the most zealot ministers who refused to let the city surrender during the siege of 1572-1573 and who stated: ‘Quand il n’y aura plus entre vous et vos ennemis les murs d’une place aussi forte que la Rochelle, comment vous mettrez-vous à couvert de leurs coups?’⁹⁶ Both Bethulia and La Rochelle are thus considered as the last place of defence.

Similarly, in the following passage, when Isaac observes the desperate situation of his city, Du Bartas writes: ‘Isaac vist desja cernez de toutes pars | D’un monde, et non d’un camp ses trop *foibles rampars*’.⁹⁷ This feeling of hopelessness at the city’s set of circumstances reiterates the sentiment, and even the words used in La Noue’s speech, when he tried to convince the Rochelais to surrender during the First Siege:

Vous qui voyez au pied de vos murs une armée nombreuse, avez-vous bien envisagé les malheurs qui accompagnent un siège? Vous n’avez pour vous qu’une poignée de combattants, des espérances incertaines et de *foibles remparts*; comment pourrez-vous entreprendre et soutenir une guerre?⁹⁸

For the early modern reader, the story of Judith was a timeless allegory of the victory of the (Reformed) Church but for the Rochelais, the story was all the more meaningful because of language used to describe a siege that bore many similarities with the siege

⁹⁵ Du Bartas, *La Judith*, p. 50.

⁹⁶ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 471.

⁹⁷ Du Bartas, *La Judith*, p. 52 (my emphasis).

⁹⁸ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, pp. 472-73 (my emphasis).

of 1572-1573.⁹⁹ Whether the words were specifically chosen to mimic the local discourse or not matters little as, either way, Du Bartas's poetry would have carried that much more weight in La Rochelle because of the shared symbols.

2.2 Enacting the Bible: the Outcome of Religious Identification on La Rochelle

In Judges 4, Deborah calls upon her people to resist the enemy and Sisera, the commander of King Jabin's army. To rouse Barak's courage and incite him to fight against their oppressor, she foretells the city's victory and foresees Jael killing Sisera after his defeat. In Judges 5, she concludes with a victory hymn to the glory of God. The apocryphal story of Judith similarly celebrates the triumph of the true religion over tyranny. Like the intertwining stories of Deborah and Jael, her tale begins with a threat against her city and against the inhabitants' faith. When her fellow citizens cower in fear when Holofernes lays siege to their city, Judith places her trust in God: accompanied by her faithful servant, she meets with Holofernes in order to seduce him, dines with him and decapitates him when he falls asleep.

As Mißfelder mentions in *Das Andere der Monarchie*, these stories both contained references to an awareness of being chosen by God, of being a *peuple élu*, as well as references to military and political isolation.¹⁰⁰ So far, we have established that the Rochelais would have related to these stories on a much more personal level, in part because they identified with the language, the history, and the social actors. It

⁹⁹ Simon Goulart, 'Argument de la Judith de Guillaume de Saluste, Seigneur du Bartas', in Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, *La Judith de G. De Saluste Seigneur Du Bartas. Reveue et augmentee d'Argumens, Sommaires et Annotations. À Madame Marguerite de France, Royne de Navarre* (Rouen: Thomas Mallard, 1597), fol. AA5^v: '[P]lusieurs tiennent que le livre de Judith est une allégorie perpetuelle du combat et de la victoire de l'Église sur ses ennemis'.

¹⁰⁰ Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, p. 178.

would therefore entail that if readers intimately identified with those violent and inspiring tales, those who circulated those stories encourage some form of action.

2.2.1 From Defence to Offence: the Prophecy's Call to Arms

We may wonder, for example, why the translator of *Cantique de Debora* specifically choose Deborah's victory hymn over any other meaningful, prophetic tales.¹⁰¹ We have already discussed how this biblical episode shared identity characteristics with La Rochelle, a religious minority that is threatened by a foreign force at its gates, which, in turn, would have made the reader more receptive to the message. But the stylistic narrative of the pamphlet is another clue to the true purpose of the text. As Jacques Pineaux mentions, psalms were a powerful means to spread protestant propaganda, a strategy the translator of *Cantique de Debora* seems well aware of.¹⁰²

The title page suggests that the text be sung to the same melody used for Psalm 146, which celebrates the Eternal God as the only road to salvation and deliverance. This musical link reinforces the message of the *Cantique de Debora*: a criticism of 'les déserteurs de la cause de l'Évangile'.¹⁰³ Indeed, throughout the whole pamphlet, the printed marginal also calls for action and rebuke those who oppose it.

¹⁰¹ Benedict, 'Prophets in Arms?', p. 190. Benedict examines how the ministers of La Rochelle used 'prophetic policies' during the First Siege, or in more simple terms, specific examples from the Old Testament, to convince the council and noblemen to resist royal army and spur on the flames of rebellion.

¹⁰² Jacques Pineaux, *La Poésie des protestants de la langue française* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1971), p. 251. Huguenots would also use psalm quotations as a battle cry. Psalm 68, renamed the *Pseaume des Batailles*, for instance, was used on countless occasions to spur the Protestants into battle. See D. J. B. Trim, 'Huguenot Soldiering c. 1560-1685: The Origins of a Tradition', in *War, Religion and Service: Hugenot Soldiering, 1685-1713*, ed. by. Matthew Giozier and David Onnekink (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 9-29 (p. 28).

¹⁰³ *Cantique de Debora*, fol. A2^r.

Pineaux, for instance, concludes that the *Cantique* specifically criticizes ‘les gens riches voulant la paix à n’importe quel prix.’¹⁰⁴

In 1574, when La Noue asked La Rochelle to join the Protestant union, which formed after the assembly of Millau on 16 December 1573, the city was still divided between those who desired peace and those who sought revenge:

[I]les partisans de la paix vantoient la modération de la cour. Les autres se défiant toujours par précaution, ou par haine contre le ministere, prétendoient qu’il n’étoit plus temps de mettre bas les armes, ni d’écouter des propositions de paix.¹⁰⁵

The *Cantique de Deborah* was evidently published by an inhabitant that sought to join La Noue. When the translator writes in the marginalia: ‘Aser est condamné avec ceux qui craignent de perdre leurs biens pour le service de dieu’, he jibes at those merchants who valued their gold over their faith.¹⁰⁶ However, it is not so much the greed or the desire to protect one’s wealth that is criticized but instead inaction and indecisiveness. These are portrayed as a sin in a similar way that action in defense of the Church is greatly rewarded: ‘Jahel est louée pour plusieurs actes dignes de louange’.¹⁰⁷

2.2.2 The Consequences of Female Biblical Identification

It is impossible for us to conclude with absolute certainty how these stories influenced the ordinary citizen. Identification to the female figures of Old Testament specifically

¹⁰⁴ Pineaux, *La Poésie des protestants*, p. 249.

¹⁰⁵ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 555.

¹⁰⁶ [Anon.], *Cantique de Debora*, fol. B1^r.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., fol. B2^v.

vouched for La Rochelle's integrity and virtue.¹⁰⁸ Cavriana, for one, portrays the women of La Rochelle as courageous citizens, helpers and active participants in the conflict, often distracting the royalist army.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, Brantôme reports that 'une centaine de dames et bourgeois des plus grandes, plus riches et des plus belles, toutes vestues de blanc, tant de la teste que du corps' worked on the fortifications during the siege.¹¹⁰ The outsiders' reports of the First Siege likewise offer a glimpse into how women displayed their identification with biblical social actors. The women from the higher echelons of society, for example, adopted white, following Condé's own belief that the colour represented the purity of conscience and fear before God.¹¹¹

Furthermore, Brantôme continues with the story of one particular woman who, during the battle, held on to a pike as if — according to Denise Turrel — it were the very tent pick with which Jael slew Sisera.¹¹² In fact, for Turrel, it was because the

¹⁰⁸ Rublack, 'The Fortunes of War', p. 18: 'Women who resisted the capture of their cities and virgins who committed suicide after defeat in order to avoid being violated vouched for the city's virtue and willingness to fight.'

¹⁰⁹ Cavriana, *Histoire du siège de La Rochelle*, pp. 105 and 107.

¹¹⁰ Pierre de Bourdeille Brantôme, *Vies des dames galantes par le seigneur de Brantôme* (Paris: Garnier frères, 1858), p. 324.

¹¹¹ The colour of clothing was significant in the early modern period as each hue possessed a symbolic meaning: Hamish Scott, *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750: Peoples and place*, I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 587: 'Clothes [...] were highly important symbolic tool-kits in early modern society, to transform the moral substance of a wearer, inspire awe or express values.' Michel Pastoureau provides a more in-depth analysis on the meaning of colours in the early modern period. In his study, he underlines how colour went against the Protestant puritanism promoted by Jeanne d'Albret: '[la couleur est] vaine parce qu'elle est matière ; elle est dangereuse parce qu'elle détourne du vrai et du bien ; elle est coupable parce qu'elle tente de séduire et de tromper' (Michel Pastoureau, 'Morales de la couleur: le chromoclasme de la Réforme', in *La Couleur: regards croisés sur la couleur du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle: actes du colloque*, Cahiers du Leopard d'Or (Paris: Broché, 1996), pp. 27-46, (p. 39)). It is also worth noting that followers of Henri IV often adhorned a white scarf.

¹¹² Denise Turrel, *Le Blanc de France: la construction des signes identitaires pendant les guerres de Religion (1562-1629)* (Geneva: Droz, 2005), p. 174.

city so strongly identified with the Song of Deborah, that the inhabitants were able to defend their cause with such drive.¹¹³

Femininity was also adopted by their male counterparts during the first siege as Arcère reports an episode whereby soldiers from La Rochelle adorned women's clothing to deceive their enemies and attacked them.¹¹⁴ The militarization of the female citizens in La Rochelle, therefore, went beyond docile help (e.g. healing) usually associated with women in the early modern period. It is worth noting that this was not unique to La Rochelle and history holds many records of women helping men during sieges, Montauban being one of them. However, embracing physical identifiers to emulate female biblical figures was much less common.

These biblical tales and the recognized correlation between La Rochelle and femininity influenced the city's external identification in the years to come. However, if certain adaptations of Jael's and Judith's tale focused on the heroines' virtues, as mentioned above, they were also portrayed as temptresses who did not adhere to Christian values.¹¹⁵ As mentioned by Caroline Bynum, Catholic theologians associated women with identity characteristics they considered negative and sinful,

¹¹³ Turrel, *Le Blanc de France*, p. 174.

¹¹⁴ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 505: 'La pêche des sourdons donna lieu à une scène singulière. Les femmes sortaient de la ville sans escorte, et se répandoient sur la grève. Des soldats du camp s'en étaient apperçus, s'embarquaient et fondaient sur elles, lorsqu'ils en étaient près. Celles dont la beauté allumait les désirs, étaient enlevées, ou devenaient la proie d'une brutale insolence. Des soldats de la garnison s'étant déguisés un jour sous des habits de femmes, tendirent un piège aux royalistes.'

¹¹⁵ White Crawford, 'In the Steps of Jael and Deborah: Judith as Heroine', p. 8: 'Jael has been taken to task many times for violation of the law of hospitality, while Judith has been condemned for lying.' And Llewellyn, 'The Example of Judith in Early Modern French Literature', pp. 217-18: 'Judith's ability to seduce is crucial to this story; Judith is able to gain access to Holofernes, convince him to dismiss his attendants, and subsequently kills him, because she is beautiful and alluring.'

such as ‘body’, ‘emotional’ and ‘disorder’ as opposed to ‘intellect’, ‘reason’ and ‘order’.¹¹⁶

It was also the reappropriation of Judith by Catholicism that associated the tale to monarchomach ideals. When placing these stories in the context of the First Siege, it is easy to draw a parallel with the conflict between the French monarch with an Italian heritage, Charles IX, and La Rochelle, a city fighting for its religious freedom. The moral justification of tyrannicide within these works thus later influenced the representation of La Rochelle in Catholic texts, especially during the 1622 crisis. Mißfelder concludes that these texts reflect a political ambiguity as the heroines are fighting a leader, be it a foreigner or a king.¹¹⁷ He thus considers that the *Cantique de Debora* was primarily a monarchomach text but his interpretation neglects the pamphlet’s socio-historical context.¹¹⁸ As Margarita Stocker explains, the ‘anti-patriarchal and iconoclastic implications’ of the Book of Judith’ was used by Huguenots to condemn foreign power, that is the Pope, instead of the ruling king.¹¹⁹ Maybe the staging of Catherine de Partenay’s *Holofernes* during the First Siege promoted a more treasonous message, but we can only speculate.

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¹¹⁶ Carolin Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and redemption: Essays on Gender and the human body in the Medieval Religion* (New York, NY: Zone Books, 1991), p. 151.

¹¹⁷ Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, p. 178

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 178. Mißfelder incorrectly states that the *Cantique de Debora* was published in 1573, which probably led him to misread the contextual interpretation of the text.

¹¹⁹ Margarita Stocker, *Judith: Sexual Warrior: Women and Power in Western Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 45.

Philip Benedict highlights the use of prophecy in political discourses concluding that the genre was a call to action through identification as both ministers and noblemen ‘were impelled to fight on during the Wars of Religion because of their intense identification with the ancient Israelites’.¹²⁰ Subsequent to the First Siege, La Rochelle’s (self-)identification was primarily focused on female biblical figures, in part because of the actions of local social actors. While it was primarily Jeanne d’Albret’s posthumous influence which instigated this identification, it was also the actions of the ‘elite women’, including Catherine de Parthenay, who further encouraged this narrative.¹²¹ François I’s daughter, Marguerite de Valois (1523-1574) was equally included as she pleaded for the Protestant cause even though she was a devoted Catholic. In fact, after her death, Jean Portau published *L’Ombre et le Tombeau de Marguerite*; a compilation of poems written by various authors, including Odet de La Noue.¹²²

As we shall examine in Chapters Six and Seven, La Rochelle’s identification with femininity and biblical heroines was equally recognized by their enemies, but those characteristics were attached to different symbolic meanings which, in turn, led to a different, more nefarious, interpretation of La Rochelle’s identity.

¹²⁰ Philip Benedict, ‘Prophets in Arms?’, p. 196.

¹²¹ Nancy L. Roelker, ‘The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century’, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2.4 (Spring, 1972), 291-418 (p. 403).

¹²² R. E. R. and others, *L’Ombre et le Tombeau de Marguerite* (Turin [La Rochelle]: Baptiste d’Almeida [Jean Porteau], 1574 [n.d.]) [USTC 154]. See Droz, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, pp. 24-30.

3 The Sanctification of the Fortress: A Discourse Analysis of the Urban Space

3.1 Speaking to La Rochelle through the Art of Devotion

Denis Crouzet's research demonstrates that urban narratives became a common trope that subsequently led to the sacralization of cities: comparisons between Paris and Jerusalem, for instance, were frequent.¹²³ Likewise, the urban revolts that followed the Reformation have often been studied alongside utopian concepts; the sacred urban space was most prevalent in Huguenot accounts because it tied in with their identification to the *peuple élu*.¹²⁴ Frank Lestringant explores the links between Protestantism and Utopia and distinguishes two categories: first as a philosophical *modus vivendi* ('l'utopie-mode') and secondly as a literary genre ('l'utopie-genre').¹²⁵

We have already encountered these concepts in Palissy's *Recepte véritable*, but for the Rochelais, the fact that their city had successfully withstood against the royal Catholic army, this made them reconsider the urban space they inhabited as irrefutable proof of their association with the *peuple élu*. Biblical depictions of Jerusalem, interchangeably referred to as Zion, further encouraged this identification as the descriptions of the Holy City shared physical similarities with La Rochelle.

¹²³ Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu*, p. 352.

¹²⁴ Thomas Nipperdey, *Reformation, Revolution, Utopie: Studien zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975); Abraham Friesen, *Reformation and Utopia: the Marxist Interpretation of the Reformation and its Antecedents* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974) and Abraham Friesen, *Thomas Muentzer, A Destroyer of the Godless. The Making of a Sixteenth-Century Religious Revolutionary* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990).

¹²⁵ Frank Lestringant, 'Huguenots en Utopie, ou Le genre utopique et la Réforme (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (1903-2015), 146 (2000), 253-306 (p. 254).

However, as we shall see in the following texts, if we take into consideration the socio-historical context, it is evident that some publications either meticulously chose to emphasize those similarities precisely because they were destined for a Rochelais readership or, at the very least, they were published in La Rochelle because the discourse fitted with the local readership's developing (self-)identification.

3.1.1 A Contextualized Reading of Jean de Sponde's *Méditations*

In 1588, before his conversion to Catholicism, Jean de Sponde published his own spiritual journey in a book entitled *Méditations sur les pseaumes, XIII. ou LIII., XLVIII., L. et LXII.*¹²⁶ The opus is over four hundred pages long and opens with a dedication to Henri, 'Roy de Navarre', soon to be King of France. Eugénie Droz states that each meditation should be examined separately from one another as they were composed in different places (Orthez and La Rochelle), at different moments in his life.¹²⁷ Francis Higman, on the other hand, argues for the coherency between the psalms, underlining that not only were they all written in La Rochelle but they were also addressed, in part, to the Protestants living there.¹²⁸ I will provide further evidence that Sponde used symbols that were specifically tailored to suit the Rochelais' (self-)identification with the aim to convince them to rally behind Henri de Navarre which,, in turn, will reveal the salient characteristics of the inhabitants' identification.

¹²⁶ Jean de Sponde, *Méditations sur les pseaumes XIII. Ou LIII., XLVIII., L. et LXII., avec un Essay de quelques poèmes chrestiens* ([La Rochelle]: [Jean Portau], 1588) [USTC 19549].

¹²⁷ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, pp. 84-87.

¹²⁸ Francis Higman, 'The Méditations of Jean de Sponde: a Book for the Times', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 28.3 (1966), 564-84.

Historical accounts refer to Jean de Sponde's numerous quarrels with the ministers of La Rochelle, especially over their half-hearted support of Henri de Navarre.¹²⁹ As such, when placing *Méditations sur les pseaumes* in its historical context, several scholars have linked its circulation to the dispute between Henri de Navarre and zealous ministers in La Rochelle when, in 1587, Henri was accused of debauchery and asked to repent publicly.¹³⁰ I would argue that the discourse of the *Méditations* further confirms that its intended readership was indeed, at least partly, the Rochelais, and that, in order to engage with his audience, Sponde used symbols attached to the inhabitants' identification, namely in the description of Zion.

The first meditation, on Psalm 14 (or 53), examines the destruction of Solomon's Temple by comparing it to the fall of mankind and loss of faith God. Images of death and desolation, doubt and despair, emulate the horrors of the religious wars. Yet, the meditation ends on a hopeful note as the *méditant* states that a Prophet will bring an end to the suffering:

Ton Prophète [...] brusloit du desir de voir ton salut, c'est à dire, la restauration de ces ruïnes, un meilleur chef pour reviver ces membres pouris, une meilleure âme pour conseiller ce Chef, une plus grand intégrité pour reformer ces membres. Bref, il se désirait luy mesme en ce Throsne¹³¹

¹²⁹ Eugénie Droz offers a concise analysis of Sponde's relationship with the city in 'Jean de Sponde et les Rochelais', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 15.3 (1953), 347-50. See also Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, pp. 95-96.

¹³⁰ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, p. 63: 'Il fut réglé que le roi, dès le lendemain, feroit l'aveu de sa foiblesse dans le temple de la ville de Pons, en présence des officiers de l'armée. Ce prince subit en chrétien la honte de cette humiliation, dont il renouvela le spectacle à La Rochelle.' Cf. Pascal Even brief study of Henri IV's relationship with La Rochelle in 'Henri IV, le "bien bon ami des Rochelais", une figure incontournable du Panthéon rochelais: la naissance de la légende', *Revue de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, 37 (La Rochelle: Fédération des Sociétés savantes de Charente-Maritime, 2012), 115-29.

¹³¹ Sponde, *Méditations sur les pseaumes*, p. 87.

Higman argues that, in certain passages, the ‘*moi* of the meditation’ can only be interpreted as Henri de Navarre’s voice and thus the whole oeuvre should be read from his point of view, which would in turn suggest that the Prophet in this passage cannot be Henri de Navarre as he is already the *méditant*.¹³² Yet, Henri de Navarre was often compared to the Prophet David during the Eighth Religious War (1585-1598) as he was seen as a beacon of hope for the Protestants.¹³³

Furthermore, the *méditant* describes his ‘ideal chrétien’ as a unified body: ‘J'accours donc a ceste compagnie, je mesle mes méditations à leurs méditations, et par l'union de nos assemblées, nous tesmoignons l'union de noz courages [...] nous n'avons tous qu'un Chef [...] Or ce Chef est tousjours joinct à ces membres.’¹³⁴ This passage uses symbols that were employed in Henri de Navarre’s harangue to the *assemblée* of La Rochelle on 14 November 1588, where he stated that: ‘il ne falloit à un corps qu'une seule tête, à la confédération protestante qu'un seul chef; qu'autrement on seroit exposé à tous les inconveniens de la discorde et de l'anarchie’.¹³⁵ I am unable to confirm if Sponde was inspired by this speech but, given the timeframe, it is highly unlikely. Either way, the excerpt from the *Méditations sur les pseaumes* and Henri de Navarre’s discourse do reveal a hegemonized language exploited by his supporters. The sermon-like quality of the text, coupled with the impersonation of Henri de Navarre’s discourse and identification, infer that this text is not merely a devotional piece but that it also seeks to convince the Rochelais and others to support Henri de Navarre.

¹³² Higman, ‘The Méditations of Jean de Sponde’, p. 565.

¹³³ Nicolas Le Roux, ‘Henri IV. Le Roi du miracle’, in *Henri IV: Art et Pouvoir*, ed. by Colette Nativel (Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2016), pp. 13-25.

¹³⁴ Jean de Sponde, *Oeuvres littéraires, suivies d'Écrits apologétiques avec des Juvénilia*, ed. by Alan Boase (Geneva: Droz, 1978), p. 34 and Sponde, *Meditations*, pp. 151-52.

¹³⁵ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, p. 68.

Sponde guides the reader to this metatextual interpretation by including a meditation on Psalm 48 that celebrates Zion, which, some scholars suggest, refers to Orthez.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, in addition to Higman's arguments, in which he exposes the similarities shared between La Rochelle and the Holy City, there are a few further identifying characteristics that point towards the Atlantic bastion. For one, Orthez was successfully taken by the Protestants, a detail which does not fit the *méditant*'s description of Zion: 'De quoy servent donques ces murailles espaisse, ces bastions re[n]forcez, ces palais magnifiques, ces superbes Tours, ceste Citadelle imprenable?'¹³⁷ The paraphrased verses of the Psalm add qualitative adjectives, such as 'espaisse', 'renforcez' and 'superbes' that lead to the conclusion that Zion is an impregnable city. As the original Psalm does not mention such unassailability this description of Zion is of Sponde's own volition:

Walk about Zion, and go round about her:
tell the towers thereof.
Mark ye well her bulwarks,
consider her palaces;
that ye may tell it to the generation following.¹³⁸

In the Bible, Zion was conquered by David and if Sponde was indeed referring to Orthez, a city that was conquered by Protestants, surely this parallel between both cities would have been welcomed and included. Instead, the impenetrable city surrounded by thick walls seems to be a deliberate reference to La Rochelle's victory in 1572-1573.

Secondly, although the term 'roche' can obviously be connected to La Rochelle, the constant reference to the mountain has led scholars to suggest that the

¹³⁶ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle* p. and

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 121.

¹³⁸ Psalm 48:12-13.

meditation referred to the Pyreneans location of Orthez, as argued by Droz.¹³⁹ I would argue that those terms were interchangeable as another poetic word for mountain was *roche*, the root word of La Rochelle.¹⁴⁰ Finally, Zion (or Jerusalem) is described as ‘située au milieu des nations’.¹⁴¹ As Higman questions, how could Orthez be considered the centre of Protestantism?

This reading would certainly suggest that Sponde implicitly condemns the Rochelais who rely too much on the physical protection of their fortifications rather and refused to unite for a greater cause.¹⁴² In his portrayal of Zion, faith is the heart of its urban identification: it enables the inhabitants to protect their city.¹⁴³ The strength of the physical urban space and the spiritual urban space are thus interlaced (‘En vain re[m]parez vous la Cité, si Dieu luy mesme n'est sa forteresse.’)¹⁴⁴ This leads the *méditant* to draw many analogies between God and physical spaces, which are also present in the Bible, for example in the following passage taken from Psalm 62:

Truly he is my rock and my salvation;
he is my fortress, I will not be shaken.
My salvation and my honour depend on God;
he is my mighty rock, my refuge¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ Higman, *The Méditations*, p. 569.

¹⁴⁰ There are several references of the word *roche* being used to describe a mountain in literature such as in Clément Marot, *Les Traductions de Clément Marot* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1573), p. 41.

¹⁴¹ Sponde, *Méditations sur les psaumes*, p. 116.

¹⁴² For more information on the fortifications between 1572-1628, see Nicolas Faucherre, ‘Les Fortifications de La Rochelle, place de sûreté’, in *Coligny, les protestants et la mer: Actes du colloque organisé à Rochefort et La Rochelle les 3 et 4 octobre 1996*, ed. by Martine Acerra and Guy Martinière (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 177-84.

¹⁴³ Sponde, *Méditations sur les psaumes*, p. 120.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 122.

¹⁴⁵ Psalm 62 6:8.

The *méditant*'s own interpretation of Psalm 62 is primarily a condemnation of worldly possessions and coincides with a time when La Rochelle exhibited all the 'richesse d'une ville commerçante'.¹⁴⁶ It therefore seems that the *Méditations sur les pseaumes* serves, in part, as a reminder that La Rochelle's prosperity after the horrors of the First Siege should be accredited to God ('tu [God] remplis le Monde de ta fureur, et ta Cité de ta faveur').¹⁴⁷

In short, this contextualization of the *Méditations sur les pseaumes* and the macro- and micro-level examination of the text advocates that this publication contained a message addressed to the Rochelais: a reminder that only faith, or the inhabitants' unity behind one God and/or his representative (Henri de Navarre), will safeguard their peace and prosperity. This is evident in Sponde's exploitation of identity characteristics highly concomitant with La Rochelle's own (self-)identification: her fortress, her commercial wealth but also her identification with the Old Testament.

3.1.2 Reading between the Lines: the Words of a Scottish King to La Rochelle

The following year, Jérôme Haultin's shop published another meditation, this time on the Book of Revelation, written by James VI of Scotland (1567-1625), soon to be James I of England in 1603. The Scottish Protestant king originally published his meditation in Edinburgh in 1588, after England's unforeseen victory over the Spanish Armada. James VI uses his triumph over the Spanish Armada — and subsequently

¹⁴⁶ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, II, p. 62.

¹⁴⁷ Sponde, *Méditation sur les Pseaumes*, p. 110

over the Church of Rome — to draw comparisons between current events and the Book of Revelation. As Astrid Silma suggests, this was probably to attract readers as ‘the main selling point of such commentaries was their identification of the Church of Rome as the Whore of Babylon’.¹⁴⁸

François de Gorris translated it in 1589 under the title *Méditations contenant une exposition familière des 7, 8, 9, 10, versets du 20 chapitre de l'apocalypse de S[aint] Jean*, which was solely published in La Rochelle.¹⁴⁹ In his preface, Gorris writes that too few princes practise religious meditation and that, by inference, rulers should follow James VI’s example: ‘peu de Princes y a qui s’appliquent à tels exercices: et moins encor, qui parmi ces tempes, dont les monde est aujourd’hui agité, trouvent loisir de méditer.’¹⁵⁰ Similar to Sponde’s *Méditations sur les pseaumes*, James VI’s *Méditations contenant une exposition familière* glorifies ‘Protestant solidarity’.¹⁵¹ He too uses the urban space to promote unity: ‘[il faut] encourager les uns les autres à justement et légitimement résister, et courir d'une mesme volonté les uns avec les autres comme gendarmes en un camp, et bourgeois en une cité’.¹⁵²

Even though the Book of Revelation mentions it only once in the ninth verse, James VI offers a detailed description of the New Jerusalem. He argues that it is

¹⁴⁸ Astrid Silma, *A King Translated: The Writings of King James VI & I and Their Interpretation in the Low Countries, 1593-1603* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 189

¹⁴⁹ James VI, *Méditations contenant une exposition familière des 7, 8, 9, 10, versets du 20 chapitre de l'apocalypse de s. Jean* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1589) [USTC 18057]. I have been unable to find any information on François de Gorris beyond the following reference which confirms his Protestant affiliation: Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire de la langue françoise, ancienne et modern, de Pierre Richelet; augmenté de plusieurs additions d'Histoire, de grammaire, de critique, et jurisprudence, et d'un nouvel abregé de la vie des auteurs citez dans tout l'ouvrage*, vols (Lyon: Frères Bruyset, 1728), I, p. lxiv.

¹⁵⁰ François de Gorris, ‘À Monsieur du Faur’, in *Méditations contenant une exposition familière*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵¹ Silma, *A King Translated*, p. 191.

¹⁵² James VI, *Méditations contenant une exposition familière*, p. 34.

recognisable by the fact that this ‘cité bien aymee’ is constantly endangered by foreign force.¹⁵³ In fact, the assaults on the city are precisely what defines it as the seat of religion (‘le siège de la cité bien aymée, nous monstre une marque certaine de la fausse Église qui ayme persécution.’)¹⁵⁴ That is, one of the identifying characteristics of a sacred city is its besiegement by those preaching the ‘false religion’. By describing a world where ‘les meschans sont les assiègeans, les fidèles sont les assiègez’, this text indirectly recognizes La Rochelle as the last citadel standing against the Antichrist or, in this particular context, the Pope.¹⁵⁵

I believe that the decision to print the translation of James VI’s *Méditations* in La Rochelle reveals the interest and identification of the local readership. If we consider the place of publication, the call for unity, the discourse and the fact that only one edition was published, it soon becomes evident that, like Sponde’s own *Méditation*, this text was probably printed with the Rochelais in mind. As such, even if *Méditations contenant une exposition familière* was not originally intended for the Rochelais, it confirms their identity standard as the act of besiegement further sacralized the urban space.

3.2 The Urban Space in Poetry

Our final two texts explore how the sacralization of La Rochelle carried over into the poetic representation of the urban space. The first poem, entitled *Hospes ad Repellam, obsidione solutam*, was written in Latin by the Scottish poet and lawyer, Hercules

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 32.

Rollock (c. 1546-1599) following his visit to La Rochelle after the First Siege.¹⁵⁶

Although it was published in the second volume of *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* (1637), I include it in this chapter as the poem is anchored in the historical context of the First Siege and was written circa 1574, as a reaction to this specific event.¹⁵⁷ Steven Reid even goes so far as to describe Rollock's work as a 'journalistic poem' that, consequently, enables scholars to reconstruct his lifetime from his poetry.¹⁵⁸ However, this also infers that Rollock's poem was not explicitly destined for circulation and so offers less opportunity for discourse analysis than our second text.

As indicated by the dedicatory in the title of *Hymne composé sur la très-florissante, et très-fameuse cité de la Rochelle* (1594 and 1596), Alexandre du Pontaymeri's (d. 1618) poem was published specifically for Rochelais readership.¹⁵⁹ Pontaymeri himself was a Protestant soldier-poet who fought during the religious wars and, along the way, befriended writers such as Du Bartas and d'Aubigné, who were

¹⁵⁶ Stuart Handley, 'Rollock, Hercules (c. 1546-1599), lawyer and poet', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online], <<http://www.oxforddnb.com>> [accessed 2 February 2019].

¹⁵⁷ *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum: hujus ævi illustrium. Pars altera*, ed. by Arturus Jonstonus, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Joan I Blaeu, 1637) [USTC 1511235].

¹⁵⁸ Steven Reid, 'A Scottish View of the Siege of La Rochelle: Hercules Rollock's "Hospes ad Repellam obsidione solutam" and other French poems, 1573-1574', in *Bridging the Continental Divide*, <www.dps.gla.ac.uk> [accessed 27 May 2015].

¹⁵⁹ Alexandre de Pontaymeri, *Hymne Composé sur la très-florissante, et très-fameuse cité de la Rochelle. Dedié À Messieurs les Illustres Maire, Eschevins, et Pairs d'icelle, Par Alexandre de Pontaymery Seigneur de Focheran* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1594) [USTC 74512] and id., *Hymne Composé sur la très-florissante, et très-fameuse cité de la Rochelle. Dedié À Messieurs les Illustres Maire, Eschevins, et Pairs d'icelle, Par Alexandre de Pontaymery Seigneur de Focheran* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1596) [USTC 74614]. As there are no known surviving copies of the original text, the analysis of this poem is taken from a nineteenth-century *facsimile* reproduction of the original text, whose current whereabouts are unknown: Alexandre de Pontaymeri, *Hymne sur La Rochelle par Alexandre de Pontaymery Poète du XVI^e siècle. Avec une Notice préliminaire et des Notes par Paul Gaudin*, ed. by Paul Gaudin (La Rochelle: A. Siret, 1875). On Pontaymeri, also spelled Pontaymery, seigneur de Focheran. See Bruno Ménier, *La Renaissance de l'épopée: la poésie épique en France de 1572 à 1623* (Geneva: Droz, 2004), p. 162.

probably an inspiration for his own works since many of Pontaymeri's compositions do not lay claim to originality but are rather imitations of contemporary poets.¹⁶⁰. As Gaudin mentions in his introduction, it is also highly possible that Pontaymeri was in La Rochelle during the siege of 1572-1573.¹⁶¹

The year of publication for the first edition of *Hymne sur La Rochelle* coincided with a period of change in La Rochelle, a time when the city was reconstructing itself, raising new walls after the 1572-1573 siege. As we have seen, it was also the year Henri de Navarre was proclaimed King of France. Its subsequent reprint in 1596 may suggest that it was a popular piece with the local inhabitants.

If both poems were shaped under a different socio-historical context, that is the destined audience and the creative incentive, did this affect the portrayal of La Rochelle and her urban space or do these works corroborate the inhabitants' sacralization of La Rochelle after the First Siege? Although I will be focusing on the discourse of Pontaymeri's *Hymne sur La Rochelle* as it was specifically destined for a Rochelais readership, I will occasionally draw upon Rollock's *Hospes ad Repellam* to offer comparative study into the identification of the city through the eyes of two different outsiders.

¹⁶⁰ Gaudin mentions the strong similarities between Pontaymeri's work and that of Du Bartas and d'Aubigné, (Gaudin, *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, p. 12: 'il calque la forme, auxquels il emprunte ses dessins de phrase, ses expressions, parfois même ses vers.') but he especially discusses Pontaymeri's admiration for d'Aubigné, whom he places amongst the best authors of his time, alongside Malerbe and Sponde (See Letter XI in Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Oeuvres*, ed. by Henri Weber (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), p. 862).

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 9.

3.2.1 The Dawn of a New Jerusalem

While *Hospes ad Repellam* only describes the events of the First Siege, *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, composed of rhyming couplets, goes back to the foundation of La Rochelle in its fourteen page-long pamphlet which begins with the exile of Saturn, by his own son, Jupiter. In the first verses, the god wanders across the earth and seeks the perfect refuge to settle his court. His journey leads him across the world before he decides to settle on the land which will become the Huguenot bastion.

The praise of La Rochelle therefore begins before the city has even been raised from the earth as it starts with an emphasis on the topographical space that was chosen by Saturn himself ('Ton emboucheure pleut au regard de ce Dieu | Qui choisit sa demeure, et des siens, en ce lieu.)¹⁶² It is the intervention of the Roman god that shapes the city, here addressed as a person as the poet omits the article 'La':

Rochelle, ton pourpris n'avoit lors point de nom
Et ta rade n'avoit commerce ny renom,
Ton port, hoste des vents, n'estoit seur au Navire[...].¹⁶³

Stripped from all symbolic constructions and traditions that customarily form La Rochelle's identity (e.g. the towers and the walls), the poem instead describes the wilderness of the location, an untamed site hostile to civilisation. The natural elements existing there (that is the sea, the earth, and the wind) become active participants in the narrative. Unlike La Gessée who uses Proteus to represent the fickle nature of the sea — and subsequently La Rochelle — Pontaymeri here provides each element with a distinct personality as each plays part in the construction of La Rochelle and continue

¹⁶² Pontaymeri, *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, p. 22.

¹⁶³ Ibid. pp. 21-22.

to help the city afterwards: La Rochelle is consequently fashioned through a cohabitation between nature and civilization.¹⁶⁴

The relationship between the personified elements and La Rochelle is founded by virtue of each individual oration; as the sea, initially described as wild and dangerous, notices the foundations of La Rochelle, it solemnly promises to the god:

Tousjours mes flots ondeux (Saturne) porteront
Une calme faveur à ceux qui se tiendront
Dans le mur désigné de ta ville nouvelle¹⁶⁵

Far from being the ‘hostile element that threatens human life’ known to the early modern audience, the indomitable sea is here at the disposal of the city, calming the winds and the water to offer a safe harbour.¹⁶⁶ In fact, its actions encourage the other elements to come forward and help Saturn in building the city: just as Neptune, the Roman god of the sea, names the city (‘le Dieu bransle-terre [l’]appela la Rochelle’), it is suggested that the sea itself is the foundation of La Rochelle’s identity.¹⁶⁷ Rollock similarly foregrounds the sea as the core of La Rochelle’s urban identity when he opens his poem with the following verses:

Circum frementis fota Neptuni sinu,
Urbs undique orbis hospita,
Rupella, clarum ‘rupe’ quae nomen trahis¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Steven Mentz, ‘Toward a Blue Cultural Studies: the Sea, Maritime Culture and Early Modern English Literature’, *Literature Compass*, 6.5 (2009), 997-1013 (p. 1001) and Pontaymeri, *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, p. 23.

¹⁶⁷ Pontaymeri, *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, p. 22.

¹⁶⁸ Hercules Rollock, ‘Hospes ad Repellam, obsidione solutam’, in *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum: hujus ævi illustrium. Pars altera*, ed. by Arturus Jonstonus, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Joan I Blaeu, 1637), II, pp. 378-80 (p. 378).

For both poets, it is the urban space's affinity with its topography that provides the city protection as well as prosperity.¹⁶⁹

The disparity between Pontaymeri's and Rollock's poems, however, lies in the spiritual elevation of the urban space. The comparison between Moses' exodus from the Pharaoh's tyranny and Saturn's exile in *Hymne sur La Rochelle* is patent and could suggest that La Rochelle is Saturn's Promised Land, a Jerusalem. The references to divine influence are ubiquitous but are most noticeable when Mother Earth bestows her gifts on the city. Saturn celebrates the foundation of the city by embracing her three times: 'Par trois-fois la baisa'.¹⁷⁰ The emphasis is placed on the number three which is persistent throughout the poem: 'troy-fois saint Saturne', the city 'trois-fois bien nommé' and also in the three elements granting three blessings, each one trying to surpass the other.¹⁷¹ Whilst the number three is a recurring theme in medieval fairy tales, in this case it is rather a direct connection to God and refers to the Holy trinity (the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit).

When Saturn embraces Earth, he is therefore no longer identified by his mythological name nor by the demonstrative adjective 'ce Dieu', which implies there are other gods; instead he simply becomes 'Dieu', the only one-true God and the number three then disappears from the text. Saturn's transformation may therefore be a reference to the articles (more specifically the sixth) espoused in the *Confession de La Rochelle*, which was the first declaration of faith made by the Reformed Churches and formally adopted in 1571 in La Rochelle. The relationship between God, Protestantism and La Rochelle thus become inherently linked.

¹⁶⁹ Rollock, 'Hospes ad Repellam', p. 378.

¹⁷⁰ Pontaymeri, *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, p. 23.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 18 and 22.

The sacralization of the urban space extends to the city's inhabitants. Even Rollock's poem, which is set in Roman mythology, connects the inhabitants to gods as they live side by side ('Cives supersunt et penetrales Dii, | Mavorte non dociles mori.')¹⁷² Furthermore, the final verses follow the Christian rhetoric of adulation and could otherwise easily be a praise to Jerusalem or Bethulia:

Tibi ego canorus accinam,
Arcemque sancti te fatebor agminis,
Et impii obicem gregis.¹⁷³

Similarly, in *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, Pontaymeri's description of La Rochelle's inhabitants compares the *bourgeois* to divine figures through a synthesis of mythological and biblical imagery:

[...] la ville où les Cieux
Et les bourgeois astrez, les heros demy Dieux
Et les Anges campoyent¹⁷⁴

The term demi-God could likewise allude to the Book of Revelation where the inhabitants of New Jerusalem experienced theosis.¹⁷⁵ Even Saturn, having metamorphosed into God, resides within La Rochelle's urban space ('en ce lieu, | Où il vit, où il regne, en despit des armées').¹⁷⁶ La Rochelle is consequently not only under divine protection but, like John's New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation, has also become his spiritual and physical home:

And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband And I heard

¹⁷² Rollock, 'Hospes ad Repellam', p. 379.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 380.

¹⁷⁴ Pontaymeri, *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, p. 24.

¹⁷⁵ Revelation 22:4-5.

¹⁷⁶ Pontaymeri, *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, p. 25, 'in this place, where he lives, reigns, in spite of the armies'.

a loud voice from the throne saying, “Behold, the dwelling place of God is with man. He will dwell with them, and they will be his people, and God himself will be with them as their God.”¹⁷⁷

3.2.2 A Matrimony Between the City and her Citizens

Both poems address La Rochelle as an individual entity and the fortifications, which turn into the cynosure of the poem, become part of her character. Rollock compares La Rochelle to Collatinus' wife, Lucretia, who, according to Roman culture, was raped by Prince Tarquin. Rollock, however, tells a different story as La Rochelle manages to resist the advances of her suitor (Henri III). In the failed attempt to conquer the city, Rollock describes the walls as part of La Rochelle's attire:

Vix ima vela, vixque talarem attigit
Adulter audax simbriam.
Pectore pudico, corpore illaeso viges;
Sola laboras chlamyde.¹⁷⁸

Although, even if they do not share the same fate, La Rochelle does adopt Lucretia's characteristics: beauty, hospitality, honour and loyalty.

These traits also feature in *Hymne sur La Rochelle*. The ramparts that offered protection to its inhabitants turn La Rochelle into a hostess, ‘un vénérable Asile’, for the victims of the religious wars.¹⁷⁹ The following excerpt, for example, suggests that the geographical urban structure of the city reflects her defining identity characteristic:

Ta fatale muraille hotesse du bonheur
Ta fatale muraille hotesse de faveur
Hottesse du repos de la France affligée
Hottesse de la sûreté à la France asiégée,

¹⁷⁷ Revelations 21:2-3

¹⁷⁸ Rollock, ‘Hospes ad Repellam’, p. 379.

¹⁷⁹ Pontaymeri, *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, p. 21.

Hotesse tutelaire aux Français pourchassé
Hotesse favorable aux Français dechassé¹⁸⁰

The repetition of *hotesse* and *France/Français*, shows the city's role as a guardian to the rest of France and refers to the numerous refugees who sought shelter in La Rochelle after the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Rollock similarly designates the Atlantic city as a hostess ('hospes hospiti | fave faventi').¹⁸¹

Through her actions, La Rochelle consequently becomes 'l'honneur du monde European'.¹⁸² Likewise, in *Hospes ad Repellam*, Rollock claims that La Rochelle brings honour to Europe and nurtures the rest of France:

Alumna coeli, ocella mundi, Europae honos,
Flos Christiani climatis,
Regina ponti, qua beatas alluit
Oceanus ingens Gallias¹⁸³

These qualities are echoed in Pontaymeri's portrayal of the Rochelais: they are described as lawful citizens, contrary to the accusations of rebellion by Catholic polemists ('[ils] ont toujours maintenu la Justice, et les lois' and '[ils] ne peu[v]ent souffrir l'empire des rebelles | Ny l'orgeuil de Jupin').¹⁸⁴ Rather, the city's victory during the First Siege is a divine proof that La Rochelle was loyal and under God's protection ('le siege en est tesmoing' and 'Le siege dis-je en est un tespoin ordinaire').¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁸¹ Rollock, 'Hospes ad Repellam', p. 379.

¹⁸² Pontaymeri, *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, p. 23.

¹⁸³ Rollock, 'Hospes ad Repellam', p. 378.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 24-25.

Even when La Rochelle's tumultuous history with England is foregrounded, it serves to emphasize the city's loyalty to France as, like Judith or Deborah, she initiated the fight against the neighbouring country and fought for France's liberty:

Première tu bannis les troupes d'Angleterre
Loing, bien loing de la France, en la mer qui l'enferre,
Première tu rendis au français liberté,
Première tu vainquis cette isle indompté¹⁸⁶

Behind the patriotic love for her country, displayed by the numerous repetitions of *France* and *français*, there is also a call for unity between La Rochelle and France, between the Protestants and the Catholics, but also between the Rochelais themselves.

Pontaymeri ends the poem with an illustration of the virtues of the local *bourgeoisie*, as anticipated by the dedicatory to La Rochelle's council.¹⁸⁷ In the Book of Revelation, New Jerusalem is portrayed as God's bride. Similarly, in *Hymne sur La Rochelle*, the city adopts the virtues of a loyal and honourable spouse and the *corps de ville*, painted as the true champions of the city, becomes her faithful husband:

tu sçais choisir des hommes qui te font
Porter au cœur le zèle et l'honneur sur le front,
Est que tu sçais choisir des hommes qui président
Sur ton corps bien uny que chèrement ils guident
Au sentier de seurté, au sentier de vertu,
Sentier qui ce jourd'huy n'est guiere batu¹⁸⁸

Similar to the meditations examined earlier, Pontaymeri uses his penmanship in an attempt to unite the people behind Henri de Navarre through the sacralization of the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. , p. 25.

¹⁸⁷ The title page offers the dedication to 'Messieurs les Illustres Maire, Eschevins, Pairs d'icelle'.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 26.

urban space as well as a matrimonial union, between the personified city and its inhabitants.¹⁸⁹

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* * *

La Rochelle's victory after the siege of 1572-1573 thus altered the city's urban identification. First, her printing activities and circulation of religious texts outside her walls earned her the reputation of a city that actively fought against the Jesuits and published texts that were entrenched in her Protestant identity.

Second, the Huguenots' victories over the Royal army, first in Montauban during the First War in 1562-1563 and then ten years later, in La Rochelle, were interpreted as a sign that God was on their side.¹⁹⁰ It was precisely the act of besiegement that defined La Rochelle and became one of the city's salient identity characteristics. This in turn is reflected in the publications that address the Rochelais and place emphasis on the urban space, including the walls and the towers.

The sacred city of Jerusalem painted in local pamphlets was redefined to and adjusted to fit La Rochelle's identifications with an emphasis placed on shared traits,

¹⁸⁹ Bruno Méniel actually notes that after the end of the religious wars, Pontaymeri's writing began to serve Henri IV's interest: 'Pontaymeri juge qu'en soutenant par écrits les efforts du souverain en faveur de la réconciliation nationale, il s'acquitte de son devoir. Il sert son prince par la plume comme il l'a fait par l'épée.' Bruno Méniel, 'Écrire noblement au XVIe siècle: les choix formels d'Alexandre de Pontaymeri', in *Travaux de Littérature: Le statut littéraire de l'écrivain*, ed. by Lise Sabourin, 28 vols (Geneva: Droz, 2007), XX, pp. 247-68 (p. 266).

¹⁹⁰ The three sieges of Montauban took place throughout the First War of Religion from 10 October 1562 to 15 April 1563. For more information, see *Histoires ecclésiastiques*, vol. II and III which describes the events in great detail.

such as the fortifications.¹⁹¹ And so, La Rochelle's similarities with the New Jerusalem, prevalent in Protestant narrative, became ingrained in the local discourse and was only further fostered by the inhabitants' identification with female biblical heroines. These identifications were used by early modern writers to guide the local readers to a metatextual reading of the texts that sought to appease the tensions in the city. When addressed to the Rochelais, the meditations, for example, became a tool to encourage the inhabitants to reflect on harmony and unity. However, like femininity, biblical urban identifications could similarly bring about a more sinister symbolic interpretation since biblical cities, such as Sodom and Gomorrah, were frequently depicted as nests of debauchery and corruption, a fact that Catholic polemical texts used against La Rochelle in the following years.

¹⁹¹ After the first siege of 1572-1573, maps were used during the troubled times of 1620-1622 and the second siege of La Rochelle (1627-1628). Nicolas Faucherre counts over 500 pamphlets which focuses on the fortress between 1572-1628 (Faucherre, 'Les Fortifications de La Rochelle', p. 177).

Chapter Five: Keeping Up Appearances: La Rochelle's Identification Beyond the City Walls (1574-1609)

[T]here is another key type of external identification that has no counterpart in the domain of self-identification: the formalized, codified, objectified systems of categorization developed by powerful, authoritative institutions.

- Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, ‘Beyond “Identity’, 2000

If the religious discourse, targeted at La Rochelle’s local readership, foregrounded the existing divisions and called for unity, the political discourse was mostly aimed at a wider audience and maintained the illusion of a united front. La Rochelle’s public backing of François de La Noue and the *malcontents* during the Fifth Religious War (1574-1576) significantly contributed to the development of her external identification.¹ The term *malcontent* has often been used interchangeably with the *Parti des politiques*, which originated a few years earlier. Although the *malcontents* did indeed emerge from the *Parti des politiques*, there are key differences that need underlining. As Arlette Jouanna points out, the *malcontents* sought to preserve their liberties and thus opposed any threat towards the old nobility (including Henri III and

¹ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 560: ‘Les partis s’entrechoquaient toujours à La Rochelle. S’il y avoit des factieux, il s’y trouvoit aussi un grand nombre de citoyens déterminés à la paix et à la soumission. Mais la Noue entraîna tout. Il est aisément de soumettre les esprits, quand on a le talent de gagner les cœurs. Ce Seigneur étoit l’idole du peuple, et le peuple qui sent et ne pense point, fut subjugué par l’impression que faisoient sur lui les discours et les insinuations de la Noue et de quelques-uns de ses adhérens.’ Cf. James J. Supple, ‘The Role of François de La Noue in the Siege of La Rochelle and the Protestant Alliance with the Mécontents’, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 43.1 (1981), 107-22.

the Guises' growing political influence).² The *Parti des politiques* aspired to a strong ruler and, therefore, contrary to the *malcontents*, promoted monarchical power.³

The political agenda of both movements was promoted by La Rochelle's printers. During the Fifth Religious War, the *malcontents* were notably supported by Barthélemy Berton's widow, Françoise Pierres, and her business partner, Théophile Bouquet, who published almost ninety percent of La Rochelle's political pamphlets. When Jean Porteau acquired Bouquet's printing shop in 1576, his publications primarily pledged support to the Prince of Condé and Henri de Navarre. A second noticeable wave of political pamphlets supporting the *Parti des politiques* thus appeared with the Eighth War of Religion (1585-1598), during which Henri de Navarre's claim to the throne was disputed by the French Catholic League, which instead supported Cardinal Charles de Bourbon (1523-1590).⁴ For the duration of this war, numerous anonymous tracts emanated from La Rochelle, defending the legitimacy of Henri's succession. Many of these are probably still lost to us even now, as the imprint of these short-lived pamphlets were often omitted or falsified.⁵

More importantly, however, the pamphlets that circulated during the Fifth and the Eighth Wars significantly contributed to La Rochelle's external identification. Firstly, their writers actively engaged in a debate with extramural discourse where both sides sought to impose their symbolic interpretation of identifying epithets, such

² See Jouanna, *La France du XVI^e siècle 1483-1598* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2016), p. 535.

³ For more information on the *Parti des politiques*, see Jean-Yves Grenier, *Histoire de la pensée économique et politique de la France d'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Hachette, 2007).

⁴ Cf. Martin Martial, 'Rumeur, propagande et désinformation à Paris durant le règne de Henri IV. Quelques réflexions préliminaires à partir des *Mémoires-journaux* de L'Estoile', *Albineana. Cahiers d'Aubigné*, special issue: Calomnie, rumeur et désinformation: l'Histoire du Père Henri, jésuite et sodomite, 23 (2011), 267-83.

⁵ Desgraves, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, II, p. XXIX.

as ‘bon François’ or ‘vray Catholique’. Secondly, as the pamphlets that circulated outside the city walls were of a political nature, that aspect of La Rochelle’s identity was also foregrounded. To fully appreciate the role of print in this process, we must consider the broader political theories promoted by La Rochelle’s publications and how the discourse of powerful political figures influenced the manner in which the city projected herself to the outside world.

1 Monarchomachs or Royalists ? La Rochelle’s Discordant Discourse

1.1 Political Protest and Rhetoric during the Fifth War of Religion (1574-1576)

After the First Siege, the Rochelais were left with a city in urgent need of repair. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the most zealous members of the *corps de ville* and the ministers, both supported by the local printers, urged the *bourgeoisie* to back the Fifth War, instigated by the *malcontents*. La Rochelle’s link to the movement of the *malcontents* was inevitable as, at the end of the First Siege, a coalition formed between disgruntled Catholic and Protestant nobility who rallied under the banner of the Duke of Alençon from 1574.⁶ For the historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou, the formation of the *malcontents* revealed shared frustrations over the Crown’s divisive policies, especially after its defeat at the First Siege of La Rochelle.⁷ The *malcontents*’ primary objective was to end the violence of

⁶ See Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁷ Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Histoire Universelle*, VI, p. 787: ‘La longueur et le peu de succès du siège [sic] de la Rochelle démasquèrent enfin les sentimens de quelques Princes et de quelques Seigneurs, qui cherchoient l’occasion de remuer ou en haine du massacre de Paris, ou par attachement au parti des Protestans. Le Duc d’Alençon se

the civil wars, reinstate power to the nobility in the *États généraux* and promote national unity rather than religious divisions.⁸

Conversely, Protestant discourse after the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre appeared more militant, especially following the publication of the *Lettre de Pierre Charpentier Jurisconsulte, addressée à François Portes Candiois* (1572).⁹ Pierre Charpentier (d. 1612) was a Protestant jurist who, encouraged by Bèze, taught law in Geneva. His pamphlet stated that the bloodshed on 24 August 1572 was warranted. This, in turn, elicited numerous written responses and calls-to-arms, to such an extent that Droz considers that the polemic of Pierre Charpentier galvanized the vast majority of the pamphlets published in La Rochelle between 1574 and 1575.¹⁰

This shift in Protestant discourse is apparent even in the development of the pamphlets' titles. As I have shown in Chapter Two, between 1567 and 1572, Barthélemy Berton published political tracts that primarily attempted to defend perceived acts of rebellion and that labelled themselves as *déclarations, discours* or

mit à leur tête, soit par jalouſie contre le Duc d'Anjou, soit par resſentiment du meurtre de Coligny, qu'il aimoit tendrement.'

⁸ Arlette Jouanna, 'Un programme politique nobiliaire: Les Mécontents et l'État (1574-1576)', in *L'État et les aristocraties (France, Angleterre, Écosse) XII^e-XVII^e siècle*, ed. by Philippe Contamine (Paris: Presse de l'ENS, 1989), pp. 247-78. On the *États généraux*, see Jacques Krynen, 'La Représentation politique dans l'ancienne France: l'expérience des États généraux', *Droits. Revue française de théorie juridique*, 6 (1987), 30-44 and Claude Soulé, *Les États généraux de France (1302-1789): étude historique, comparative et doctrinale*, ed. by Pierre-Clément Timbal (Heule: UGA, 1968).

⁹ Pierre Charpentier, *Lettre de Pierre Charpentier Jurisconsulte, addressée à François Portes Candiois [sic], par laquelle il monstre que les persécutio[n]s des Églises de France sont advenues, non par la faulte de ceux qui faisoient profession de la Religion, mais de ceux qui nourrissoient les factions et conspiration, qu'on appelle la CAUSE* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1572) [USTC 3807]. Cf. Léon Marlet, 'L'Apologiste de la Saint-Barthélemy, Pierre Charpentier', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 52.4 (1903), 376-77. Although the BnF, and consequently the USTC have categorized this pamphlet under the name Pierre Charpentier, scholars (and myself) apply the spelling 'Charpentier'.

¹⁰ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, p. 41.

protestations in their headings. During the Fifth War of Religion, political tracts were styled as *remonstrances* and *exhortations*. These five expressions altogether constitute over half of the political titles printed in La Rochelle between 1573 and 1609. This reveals a more active distribution of polemical and partisan texts.

1.1.1 La Rochelle: The Voice of the Malcontents

According to Paul-Alexis Mellet, most *remonstrances* published between 1550 and 1600 addressed the King.¹¹ Those printed by Théophile Bouquet and Berton's widow were, however, destined for a wider audience, as they incorporate a collective group in their titles, such as *Advis et trèshumbles remonstrances à tous Princes, Seigneurs, Cours de Parlement et subjectz de ce Royaume* (1574) or *Remonstrance aus seigneurs gentilshommes et aultres faisans profession de la Religio[n] réformée de France, Et tous aultres bons François désirans la conservation de ce Royaume* (1574).¹² The expressions *déclarations* and/or *protestations*, on the other hand, foreground the writers, who were often political leaders. Furthermore, although the data from the USTC is not conclusive, initial research reveals that one third of the pamphlets

¹¹ Paul-Alexis Mellet, ‘Les Remontrances: une expression paradoxale de la *société politique* (XVIème siècle)’, in *Forms of Conflict and Rivalries in Renaissance Europe*, ed. by Mark Laureys, David A. Lines and Jill Kraye, 17 (Göttingen: V&R Unipress and Bonn University Press, 2015), pp. 247-72 (p. 253). Cf. Ullrich Langer, *Vertu du discours, discours de la vertu. Littérature et philosophie morale au XVIème siècle en France* (Geneva: Droz, 1999).

¹² [Anon.], *Advis et trèshumbles remonstrances à tous Princes, Seigneurs, Cours de Parlement et subjectz de ce Royaume: par un bon et grand nombre de catholiques tant de lestat Ecclesiastique, la Noblesse que tiers estat, sur la maunaise [sic] et universelle dispositio[n] des affaires* ([La Rochelle]: [Théophile Bouquet], 1574) [USTC 2532] and [Anon.], *Remonstrance aus Seigneurs gentilhommes et aultres faisans profession de la Religio[n] reformée en France, Et tous aultres bons François désirans la conservation de ce Royaume* (Basel [La Rochelle]: Pieter Vuallemand [Théophile Bouquet], 1574) [USTC 175]. These two texts will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

published under the title of *Déclaration et protestations* produced during the French Wars of Religion were published in La Rochelle, which is a clear indication of the city's commitment to endorsing her political allies.

Three of these publications hold great historical significance owing to the role they played in the Fifth War as well as to the leaders who wrote them: they are the *Déclaration de Henry de Bourbon* (1574) by Henri de Bourbon, Prince of Condé; *Déclaration et protestations* (1575) by Henri de Montmorency-Damville and *Protestation de monseigneur filz et frère de roy, duc d'Alancon* (1575) by François de Valois, the Duke of Alençon.¹³ These discourses publicly allied the leaders of the malcontents against Henri III but, more importantly, indirectly tied La Rochelle to the movement even if Théophile Bouquet omitted his name from these publications or forged their imprint. In fact, over eighty percent of political texts published in La Rochelle between 1573 and 1609 did not include a full imprint on the title page, and fourteen of them used the names of other cities: five stated they were printed at Basel whilst various others respectively used the names of Protestant and Catholic cities such as Montauban, Paris, Poitiers, Tours or Strasbourg. Each fictitious place was chosen partly according to the content and context of the publication and partly in the hope that the pamphlets would thus reach a broader readership.

¹³ Henri de Bourbon, *Déclaration de Henry de Bourbon aujourd'huy troisiesme Prince du sang de France, Prince de Condé, Piair de France, et acco[m]paigné de plusieurs Seigneurs Gentils-hommes de l'une et lautre Religion* (La Rochelle: [Théophile Bouquet], 1574) [USTC 2533]; Henri de Montmorency-Damville, *Déclaration et protestation de monseigneur de Dampville, Mareschal de France. Avec la Protestation des Églises réformées de France, asse[m]blées à Millau en Rouvergue, sur les troubles de présant* (Strasbourg [La Rochelle]: [Théophile Bouquet], 1575) [USTC 153] and François de Valois, Duke of Alençon, *Protestation de Monseigneur filz et frère de Roy, Duc d'Alancon* ([La Rochelle]: [Théophile Bouquet], 1575) [USTC 1400].

The Prince of Condé's *Déclaration de Henry de Bourbon* is the first statement from the leaders of the *malcontents* to be published, but Montmorency-Damville's *Déclaration et protestation* is arguably the more important piece for this study, as it boasted numerous translations into German, Dutch, English, Italian and Spanish.¹⁴ According to Droz, the first edition, which appears to be lost, was, like the Prince of Condé's declaration, probably printed in Basel in 1574.¹⁵ La Rochelle published her own edition in 1575 under the false address of Strasbourg, possibly because the Protestant assembly sent Montmorency-Damville's declaration to the Prince of Condé, who resided in Strasbourg at the time.¹⁶

Nonetheless, my interest lies in the German and Dutch translations that were printed in 1575 by Samuel Apiario in Basel with the titles *Newe Zeitungen auß Frankreich* (in-8) and *Nieuwe tijdinghe uit Vranckrijck* (in-12).¹⁷ In these editions, Montmorency-Damville's declaration is accompanied by Henri III's response but more importantly by two excerpts originating from La Rochelle and, in the German

¹⁴ Droz, *L'Imprimerie de La Rochelle*, III, p. 32.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 23 and 32.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 32. For Jouanna, Montmorency-Damville's alliance with the Huguenots was above all a tactical choice shaped by his own feelings of insecurity and desire to defend his house and honour. See Jouanna, *La France du XVIe siècle*, p. 502. See also Franklin Charles Palm, *Politics and Religion in Sixteenth-Century France. A Study of the Career of Henry de Montmorency-Damville Uncrowned King of the South* (Boston: Peter Smith, 1927).

¹⁷ Henri de Montmorency-Damville and others, *Newe Zeitungen auß Franckreich. Erklärung und Protestation Henrichen von Montmorancy Herzen zu Dampville. Marschallen inn Franckreich Regenten und Generaeln Leutenanten für den König inn Languedocken von wegen des Kriegs so er jetziger zeit wider den König in der Politischen nammen führt* (Basel: Samuel Apiario, 1575) [USTC 677627] and id., *Nieuwe tijdinghe uit Vranckrijck: verclaringe ende protestatie Henrici van Montmorancy, heere te Dampville, Maerschalck in Vranckrijck, Regent ende Generael Luytenant voo; den Coninck in Languedock, van weghen den krijch dien hij nu teghenwoo; dich teghen den coninck' in der Poolschen name voeret: noch is hier bij gevoecht der ghesanten van de stadt Rochelle reden die sij voor coninck Henrick de Derde tot Vranckrijck ende Polen ghedaen hebben: mitsgaders syne majestyts antwoorde ende protestatie van die van Rochelle* (Basel: Samuel Apiario, 1575) [USTC 415347].

translation, entitled ‘Deren Gestandten von der Statt Roschellen’/ ‘Der Ghesanten van de Stadt Rochelle’ and ‘Protestation deren von Roschellen’/ ‘Protestatie van die van Rochelle’. The latter seems to have been issued before the First Siege.

By appending these two excerpts to Montmorency-Damville’s influential declaration, the city and her inhabitants found themselves associated with the malcontents’ political struggle. Indeed, as the pamphlet’s conclusion reveals to the reader, the protestation from La Rochelle (‘Protestation deren von Roschellen’ or ‘Protestatie van die van Rochelle’) may date from before Montmorency-Damville’s declaration, but it is still topical.¹⁸ In other words, the structure of *Newe Zeitungen Frankreich* as well as, according to its title, *Nieuwe tijdinghe uijt Vranckrijck* indicates that, for the foreign reader, La Rochelle’s discourse, ideologies and resultant identity coalesced with the malcontents’ broader collective identity.

This was furthered by the fact that La Rochelle’s city council actively helped to circulate discourses from the *malcontents*. The three French declarations, for instance, originated from Basel but were reprinted in La Rochelle that same year or soon after. Bouquet’s publication of the Duke of Alençon’s *Protestation de Monseigneur filz et frère de Roy, Duc d’Alençon* (1575) was the earliest French edition and contained a discourse that was so politically significant that both Protestants and Catholics in Switzerland organized political assemblies in Basel and Gersau to discuss its contents.¹⁹ Akin to other publications, La Rochelle’s edition found its way to Thomas Vautrollier who reprinted it in London the same year under the false address

¹⁸ *Newe Zeitungen auß Franckreich*, fol. B4^v and *Nieuwe tijdinghe uijt Vranckrijck*, fol. B2^v.

¹⁹ Droz, *L’Imprimerie de La Rochelle*, III, p. 47. She describes it as ‘le troisième plus grand manifeste des Politiques’.

‘Alencon [sic]’.²⁰ The expeditious reprints and distribution suggest that La Rochelle was not only able to obtain the latest prints issued from Basel but that she became the choice city in France to circulate the most recent political pieces from the *malcontents*: owing to her strategic position on the Atlantic coast, La Rochelle’s print could easily circulate to other Protestant press shops.

1.1.2 La Rochelle and Monarchomach Thoughts

La Rochelle’s presses circulated more controversial texts from the *malcontents* that leaned towards Monarchomach theory: treatises that, to put it simply, supported armed resistance, popular sovereignty and the fight against tyranny.²¹ These included an octavo edition of Bèze’s *Du droit des Magistrats sur leurs subjets* (1575) that, within its 126 pages, considers the legitimacy of popular revolt in the event that the king persecutes his subjects.²² Although it was initially published in Basel and Heidelberg in 1574, the first French edition of the treatise was printed at La Rochelle.²³ However, even though another Monarchomach text, *Résolution claire et facile sur la question tant de fois faite de la prise des armes par les inferieurs* (1575), bore the false address

²⁰ On Vautrollier, see ‘Chapter Four’, p. 183 and William Richard Le Fanu, ‘Thomas Vautrollier, Printer and Bookseller’, *Presidential Address Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the [Huguenot] Society on 13 May 1959*, 20.1 (1960), 12-25.

²¹ Paul-Alexis Mellet, *Les Traités monarchomaques: confusion des temps, résistance armée et monarchie parfaite, 1560-1600* (Geneva: Droz, 2007), p. 15. See also ‘Et de sa bouche sortait un glaive.’ *Les Monarchomaques au XVIème siècle*, ed. by Paul-Alexis Mellet, *Cahiers d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 75 (Geneva: Droz, 2006) and Jouanna, *La France du XVI^e siècle*, pp. 479-91.

²² Théodore de Bèze, *Du droit des magistrats sur leurs subjets. Traité très-nécessaire en ce temps pour advertir de leur devoir, tant les Magistrats que les Subjets: publié par ceux de Magdebourg l’an M. D. L. et maintenant reveu et augmenté de plusieurs raisons et exemples* ([La Rochelle]: [Théophile Bouquet], 1575) [USTC 4956]. Cf. *Le Droit de résistance, XIIe-XXe siècle*, ed. by Jean-Claude Zancarini (Paris: ENS, 2000).

²³ Droz, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, p. 43.

‘Basle, les héritiers de Jean Oporin’, the *editio princeps* was on this occasion published at La Rochelle.²⁴ This octavo of 104 numbered pages is introduced by a page-long panegyric signed ‘Odet de La Noue’ entreating the nobility and the ‘vrays François’ to resist against tyranny.²⁵ The true identity of the author of the main text is still shrouded in mystery as Droz refutes the popular claim that Odet de La Noue wrote the whole pamphlet and instead attributes this particular text to either François de La Noue or Philippe de Mornay. It was probably written as an individualized reaction to Charpentier’s other controversial piece, *Avertissement saint et chrestien touchant le port des armes* (1575).²⁶

However, it is worth noting that some of the most eminent Monarchomach treatises, such as *Le Réveille-Matin des François* (1574) and François Hotman’s *Francogallia* (1574), were not (re)published in La Rochelle.²⁷ A representative case would be the infamous *Vindiciae, contra tyrannos* (1579), which does not appear to have made its way to the Huguenot bastion, despite the fact that, like many of the

²⁴ [François de La Noue or Philippe de Mornay(?)], *Résolution claire et facile sur la question tant de fois faite de la prise des armes par les inférieurs. Où il est monstré par bonnes raisons, tirées de tout droit Divin et humain: Qu'il est permis et licite aux Princes, seigneurs et peuple inferieur, de s'armer, pour s'opposer et résister à la cruauté et félonie du Prince supérieur, voire mesme nécessaire, pour le debvoir duquel on est tenu au pays et République* (Basel [La Rochelle]: Les Héritiers de Jean Oporin [Théophile Bouquet], 1575) [USTC 674].

²⁵ Odet de La Noue, ‘Paraenétique à la Noblesse, et à tous autres Fra[n]çoes de bon cœur, armés pour resister à la Tyrannië’, in *Résolution claire et facile sur la question tant de fois faite de la prise des armes par les inférieurs*, p. 2.

²⁶ Droz, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, p. 41. Pierre Charpentier, *Advertissement saint et chrestien, touchant le port des armes. Par M. Pierre Charpentier Jurisconsulte. À Monsieur de Lomanie, Baron de Terride et de Seriniac. Traduict du Latin* (Paris: Sébastien Nivelle, 1575) [USTC 670].

²⁷ [Nicolas Barnaud(?)], *Le Reveille-Matin des Francois, et de leurs voisins. Composé par Eusebe Philadelphe Cosmopolite, en forme de dialogue* (Edinburgh [Basel]: Jacques James [Jaques Jobin], 1574) [USTC 6615] and François Hotman, *Franc. Hotomani Jurisconsulti, Francogallia* ([Geneva]: Jacob Stoer, 1573) [USTC 451957]. Cf. Ralph E. Giesey, ‘When and Why Hotman Wrote the “Francogallia”’, *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance*, 29.3 (1967), pp. 581-611.

city's political pamphlets, it was initially published at Basel and was, according to general consensus, written by Mornay who, as we have seen, published most of his work in La Rochelle.²⁸

Therefore, while Mißfelder and Parker draw attention to La Rochelle's strong anti-monarchist stance, my corpus reveals that this is not as obvious as commonly believed. Mißfelder, for instance, suggests that after the First Siege, numerous Monarchomach pamphlets were published in La Rochelle.²⁹ Yet, his list of primary sources does not fully cover the period between 1574 and 1620, one of the richest chapters in La Rochelle's printing history. Although it is certainly true that some publications do support Monarchomach theories, as I have previously mentioned, most of them primarily sought to justify acts of rebellion rather than oppose the King and monarchical rule. According to my corpus, anti-royalist tracts actually represented around 15% of the total political publications in La Rochelle between 1574 and 1580.

In fact, pamphlets that supported monarchical rule were aimed at the Rochelais' readership. This is primarily evidenced by the publication *Remontrances aus Seigneurs Gentilshommes et Aultres faisans profession de la Religio[n] réformée en France et tous aultres bons Francoys désirans la conservation de ce Royaume* (1574), which adhered to the beliefs promoted by the *Parti des politiques* rather than

²⁸ Stephanus Junius Brutus [Philippe de Mornay], *Vindiciae, contra tyrannos: sive, De principiis in populum, populique in principem, legitima postestate, Stephano Junio Bruto Celta, auctore* (Edinburgh [Basel]: [Thomas Guarin] ,1579) [USTC 508820]. Ernest Barker, 'The Authorship of the *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*', *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, 3.2 (1930), 164-81; George Garnett, 'Editor's Introduction', in Philippe de Mornay, *Vindiciae, contra tyrannos or Concerning the Legitimate Power of a Prince over the People, and of the People over a Prince*, ed. and trans. by George Garnett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. xix-lxxvi (pp. lv-lxxvi) and Daussy, *Les Huguenots et le Roi*, pp. 240-54.

²⁹ Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, p. 183.

the *malcontents* and appears to be written with the Rochelais in mind.³⁰ We can surmise its controversial nature from the false imprint ('Basle, par Pieter Vuallemand') and its targetted readership by the fact that it is the only known printed edition and therefore probably was not destined for further circulation.

Even if most scholars assign this pamphlet to François Hotman, as he was known to have published under the pseudonym of Pieter Vuallemand during his stay in Basel, the preposition *par* on the title page suggests that Pieter Vuallemand here supposedly hides the printer, not the author.³¹ Moreover, as Droz indicates, this imprint had already been used by Berton when he published a faithful French translation of Hotman's *Discours simple et véritable* (1573), originally published in Latin under the title *De Furoribus Gallicis*.³² It is therefore hardly surprising that

³⁰ [Anon.], *Remonstrance aus seigneurs gentilshommes etaultre faisans profession de la Religio[n] réformée en France, Et tous aultres bons François désirans la conservation de ce Royaume* (Basel [La Rochelle]: Pierre Vuallemand [Théophile Bouquet], 1574) [USTC 175].

³¹ Paul-Alexis Mellet, 'Les Remontrances: une expression paradoxale de la société politique (XVIème siècle)', p. 262.

³² [François Hotman], *Discours simple et véritable des rages exercées, par la Fran[n]ce, des horribles et indignes meurtres commiz [d]es personnes de Gaspar de Colligni Amiral de France, et de plusieurs grandz Seigneurs gentils-hommes et aultres illustres et notables personnes, et du lache et estrange carnage faict indifére[m]ent des chrestiens qui se so[n]t peu recouvrer en la pluspart des villes de ce royaume, sans respect aulcun, de sang, sexe aage [sic], ou condition. Le tout traduict en François, du Latin d'Ernest Varamond de Frise. Auquel est ajoutée en forme de Parago[n], l'Histoire tragique de la cite de Holme saccagée contre la foy promise l'an 1517. par Christierne second, Roy de Dannemarch, Et de la punition divinement faicte, de ce Tyran et de son Archevesque Goustave: Extraict de la Cosmographie de Mo[n]ster* (Basel [La Rochelle]: Pierre Vuallemand [Barthélémy Berton], 1574) [USTC 176] and Ernest Varamond de Frise [François Hotman], *De Furoribus Gallicis, horrenda et indigna Amirallii Castillionei, Nobilium atque illustrium virorum caede scelerata ac inaudita piorum strage passim edita per complures Galliae civitates, sine ullo discrimine generis, sexus, aetatis et conditionis hominum: Vera et simplex Narratio. Ernesto Varamundo Frisio auctore. Vis consilî expers mole ruit sua* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1573) [USTC 67665]. See Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, p. 115.

Théophile Bouquet, who preferred to hide his identity, adopted that fictitious printer's address one year later.

One of the tropes in the *Remontrances aus Seigneurs Gentilshommes* refers to the anointment of the king who is ‘marqué et distinct des aultres par quelque majesté et instinct secret, afin que les peuples différens de langue et de meurs se rendent sans contrainte subjects à luy’.³³ As such, even if Charles IX’s reign is compared unfavourably to that of Hugh Capet and Charlemagne, his authority is not challenged. Instead it is the King’s entourage that is lambasted: ‘Le conseil du Roy est composé de Chimères et estrangers qui ne meritent aultre nom que de teignes et souris de court’.³⁴ The author describes these ‘personnaiges’ as either ‘agens ou pensionaires du Roy d’Espaigne’ or ‘esclaves de la maison de Guise’.³⁵

In that sense, *Remonstrance aus seigneurs gentilhomme* does not wholly comply to Monarchomach theory and, as we shall now see, seems specifically destined for La Rochelle’s inhabitants. A micro-level examination of the discourse reveals that there are references found throughout the thirty-seven pages that indicate that the pamphlet’s writer was highly familiar with La Rochelle and her history. First, the pamphlet alludes to the ‘potentats d’Alemaigne’ alongside ‘les Anglois [...], Souuisse et aultres nations voisines aians vray sentiment de Levangile de Dieu’ from whom, as discussed in Chapter Two, the Rochelais had often sought assistance.³⁶ The author also refers to an incident which took place in the city in December 1573, when the lieutenant général Jean de la Haye (d. 1575), notorious for his deceitfulness, attempted

³³ *Remonstrance aus seigneurs gentilhommes*, p. 4.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 15.

to recapture La Rochelle.³⁷ Jean de la Haye's, and allegedly Catherine de Médicis's, treachery is in fact one of the few concrete examples deployed by the narrator to support his claim the members of the French court are acting against the city: 'N'o[n]t il pas tasché depuis peu de jours par pratiques et menées secrètes de surprendre la ville de la Rochelle'.³⁸

In short, the exclusivity of this work accompanied by certain targeted arguments seems to suggest that the intended audience for this particular piece was indeed the Rochelais, inciting them to fight actively alongside the *malcontents* all the while acknowledging monarchical rule. As Droz rightly observes, the publications that supported Monarchomach theories and the leaders of the *malcontents* during the Fifth War did not necessarily reflect popular consensus in La Rochelle.³⁹ In fact, the financial cost of the war triggered disgruntlement in the ranks of the *bourgeoisie*, so much so that when Jean Porteau published the Edict of Beaulieu (6 May 1576), which officially put an end to the Fifth War, the inhabitants celebrated peace with a 'fête publique'.⁴⁰ This suggests that even if the Rochelais did not fully endorse the *malcontents*, local publications issued on their behalf and destined for an external readership ultimately fashioned La Rochelle's external identity in Western Europe.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 7. Cf. Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, pp. 536-40. See also Charles de Chergé, 'Notice bibliographique sur Jean de la Haye, lieutenant général de Poitou', *MSAO*, 1.8 (1842), 173-220.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 10.

³⁹ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, p. 54.

⁴⁰ Henri III, *Edict du Roy sur la Pacification des Troubles de ce Royaume, Leu et publié, ledit Seigneur seant en son Parlement, le xiiiij. jour de May, 1576* (La Rochelle: Jean Porteau, 1576) [USTC 3818] and Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, p. 16. Because the articles favoured the Huguenots and even protected some of La Rochelle's privileges, Henri III's edict caused the opposite reaction in Paris where the clergy and inhabitants refused to celebrate and sing the *Te Deum* (Pierre de l'Estoile, *Journal du règne de Henri III*, p. 115).

Similarly, the publications aimed at the local readership attempted to reconcile the Rochelais' identity to that of the *malcontents*'.

*

Since the city had become more closely associated with Protestant printing centres (especially Basel) and the beliefs of the *malcontents*, both Protestants and Catholics began to perceive La Rochelle and her inhabitants as the centre for Monarchomach thought. Louis Dorléans's polemical writing reveals that during the Eighth War, La Rochelle was still associated with the ideologies promoted by the *malcontents*. He hence describes the inhabitants as inherently rebellious: 'Le Prince de Condé, qui semble aujourd'hui Roy des Rochelois, quantesfois les a[-t-]il trouvez mutinez contre luy? qua[n]tesfois luy ont ils fermé au nez les portes de leur Rochelle?' and 'Voyez à Genève, regardez à la Rochelle, et considérez comme ils traittent les Princes, et vous trouverez que ce no[m] de Noblesse ne leur est pas moins odieux que celuy de la Monarchie.'⁴¹

Equally, in the seventeenth century, in John Marston's (1576-1634) satirical Jacobean play, the *Malcontent* (c. 1603), the antihero Malevole (which translates into Malicious or Malevolent) states that he wishes 'to turn pure Rochelle churchman' so that he may 'live lazily, rail upon authority, deny King's supremacy in things indifferent, and be a Pope in [his] own parish.'⁴² La Rochelle's external identification

⁴¹ Louis Dorléans, *Advertissement des Catholiques anglois aux françois catholiques du danger où ils sont de perdre leur religion* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1585) [USTC 65315], p. 74 and id., *Second advertissement des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques, et à la noblesse qui suit à present le Roy de Navarre* (Toulouse: Edouard Ancelin, 1591) [USTC 37543], p. 46.

⁴² John Marston, *The Malcontent*, ed. by George K. Hunter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 99.

was consequently deeply affected by the print it circulated outside the city as it merged with the broader collective identity of the *malcontents*. As I have mentioned above, some historians continue to identify La Rochelle with anti-monarchism. However, I would argue that the specific religious and political discourse used to target the Rochelais and to rally them to the *malcontents'* cause demonstrates that the usual arguments in the *malcontents'* anti-monarchist texts were not compatible with the city's self-identification.

1.2 A Catholic Voice in a Protestant City: the Eighth War of Religion (1585-1598)

From 1584 until the early 1590s, religious publications that previously dominated the print landscape were suddenly replaced by a vast range of political texts, which increased their share of total production from approximately 5% to 83%. In addition to the habitual political declarations and edicts, pamphlets sought to defend the principles of the Salic law, which was considered one of the founding laws (or *Lois fondamentales*) of French monarchy.⁴³ This guaranteed that only a French-born prince could be crowned king, thus preventing the coronation of either a queen or a king who had ascended to the throne through marriage.⁴⁴ During that period, Jean Bodin's *Les Six livres de la République* (1576) became one of the prominent French political treatises on the *loi salique*; it also included arguments that, arguably, espoused absolute monarchical sovereignty.⁴⁵

⁴³ André Lemaire, *Les Lois fondamentales de la monarchie française d'après les théories de l'ancien régime* (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1907).

⁴⁴ This is a common argument supported by the *Politiques*. See Jean Brunel, 'L'Attitude de quelques poètes catholiques poitevins devant les événements de 1587-1588', *Albinea*. Cahiers d'Aubigné, 2 (1990), 99-119 (p. 104).

⁴⁵ Jean Bodin, *Les Six Livres de la République de J[ean] Bodin Angevin. A Monseigneur du Faur Seigneur de Pibrac, Conseiller du Roy en son Conseil privé*

Both Catholics and Protestants defended Henri de Navarre's claim to the throne against the Catholic League by invoking the *loi salique* and his birthright. La Rochelle accordingly published treatises from either confession and circulated the works of Catholic writers, including the lawyer Pierre de Belloy (c. 1540–c.1612) or even the Flemish humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606).⁴⁶ The most prolific defender of Henri de Navarre, nonetheless, continued to be Mornay, who anonymously wrote at least eight pamphlets on the matter between 1585 and 1587.

Each publication participated in a national debate between Navarre's supporters and the Catholic League, represented by the Guise family. Some of these works originated from outside the city walls but, to a certain extent, corresponded with local ideologies, such as Lipsius' *Les Six livres des Politiques* (1590), while others were initially published in La Rochelle to be distributed to other cities, such as Belloy's *Examen du Discours publié contre la Maison Royale* (1587).⁴⁷ La Rochelle's political publications were therefore engaged in symbolic interaction with the outside world and, consequently, had greater impact on identity constructs.

(Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1576) [USTC 6225]. See Roger Chauviré, *Jean Bodin, auteur de La République*, 2nd edn (Geneva: Slatkine, 1969) and Julian H. Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory* (Cambridge: University Press, 1973).

⁴⁶ See (*Un)masking the Realities of Power: Justus Lipsius and the Dynamics of Political Writing in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Erik De Bom and others (Leiden: Brill, 2011); *The World of Justus Lipsius: a Contribution towards his Intellectual Biography: Proceedings of a Colloquium Held under the Auspices of the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome (Rome, 22-24 May 1997)*, ed. by Marc Laureys (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

⁴⁷ Pierre de Belloy, *Examen du Discours publié contre la maison royale de France, Et particulièrement contre la branche de Bourbon, seule reste d'icelle, sur la Loy Salique, et succession du Royaume. Par un Catholique Apostolique, Romain, mais bon François, et trèsfidele sujet de la Couronne de France* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1587) [USTC 8884] and Justus Lipsius, *Les Six livres des politiques, ou doctrine civile de Justus Lipsius: où il est principalement discouru de ce qui appartient à la Principauté. Par Charles le Ber sieur de Malassis, près Mante*, trans. by Charles le Ber (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1590) [USTC 3654].

Be that as it may, if we consider that most of these publications circulated without any printer's address or clues as to where they came from, how could they, realistically, affect La Rochelle's external identification? It is through contextualization and a broad discourse analysis that I examine selected publications to ascertain the identity characteristics of Henri de Navarre's supporters, and, indirectly, the city's external identification.

1.2.1 The *Loi Salique*: La Rochelle's Identification and National Political Discourse

The *Remonstrance aus Seigneurs*, which was printed a decade before the Eighth War, paved the way for Salic law as it includes arguments against the rule of women and voices its support of the *loi salique*. Any weakness correlates with femininity ('Aurez vous le coeur si failli et si effeminé que dabjurer Christ') just as any strength or virtue is deemed masculine ('Il vault mieux et est plus honorable mourir cent fois et retenir une vertu virile jusques à la mort').⁴⁸ For the writer, this binary opposition can be replicated in monarchical rule: 'il se peult dire qu'une femme règne absolument contre les meurs du pais et la Loy Salique, laquelle a esté de tout temps inviolaleme[n]t gardée'.⁴⁹ Indeed, when the mother of the prince becomes queen regent 'par la lascheté des princes plus proches du sang', the country is torn apart ('il n'y a que divisions et tumultes').⁵⁰ Given the historical context, this affirmation is an obvious attack against Catherine de Médicis's regency rather than a premeditated call to rally behind Henri de Navarre's claim to the throne. What it does show us, however, is that symbolic

⁴⁸ [Anon.], *Remonstrance aus seigneurs gentilhommes*, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 21.

interpretation varied in accordance with the genre and context of the publication: as we have seen in the previous chapter, the distinction between female and masculine traits was not as manifest in La Rochelle's local discourse but political texts employed broader symbolic interpretations to support their main argument.

Lipsius's *Les Six livres des Politiques ou doctrine civile* (1590) appeared later and offers perhaps a clearer insight into the city's political identity.⁵¹ Although his publication bears a similar structure to Jean Bodin's *Les Six livres de la République*, his theories were more often compared to Machiavelli's controversial *Il principe* (1532).⁵² Lipsius, a Neo-latin humanist who swayed between Lutheranism and Catholicism, depicts an ideal state wherein citizens are ruled by Stoic virtues and wisdom, all the while submitting to the authority of a strong ruler. Yet, unlike Bodin's *Les Six livres de la République*, which states that a ruler can default on his edicts, for Lipsius, the sovereign's word is not absolute. Instead, he must uphold his promises to the people, including his proclamations, and rule with strong principles. The ideal ruler therefore abides by the laws of stoicism: if he lets his emotions get hold of him to the detriment of the people, then they are within their rights to depose him.⁵³

His work remained incredibly influential and was, according to William Farr Church, reprinted twenty-three times between 1589 and 1641.⁵⁴ In La Rochelle, Jérôme Haultin alone published four editions, one in its original language, Latin, and three in French translated by Charles le Ber.⁵⁵ These were the first French translations

⁵¹ Christopher Brooke, *Philosophic Pride: Stoicism and Political Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 12-36.

⁵² William Farr Church, *Richelieu and Reason of State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), p. 59.

⁵³ See Jason Lewis Saunders, *Justus Lipsius: The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (New York, NY: Liberal Arts Press, 1955).

⁵⁴ William Farr Church, *Richelieu and Reason of State*, p. 59.

⁵⁵ Justus Lipsius, *Les Six livres des politiques, ou doctrine civile de Justus Lipsius: où il est principalement discouru de ce qui appartient à la Principauté. Par Charles le*

available and were republished later in Tours (1594), Paris (1597-8 and 1606) and Lyon (1615). Two of the Rochelais editions were printed for a local bookseller, Marin (also known as Martin) Villepoux, which indicates that there was a local interest, all the more so because *Les Six livres des Politiques* is one of the few political treatises originating from outside the city walls to be printed in La Rochelle.

In fact, Lipsius's treatise is a more accurate reflection of the inhabitants' political and religious values. Indeed, the city promoted religious exclusivism by banning Catholic practice, sought to protect the ancient privileges that the Crown bestowed upon her and, as examined in Chapter Two, wanted to distance herself from the identity characteristics, such as 'emotional' and 'rebellious' that had been ascribed by to her by her enemies. Although it was not written for La Rochelle, the presence and success of *Les Six livres des Politiques ou doctrine civile* in La Rochelle therefore corresponded to a political ideal which the inhabitants identified with.

During the Eighth War, Pierre de Belloy, a Catholic lawyer who was based in Paris, published another four treatises that defended the *loi salique* in Pierre Haultin's press. As a true royalist, Belloy was famous for his defence of Henri III, his successor Henri de Navarre and the *Parti des politiques*.⁵⁶ Émile Picot's findings reveal that Belloy paid Haultin 150 écus to send 1500 prints of *Examen du Discours*

Ber sieur de Malassis, pres de Mante, trans. by Charles le Ber (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1590) [USTC 3654]; id., *Les Six livres des politiques, ou doctrine civile de Justus Lipsius: où il est principalement discouru de ce qui appartient à la Principauté. Par Charles le Ber sieur de Malassis, pres de Mante*, trans. by Charles le Ber ([La Rochelle]: [Jérôme Haultin], 1590) [USTC 10819]; id., *Les Six livres des politiques, ou doctrine civile de Justus Lipsius: où il est principalement discouru de ce qui appartient à la Principauté. Par Charles le Ber sieur de Malassis, pres de Mante*, tr. by Charles le Ber (La Rochelle: [Jérôme Haultin], 1590) [USTC 52495] and id., *Justi Lipsi Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex. Qui ad Principatum maxime spectant* (La Rochelle: Jérôme Haultin, 1590) [USTC 111448].

⁵⁶ *Histoire et dictionnaire des guerres de religion*, p. 714.

publié contre la Maison Royalle de France sur la loi salique (1587) to Paris.⁵⁷ Since the imprint on this publication omits Haultin's address it seems that Belloy was not attempting to use La Rochelle's growing reputation. Likewise, his other works were not necessarily destined for a Protestant readership, even if in two of Belloy's anonymous publications, Haultin imitates the device of Conrad Badius (1510-1562), a Protestant printer based in Geneva.⁵⁸ Only Belloy's *Mémoires et Recueil de l'origine, Alliance et succession de la Royale famille de bourbon* (1587), which described the history of the French monarchy in 398 pages, bore Pierre Haultin's address.⁵⁹ Belloy's treatises were, nonetheless, popular with the Protestants as they were printed in Geneva, London, several German cities and were occasionally translated into Latin.⁶⁰

In his works, Pierre de Belloy attempts to convey his definition of a 'bon François', in which he includes Protestants. He often introduces himself as a 'Catholique, apostolique, Romain mais bon François', which indicates that his national identity takes precedence over his confessional affiliation. The conjunction *mais*, for example, implies that, from his perspective being a Catholic did not necessarily go hand in hand with being a good Frenchman ('bon François'). Similarly,

⁵⁷ See Desgraves, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, II, p. 39 (citing Picot).

⁵⁸ See [Pierre de Belloy], *Examen du discours publié contre la maison royale de France* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1587), cited above, and [Pierre de Belloy], *Apologie catholique, contre les libelles, déclarations, avis, et consultations faites, escriptes, et publiées par les Liguez perturbateurs du repos du royaume de France qui se sont eslevez depuis le décez de feu Monseigneur, frère unique du Roy* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1586) [USTC 2003]. The mark bears the motto 'Dieu par le temps retire la vérité'. Genevan printers published Belloy's works the same year they were published in La Rochelle.

⁵⁹ [Pierre de Belloy], *Mémoires, et recueil de l'origine, alliances, et succession de la Royale famille de Bourbon, Branche de la maison de France. Ensemble, de l'histoire, gestes, et services plus memorables, faictz par les Princes d'icelle, aux Rois, et Couronnes de France* (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1587) [USTC 18052].

⁶⁰ Francis M. Higman, *Lire et découvrir: la circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme* (Geneva: Droz, 1998), p. 584

it is the foreign (mainly Italian) influence in the French court which, according to him, aspired to subvert the foundations of the French monarchy.⁶¹

As such, in his *Apologie catholique* (1586), one of Belloy's most controversial texts published by Haultin, Belloy defends Henri de Navarre's legitimacy by asserting that the Prince was not a heretic but a true Christian.⁶² The Catholic League virulently opposed this notion. According to Pierre de l'Estoile and Henri de Sponde, this publication caused such a conflict with the Catholic League when it was originally published in Paris in 1585, that Belloy was imprisoned.⁶³ He nonetheless came to Henri de Navarre's defence once more in *Moyens d'abus entreprises et nullitez du rescrit et bulle du Pape Sixte* (1586) to plead against Henri's excommunication.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Yardeni, *La Conscience nationale*, p. 173. It is worth reminding that the threat of foreign influence at court was also used by the *malcontents* who were set against the increasing numbers of Italians infiltrating the French court and endangering their position as noblemen.

⁶² [Pierre de Belloy], *Apologie catholique, contre les libelles, declarations, avis, et consultations faites, esrites, et publiées par les Liguez perturbateurs* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1586) [USTC 2003] was initially published in Rouen in 1585.

⁶³ Pierre de L'Estoile, *Registre-journal du règne de Henri III*, ed. by Madeleine Lazard and Gilbert Schrenck , 6 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1992-2003), III (2001), p. 162 and Henri de Sponde, *Continuation des annales ecclésiastiques du Cardinal Baronius. Composées en Latin par Mre Henry de Sponde. Evesque de Pamiez, jusques en l'Année 1640. Divisées en trois tomes. Mises en François par Pierre Coppin, Docteur en Theologie de la Faculté de Paris, Curé de Nostre-Dame du Val lez Paris: Et par luy continuées jusques à present*, trans. by Pierre Copin, 3 vols (Paris: Jacques D'Allin, 1654), III, p. 546.

⁶⁴ [Pierre de Belloy], *Moyens d'abus, entreprises et nullitez du rescript et bulle du Pape Sixte Ve. Du nom, en date du mois de Septembre 1585. Contre le sérénissime, Prince, Henry de Bourbon, Roy de Navarre, Seigneur souverain de Béarn, premier Prince du sang de France, et premier Pair de la Couronne*. Et Henry de Bourbon, aussi Prince du sang, Pair de France, Prince de Condé, Duc d'Anguien. Par un Catholique, Apostolique, Romain: mais bon François, et trèsfidele sujet de la Couronne de France ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1586) [USTC 3627].

1.2.2 ‘Un Vray Catholique et bon François’: Defining the Catholic and National Identity

The campaign against the Catholic League revolved around the characterization of a ‘bon François’, which was a subject of contention as it heavily relied on identifying Catholic citizens and Gallicanism.⁶⁵ This epithet featured most prominently in the latter half of the 1580s when polemical publications would feature a fictional debate between a character, usually a Catholic gentleman, writing to an opponent and personifying distinct identity characteristics (nationality, faith or social status).

The popularity of the epistolary form in polemical pamphlets was partly due to the fact that it naturally elicited a response. It almost certainly originated with Louis Dorléans’ (1542-1629) *Réplique pour le Catholique Anglois contre les Catholiques associés des Huguenots* (1586).⁶⁶ I have found seven pamphlets that adopt this format and that were published in La Rochelle, between 1586 and 1589. Most, if not all, were written ‘sous le couvert de la religion catholique’ and can be attributed to Mornay, including the response to Louis Dorléans’s pamphlet: *Response à un ligueur, masqué du nom de Catholique Anglois. Par un vray Catholique bon François* (1587).⁶⁷

⁶⁵ See Michel Du Rit, *Le Bon Francois [sic] ou de la foy des Gaulois. Traduit du Latin de Me. Michel du Rit, Docteur és Droicts, et Advocat au siege Presidial d’Orleans* (Lyon: [n. pub.], 1589) [USTC 12811]. Cf. Jotham Parsons, *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France* (Washington: CUA Press, 2004) and W. J. Stankiewicz, *Politics and Religion in Seventeenth-century France: A Study of Political Ideas from the Monarchomachs to Bayle, as Reflected in the Toleration Controversy* (California, CA: University of California Press, 1976).

⁶⁶ [Louis Dorléans], *Réplique pour le Catholique Anglois contre les Catholiques associés aux Huguenots* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1586) [USTC 95267].

⁶⁷ [Philippe de Mornay], *Response à un ligueur, masqué du nom de Catholique Anglois. Par un vray Catholique bon François* ([La Rochelle]: [Jérôme Haultin], 1587) [USTC 4234]. See Droz, *L’Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, p. 80.

Mornay's political engagement on behalf of the *Parti des Politiques* began on his arrival in Aunis at the behest of François de La Noue between 1573 and 1574.⁶⁸ Most of his political texts were published anonymously, and historians have frequently — and perhaps a bit too liberally — associated Mornay with Monarchomach treatises.⁶⁹ Contrary to popular belief, Mornay's political stance is not as obvious as first appears. Although he was an advocate at times for the *malcontents*, Daussy establishes that he felt unease in having to side with François de La Noue.⁷⁰ Rather, his opinions tended to follow the political views advocated in La Rochelle's publications, from 1584, he even championed Henri de Navarre's cause.

Mornay had previously adopted the Catholic voice in *Exhortation à la paix aux Catholiques Francois* (1574), a publication that bore the false imprint of the Catholic city 'Poictier'.⁷¹ In this piece, the fictional narrator reveals his French Catholic identity ('J'en parlerai comme l'espère en vray Francois et catholique que je suis.') and, like Belloy, holds foreigners partly responsible for the violence in France as they do not share the natural patriotism of French citizens ('[ils n'ont] point d'affection naturelle à nostre patrie, [et sont] parvenus entre nous aux plus grands estats par moiens deshonestes et illicites.').⁷²

⁶⁸ Hughes Daussy, *Les Huguenots et le Roi: le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, 1572-1600* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), p. 107.

⁶⁹ Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, p. 20.

⁷⁰ See Daussy, *Les Huguenots et le Roi*, pp. 96-108.

⁷¹ [Philippe de Mornay], *Exhortation a la paix aux Catholiques Francois* (Poitiers [La Rochelle]: [Théophile Bouquet], 1574) [USTC 1579]. See also [Anon.], *Advis et trèshumbles remonstrances à tous Princes, Seigneurs, Cours de Parlement et subjectz de ce Royaume: par un bon et grand nombre de catholiques tant de l'estat Ecclesiastique, la Noblesse que tiers estat, sur la maunaise [sic] et universelle dispositio[n] des affaires* ([La Rochelle]: [Théophile Bouquet], 1574) [USTC 2532]. Cf. Droz, *L'Imprimerie de La Rochelle*, III, p. 20.

⁷² [Philippe de Mornay], *Exhortation à la paix aux Catholiques Francois*, pp. 5 and 11.

A native Frenchman could also be viewed as an enemy if he placed his religious identity before that of the nation. Mornay compares such a person to a doctor, or ‘Chirurgiens dun camp’, poisoning the people he is meant to heal and also argues that the unity of the Kingdom should take precedence over religious conflict: ‘La division en la Religion est une maladie bien grande, mais la guerre civile est une remede encor plus dangereux que la maladie’.⁷³ He thus evokes a common argument of the *Parti des Politiques*. In short, if you are a ‘bon François’, your nationality is your salient identity. Protestants could therefore be portrayed as allies of the Catholics and France, whereas the Guises, and later the Catholic League, became the enemies of the nation.

When Mornay once again embraced the Catholic voice in the late 1580s, he engaged in symbolic interaction with polemists from the Catholic League, especially Louis Dorléans. Most of these fictitious letters were written under the guise of a ‘gentilhomme’ who was defined by his religion (‘catholique’ for the most part) but also, in certain cases, his nationality (‘françoy’). In the words of Burke, ‘people in society [...] label one another in terms of the positions they occupy [and] people, using the reflexive aspect of the self, also name themselves with respect to these positional designations.’⁷⁴ Yet, what happens when two different communities have different meanings and expectations attached to the same labels?

For both the Catholic League and the supporters of Henri de Navarre, these adjectives ‘catholique’ and ‘françoy’ were used in an attempt to define the Catholic identity by separating it from or including it within the communal identity of the

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 9 and 12. Cf. [Anon.], *Remontrance à La France sur les Maux qu'elle Souffre et les Remèdes qui luy sont nécessaires* ([La Rochelle]: [Jérôme Haultin], 1588) [USTC 18054]. Such analogies might have been even more effective for the Rochelais after 1585, when La Rochelle was hit by a plague.

⁷⁴ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 26.

Catholic League.⁷⁵ Consequently, the epistolary format that foregrounded both labels and regained popularity after the assassination of Henri III and the siege of Paris (1590) that opposed Henri de Navarre and the Catholic League.⁷⁶ Even the anonymous *Lettre d'un gentilhomme de Beausse* (1589) published by Haultin, which initially appears to offer an impartial report of Henri de Navarre's victory, alludes to the deceitfulness of the Catholic League.⁷⁷ La Rochelle's surreptitious appropriation of the Catholic identity did not always limit itself to these fictional characters. On the title page of *Lettre d'un Gentilhomme Catholique*, for example, Jérôme Haultin refers to Simon de Millanges (c. 1540-1623), a famous Catholic printer based in Bordeaux.⁷⁸

Since La Rochelle's political texts were primarily aimed at an audience outside the city walls, polemicists, like Louis Dorléans, were no longer presented with publications that advocated a communal Protestant identity. Instead, the written exchange between La Rochelle and the Catholic League sought to construe the notion of a 'bon François' through the fashioning of a Catholic identity: polemicists put forward their understanding of Catholic identification in accordance with national

⁷⁵ Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, 'Obscurs, sans grade, fous et diffamés: les voix du peuple des pamphlets', in *Devis d'amitié: Mélanges en l'honneur de Nicole Cazauran*, ed. by Jean Lecointe and others (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), pp. 867-85 (p. 869).

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 870-71.

⁷⁷ Reprinted in Simon Goulart and others, *Mémoires de la Ligue, contenant les événements les plus remarquables depuis 1576, jusqu'à la Paix accordée entre le Roi de France et le Roi d'Espagne, en 1598. Nouvelle Édition, Revue, corrigée, et augmentée de Notes critiques et historiques. Tome troisième, 6 vols* (Amsterdam [Paris]: Arkstee et Merkus [Jean-Luc II Nyon], 1758), III, pp. 547-550 (p. 547): 'si souvent m'avez mandé pour véritables plusieurs nouvelles inventées par quelques artificieux qui vous trompent, et abusent de vous et de vos moïens, pour bâtir d'autres desseins que ceux qu'ils vous communiquent'. Cf. [Anon.], *Lettre d'un Gentil-Homme de Beausse, à un sien amy Bourgeois de Paris, sur la deffaiete des troupes de mo[n]sieur d'Aumalle du Jeudy 18. May, 1589* ([La Rochelle]: [Jean Portau], 1589) [USTC 12336].

⁷⁸ [Anon.], *Lettre d'un Gentilhomme Catholique François à un de ses amis de la Religion prétendue réformée. Avec la Responce* ([La Rochelle]: [Jérôme Haultin], 1586) [USTC 3558].

identification. A micro-level study of their discourse reveals that Catholic identity became central in national identification as it became the dividing line that defined the similarities and differences between the allies ('Bon François') and the nation's enemies. However, in La Rochelle, this trend resulted in a decrease of publications that had previously sought to control the city's projection of her Protestant and urban identity.

1.2.3 Strengthening the Protestant Cause: the Separation of the Catholic Identity

La Rochelle circulated publications that divided the Catholic identity into two distinct factions: the Catholic League on the one side, influenced by foreign powers, and the Catholics on the other who supported Henri de Navarre and were therefore a 'bon François'. Both Haultin and Portau published official tracts and political writings that featured Catholics who opposed the establishment of the Catholic League in Paris. They included *Protestation des Catholiques qui n'ont voulu signer à la ligue* (1585) and *Édikt du Roy sur la déffence des armes qu'il faict contre ceux qui se sont Liguez en son Royaume* (1585), which were both published in retaliation to Cardinal Bourbon's *Déclaration des causes qui ont meu monseigneur le Cardinal de Bourbon* (1585).⁷⁹ This pamphlet circulated in La Rochelle under the fictitious imprint

⁷⁹ [Anon.], *Protestation des Catholiques qui n'ont voulu signer à la ligue* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 10158]; Charles Cardinal de Bourbon, *Déclaration des causes qui ont meu monseigneur le Cardinal de Bourbon, et les Princes, pairs, prelats, seigneurs, villes, et communauitez catholiques de ce Royaume de France, de s'opposer à ceux qui veulent subvertir la Religion catholique, et l'Estat* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1585) [USTC 56878] and Henri III, *Édikt du Roy sur la déffence des armes qu'il faict contre ceux qui se sont Liguez en son Royaume* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 10153].

‘Péronne’, in reference to the other title attributed to this proclamation: the ‘declaration of Péronne’.⁸⁰ It is likely that the Cardinal’s declaration fuelled the surge of anti-league publications issued from La Rochelle’s press, including titles such as *Le Véritable sur la sainte Ligue* (1585), a thirteen-page octavo edition that denounced the actions of the Guise and Lorraine families.⁸¹

The chief target of these pamphlets was unsurprisingly the Guise family, which headed the Catholic League and who supported Cardinal Bourbon’s claim to the throne. Pierre Haultin was the first to publish a polemical work that promoted the salic law, describing it as the fundamental law of France, but that also smeared the Guises’ name: the infamous libel *L’Anti-Guisart* (1586).⁸² Lengthier than most polemical pamphlets (126 pages), the narrator of this octavo addresses the readers directly as *François*, consequently juxtaposing their identity to that of the enemies, who are only referred to by their family name: the *Guisars*. The pamphlet therefore strips the Guises of their nationality, placing them, and the Catholic League they represent, in the same category as the foreigners who are threatening the safety and peace of France.

⁸⁰ Charles Cardinal de Bourbon and others, *Déclaration des causes qui ont meu Monseigneur le Cardinal de Bourbon, et les Pairs, Princes, Seigneurs, Villes et les Communautez Catholiques de ce Royaume de France: De s’opposer à ceux qui par tous moyens s’efforcent de subvertir la Religion Catholique et l’Estat* (Peronne [La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 16198, 22618 and 1624] See Nicola Mary Sutherland, *Henry of Navarre: Huguenot Protector and Heir Presumptive 1572-1589*, Henry IV of France and the Politics of Religion: 1572-1596, 2 vols (Bristol: Elm Bank, 2002), I, p. 85.

⁸¹ [Anon.], *Le Véritable sur la sainte Ligue. Il ni [sic] a au Royame jamais de société feable, ainsi disoit en Homère Ulysse. Celuy qui veut commander comme un Dieu, Ne doit souffrir compagnon en son lieu* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 1650].

⁸² [Anon.], *L’Anti-guisart* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1586) [USTC 10162]. The author remains anonymous but a manuscript addition suggests it might be Pierre de Lostal.

Similar tracts portrayed the Guises as usurpers (*Discours sur le droit prétendu par ceux de Guise sur la Couronne de France* (1585)) and many more responded to their claims, including the *Response de par Messieurs de Guise, à un advertisement* (1585), *Response aux déclarations et protestations de Messieurs de Guise faictes sous le nom de Monseigneur le Cardinal de Bourbon, pour justifier leur injuste prise des armes* (1585) and *Déclaration du Roy de Navarre contre les calomnies publiées contre luy, et protestations de ceux de la Ligue* (1585).⁸³ For that reason, the resurgence of the Catholic League and the Guise family in 1584 galvanised the print shops in La Rochelle and the mass production of libels and pamphlets supporting Henri's claim was only surpassed by the financial aid they provided towards his campaign.⁸⁴

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Since the pamphlets printed in La Rochelle were mostly anonymous and/or did not bear the real printer's address, how is it possible that a nationwide debate on national identification should affect the city's own identification?

Firstly, although the Rochelais printers attempted to disguise their imprint, Catholic polemicists would have inevitably associated the ideologies presented in their

⁸³ [Anon.], *Discours sur le droit prétendu par ceux de Guise sur la Couronne de France* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 10150]; [Anon.], *Responce aux déclarations protestations de Messieurs de Guise, faictes sous le nom de Monseigneur le Cardinal de Bourbon, pour justifier leur injuste prise des armes* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 10167]; Pierre d'Épinac, *Responce de par Messieurs de Guise, à un advertisement* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 1627] and [Philippe de Mornay], *Déclaration du Roy de Navarre contre les calomnies publiées contre luy, et protestations de ceux de la Ligue, qui se sont eslevez en ce Royaume* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 10148].

⁸⁴ Arcère, *L'Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, p. 76.

publications with a distinctive group: the supporters of Henri de Navarre. Debbagi Baranova rightly argues that in polemical texts the writer's adversary, either a particular individual (e.g. the Guises or the Cardinal Bourbon) or a group of individuals (e.g. the Catholic League or the *Sorbonne de Paris*), and the ideologies promoted in his or her discourse would suffice for the readers to guess the writer's identity.⁸⁵ In other words, for the Catholic League, pamphlets that opposed them were automatically viewed as the works of heretics. La Rochelle, a city that previously had her name visibly inscribed on publications that supported Henri de Navarre, would have thus been identified by the Catholic League as an urban community that consisted of heretics and was consequently deemed 'unFrench'.

Louis Dorléans's writings demonstrate that, by then, La Rochelle's print shops were renowned for publishing works that supported Henri de Navarre and the salic law. In *Responce des vray Catholiques François* (1588), wherein Dorléans tries to unmask the fictional Catholic portrayed in epistolary pamphlets by redefining himself as a 'true' Catholic, he reveals that his opponents, that is, those who are not Catholics and hence are heretics, print their works on the *loi salique* at La Rochelle, in Pierre Haultin's workshop:

comme elle [la loi salique] ne peut avoir lieu en un herétiq[ue] ny en autre quelconque, qui ne soit Cath[olique] quelque chose qu'ils sçache[n]t escrire au co[n]traite, au livre qu'ils imprime[n]t à present à la Rochelle chez P. Haultin de la loy Salique [...].⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Tatiana Debbagi Baranova, 'Le Rôle des écrits diffamatoires', p. 113.

⁸⁶ Louis Dorléans, *Responce des vray Catholiques François, à l'avertissement des Catholiques Anglois pour l'exclusion du Roy de Navarre de la Couronne de France. Descouvrant les calomnies, suppositions, et ruses contenues és Declarations, et Apologies du Roy de Navarre, et des hérétiques, et autres livrets fait contre le Roy, son Édit de la Reunion, ses bons subjets les Catholiques, et la Religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1588), [USTC 370], p. 370.

Secondly, because Mornay, arguably the only social actor representing La Rochelle at that time, adopted the Catholic voice in a vast majority of his texts, the city consequently no longer had an externalised discourse that promoted her Protestant and local characteristics. La Rochelle's identity, which was already being amalgamated into a broader communal identity instigated by the *malcontents*, was further weakened during the Eighth War by publications that promoted the Catholic identity. That is, on the one hand, the sudden surge of epistolary pamphlets in this period reveals that, above all other French Protestant cities, the publications in La Rochelle responded to the Catholic polemists by adopting their rhetorical style, their language, their identity. On the other hand, the spread of political ideas took precedence over the local identity that had emerged under Jeanne d'Albret and in the religious texts that mostly remained within the city walls. As we shall see in the next two chapters, these outcomes substantially contributed to La Rochelle's external identification under Louis XIII. However, even if political pamphlets overlooked La Rochelle's self-identification, I will now demonstrate that the local identity characteristics we have encountered in Chapter Four were present in popular publications and genres, such as songs and poetry.

2 Redefining La Rochelle's Discourse in Popular Culture

2.1 Protestant History on Record

Although it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which local print interacted with the Rochelais and their identity, as discussed in Chapter Two, publications that reviewed current events provide us with a fairly accurate representation of their concerns and

were often guaranteed to be a commercially successful print. When Pierre Haultin published various chronicles and edicts in a collection entitled *Histoyre du present* (1585), for instance, it was so fast-selling that his successor Jérôme Haultin included the same materials in the two volumes of *Recueil contenant les choses mémorables advenues soubs la Ligue* (1587 and 1589).⁸⁷

Between 1574 and 1609, the chronicles comprised titles that hint at a growing atmosphere of suspicion, such as *Extraict d'un conseil secret tenu à Rome peu après l'arrivée de l'Evesque* (1576), which was published under the false address of Lyon and republished in 1585 by Pierre Haultin.⁸⁸ Similarly, Pierre Haultin circulated one of the first editions of the notorious *Discours merveilleux de la vie, actions et deportemens de Catherine de Medicis* (1575), which picked up on local discontent against the Queen regent.⁸⁹ Indeed, accounts from Arcère confirm that, after the first

⁸⁷ [Simon Goulart and others], *Histoyre du present. Le feuillet suivant monstre les choses contenues en l'Histoire* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 8462]; [Simon Goulart and others], *Premier volume du Recueil, contenant les choses memorables advenues soubs la Ligue, Qui s'est faict et eslevée contre la Religion Réformée, pour l'abolir l'Histoire* ([La Rochelle]: [Jérôme Haultin], 1587) [USTC 19433] and [Simon Goulart and others], *Le Second recueil, contenant l'histoire des choses plus mmorables advenues soubs la Ligue. Avec une exhortation notable aux Rois et Estats Chrestiens adjoustée à la fin l'Histoire* ([La Rochelle]: [Jérôme Haultin], 1589) [USTC 7861]. See Droz, ‘Complément à la bibliographie de Pierre Haultin’, pp. 377-78.

⁸⁸ [Anon.], *Extraict d'un conseil secret tenu à Rome peu apres l'arrivée de l'Evesque de Paris. Traduist à Italien en François. Avec description de la prinse d'Anver* (Lyon [La Rochelle]: Jacques Farine [Jean Portau], 1576) [USTC 3821] and [Anon.], *Extraict d'un conseil secret tenu à Rome peu apres l'arrivée de l'Evesque de Paris. Traduict de l'Italien en François Royaume* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1585) [USTC 10151].

⁸⁹ [Henri Estienne?], *Discours merveilleux de la vie, actions et deportemens de Catherine de Medicis Royne mere, Auquel sont tecitez [sic], les moyens qu'elle à tenu pour usurper le gouverneme[n]t et du Royaume de France, et ruiner l'estat d'iceluy* ([La Rochelle]: [Pierre Haultin], 1575) [USTC 2889]. Attributed to Pierre Haultin by Nicole Cazauran in [Henri Estienne?], *Discours Merveilleux de la vie, actions et déportements de Catherine de Médicis, Royne-mère*, ed. by Nicole Cazauran, Les Classiques de la pensée politique, 15 (Geneva: Droz, 1995), p. 65. Cf. Mireille Huchon, ‘Vie de Sainte Catherine ou Discours merveilleux: Les Avatars d’un

siege and the death of Charles IX, the Rochelais were wary of Catherine de Médicis' and commonly presupposed that she was plotting against them: 'Les Rochellois avoient toujours regardé cette reine comme leur ennemie [sic], persuadés que tous les coups si souvent lancés contr'eux, étoient partis de sa main'.⁹⁰

Unsurprisingly, the additional chronicles that appear to have garnered a local interest consist of regional news, most of which adopted a belligerent discourse, especially when the events in question concerned the Rochelais' fellow Protestants. The *Discours de la prise de l'isle de Rhé* (1575), for instance, demanded the execution of the Lord of Landreau.⁹¹ Two other pamphlets described the siege of Lesignan in 1574, a battle in which the Rochelais actively participated and, similarly to Mornay, took on a Catholic identity by placing the mark of a Catholic cross on their clothes and then infiltrating the ranks of the enemy:

À la faveur de ce déguisement, ils courroient impunément le Poitou, pénétraient les desseins de l'ennemi, rançonnaient le public, et amenoient à la Rochelle les personnes qualifiées.⁹²

Yet, it soon became evident that chronicles and other texts that engaged with La Rochelle's identity, that is mainly her religious and cultural characteristics, concerned

pamphlet', in *Traditions Polémiques*, ed. by Nicole Cazauran (Paris: École Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1985), pp. 55-67.

⁹⁰ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, p. 69.

⁹¹ [Anon.], *Discours de la prise de l'Isle de Rhé par le Seigneur du Landreau. Et de l'incroyable et subite reprisne par le secours envoié de la Rochelle. Ensemble les articles instructions audit Landreau touchant ses desseins: et sa commission: Ite[m] les lettres, tant de sa majesté, que du Conte du Lude audit Landreau* ([La Rochelle]: [Théophile Bouquet], 1575) [USTC 5263]. See Delayant, *Bibliographie rochelaise*, p. 135.

⁹² [George Pascal?], *Discours des Choses les plus remarquables avenues par chacu[n] jour dura[n]t le siège de Lusignen, en lan 1574* ([La Rochelle]: [Théophile Bouquet], 1575) [USTC 155]; [Anon.], *Le Monument des François morts de faim dans Luzignen durant le siège. A très-illustre et Tées-magnanme Prince René Vicomte de Rohan etc. Par un gentilhomme de Poitou blessé durant le siege* (La Rochelle: Pierre Haultin, 1576) [USTC 61866]. Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, I, p. 566.

the local clergy and the *corps de ville* who were clearly cognisant of the press's influence on the city's identification.

2.1.1 Controlling the Communal Identity: a Localized Censorship

Between 1580 and 1600, La Rochelle's governing body visibly began to consider how the city projected herself to the outside world and how the inhabitants' identities, both as Protestants and citizens of La Rochelle, were represented in print.⁹³ This first manifested itself in a keen interest in documenting their local history for example, Amos Barbot de Buzay began to write up *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis* between 1575 and 1613 and in 1575 Bouquet published two pamphlets that encapsulate local events between 1567 and 1570.⁹⁴

A particularly clear instance of an awareness of the influence of print on Protestant identification is the Synod in La Rochelle, which took place on 28 June 1581. Articles 28 and 29 reported, for instance, that two books were considered unfit for publication and were consequently censored because of their potentially negative influence on the Huguenot and Rochelais identity, that is, both on how the inhabitants are represented and on how the publications' might influence the Huguenot culture. Lancelot du Voisin de la Popelinière (1541–1608) published *L'Histoire de France*

⁹³ Desgraves, *L'Imprimerie de La Rochelle*, II, p. xxi.

⁹⁴ [Jean de La Haize(?)], *Premier discours brief et véritable de ce qui s'est passé en la ville et gouvernement de La Rochelle, depuis l'an mil cinq cans soixante sept, jusques en l'année 1568* ([La Rochelle]: [Théophile Bouquet], 1575) [USTC 5264] and id., *Second discours brief et véritable de ce qui s'est passé en la ville et gouvernement de La Rochelle, depuis l'année 1568. Jusques en l'année 1570* ([La Rochelle]: [Théophile Bouquet], 1575) [USTC 5265].

(1581) in two volumes; the work was held in high esteem by many early modern contemporaries, including Arcère.⁹⁵

Yet, for the Synod, it did not consistently portray the Protestant party in a favourable light and the ruling declared that ‘en beaucoup d’endroits il [the book] parle très-mal et sans respect des matières sacrées de la Religion et [...] il contient plusieurs vaines, profanes, plaines de faussetés et de calomnies’.⁹⁶ Passages, for example, allude in part to La Rochelle’s difficult relationship with the monarchy, whereby La Popelinière described the inhabitants as insolent and emotional.⁹⁷

Until the author admitted his wrongdoing, La Popelinière was judged unworthy to receive communion or to take part in the sacraments (‘[La Popelinière est] indigne d’être reçû à la Communion des Saints, ou admis à la participation des Sacremens, jusqu’à ce qu’il aît reconnû sa faute’).⁹⁸ This ruling, comparable to that of

⁹⁵ Arcère, *L’Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, pp. 52-53: ‘La Popeliniere avoit traité son sujet avec toute l’intelligence d’un négociateur qu’on avoit employé en certaines occasions, avec toute l’autorité d’un témoin qui avoit vu bien des choses, avec le courage et l’impartialité d’un historien philosophe, qui ose dire la vérité, qui loue sans bassesse, qui blame sans aigreur’. 399. [Henri Lancelot-Voisin de La Popelinière], *L’Histoire de France Enrichie des plus notables occurrences survenues ez Provinces de l’Europe et pays voisins, soit en Paix soit en Guerre: tant pour le fait Seculier qu’Eclesiastic: Depuis lan 1550 jusques a ces temps. Tome premier, avec sa table. Au roy ([La Rochelle]: Abraham H. [Pierre Haultin], 1581) [USTC No classification, BnF, RES FOL-LA21-15 (1,RES)] and id., *L’Histoire de France Enrichie des plus notables occurrences survenues ez Provinces de l’Europe et pays voisins, soit en Paix soit en Guerre: tant pour le fait Seculier qu’Eclesiastic: Depuis lan 1550 jusques a ces temps. Tome second, avec sa table. A la Royne. Mere du roy ([La Rochelle]: Abraham H. [Pierre Haultin], 1581) [USTC No classification, BnF RES FOL-LA21-15 (2,RES)]. See Pascal Rambeaud, ‘La Vie de Lancelot Voisin, sire de La Popelinière’, in Lancelot du Voisin de la Popelinière, *L’Histoire de France*, ed. by Denise Turrel, 3 vols (Geneva: Droz, 2011), I, pp. 23-41 and Kevin C. Robbins, ‘Rewriting Protestant History: Printing, Censorship by Pastors, and the Dimensions of Dissent among the Huguenots – the La Popelinière Case at La Rochelle, 1581-85’, in *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*, ed. by Andrew Pettegree and others (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 239-55.**

⁹⁶ Aymon, *Actes Ecclesiastiques*, I, p. 151.

⁹⁷ La Popelinière, *L’Histoire de France*, p. 425.

⁹⁸ Aymon, *Actes Ecclesiastiques*, I, p. 151.

a Catholic excommunication, affirms the importance of reputation and, subsequently, the manner in which La Rochelle projected herself to the outside world. This incident did not go unnoticed by the Catholic League, and Louis Dorléans played upon the Synod's decision to slander Bèze and the Huguenots, both of whom he associates with La Rochelle through contextualization: 'Ils sçavent bien que Bèze a fait excommunier Poupelinière à la Rochelle, pource qu'il avoit escrit (bien que froidement) ce qui ne se pouvoit taire de leur vertu'.⁹⁹

The other publication to be condemned by the Synod of 1581 was Jacopo Brocardo's (c. 1518 – c. 1594) *Mystica et Prophetica Libri Genesis Interpretatio* (1580).¹⁰⁰ The Italian Protestant sought to defend the Huguenots in this publication through his interpretation of the book of Genesis. Although prophecies were popular, Brocardo's *Mystica et Prophetica* was declared unsuitable for the congregation:

ce Synode l'a déclaré et declare rempli de profanations de l'Ecriture Sainte, d'impitétés et d'erreurs très-pernicieuses, et principalement en matiere de Revelations et de Propheties.¹⁰¹

In other words, even the individual's interpretation of the Bible had to be supervised, as its contents could be used against the Protestants in polemical works. Although the book was censored, as Droz indicates, Portau attempted to sell the remaining copies in 1584 by changing the first four pages.¹⁰² Even if Arcère attributed these censorships to the fact that La Rochelle was torn between different factions, which caused turmoil within the city, the concluding remarks of that particular Synod further confirm the

⁹⁹ Louis Dorléans, *Adverstissement des Catholiques anglois*, p. 104

¹⁰⁰ Jacopo Brocardo, *Jacobi Brocardi mystica et prophetica libri Genesis interpretatio, qui sit daturus deinceps eandem in alias prope Divinas Scripturas* (Leiden [La Rochelle]: [Jean Portau], 1580) [USTC 111439 and 421956].

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 151.

¹⁰² Droz, *L'Imprimerie de La Rochelle*, III, p. 73

importance assigned to printed publications: from then on both the ministers and the congregation were only to publish religious or political texts that had gained the approval of their churches:

[I]les Ministres et les Fideles ne publieront à l'avenir aucuns de leurs Ecrits imprimés ou autrement sur les matières de Religion, de Politique , de Conseils ou autres choses de quelque importance, sans la permission expresse et l'aprobation du Coloque de leurs Églises.¹⁰³

2.2 The Catholic Retaliation

Throughout the Eighth Religious War (1585-1598), the battle was not only waged on the battlefield but also in print. As we have seen, La Rochelle strongly reacted to the Catholic League with libels that targeted individual social actors, such as the Pope or the Guises, but never focused on Catholic cities. Even when Paris was mentioned alongside social actors, such as the *Sorbonne de Paris*, it was not as a distinctive urban community. Lyon and Paris, on the other hand, occasionally published similar tracts against Protestant cities that were presented as single entities. Montauban, for instance, featured alongside other Huguenot cities in Claude de Montjornal's *Discours sur la remonstrance faite à messieurs de La Rochelle, Nymes, Montauban et autres villes rebelles* (1587).¹⁰⁴

Even if La Rochelle was often set apart from the other Protestant cities, between 1574 and 1609 she only appeared in the titles of nineteen different pamphlets, eight of which were published by the Catholic League in Paris and include some

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 153. Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, p. 53.

¹⁰⁴ Claude de Montjornal, *Discours sur la remonstrance faite à messieurs de La Rochelle, Nymes, Montauban, et autres villes rebelles au Roy, sur la réduction d'icelle, à sa Majesté. Par C[laude] de Montjornal Seigneur de Cyndrem Ac.* ([Paris]: Gilles Blaise, 1587) [USTC 8873].

reeditions that found their way to Lyon.¹⁰⁵ Five of these publications are an account of the capture of Philippe Guillery (c. 1566-1608) (a former member of the *Ligue* who had become a pirate) and his beating and subsequent death in La Rochelle.¹⁰⁶

La Rochelle's absence in the title pages of polemical prints has resulted in a dearth of academic attention, which has thus failed to analyse how Catholic polemists perceived the Huguenot bastion between 1574 and 1609. I will now attempt to bridge this gap by offering a brief study of La Rochelle external identification through a study of polemical writings, songs and poetry.

2.2.1 A Victim of Protestantism: La Rochelle in Popular Culture

Research suggests that La Rochelle featured in songs that circulated after the siege of 1572-1573. Because of the oral and ephemeral nature of these pieces, I study their discourse on a micro-level, that is through an analysis of key tropes, rather than focusing on the broader context of their distribution as this would be very difficult to ascertain. In his study of La Rochelle, Arcère discovered two *chansons* within a collection of songs published in Leiden in 1607: 'Chanson à la louange de Dieu, sur l'assiégement de la Rochelle. Sur le chant de Landrau' and 'Autre Chanson sur le même air'.¹⁰⁷ In these songs, La Rochelle identification is that of a city faithful to both God and King and therefore validates the identity standard that was embraced by the Rochelais and that we explored in the previous chapter. The songs also give a

¹⁰⁵ Cf. [Anon.], *Discours merveilleux et espouventable de nouveau advenu à la Rochelle* (Paris: Hubert Velut, 1588) [USTC 9351].

¹⁰⁶ Cf. [Anon.], *La Prise et défaite du capitaine Guillery, qui a été pris avec soixante et deux volleurs de ses compagnons, qui ont été roués en la ville de la Rochelle le vingt cinquiesme de novembre 1608: avec la complainte qu'il a faict avant que mourir* (Paris: [n. pub.], 1608) [USTC 6803738].

¹⁰⁷ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, pp. 643-46.

chronological account of the various events during the First Siege, using a discourse reminiscent of a prayer. The First Siege was evidently significant for the Protestants in Holland, as it most likely evoked the siege of Leiden in 1573-1574, and the mnemonic aspect of the musical format would have helped to better remember key events.

In Catholic songs, however, La Rochelle was not perceived as a group of children (*enfans*) or as a united community (*peuple*) but rather as a city that instigated a divide, a rift between men and women, between Huguenots and Catholics. Benoît Rigaud printed *Le Plaisant jardin des belles chansons* in Lyon in 1580, a collection of thirty-eight songs that broach various topics, each set to a popular tune.¹⁰⁸ Within this sextodecimo of 124 pages, we discover songs that mourn the death of Charles IX, and others that celebrate the glory of Henri III, but the vast majority of them are complaints (or *complaintes*) about the violence of the Wars of Religion. Kate van Orden argues that it was highly likely that these tunes were sung by Catholic pilgrims as ‘a marching song’, a Catholic equivalent to the Protestants’ psalms we encountered in the previous chapter.¹⁰⁹

Two of these songs foreground La Rochelle. In the ‘*Chanson nouvelle des Huguenots qui se sont emparez de la ville de la Rochelle*’, La Rochelle is portrayed as a victim of her treacherous citizens, as a city that has been dishonoured.¹¹⁰ The title as

¹⁰⁸ [Anon.], *Le Plaisant jardin des belles chansons. Choisies entre les plus nouvelles qu'on chante à présent, non veuës par cy devant* (Lyon: [Benoît Rigaud], 1580) [USTC 57899].

¹⁰⁹ Kate Van Orden, ‘Female “Complaintes”: Laments of Venus, Queens, and City Women in Late Sixteenth Century France’ *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54.3 (2001), 801-45 (p. 837).

¹¹⁰ *Le Plaisant jardin des belles chansons*, p. 48: ‘Ceste ville nourrice,| Qui la cause avoit nom,| A perdu son office| Et n'a plus de renom.’

well as the refrain, for instance, imply that the urban space is held hostage by her inhabitants:

Traistres de la Rochelle
Pour vous oster d'esmoy
Ne soyez plus rebelle
Rendez la ville au Roy¹¹¹

Akin to the songs from Leiden, this *chanson* refers to the city's past and cites the places and the names of the participants of the First Siege, which suggests that the song served a mnemonic purpose.¹¹² However, unlike its Dutch counterparts, the lyrics underscore La Rochelle's shared history with England and her previous alliances with foreign countries, thus demonstrating the Rochelais' continued disloyalty.¹¹³

Conversely, 'Pleurons, pleurons, dames de La Rochelle' is presented as a *complainte* from the ladies of La Rochelle who relate their sorrows to the soldiers who are laying siege to their city. In this piece, it is not all the inhabitants but the husbands and ministers who are held responsible for the city's suffering.¹¹⁴ As the wives curse the 'Gouverneurs obstinez', the female gender is used to highlight the folly of their husbands, who are governed by their emotions.¹¹⁵ In effect, the male inhabitants represent Protestantism and rebellion whereas the feminised city and the female inhabitants reject Protestantism and embody subjugation.

This dichotomized portrayal of the city presents conflicting identity characteristics to those established by Catholic pamphlets. Indeed, according to

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 46.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 49.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 46: 'Vous ne fustes jamais | Qu'à vostre Roy rebelles,| Qu'ainsi ne soit voyes| Les Annales sont pleines' and p. 48: 'N'attendez plus secours | Du païs d'Angleterre, | Et n'ayez plus recours | A ce peuple bigerre, | De l'Alemande terre'.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 62.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 71.

Racaut's study of Protestant identity in Catholic propaganda, Huguenot women were conventionally depicted as 'exercising authority over men', consequently 'turning the world upside down'.¹¹⁶ Here the feminized city and/or female inhabitants are portrayed as the victims of Protestantism and are asking to be saved: La Rochelle's urban identity therefore excludes the Protestant trait. This is in all likelihood due to the genre of the texts: unlike political pamphlets, the lyrical discourse plays on *pathos* and is more likely to romanticise current events by introducing female characters. In fact, Claude Binet (d. c. 1600) exploited this motif in his poem to Catherine des Roches (1542–1587).¹¹⁷ In the collection *La Puce* (1583), Binet goes as far as to compare La Rochelle to a love interest (Catherine des Roches) with a pun on the term 'roche':

Je ne m'esbahi plus des murs de la Rochelle
Obstinez contre un Roy, ni du Roc Melusin,
Puisque contre Amour mesme au pays Poitevin
Une autre Roche encor se declare rebelle.

La Rochelle à son Roy se monstre ore fidelle [...].¹¹⁸

In popular genres, then, Catholics' perception of La Rochelle's identity bore a closer resemblance to the inhabitants' self-identification in that it was a genderised city torn between two groups: those desiring war against the King, and those promoting peace. By highlighting this divide, the Catholic lyrical discourse severs La Rochelle's urban identity (associated with femininity and loyalty) from her Protestant identity (associated with chaos, emotions and rebellion) here embodied by her inhabitants.

¹¹⁶ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, pp. 88 and 97.

¹¹⁷ Claude Binet was a poet and a lawyer who gained fame as the first write to author Pierre de Ronsard's biography

¹¹⁸ Claude Binet, 'A Madame des Roches. Sonet', in *La Puce de Madame des Roches qui est un recueil de divers poemes Grecs, Latins et François, composez par plusieurs doctes personnages aux Grans Jours tenus à Poitiers l'An M. D. LXXIX*, ed. by J. de Soudrai (Paris: [n. pub.], 1583) [USTC 6211], p. 60.

2.2.2 Using the Voice of the City

Just as La Rochelle printed pamphlets that impersonated Catholics, Catholics satirized the Rochelais as early as 1573. The anonymous pamphlet entitled *La Harengue de ceux de la Rochelle au roy de pologne* (1573) was published under the false imprint of La Rochelle and contains a fictitious transcription of Jean Pierres's oration, given during his meeting with Henri III (then Henri Duke of Anjou) at the siege of 1572-1573.¹¹⁹ In this dramatized scene, which attempts to humiliate Jean Pierres, he is portrayed as delirious with fever and stuttering whilst he delivers a lengthy speech. Before long, Jean Pierres wrote a response to this pamphlet entitled *Protestations de J. Pierres [...] contre une harengue imprimée soubz le nom des Rochellois* (1573) in which he implores the readers 'de ne croire que ce brouillard soit sorti de ma boutique'.¹²⁰ Likewise, Droz's research has identified other Catholic pamphlets that used counterfeit imprints to give the impression that they had been printed in La Rochelle. In 1587, for example, a Catholic pamphlet labelled *Advertisement fait au Roi* was published under the name of 'Portost', referring to Jean Portau's print shop.¹²¹ The use of La Rochelle's name was capitalized on to destroy the image of the city by

¹¹⁹ [Anon.], *La Harengue de ceux de La Rochelle au roy de Pologne* (La Rochelle [n.p.]: Jean Le Fort [n. pub.], 1573) [USTC 2540]. See Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, p. 9. On Jean Pierres, see Chapters Two and Three.

¹²⁰ Jean Pierres, *Protestation de J. Pierres, Sieur de la Jarne, Conseiller du Roy [...] contre un Harengue imprimée soubz le nom des Rochellois* (La Rochelle: veuve Berton, 1573) [USTC 2543], fol. B^r.

¹²¹ [Anon.], *Advertisement fait au Roy, de la part du roy de Navarre et de monsieur le prince de Condé, touchant la derniere declaration de la guerre, 1587* (La Rochelle [n.p.]: Jean Portost [n. pub.], 1587), [USTC 2709 and 35699]. See Droz, *L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, III, p. 83.

publishing calumnious works in her name or to proselytize Huguenot readers with concealed Catholic writings.

Yet, it was not only the enemies of Protestantism who exploited La Rochelle's reputation. In *Response à l'Examen fait par F. Feu-Ardent* (1599), for instance, an anonymous Protestant minister, possibly Jean Brouault, published his response to a zealot Catholic, François de Feuardent (1539-1610) by using the false address 'La Rochelle: Nicolas Froit-D'Eau'.¹²² Although this punning imprint (burning fire versus cold water) was obviously fabricated, by doing so, the author willingly associated himself with La Rochelle's reputation as a Protestant city.

Finally, Catholic opponents aimed to redefine La Rochelle's identity not only through print, but also through rumours as the Rochelais were targeted by misleading claims that implicated the inhabitants in deceitful plots. For instance, at the end of July 1609, a forged letter stated that the inhabitants were preparing themselves for renewed conflict:

[La lettre était] faussement signée Emmanuel de la Faye. Celui qui l'avoit écrite, envenimé contre les protestans, et sur-tout contre les habitans la Rochelle, y donnoit avis que les magistrats faisoient travailler aux fortifications de la place, comme si elle devoit être assiégée.¹²³

¹²² [Jean Brouault(?)], *Response à l'examen fait par F. Feu-Ardent, sectaire de François d'Assise, sur les prières ecclésiastiques et administration des sacremens des églises françoises réformées selon la parole de Dieu* (La Rochelle [n.p.]: Nicolas Froit-D'Eau [n. pub.], 1599) [USTC 16970] and François Feuardent, *Examen des confessions, prières, sacremens et catéchisme des calvinistes, avec réfutation de la response d'un ministre. Seconde édition* (Paris: Guillaume de La Nouë, 1601) [USTC 6014775]. See Droz, 'Fausses adresses typographiques', pp. 142-43. I have been unable to locate the first edition of Feuardent's *Examen* but the second edition is worth studying as it contains a reply to *Response à l'examen fait par F. Feu-Ardent*.

¹²³ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, p. 124.

Similarly, another rumour accused La Rochelle of plotting to assassinate Henri de Navarre during the last moments of his reign.¹²⁴ These incidents only further exacerbated the sentiment of distrust and suspicion that would cloud the Rochelais' judgment in the years to come.

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* * *

Although previous research by Droz (1961), Desgraves (1960) and Walsby (2012) has underlined the significance of La Rochelle's print production, it too often overlooks the extent to which the *malcontents* affected her external identification and placed her further in the public eye. As the *malcontents* — most of whom were nobles — actively engaged with the written word and used La Rochelle to circulate their ideas to the rest of France. The social actors' prolific use of the local press had significant repercussions on La Rochelle's culture and identity.

First of all, La Rochelle became intrinsically connected to the movement of the *malcontents* even if, in reality, the city's inhabitants were not necessarily sympathetic to their cause. Rather, it was the later political works published in support of the *Parti des politiques* that best represented the inhabitants' beliefs. Secondly, not only did the works printed at La Rochelle have an impact on the local inhabitants' external identification and on the city's prominence in the conflict against the Catholic League, but the prolific distribution of publications also established significant links with other Protestant printing centres such as London, Heidelberg and — more

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 127.

importantly — Basel and Geneva: La Rochelle accordingly gained renown and notoriety for her print shops.

Subsequently, identification (both external and internal) and print were intrinsically linked. It is apparent that the local ministers and the most zealous members of the *corps de ville* understood how the publication they produced could affect La Rochelle's external identification. Furthermore, the sheer number of publications and the ideologies La Rochelle promoted made her a target for her Catholic counterparts, as both polemical writings and popular genres evince an intimate knowledge of the works issued for the Huguenot bastion. In fact, as we shall now discover, it is the knowledge of their print that was in part used against the Rochelais in a symbolic altercation that sought to redefine La Rochelle by erasing the city's voice.

Chapter Six: La Rochelle's Identities Under Siege (1610-1624)

*Creating others is typically done by establishing stereotypes,
based on convenient exaggeration of select features*
– Marja Vuorinen, *Introduction: Enemy Images as Inversions
of the Self*, 2012

The assassination of Henri IV in 1610 by the religious fanatic François Ravaillac (1577-1610) and the crowning of a new Catholic King, Louis XIII (1601-1643), led to an indelible feeling of dread among the Huguenots, who feared a return to the civil conflict.¹ His reign aspired to restore power to the Crown and, with the help of Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), to gather the nation under a unified identity: ‘un roi, une loi, une foi’.² Between 1610 and 1629, political and religious tensions resurfaced to such an extent that modern historians, such as Mack Holt, consider this period the ‘last war of religion’.³

In 1611, the resignation of the Duke of Sully (1559-1641), a Protestant statesman, further fuelled the climate of suspicion in La Rochelle.⁴ The liberties and privileges once protected by Sully’s policies were now threatened by Louis XIII’s desire for hegemony. Furthermore, most noblemen, including Mornay, did not

¹ See Michel Cassan, *La Grande peur de 1610: les Français et l'assassinat d'Henri IV* (Seyssel: Éditions Champ Vallon, 2010) and Roland Mousnier, *L'Assassinat d'Henri IV: 14 mai 1610, Trente journées qui ont fait la France*, 13 (Paris: Gallimard, 1964).

² For a study of the medieval origin of the expression, see Elisabeth Labrousse, *Une foi, une loi, un roi* (Geneva: Payot-Labor & Fides, 1985). See also, *La France de la monarchie absolue, 1610-1715*, ed. by Joël Cornette (Paris: Seuil, 1997) and Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross* (1991).

³ Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, p. 173.

⁴ Franklin Charles Palm, ‘The Siege and Capture of La Rochelle in 1628’, p. 117: ‘[The Reformers] soon began to pass critical judgments upon the new administration and its policies and claimed that its measures were not in harmony with the ideas of their former leader, Henri IV.’ See also Kevin C. Robbins, ‘The Social Mechanisms of Urban Rebellion’, p. 593.

challenge the new King and those who did met with little success: the Duke of Condé and his younger brother Soubise suffered numerous defeats that only further weakened the Protestant *Cause*.⁵ Similarly in print, social actors who represented the Protestant voice were fewer and, in 1623, the death of one their strongest advocates, Philippe de Mornay, announced the decline of strong Protestant leaders: '[v]oyci un grand malheur, c'est que, comme nous sommes maintenant plus forts qu'aux premiers troubles, nos grands sont devenus aujourd'huy plus mols.'⁶ In La Rochelle, the call for conformity and the decline of Protestant leadership were reflected in local publications and the mounting tensions between the bourgeois and the *corps de ville* that had persisted since 1614.⁷

The focus of this chapter, however, will be on print published between 1620 and 1622, during the renewed conflict between La Rochelle and the Crown, as both sides rationalized their actions and behaviour by the different meanings they each ascribed to French identity.⁸ As discussed in Chapters Four and Five, following the First Siege, printed works issued from La Rochelle attributed specific religious and political identities to the city. However, La Rochelle's (self-)identification as a French city loyal to the Crown hinged on the symbolic meaning of monarchical loyalty and

⁵ See Trocmé, 'Réflexions sur le séparatisme rochelais (1568-1628)', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français*, 122 (1976), 203-10, (p. 208).

⁶ Pierre Péris, 'Lettres de Pierre Péris, Ministre de Pons et d'Attré, à Pierre Ferry, Ministre de Tonnay-Charente (1619-1625)', ed. by Paul d'Estrée, *Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XVI (1888), 315- 39 (p. 324). Also quoted in Parker, *La Rochelle and the French Monarchy*, p. 99.

⁷ Jacques Merlin's *Diaire* has many allusions to the conflicts which were seemingly continuous.

⁸ As demonstrated in the corpus, many anti-catholic texts were published in La Rochelle after the assassination of Henri IV but since they do not provide any further development in our investigation of the city's identity, I have decided not to include them for the purpose of this thesis.

the social consensus of a French national identity, which significantly developed under Louis XIII's reign.

Many of the texts in this chapter have already appeared in various studies that analyze the political relationship between Huguenots and Louis XIII. However, unlike those previous works, I offer a contextualized examination to reveal how it was the urban space and cultural identity of La Rochelle that were first and foremost targeted by Catholic writers.

1 The *Assemblée* and the Refashioning of La Rochelle's Identification

1.1 The Seeds of Conflict

After the Edict of Nantes (1598) that protected Huguenots' rights, the Protestant church continued to organize general *Assemblées*. These had played an active role in the drafting of peace treaties during the religious wars as well as governing communities and mediating between the Protestants, the King and the *menu peuple*.⁹

An unauthorized *Assemblée* in La Rochelle took place on 25 December 1620 in reaction to Louis XIII's policies as well as his military annexation of Béarn and occupation of Pau.¹⁰ Historians argue that the King's reinstatement of Catholicism in Béarn was the first step towards 'establi[shing] his royal authority' but also instilled fear in the Protestant communities as Louis XIII's policies threatened their privileges

⁹ Lorimer, 'Huguenot General Assemblies in France, 1579-1622: 'Public Opinion'', p. 53.

¹⁰ Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, p. 177. For further information on the campaign in Béarn, see Pierre Édouard Puyol, *Louis XIII et le Béarn ou rétablissement du catholicisme en Béarn et réunion du Béarn et de la Navarre* (Paris: E.-M. De Soye et fils, 1872).

and even their survival. Although the *assemblées* had previously been criticized, after the *Assemblée* of 1620, pamphlets became more virulent and, between 1620 and 1622, associated Protestant gatherings with Republicanism. The *Assemblées* were then considered an affront to the Crown's authority and Louis XIII himself declared them guilty of *lèse-majesté*.¹¹ Between 1620 and 1622, political disputes and conflicts led to the fall of many Protestant cities, such as Saint-Jean-d'Angély (1621), and the Edict of Montpellier, signed on 19 October 1622, resulted in the destruction of the fortifications surrounding Montpellier, Uzès and Nîmes. La Rochelle herself was blockaded between 1621 and 1622.

In print, the annexation of Béarn triggered, as Roger Chartier has rightly noted, a new wave of pamphlets that only further increased after the illegal assembly in La Rochelle.¹² In the early years of Louis XIII's reign, and later during the 1620s, many pamphlets engaged with political theories or presented themselves as mirrors for princes (*specula principum*) with a view to counselling the young King.¹³ According to Mißfelder, these publications contributed to the development of absolutism by promoting their definition of monarchical loyalty and arguing against the legitimacy of the *assemblées*. In fact, during this period, the symbolic meaning of

¹¹ Louis XIII, *Lettres patentes du Roy, par lesquelles sont déclarez criminels de lèze Majesté les habitans de la Rochelle et autres villes qui recevront l'Assemblée des députez de ceux de la religion prétendue réformée, avec tous les députez qui se trouveront en icelle. Vérifiées en Parlement le 10 décembre 1620. Avec la lettre que le Roy a escript à la Chambre de l'Edict estable à Nérac* (Bordeaux: Simon de Milanges, 1620) [USTC 6800506]. Cf. Yves-Marie Bercé, *La Naissance dramatique de l'absolutisme, 1598-1661*, Nouvelle Histoire de la France moderne, 5 vols (Paris: Le Seuil, 1991-2002), III (1992).

¹² Roger Chartier, *Le Livre conquérant: du Moyen Age au milieu du XVIIe siècle*, ed. by Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Jean-Pierre Vivet, *Histoire de l'édition française*, 4 vols (Paris: Promodis, 1982-86), I (1982), p. 410. See 'Corpus', pp. 175-200.

¹³ See Rob Meens, 'Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-being of the Realm', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7.3 (1998), 143-67.

loyalty (*fidélité*) to the Crown and monarchical power was evolving and, as a result, La Rochelle's identity standard, which had always been verified against the symbolic interpretation of rebellion and loyalty, was yet again questioned.¹⁴

Although the aim of this section is not to repeat well-trodden arguments, I nonetheless include a brief macro-level analysis of previous historical studies to contextualize how the events of the *Assemblée* contributed to La Rochelle's identification since, from the royalists' point of view, the Huguenot bastion was drifting away from the emerging French national identity and becoming a state within state.¹⁵

1.1.1 Annexation of Béarn and its Consequences: a Contextualisation

As La Rochelle and other Protestant strongholds regarded Béarn's annexation as an attack on Protestant spaces and communities, the *Assemblée* of La Rochelle decided to resist politically and militarily, against a King they no longer trusted, all the while proclaiming their loyalty to the Crown. The *Assemblée* advocated the creation of eight Protestant communities. These would have financial and military independence and be governed by a Protestant leader who would answer to the Duke of Bouillon (1555-1623).¹⁶

Following Louis XIII's condemnation of the illegal *Assemblée* at La Rochelle, some Huguenots defended their 'right to resist'. In 1621, La Rochelle published a total

¹⁴ See J. Russell Major, 'The Revolt of 1620: A Study of Ties of Fidelity', *French Historical Studies*, 14.3 (1986), 391-401. His study analyses the evolution of ties of fidelity between noblemen through indentures. It poses questions similar to those of *Malcontent* where if 'a client felt that he had been inadequately rewarded or that his interests lay elsewhere, the tie was often dissolved' (p. 406).

¹⁵ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, p. 203.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 166.

of at least fourteen pamphlets that sought to justify the *Assemblée*'s decisions. Eight of these pamphlets were published by Corneille Hertmann's successor, Pierre Pié de Dieu (fl.1621-1627). Two of them were then translated and published in London by Edward Allde (d. 1628), a well-known printer of dramas and I have found at least one Flemish translation of the *Assemblée*'s declaration.¹⁷

Unlike the pamphlets that circulated during the religious wars of 1562-1598, these publications openly argued against royal authority as well as the *Assemblée*'s advocacy for political independence from France. These arguments met with divided opinion in the Protestant ranks, and even Philippe de Mornay published a short (7 pages) admonition against the citizens of La Rochelle.¹⁸

The debate between two (then) Protestant theologians, Daniel Tilenus (1563-1633) and Théophile Brachet de La Milletière (1596-1665) has attracted the attention of historians who see it as summarizing the political and theological theories advocated by either camp.¹⁹ Tilenus's response to the unauthorized *Assemblée*, under

¹⁷ France. Reformed Churches., *A Declaration Set Forth by the Protestants in France; Shewing the Lamentable Distresse that they of Bearn in France are Fallen into, by Meanes of the Oppression and Wrong Done unto Them in Regard of their Profession of the Reformed Religion. With all the Troubles which Happened unto them since the Beginning of the Edicts Sent out against them by the French King until this Time. Together with the Rest of their Proceedings, until this Present Moneth of July. 1621* (La Rochelle [London]: [Edward Allde], 1621) [USTC 3010059, 3010060 and 6803857] France. Reformed Churches., *A Letter Written by those of the Assembly in Rochell [sic]: to Monsieur le Duc de Les Diguieres. Containing an Admonition unto him, to Leave the Enemie, and to Ayde them. As also an Exhortation and a Warning unto those that Forsake the Trueth, and Cleave unto the Enemies thereof, to Shun that Vengeance which God will Send Downe upon them for the Same* (La Rochelle [London]: [Edward Allde], 1621) [USTC 3009579 and 6808496] and France. Reformed Churches, *Verclaringhe...* (Middelbourg: G. Van de Vivere, 1621) [USTC No classification, BnF 4-LD176-1341].

¹⁸ Philippe de Mornay, *Advis du Sieur Du Plessis Mornay, etc. Donné à Messieurs les Citoiens et habitans de la Rochelle, et à tous autres soubçonnez de la Religion contre nostre Roy, à fin qu'un chacun se range à son devoir pour lui rendre trèsfidelle service* (Lyon: Guichard Pailly, 1621) [USTC 6902950].

¹⁹ Abraham Elintus [Daniel Tilenus], *Advertissement à l'Assemblée de La Rochelle, par Abraham Elintus, docteur en médecine* (Paris: François Julliot, 1621) [USTC

the pseudonym Abraham Elintus, adduces theological arguments to conclude that obedience should not be subjected to debate and that a good citizen (*bon François*) should always obey the monarchy. Therefore, any form of rebellion threatens the natural order of the world. According to La Milletière's response, *Discours des vrayes raisons* (1622), that was originally published in La Rochelle, the King had been misguided by the Pope and Jesuits. The *Assemblée* was therefore not forming a resistance against the King but rather against the apostates that surrounded him.

While Mißfelder considers these texts to be a criticism of La Rochelle's attempt to build a new commonwealth (*république*), the focus on the negative influence of the Pope or Jesuits suggests to Kretzer that the main argument has 'carrément abandonné la position des monarchomaques'.²⁰ Nonetheless, as we shall now see, just as the *malcontents* had influenced the city's external representation, the ideas and actions of the *Assemblée* became inherently associated with La Rochelle and affected her identification.,

1.1.2 *Exhortation à l'Assemblée de La Rochelle*: A Case Study

The Catholics traditionally perceived the *assemblée* as a disruptor of the peace but, unlike the texts printed by the Catholic League in the 1580s, polemists sought to stay away from any religious discourse and instead reappropriated Protestant symbolic

6024766] and [Théophile Brachet de La Milletière], *Discours des vrayes raisons pour lesquelles ceux de la Religion en France peuvent et doivent en bonne conscience résister par armes à la persécution ouverte que leur font les ennemis de leur Religion et de l'Estat. Où est respond au libelle intitulé Advertissement à l'Assemblée de la Rochelle, par un des députez en ladite Assemblée* (La Rochelle: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6803872].

²⁰ Helmut Kretzer, 'Remarques sur le droit de résistance des calvinistes français au début du xviie siècle', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 123 (1977), 54-75 (p. 74).

imagery for a political narrative. If the authors alluded to Calvin and other social actors who represented the Protestant faith, it was not for their religious beliefs (and identity) but for their political ideas: they thus became the embodiment of Republicanism. This focus on the political aspect was promoted by statesmen, such as Pierre Jeannin (1540-1622), who were determined not to repeat the religious conflict and therefore avoided any purely theological debates by emphasizing political arguments.²¹

However, as the popular anonymous pamphlet *Exhortation à l'Assemblée de La Rochelle* (1620) exemplifies, religion could never truly be divorced from politics. Even in analogies that endorsed the King as an embodiment of justice, Louis XIII's decisions became akin to God's judgment: 'Le Roy en fin sçaura si bien discerner les bons d'avec les mauvais, qu'il ne confondra pas les innocens avec les coupables'.²² Polemists, including the author of *Exhortation à l'Assemblée de La Rochelle*, played down the religious aspect of the conflicts by arguing against physical spaces rather than the Protestant communities *per se*. In these pamphlets, La Rochelle was often compared to other disreputable urban spaces:

Je croy qu'il n'y a Gentilhomme aimant son Dieu et son Roy qui ne conspire en une si sainte résolution, et qui n'aimest mieux mourir, que de voir une autre tour de Babel s'eslever parmy vous, c'est-à-dire de voir la Rochelle devenir une seconde Hollande dans la France.²³

For Mißfelder, this reference to the 'seconde Hollande' suggests that La Rochelle adopted a similar republican approach to their Dutch counterpart, thus rendering the conflict purely political.

²¹ Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, p. 180.

²² [Anon.], *Exhortation à l'Assemblée de La Rochelle*, p. 7.

²³ Ibid., p. 5.

However, other comparisons, whether explicit or not, were also made between La Rochelle and biblical cities in the Old Testament, such as Babel in the quotation above, or Sodom and Gomorrah elsewhere. The city thus became an embodiment of the *Assemblée*'s defiance and consequently, an urban space repulsive to those loyal to the Crown.

1.2 The City in the Spotlight: La Rochelle's Identification in Extramural Pamphlets

According to my corpus, during the blockade of La Rochelle, nearly ninety percent of the external publications that focused on the city were octavos. They comprise *canards* (false information spread through cheap print) and news bulletins with titles such as *Le Grand désastre nouvellement arrivé en la ville de la Rochelle* (1621), published in Paris, Lyon and Rouen, and *Les Signes merveilleux et espouventables apparus au ciel sur la ville de la Rochelle* (1621), published in Paris, Lyon and Toulouse.²⁴ These two

²⁴ [Anon.], *Le Grand désastre nouvellement arrivé en la ville de la Rochelle. Au grand estonnement des Rochelois* (Paris: Sylvestre Moreau, 1621) [USTC 6012913]; [Anon.], *Le Grand désastre nouvellement arrivé en la ville de la Rochelle. Au grand estonnement des Rochelois* (Lyon: Claude Armand, 1621) [USTC 6902967]; [Anon.], *Le Grand désastre nouvellement arrivé en la ville de la Rochelle au grand estonnement des Rochelois* (Rouen: Jacques Besongne, 1621) [USTC 6815018]; [Anon.], *Les Signes merveilleux et espouventables apparus au ciel sur la ville de La Rochelle, le 28. jour d'avril dernier: le tout au grand estonnement de tous les Rochellois. Ensemble le combat de deux hommes en l'air, lesquels ont été veus en grande admiration par tous les habitans de ladite ville. Avec la résolution de leur Assemblée tenuë sur le sujet et evenement desdites apparitions* (Paris: Antoine Champenois, 1621) [USTC 6032599]; [Anon.], *Les Signes merveilleux et espouventables apparus au Ciel sur la ville de la Rochelle, le 30 Juin 1621. Ensemble le combat de deux hommes en l'air, lesquels ont été veus en grand admiration; le tout au grand estonnement de tous les Rochelois. Avec la résolution de leur Assemblée, tenue sur le subject et événement des dites apparitions* (Lyon: Pierre Marniolles, 1621) [USTC 6902985] and [Anon.], *Les Signes merveilleux et espouventables apparus au ciel, sur la ville de la Rochelle, le 28 juillet 1621. Ensemble le combat de deux hommes en l'air, lequels ont este veus en grande admiration: le tout au grand estonnement de tous le Rochellois* (Toulouse: [n. pub.], 1621) [USTC 6808583]. For a definition on the *canards* see Annie Parent-Charont, 'Canards du Sud Ouest (1560-1630)', *Albinea, Cahiers d'Aubigné*, 9 (1998), 95-109, and the extensive work by Jean-

pamphlets describe supernatural events in La Rochelle, which were interpreted as prophetic signs of her impending doom. Even Pierre Le Faucheur, ‘one of the most able printers of his time’, published a sixteen page-long satirical pamphlet entitled *Juste jugement et mort du maire de la Rochelle* (1621) that gives a humorous account of the devil who, in the guise of a raven, disembowels the mayor of La Rochelle after he refuses to imprison the citizens who have rebelled against the King.²⁵ Lestringant states that these false rumours reflected a continuous eschatological fear that focused on the urban space as a *lieu d'épouvante*.²⁶

Few maps of La Rochelle were published during the blockade. The most widespread, *Pourtraict de la ville de La Rochelle avec ses forteresses, comme elle est à present* (1621), was engraved by Jan Ziarko (1575-c. 1630) and printed by Jean le Clerc le Jeune (d. 1637).²⁷ It is a detailed rendering of the fortress with a likewise detailed legend and a description of the city’s topography and history, which alludes to La Rochelle’s inherent nature to rebel as it concludes with two examples of the inhabitants’ most recent revolts, in 1542 and in 1572-1573 respectively.

Pierre Séguin, *L'Information en France avant le périodique: 517 Canards imprimés entre 1529 et 1631* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1964).

²⁵ [Anon.], *Juste Jugement et Mort du Maire de la Rochelle. Envoyée par un Officier de la maison du Roy* (Paris: Pierre Le Faucheur, 1621) [USTC 6033349]. Cf. Jean de La Caille, *Histoire de l'imprimerie et de la librairie où l'on voit son origine et son progrès, jusqu'en 1689: divisée en deux livres*, 2 vols (Paris: Jean de La Caille, 1689), II, p. 228.

²⁶ Frank Lestringant, ‘Canards contre La Rochelle au temps des Guerres de religion’, in *Rumeurs et nouvelles au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. by Marie-Thérèse Jones-Davies (Paris: Klincksieck, 1997), pp. 65-92 (p. 87).

²⁷ Jan Ziarko, *Pourtraict de la ville de la Rochelle avec ses forteresses, comme elle est à present* (Paris: Jean le Clerc le Jeune, 1621) [USTC No classification, BnF. RESERVE QB-201 (22)-FOL (p. 30)]



Figure 19 - Pourtraict de la ville de La Rochelle avec ses forteresses, comme elle est à present (1621)

I could only find one cartographical print that is truly polemical: *Le Vray Pourtraict du siège de La Rochelle, avec les deux forts eslevez par Monseigneur le Comte de Soissons* ([1623]).²⁸ As Mißfelder notes, this map highlights the warfare by depicting the King's forts and his galleys disproportionately larger than La Rochelle.²⁹ Underneath the picture, a poem employs a religious lexical field (*sacrilège, les Cieux, repentir, impiété, dernier supplice*) and describes the inhabitants as victims of an ‘esprit factieux’.

²⁸ François Dubois, *Le Vray Pourtraict du siege de La Rochelle, avec les deux forts es levex par Monseigneur le Compte de Soissons* ([Paris]: [n. pub.], [1623]) [USTC No Classification, Zb. 05 3 Fv 53: 3].

²⁹ Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, p. 202. Although Mißfelder identifies the rider in the foreground as Louis XIII, the depiction, title and time of print suggests rather that it concerns his cousin, Louis de Bourbon-Soissons.

1.2.1 Rewriting History and the Female Voice

The reappropriation of La Rochelle's identification was most prominent in pamphlets that described the defeat of Soubise in 1622 off the island of Ré and his cool reception ('reçu froidement') on his return to La Rochelle on 21 April.³⁰ In royalist pamphlets his entry into the city was rewritten in a variety of ways, many stories giving a fanciful account of the inhabitants' reaction. Arcère gives the example of a *Lettre de plaincte et de desadveu des habitans de la Rochelle, au sieur de Soubise, après sa défaite par le sieur de Bosse le 23 avril*, a falsified communication that was printed in the name of the Rochelais.³¹

In another octavo, published in Paris with the title *Le Bannissement de Monsieur de Soubize hors de la ville de la Rochelle* (1622), the author describes how, on the return of Soubise and on the news of the death of their kin, the revolt of the angered citizens was like that of a hydra ('[une] beste à cent teste furieuse et farouche, qui n'a point d'oreilles').³² This uprising, according to the narrator, had a profound impact on the Protestant party as even the leader of the Huguenots, the Duke of Rohan (1579-1638), upon hearing the news of Soubise's banishment from the city, feared he would suffer the same fate ('[il] craint qu'on ne luy jouë le mesme tour').³³

This chaotic portrayal of the citizens of La Rochelle is repeated in a similar piece, *La Grande et merveilleuse sédition arrive à la Rochelle sur la défaite des*

³⁰ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, pp. 177.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 177-78. See [Anon.], *La Lettre de plaincte et de desadveu des habitans de La Rochelle au sieur de Soubise le 23 avril 1622* (Paris: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6806093].

³² [Anon.], *Le Bannissement de Monsieur de Soubize hors la ville de la Rochelle par les rebelles habitans mesme de ladite ville avec les causes et motifs de cette resolution* (Paris: Joseph Guerreau, 1622) [USTC 6027038], p. 9.

³³ Ibid., p. 12.

troupes des sieurs de Soubise et et Favas (1622) where the women of La Rochelle are depicted stoning Soubise.³⁴ This fictional incident belongs to the ‘discourses on civil warfare [that] portrayed disorder as feminine and rebellion as sexualised.’³⁵ The rewriting of Soubise’s entry therefore serves two purposes: to further undermine the influence of Protestant leaders and to emphasize the political and social chaos in La Rochelle.

The octavo entitled *Relation véritable de ce qui s'est passé à la Rochelle, en la réception de M. de Soubize* (1622) describes a comical scene where the local inhabitants — including Du Moulin — decide to celebrate the entry of Soubise after his alledged victory.³⁶ These pamphlets include a postliminary approbation of the *Assemblée* that has been fabricated.³⁷ I have also found a printed edition of this piece that claims it was based on a copy printed in La Rochelle, with the obviously fictional address ‘Chez le Libertin’.³⁸

³⁴ [Anon.], *La Grande et merveilleuse sédition arrivée à La Rochelle, sur la défaite des troupes des sieurs de Soubise et de Favas* (Paris: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6806086].

³⁵ Brian Sandberg, “‘Generous Amazons Came to the Breach’: Besieged Women, Agency and Subjectivity during the French Wars of Religion”, *Gender & History*, 16.3 (2004), 654-88 (p. 657).

³⁶ [Anon.], *Relation véritable de ce qui s'est passé à La Rochelle, en la réception de M. de Soubize, au retour de Rié* ([Paris]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6803874]. The presence of Pierre Du Moulin in La Rochelle at this point in time is completely fictitious as he was by then at the Academy of Sedan. However, his works were printed at least eighteen different times so while he might not have been there physically, his ideas were very much ingrained in the print culture.

³⁷ In April 1622, for instance, it was not Clémenceau who was the *président adjoint* at the assembly as claimed in this approbation, but La Cloche. See *Actes de l’assemblée générale des églises réformées de France et souveraineté du Béarn: (1620-1622)*, ed. by Anatole de Bathélemy, 2 vols (Poitiers: H. Oudin frères, 1876), I, p. XIV.

³⁸ This address was also used for Saumur and commonly associated with Anti-Protestant libels, see V. Dauphin, ‘L’Imprimerie protestante à Saumur (1593-1685): Une énigme bibliographique déchiffrée’, *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 78.1, (1929), 121-24 (p. 123)

According to the pamphlet, after disagreeing over which phrase should be placed over the doors of La Rochelle and which language to use (Italian, Gascon (or Occitan), Latin or Greek), the Rochelais lose track of time and the women find themselves welcoming Soubise through the gates of La Rochelle. The woman elected to represent La Rochelle is nominated because she possesses virtues and the natural conversation traditionally associated with femininity.³⁹ However, she greets the Duke of Soubise with a harangue that condemns the treatment of the women of La Rochelle and the men's refusal to let them read the Bible. This fictitious account thus implies that the ministers of La Rochelle do not follow Calvin's endorsement of women's education and of the use of the vernacular, as shown by the linguistic debate at the start of the pamphlet.

The rewritings of Soubise's entry therefore did not only circulate false information but, more importantly, they refashioned the city's identification by juxtaposing the city's chaos and disunity with the order and harmony of Louis XIII's reign. They each purposefully subvert the identity standard of the city by targeting her social actors and symbols. For instance, the leaders of the Protestant cause were either attacked by the Rochelais or advocated ideas that were contrary to the values of the Reformation. Similarly, femininity was used against La Rochelle and Protestantism as the women in these pamphlets either symbolically represent violence against Protestantism or highlight the weakness of their male counterparts ('[ce] ne sont que des hommes et par conséquent leur esprit sujet à faillir').⁴⁰ Behind the city walls, the community of La Rochelle had become a *monde à l'envers*.

³⁹ *Relation véritable de ce qui s'est passé à La Rochelle, en la réception de M. de Soubize*, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 13. See also [Anon.], *L'Exercice militaire fait à présent par les femmes de la Rochelle, Avec les ordonnances sur ce sujet. Ensemble les fortifications qu'elles*

In La Rochelle, the female voice often appeared in print at a time of religious and political crisis. We have already observed how female Protestant leaders and femininity affected La Rochelle's (self-)identification in Chapters Two and Four and, between 1620-1622, out the seven publications that were not published in defense of the *Assemblée*, three of them used the female voice in a religious context. In 1620, for instance, Jean Dinet published Georgette de Montenay's (1540-1581) *Emblemes, ou Devises chrestiennes, composés par demoiselle Georgette de Montenay*, a Protestant who had served as Jeanne d'Albret's *dame d'honneur* and dedicated her book to the Queen of Navarre.⁴¹ Noël de La Croix, on the other hand, published Samuel Martin's *Méditation sur les misères de l'Église, sous le nom d'une femme qui se plaint estant proche de sa mort* (1621) and *Les Larmes de l'Église sur les misères du temps* (1621).⁴² In both of these octavos, Martin anthropomorphizes the decline of the Reformed Church through a female personification.

ont faites, et tout ce qui s'est passé en la dite ville jusques à présent (Poitiers: Pierre Poirier, 1621) [USTC 6806047].

⁴¹ Georgette de Montenay, *Emblèmes ou devises chrestiennes, composées par Damoiselle Georgette de Montenay* (La Rochelle: Jean Dinet, 1620) [USTC 6803854]. Jean Dinet's publications were based on the first edition published between 1567 and 1571, even though in the meantime, in 1619, it had been revised and translated for a polyglot edition printed in Frankfurt-am-Main. On the differences between the editions, see Alison Adams, Stephen Rawles and Alison Saunders, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: L-Z*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 2002), pp. 177-88.

⁴² Samuel Martin, *Méditation sur les misères de l'Église, sous le nom d'une femme qui se plaint estant proche de sa mort. Par Samuel Martin, Advocat au Parlement de Bourdeaux* (La Rochelle: Pierre Pié de Dieu, 1621) [USTC 6803866] and id., *Les Larmes de l'Église sur les misères du temps, avec la consolation de Jesus Christ nostre Seigneur. Par Samuel Martin de S. Jean d'Angély, Advocat au Parlement de Bourdeaux* (La Rochelle: Pierre Pié de Dieu, 1621) [USTC 6803865].

1.2.2 The Urban Space in Focus

In fact, external polemists associated the decline of Protestantism with La Rochelle's decline. Short pieces, for example, highlighted the religious division in the Protestant bastion and narrated the conversions of supposed reformers in octavos, such as *L'Heureuse conversion des plus notables bourgeois et habitans de la ville de La Rochelle* (1621) or *La Conversion faite à Rome du Fils de Monsieur de Favas, sorti de La Rochele en habit déguisé* (1622).⁴³ Similar publications described the treatment of Catholics within the city walls who, according to Arcère, ‘étoient exposés tous les jours à des vexations odieuses’.⁴⁴ Published in Paris and Lyon 1620, before the illegal Assemblée of La Rochelle, *La Déclaration des Catholiques Rochelois aux Bourgeois, Maire et Eschevins de la ville* denounces the treatment of local Catholics that were ‘plus dignes de noms d’Esclaves que de Concitoyens’.⁴⁵ These texts suggest that La Rochelle’s religious identity was considered her salient identity, which ultimately

⁴³ Keith P. Luria, ‘Rituals of Conversion: Catholics and Protestants in Seventeenth Century Poitou’, in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, ed. by Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Alison Hesse (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1993), pp. 65-82.

⁴⁴ Arcère, *L’Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, p. 167. Cf., [Anon.], *Le Bannissement des prêtres de l’Oratoire hors de La Rochelle, avec la harangue que leur fit le maire auparavant que de les en chasser, et généralement tout ce qui s’est passé en cette action. Avec un véritable récit des insolences et impiétés exercées dans des églises par les Rochelois, et l’emprisonnement d’un gentilhomme et de son fils, après avoir pillé son château, pour n’avoir pas voulu permettre que ses sujets allassent travailler aux fortifications de leur ville au préjudice des défenses du roi* (Paris: Antoine Vitré, 1621) [USTC 6013344].

⁴⁵ [Anon.], *La Déclaration des Catholiques Rochelois aux Bourgeois, Maire et Eschevins de la ville, le 17 Aoust* (Paris: Sylvestre Moreau, 1620) [USTC 6013951], p. 7. See also [Anon.], *La Déclaration des Catholiques Rochelois aux Bourgeois, Maire et Eschevins de la ville, le 6 septembre* (Lyon: Claude Armand, 1620) [USTC 6902910]. For the meaning of *concitoyen* in the early modern period, see Charlotte C. Wells, ‘The Language of Citizenship in the French Religious wars’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30.2 (1999), 441-56 (p. 453).

defined ethnic affiliation since confessional beliefs were now anchored to physical spaces.

In *Das Andere der Monarchie*, Mißfelder argues that by attaching Protestantism to specific *places de sûreté*, royalists were encouraged to build a symbolic connection between rebellion and fortifications and, similarly, to picture the physical walls as a spiritual separation from the monarchy.⁴⁶ As I have demonstrated in Chapter Four, the fortifications symbolically connected La Rochelle to a spiritual space, which signifies that the royalists were, in fact, reappropriating and subverting the meaning of a symbol that already existed. Polemical publications that originally highlighted the military armament of La Rochelle now sought to underpin the weakness of this seemingly impenetrable fortress by bringing to light the cracks in the wall and targeting the city's (self-)identification.

In an octavo of over 180 pages dedicated to Louis XIII, François de Fermineau (c. 1592-1628), a lawyer from Nîmes who was recognized for his royalist publications, attempts to juxtapose La Rochelle's physical urban topography with Louis XIII's rule. Published exclusively in 1621 in Toulouse, *Le Plan de l'anarchie rochelloise fondée sur les sablons de la mer*, enters the political debate against the *Assemblée* using theological arguments as well as examples drawn on ancient history and mythology.⁴⁷ Just like his contemporaries, Fermineau connects the *Assemblée*'s

⁴⁶ Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, p. 240.

⁴⁷ François de Fermineau, *Le Plan de l'anarchie rochelloise fondée sur les sablons de la Mer dressé par François de Fermineau, sieur de Beaulieu Conseiller et premier advocat du Roy en la Cour Présidiale de Nismes. Philippique I* (Toulouse: Jean Maffré, 1621) [USTC 6808558]. The title page of this piece suggests that *Le Plan de l'anarchie rochelloise* was meant to be associated with another satirical work published the following year; François de Fermineau, *Le Plan de l'Anarchie: Philippique II. en laquelle, sur le sujet des emprisonnemens, gêhennes, exécutions capitales et autres semblables procédures, faites depuis peu en la Ville de Nisme, est représenté le [sic] colœuvre de Nisme* (Avignon: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC No classification, Le Long n°5933].

revolt to Republicanism, thus following the general trend that separated their rebellion from any religious connotation.⁴⁸

A meso- and micro-level analysis of the publication, nonetheless, reveals how La Rochelle's topography was subverted to fashion her identification. From the very beginning, the title of the octavo implies a religious, political and structural weakness in the city's foundations as, according to Fermineau, the *Assemblée* of La Rochelle is built on wind-blown sand. This title refers to Matthew 7.24-27 but also to the instability of the *Assemblée*'s political strategy and La Rochelle's topography. The stamp on the title page (Figure 20), for example, uses quotes from the Old Testament, which all refer to the divine destruction of mountains and rocks. This is a prophetic warning of the fate that awaited La Rochelle, whose name etymologically stems from the Latin word *rupes*, here capitalized to draw the reader's attention to the double-meaning. The quotes surround Louis XIII's coat of arms like the walls of a fortress and, instead of the King's motto, the coat of arms is crowned by the Latin hemistich *cælo delapsa sereno* ('descended from a clear sky'), referring to his God-given right to rule.⁴⁹

In the pamphlet, he openly criticizes the inhabitants' (and other rebels') dependence on their city's fortifications.⁵⁰ The anaphoric and capitalized expression 'LEURS VILLES' introduces each argument that contends their attachement to their fortifications which, for the author, further allianates them from French national

⁴⁸ Fermineau, *Le Plan de l'anarchie rochelloise*, p. 104.

⁴⁹ The expression *cælo delapsa sereno* was also used in the sentence 'Vox audita Patris coelo delapsa sereno', as part of a collection of private prayers under the reign of Elizabeth I.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 172-73.

identity (the ‘vrais François’): their localized identity consequently delineates Protestant communities as the ‘Other’.⁵¹



Figure 20 – Louis XIII’s coat of arms on the title page of François de Fermineau’s *Le Plan de l’anarchie rochelloise fondee sur les sablons de la mer* (1621)

Finally, Ferminau subverts the meaning of another symbol deeply ingrained in La Rochelle’s identification: the sea. He opens with a personification of Rebellion, depicted as a maritime monster emerging from the sea surrounding La Rochelle.⁵² The sea is consequently no longer a sign of the city’s prosperity but a breeding ground of dissent.

To put it simply, the city walls were the object of contention in polemical writings as their function undermined the King’s authority and the citizens’ trust in physical structures instead of Louis XIII — and therefore France — was seen as misplaced and construed as disloyalty to their country. Far from simply being targeted because of their association with Protestantism and rebellion, as suggested by Mißfelder, I would argue that the fortifications became the concrete symbol of a rift between the identification of a collective group, Protestant communities, and the

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 5 and 178-79.

⁵² Fermineau, *Le Plan de l’anarchie rochelloise*, p. 5.

French national identity promoted by Louis XIII and his supporters. The Catholic pamphlets therefore sought to assimilate Protestants by reappropriating the physical space they inhabited, through the destruction of their walls.

1.3 Isolating the Enemy: First Steps towards an Identity Reappropriation

As mentioned in the previous chapters, during civil conflicts, each side defined their identity standard on the meaning of a *bon François*, which was fashioned by the social consensus as a ‘love of country’ and, subsequently, a distrust of other countries and foreign influence (‘us’ versus ‘them’).⁵³ If supporters of the 1620 *Assemblée* of La Rochelle argued against the influence of the Pope and the Jesuits on Louis XIII, a similar distrust was present in the opposite camp as the danger of La Rochelle’s relationship with other Protestant countries such as England or the Netherlands resurfaced.

As we have explored in Chapters Two, Four and Five, it was predominantly social actors, through print, that articulated the city’s external identification and reinforced aspects of her (self-)identification. However, even with the short-lived print shops that appeared in La Rochelle between 1616 and 1628 (e.g. Guillaume Delachaulx (or de Lachaud), Marin Canoel and Jean Dinet), the activity of local press began to decline after 1590. Furthermore, as Protestant leaders became less vocal, or even opposed La Rochelle in the case of Mornay, external polemical pamphlets increasingly included fictional social actors to represent the city’s voice. In this

⁵³ See Michael Wolfe, ‘Henri IV and the Press’, in *The Sixteenth-Century French Religious Book*, ed. by Paul Nelles (Saint Andrews: University of St. Andrew’s Press, 2001), pp. 177-96 (p. 194). The concept of the *bon François* is the central chapter of Yardeni’s *La Conscience nationale* which focuses on the development of nationalism and French cultural identification during the Wars of Religion.

section, I offer a meso- and micro-level analysis of publications that do not feature in previous research but reveal that polemical pamphlets actively fashioned La Rochelle's identification against Louis XIII's vision for France by reappropriating (fictional) social actors usually associated with La Rochelle's (self-)identification.

1.3.1 The Local Patois and Religious Divide

Although there is no doubt that the pamphlets between 1620 and 1622 period were of a more political nature, the general claim that '[p]amphlets written against [...] the final general assembly at La Rochelle [...] no longer resorted to parody or comedy' ignores literary publications that engaged with the city's identities.⁵⁴ These pamphlets not only aimed to 'have an effect on a broad public' but attacked the identity and culture of La Rochelle to further isolate the city from the rest of France, an instance that is perfectly illustrated in a publication that has hitherto not been studied: *L'Adieu de Perot le Sage ennuyé de l'excès des insolences, et concussions de l'Assemblée Rocheloise* (1622).⁵⁵

Written in a *patois charentais* against the *Assemblée*, this anonymous octavo was printed outside La Rochelle and bears the false address of Maillezais, a town where Agrippa d'Aubigné allegedly operated a clandestine printing press with Jean Moussat from 1616 to 1620.⁵⁶ The text supposedly reports the harangue of a Rochelais

⁵⁴ Lorimer, 'Huguenot General Assemblies', p. 58.

⁵⁵ Lorimer, 'Huguenot General Assemblies', p. 62. [Anon.], *L'Adieu de Perot le Sage ennuyé de l'excès des insolences, et concussions de l'Assemblée Rocheloise* (Maillezais [n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC No classification, BnF 8-LB36-1602].

⁵⁶ See Eric Surget, 'Le Masque et la plume, ou les ateliers délinquants de Jean Moussat', *Albinea*, Cahiers d'Aubigné, 9 (1998), 135-69 (p. 150). On the Rochelais's local dialect, see Trocmé, 'Réflexions sur le séparatisme rochelais', p. 208.

named Perot le Sage, during a church service on 4 May 1622.⁵⁷ Described initially as one of the most zealous inhabitants of La Rochelle, Perot explodes in a fit of rage when he notices that his fellow citizens, unable to pay the *Assemblé*'s fraudulent levy, did not obtain the *marreau* that would have allowed them to take communion.⁵⁸ As the title suggests, the text targets the *Assemblée* and their greed at a time when the local economy was booming.⁵⁹ Polemical writers often sought to undermine the successful commercial activity of La Rochelle — one of the city's chief strengths and characteristics — by linking their financial gains to piracy and greed and, in *L'Adieu de Perot le sage*, the flourishing economy of La Rochelle is similarly reduced to a sinful activity.⁶⁰

While the King is portrayed in a favourable light, defamatory remarks are made regarding the *Assemblée* and the Protestant ministers, who are compared to false prophets '[qui] ne praich[e]nt que mentrie, assuronce, et viquetoire pre lé rebele'.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *L'Adieu de Perot le Sage*, p. 18. The name of Perot (a diminutive of Pierre) was commonly used in pastoral literature. It may also refer to the Paroisse de Saint-Jean-du-Perrot which was 'ruinée par les protestans', in 1568 and rebuilt in 1671 (*Arcère, Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, II, pp. 500-01). If such is the case, the protagonist's name may etymologically refer to the religious divide within the community of La Rochelle. Furthermore, the 4 May 1622 coincides with the beginning of the siege of Royan that was defeated by Louis XIII's army, despite La Rochelle's aid.

⁵⁸ The *marreau*, more commonly spelt as *mérau(x)*, is a coin or token usually made out of lead which has no monetary value. It was given before each service and allowed the churchgoer to participate in the Eucharist once they have handed it back to the priest. For a brief overview of this practice and descriptions of some of the *méraux* that were in circulation, see Charles-Louis Frossard, 'Description de quarante et un Méraux de la communion réformée', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 21 (1872), 236-42.

⁵⁹ *L'Adieu de Perot le Sage*, p. 3: 'l'Asse[m]blée ayme mieux le son de l'argent que celuy de la voix de Dieu'.

⁶⁰ This comparison was not unique to *L'Adieu de Perot le Sage* as royalists sought to undermine the successful commercial activity of La Rochelle — one of the city's chief strength and characteristic — by linking their financial gains to piracy and greed.

⁶¹ *L'Adieu de Perot le Sage*, p. 16. It is also worth appreciating that the minister in the text is supposedly from Benet, a commune which is close to Maillezais but whose terminology may also refer to a simple-minded person.

The religious identity of the city and its effect on her belonging to France is addressed in one particular passage where Perot rewrites the siege of Jerusalem:

La vile de Jerusalan sétet rebelée contre le ré de Babylone. Jeremie prachet qu'o falet obeï, é ly uvri lé porte, que Dé ou avet dit, et menacet lé rebele de mort, lé fau Prophete prachia[n]t au contraire, au faut vuri, ne fau, si fau, ne fau.⁶²

The true interest of this pamphlet, however, lies in the choice of language. The intrinsic link between language and a civilisation's culture and identity has been the object of many studies.⁶³ By voicing Perot's opinions in the local dialect, the author reappropriates the identity of the Rochelais to express views of his own.⁶⁴

In the early modern period, the association between language and nationality was especially important.⁶⁵ Paul Cohen has rightly claimed that language reformation helped to promote nationalism from the sixteenth century.⁶⁶ Arguably, the most important development in the early modern period is the association of linguistic

⁶² Ibid., p. 16.

⁶³ There are many anthropological studies on this subject. For a brief overview, see *Language and Identities*, ed. by Carmen Llamas and Dominic Watt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

⁶⁴ I here use the term 'reappropriation', in a social context. In some cases, Catholics would use words from patois originating from Protestant areas. For instance, the word *parpaillot*, a pejorative word for Protestant, either came from the Occitan (*parpaillon*) or gascon (*parpahol*). See Paul Cazalis de Fondouce, *Les Parpaillots: recherches sur l'origine de ce sobriquet* (Montpellier: Ferdinand Poujol, 1860; repr. Nîmes: C. Lacour, 1994).

⁶⁵ See Yardeni's chapter on the role of language on national consciousness in *La Conscience nationale*, pp. 43-56.

⁶⁶ Paul Cohen, 'La Tour de Babel, le sac de Troie et la recherche des origines des langues: Philologie, histoire et illustration des langues vernaculaires en France et en Angleterre aux XVI^e – XVII^e siècles', *Etudes Epistéme*, 7 (2005), 31-53. Early modern scholars sought to reattach the French language to the classical period by tracing the country's origins to the fall of Troy, an idea which was taken in Ronsard's *La Franciade*. This argument also held political connotations as it enabled to challenge the cultural superiority of Italy (Latin) on France.

uniformity with French nationhood.⁶⁷ Biblical stories such as the fall of the tower of Babel and the dawn of civilisations were used to equate dissimilarities and differences with humanity's shortcomings and sins.⁶⁸ Cultural unity, and consequently linguistic uniformity, therefore became an intrinsical part of Louis XIII's campaign to bring peace and a new Golden Age to France. For Paul Cohen, this began with the Edict of Union in 1620, when Louis XIII annexed Béarn and 'marked a notable shift in the state's attitude towards language'.⁶⁹

The use of the local patois in *Perot le Sage* draws attention to the differences between the Rochelais and the Parisian court of Louis XIII, between the Protestants and the Catholics and, ultimately, between La Rochelle and France. When Perot relates his encounter with two merchants hailing from Paris and Orléans, both cities that respectively represent Louis XIII and his brother, Gaston of Orléans, he code-switches and uses French instead of his local patois.⁷⁰ *Perot le Sage* is

⁶⁷ See Yardeni, *La Conscience nationale*, p. 47: 'le premier critère pour savoir si quelqu'un est vraiment français c'est sa langue et non pas le fait qu'il soit sujet du roi de France.' Cf. Joachim Du Bellay, *La Défence, et illustration de la Langue Françoise. Par J.D.B.A.* (Paris: [n. pub.], 1549) [USTC No classification, BnF RES-X-1888] and the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1536) that established French (or 'Francien') as the official language of France over Latin and patois.

⁶⁸ Theodore Hiebert, 'The Tower of Babel and the Origin of the World's Cultures', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 126.1 (2007), 29-58 (p. 48). Hiebert's study offers a different reading of the myth, whereby the story is singularly about the origin of cultures rather than a punishment from God.

⁶⁹ Paul Cohen, 'Linguistic Politics on the Periphery: Louis XIII, Béarn, and the Making of French as an Official Language in Early Modern France', in *When Languages Collide: Perspectives on Language Conflict, Language Competition, and Language Coexistence*, ed. by Brian D. Joseph and others (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2003), pp. 165-200 (p. 179). This does not suggest, however, that Louis XIII imposed French language on the country: part of the Edict stipulated that Béarn was still allowed to maintain its local language. Gérard Defaut, 'Présentation', in *Lyon et l'illustration de la langue française à la Renaissance*, ed. by Gérard Defaut (Lyon: ENS Edition, 2003), pp. 13-35 (p. 17)

⁷⁰ *L'Adieu de Perot le Sage*, pp. 14-15.

consequently a fictional social actor whose identity represents La Rochelle but whose language underscores the differences between his city and Louis XIII's France.

Another fictional social actor, the Gascon, is used in a similar way in anti-Huguenot texts to subvert parts of the Protestant identity. Gascony, the southwestern province of France in which Béarn is located, was previously represented by the King of Navarre and Protestant leader, Henri IV, and his mother Jeanne d'Albret. The Gascon was used in early modern literature as a 'figure héroïsée du monarque béarnais', Henri IV.⁷¹ Yet, after his conversion to Catholicism, as Jean-Pierre Cavaillé points out, the term 'Bon gascon' was probably used interchangeably with 'bon françois'.⁷² In pamphlets that used this fictional social actor, such as *Le Bon gascon resuscité parlant à un vieux partisan bien informé* (1625), Gascony is purposefully isolated from its Protestant and regional identity as the Gascon becomes the model Frenchman.⁷³ *La Prière du Gascon ou Lou Diable soit des Houguenaux*, for instance, is a virulent attack against Protestant cities, in the form of a song.⁷⁴ Unlike Perot, the Gascon here sings against the Protestants in French rather than in the Gascon language spoken in Béarn.

In short, fictional social actors who were themselves defined by their regional ethnicity further isolated the Protestant communities from France and created a divide

⁷¹ Jean-Pierre Cavaillé, 'L'Extravagence gasconne dans *Le Gascon extravagant*: un déguisement "pour parler librement de tout"', *Les Dossiers du Grihl* (2001) <<http://dossiersgrihl.revues.org/260>> [accessed 26 May 2016], paragraph 6. Cf. Gilles Guilhem Couffignal, 'Gascon, gasconisme et gasconnade', *Littératures classiques*, 87 (2015), 287-99.

⁷² Cavaillé, 'L'Extravagence gasconne', paragraph 6.

⁷³ [Anon.], *Le Bon Gascon réssuscité parlant à un vieux partisan bien informé* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1625) [USTC 6018931].

⁷⁴ This song was originally discovered as part of the manuscript collection entitled *Chansonnier dit de Maurepas* (Bnf, MS Français 12616-12659), but I have here accessed the text through J. Desnoyers, 'Documents historiques originaux', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, 1.2 (1834), 167-69.

within their own collective identity. The cultural identity of the Rochelais — and other Protestants — was thus reappropriated to promote the unity advocated by Louis XIII. La Rochelle, as an urban space, however, was perceived as the leader of Huguenots and France's greatest threat ('plus grands ennemis').⁷⁵ In *La Prière du Gascon*, for example, the Gascon curses all Protestant spaces but ends with a longer stanza that is aimed at La Rochelle:

Que la Rochelle,
Ceste rebelle,
Sente votre ire vengeresse,
Ainsi que doit une traîtresse.⁷⁶

The conflict between this city and Louis XIII is similarly emphasized in Perot's final song that dubs La Rochelle as 'la gran moitresse | Dos Huguenau'.⁷⁷ This suggests that La Rochelle has become the symbolic leader of the Protestant communities instead of Louis XIII or God.

1.3.2 La Rochelle's Exclusion from Collective Groups

Polemical writings did not only redefine La Rochelle's identification by isolating her from the rest of France but also from her allies. In 1622, two public declarations allegedly written by James I, condemned La Rochelle and the Huguenots for their insubordination.⁷⁸ *La Déclaration du roy d'Angleterre contre les rebelles du Royaume*

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 168.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 169.

⁷⁷ *L'Adieu de Perot le Sage*, p. 22.

⁷⁸ [Anon.], *Advis de la part du roy d'Angleterre. Aux habitans de la Rochelle. Sur les affaires de ce temps* (Paris: [n. pub.], 1620) [USTC 6806809] and [Anon.], *La Déclaration du roy d'Angleterre. Contre les rebelles du Royaume de France. Avec l'Arrest de la Cour de Parlement de Londres, sur ladite déclaration* (Lyon: Claude Armand, 1622) [USTC 6903166].

de France, for instance, clearly separates the religious war from the current conflicts and concludes that England will not come to their aid.⁷⁹ Although I have been unable to corroborate the authenticity of the declaration, either way, royalist printers used James I's voice in an attempt to convince the *places de sûreté* to open their doors to the French monarch.

The rift between England and La Rochelle was often depicted in other polemical texts, such as *Le De Profundis, Adressé au Roy d'Angleterre, par les Rebelles de La Rochelle* (1622) that recounts England's reluctance to help the Huguenot bastion and uses penitential verses to articulate the city's guilt over her actions against Louis XIII.⁸⁰ It follows a satirical trend that had begun with the rise of the League and which incorporated Catholic liturgical passages between the stanzas.⁸¹ Yet, these texts not only presented La Rochelle as a city defeated and without allies, but also as a space that had been overtaken by Catholic discourse and thus forsaken her Protestant identity.

This deliberate effort to separate La Rochelle from England is most visible in a comparative study of the pamphlet *Le Confiteor aux Huguenots* (1622) that was republished, or even rewritten, under the title *Le Confiteor aux Rochelois* (1622).⁸² Both *confiteor* use a combination of the Tridentine and Dominican rites to complement

⁷⁹ *La Déclaration du roy d'Angleterre*, pp. 4-5: ‘prenans pour tout pretexte le tiltre de Religion, [les rebelles] disent maintenir contre les persécuteurs d'icelle (ce qui est du tout contraire à la vérité) leurs déportemens’.

⁸⁰ [Anon.], *Le De Profundis, adressé au roy d'Angleterre, par les rebelles de La Rochelle* (Fontenay-le-Comte: Pierre Petit-Jean, 1622) [USTC 6808627].

⁸¹ Delayant, *Bibliographie rochelaise*, p.177.

⁸² [Anon.], *Le Confiteor aux Huguenots rebelles de ce temps* (Paris: Jean Oudot, 1622) [USTC 6013997] and [Anon.], *Le Confiteor aux Rochelois* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [1622]) [USTC No classification, BnF YE-18944] Roméo Arbour suggests that *Le Confiteor aux Rochelois* was the original pamphlet which later inspired *Le Confiteor aux Huguenots rebelles* and [Anon.], *Le Confiteor des parpaillots rebelles, avec le De profundis addressé au Roy d'Angleterre par la ville de La Rochelle* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6031796]. See Arbour, *L'Ère Baroque en France*, II, p. 349.

the French text with Latin verses. The format alone reveals their opposition to Protestantism and adherence to a Catholic France.⁸³

There are few grammatical variations between both pieces and each establishes the Rochelais as the voice of the Huguenots. There is, nonetheless, one striking discrepancy that demonstrates how La Rochelle's identification, compared to other Huguenot cities, was explicitly targeted.⁸⁴ *Le Confiteor aux Huguenots* (and *Le Confiteor des parpaillaux rebelles*) perceives Geneva as the main supporter of the Protestant *Cause*. The one specifically addressed to La Rochelle, however, considers it to be England.

Apostats sans nom et sans lieu,
Angleterre est vostre refuge
[...]
Vous avez tort si vous posez
Sur l'estranger quelqu'esperance:
L'Anglois vous dira d'asseurance,
Frères, j'ay de la peine assez
*pro me*⁸⁵

Apostats sans nom et sans lieu,
À Genève est vostre refuge
[...]
Vous avez tort si vous posez
Sur l'estranger quelque esperance
Genève vous dict d'asseurance
Frères j'ay de la peine assez
Pro me.⁸⁶

By substituting England for Geneva, the pamphlet accentuates La Rochelle's controversial alliance with a country that shares a turbulent history with France. but it also shows England breaking her ties with the city. La Rochelle's separation from broader collective groups is further emphasized by the modification from the inclusive first person plural 'we' (*estions*) to the second person plural 'you' (*estiez*), suggesting

⁸³ Inès Kirschleger, “‘La Fièvre des Huguenots de France’, psaumes et pamphlets sous Louis XIII”, Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme français, 158 (2012), 433-45 (p. 433).

⁸⁴ *Le Confiteor aux Huguenots rebelles*, pp. 8-9: ‘En fin le Monarque François | De ses Canons comme d'un foudre | Réduira vos Villes en poudre | Et fera dire aux Rochelois | Mea Culpa’. See also *Le Confiteor aux Rochelois* p. 8.

⁸⁵ *Le Confiteor aux Rochelois*, p. 11.

⁸⁶ *Le Confiteor aux Huguenots rebelles*, pp. 11-12.

that the Huguenot bastion, more so than the broader Protestant community, is no longer part of France.⁸⁷

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These pamphlets repeatedly show that polemists highlighted symbols of divisiveness to juxtapose La Rochelle's (and other Protestant strongholds') identification with the unity promoted by Louis XIII. The social and religious divide within the city as well as the physical divide embodied by the fortress that surrounded La Rochelle isolated her from the rest of France.

The political meaning of the fortress is covered in Mißfelder's study as he examines how the representations of La Rochelle and the monarchy were intertwined. Yet, even if the texts are purely political and stray away from religious arguments, the focus on the urban space and its portrayal bore religious connotations that would not have gone unnoticed by the early modern reader. The symbolic connection between monarchical power and fortifications is, however, derivative and, as we have seen, was not limited to La Rochelle's identification.⁸⁸ This begs the question as to whether each Protestant city was equally represented in print or if pamphlets targeted La

⁸⁷ *Le Confiteor aux Huguenots*, p. 6 and *Le Confiteor aux Rochelois*, p. 6.

⁸⁸ This is perceived in the reprint of an earlier work by the protestant engineer, Jean Errard's by his nephew, Alexis Errard, in 1620. The dedication to the King (Henri IV) clearly indicates relationship between power of Monarchy and defeat of fortifications Jean Errard, *La Fortification demontrée et réduicte en art par feu J[ean] Errard de Bar le Duc, reveue, corrigée et augmentée par A. Errard, son nepveu suivant les mémoires de l'autheur, contre les grandes erreurs de l'impression contrefaicté en Allemaigne* (Paris: [n. pub.], 1620) [USTC 6024220], fol. X4^v: ‘Ceste matiere est, de la maniere d'assieger, fortifier, assaillir, defendre les places: matiere dont il ne peut trouver sur la terre habitable, ny Juge plus competent, ny Practicien plus expert, ny Prince plus digne; j'espere, plus prompt à recevoir en sa protection les escrits qui en traittent, que vous, Sire, qui seul pouvez plus dextrement mettre en execution les reigles de cet Art.’

Rochelle because of the city's political symbolism, as scholars such as Mißfelder seem to suggest.

2 Montauban and La Rochelle: A Contemporary Sodom and Gomorrah

2.1 Montauban: The Other Rochelle

La Rochelle did not single-handedly bear the brunt of the campaign directed against the Huguenot rebellion. Montauban, another *place de sûreté* famed for its fortress, was attacked in comparable pamphlets.⁸⁹ When the 1621 blockade of La Rochelle was underway, Montauban was successfully resisting its three-month siege by the royal troops and inscribed its name in history with the infamous *quatre cents coups*.⁹⁰ Montauban and La Rochelle were, unsurprisingly, often mentioned together in the publications issued that year. As the aim of this thesis is to explore the development of La Rochelle's identification, and because collective identities are built around similarities, this pervading comparison between both Protestant cities offers us a unique case study.⁹¹

The similarities did not limit themselves to religious beliefs since both bastions shared a comparable history. In the fourteenth century, Montauban was also captured by the English, who were in turn expelled by the inhabitants a few years

⁸⁹ For more information on Montauban during the French Wars of Religion see Philip Conner, *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban and Southern French Calvinism During the Wars of Religion*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Brookfield: Ashgate, 2002).

⁹⁰ For a brief introduction, see Paul Duchein and Janine Garrisson, *Louis XIII et les 400 coups* (Toulouse: Editions Privat, 2002).

⁹¹ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 7.

later.⁹² Similarly, in the early modern period, Montauban's printing activity and support for the Protestant *Cause* was significant, though it was not as prolific as in La Rochelle.⁹³ This section will therefore examine how the concurrent events in Montauban and La Rochelle were compared by polemists and how the joint portrayal of both cities ultimately influenced how La Rochelle was represented in print.

Rhetorical devices previously exploited by the Catholic League in the 1580s to describe the general condition of France, were this time applied to a collective group that inhabited a specific urban space. Calvinism was portrayed as a disease engendered by sin in Catholic pamphlets that targeted Montauban and La Rochelle, such as *La Fièvre des Huguenots de France* (1622) or *Le Psautier des rebelles de ce temps* (1622).⁹⁴ It was no longer France but the inhabitant of these *cités rebelles* that had become the 'pestes infames du Royaume.'⁹⁵ Consequently, Protestant urban spaces were fashioned as the early modern equivalents of the Old Testament cities of sin: Sodom and Gomorrah.

The authors of these cheap prints display an understanding of Protestant literature and discourse. The author of *La Fièvre des Huguenots* uses, for instance, pamphlets written and published by the Huguenots to reinforce his arguments.⁹⁶ Likewise, the author of *Le Psautier des rebelles* shows a strong knowledge of

⁹² See Jean-Ursule Devals, *Montauban pendant les Guerres des Anglais au quatorzième siècle* (Montauban: Forestié, 1842).

⁹³ Denis Haultin, who also sometimes published under the name of Dionysius Haultinus, was a printer at Montauban and quite likely a close relation to our own Pierre Haultin.

⁹⁴ [Anon.], *La Fièvre des Huguenots de France* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6024037] and [Anon.], *Le Psautier des rebelles de ce temps* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6020485]. In *La Fièvre des Huguenots de France*, Calvinism fits Terence Cave's analysis of sin in meditations. See Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France*, p. 99: 'the body is burnt with fever and covered with sores, the skin clings to the bones, the mouth is dry and full of ulcers.'

⁹⁵ *Le Psautier des rebelles de ce temps*, p. 4.

⁹⁶ *La Fièvre des Huguenots de France*, p. 9.

Calvinist texts which, according to Kirschleger, suggests the author was a former Huguenot.⁹⁷ The common factor in most of these pamphlets was the subversion of Calvinist theology to condemn the urban spaces that were considered to be the centre of the conflict, namely La Rochelle and Montauban. Catholic and royalist polemists reappropriated their symbols in satirical pieces to criticize the Protestant cities, especially those famed for their printing activity.⁹⁸

Furthermore, as mentioned in the previous section, pamphlets often narrated the victories of Louis XIII and Protestant defeats but did not necessarily present an accurate picture. For example, both octavos, *La Réduction de la ville de Montauban* (1622) and *La Réduction de la ville de la Rochelle* (1622), share a similar title and recount the subjugation of each city following Louis XIII's military victory, an event that is by and large fictional as, even though the signed peace on 18 October 1622 was to Louis XIII's advantage, on both occasions, the conflict ended in deadlock.⁹⁹

La Réduction de la ville de Montauban reports historical facts to demonstrate how rebellion is integral to the inhabitants' identity.¹⁰⁰ What merits attention, however, is the link established between both *places de sûreté*, which claims that the defeat of one city would inevitably instigate the capitulation of the other: '[I]l est à croire que les Rochelois se mettront bien tôt en leur devoir, et qu'ils reconnoistront

⁹⁷ Kirschleger, ““La Fièvre des Huguenots de France””, p. 441: ‘Une connaissance si parfaite ne semble pas pouvoir laisser place au doute, le texte émane d'un nouveau converti, anciennement calviniste’.

⁹⁸ Kirschleger, ““La Fièvre des Huguenots de France””, p. 444.

⁹⁹ [Anon.], *La Réduction de la ville de Montauban à l'obéissance du roy* (Lyon: Claude Armand, 1622) [USTC 6903255] and [Anon.], *La Réduction de la ville de la Rochelle à l'obéissance du Roy* (Paris: Jean Mestais, 1622) [USTC 6024121].

¹⁰⁰ *La Réduction de la ville de Montauban à l'obeyssance du roy* (Lyon: Claude Armand, 1622) [USTC 6903255], p. 5: ‘Telle resistance a tousjours vescu dans les ames de ces habitans’.

ingenuëment en public et en particulier combine griesve est l’offence qui est commise contre celui qui nous est donné de Dieu [...].’¹⁰¹

Even *La Réduction de la ville de la Rochelle* uses a comparable discourse, a pamphlet which is written in a different format and, at first glance, only seems to share a similar title with the previous publication. An intertextual study reveals, for example, that the identifications of Montauban and La Rochelle are analogous and the salient characteristic is ‘rebellion’, here personified as the worst monster of all.¹⁰² This similarity between both bastions extends to their fate as, like in the previous publication, the pamphlet links La Rochelle’s submission to Montauban’s ‘surrender’: ‘Ainsi Montauban ayant ouvert les portes, et les coeurs des habitans au service du Roy; La Rochelle, soit par honte de se veoir [sic] seule persister en son opiniastreté, soit pour éviter son prochain mallheur; En a faict le semblable.’¹⁰³ The survival of one city depends on the other. This prediction did prove to be partly correct as Montauban fell in 1629, following the defeat of La Rochelle in 1628.

2.2 Finding a Common Voice: The Protestant Lawyer

The literary war against Montauban was particularly evident in the public reactions incited by the pamphlet *Méditation d’un avocat de Montauban* (1622) that was anonymously published following the siege of Montauban.¹⁰⁴ This political piece

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 5: ‘entre tous les monstres qui soient les plus cruels il faut donner le premier lieu à la Rebellion’.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁰⁴ [Anon.], *Méditation d’un avocat de Montauban. Sur les mouvemens de ce temps* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6032911].

examines the concepts of authority and loyalty through a dichotomy between the King of France, Louis XIII, and the King of kings, God.

The (fictional?) social actor is a lawyer who represents Montauban's defence. The legal setting suggests that the city will be judged impartially and focuses on the legal justifications for the cities' rebellions, a point that was often underlined by the *Assemblée* of La Rochelle. In the early modern period, lawyers fulfilled an important role when defending privileges and assets, and many lent their quill to political causes. The lawyer was the only actor that could realistically contend royal authority as who could better defend the rights of the Protestants and the Edict of Nantes than a personification of justice?¹⁰⁵

As I shall argue in this section, while, as the title suggests, the *Méditation d'un advocat de Montauban* focuses on Montauban, the subsequent responses included many comparisons with La Rochelle, so much so that they influenced the identification of La Rochelle by proxy.

Jean Auvray's (1580?-1624) *L'Enfer de l'advocat de Montauban* (1622) and the anonymous *Apologie royale, contre le libelle intitulé Méditation d'un advocat de Montauban* (1622) were written using the same French sonnet rhyme scheme as in the *Méditation d'un advocate de Montauban* (ABABCCDEDE) to compete against, and even surpass, the author of the original piece.¹⁰⁶ In a third pamphlet entitled *Apologie pour le Roy: Et Response Aux Calomnies et Méditations Injurieuses de l'Advocat de*

¹⁰⁵ Tatiana Debbagi Baranova, ‘Poésie officielle, poésie partisane pendant les guerres de Religion’, *Terrain*, 41 (September 2003) <<http://terrain.revues.org/1610>> [accessed 20 March 2016], paragraph 6 and Neil Kenny, *An Introduction to 16th-Century French Literature and Thought: Other Times, Other Places*, ed. by Nicholas Hammond (London: A&C Black, 2014), p. 163.

¹⁰⁶ Jean Auvray, *L'Enfer de l'advocat de Montauban. À tous les parlements de France* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6032857] and [Anon.], *Apologie royale, contre le libelle intitulé, Méditation d'un advocat de Montauban* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6031761].

Montauban (1622), the anonymous author even offers a prose analysis that deconstructs the arguments presented in the original publication. The nature of the text is put to the test: it is not only the religious implication of the title ('*Méditation*') that is questioned but also the lawyer's literary prowess.¹⁰⁷

A meso- and micro-level examination of the responses demonstrates how, instead of the city Montauban, it is the social actor in the first pamphlet was specifically targeted polemists.¹⁰⁸ In *L'Enfer de l'avocat de Montauban*, Auvray even disputes the lawyer's cultural and religious identity by calling him a 'dénaturé François' and an 'Advocat endiablé'.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, the anonymous author of *Apologie Pour le Roy* uses similar terminology, such as 'des-naturez', to specifically refer to the lawyer of Montauban, and not the Huguenots.¹¹⁰ It is therefore not the inhabitants of Montauban that are deemed 'unFrench' but rather the actions of the social actor that represents them.

Yet, in each response to *Méditation d'un avocat de Montauban*, not only is La Rochelle is portrayed as a social actor in her own right, but she represents other Protestant communities, including Montauban.¹¹¹ Both *L'Enfer de l'avocat de Montauban* and *Apologie royale* use La Rochelle as a comparator on which they verify the identification of Montauban and of Protestants inhabiting other *places de sûreté*. The justifications and the actions of the *Assemblée* of La Rochelle encouraged

¹⁰⁷ [Anon.] *Apologie pour le Roy, et responce aux calomnies et meditations injurieuses de l'avocat de Montauban* (Paris: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6024736], p. 11.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 17: 'Empoignez ce meschant de vos rouges tenailles, | Arrachez luy les yeux, devorez ses entrailles, | Tronçonnez luy la langue en cent morceaux espars, | Faites luy ruisseler le sang de toutes parts'.

¹⁰⁹ Auvray, *L'Enfer de l'avocat de Montauban*, pp. 7 and 17.

¹¹⁰ *Apologie royale*, p. 4. Ibid., p. 29-30: 'aussi ne m'adressay-je pas au général des huguenots, bien que le Contr'-esta dressé l'an passé à la Rochelle est bien assez suffisant pour esguiser ma plume contre leur perfidie.'

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 19.

polemists to regard the city as a social actor that was partly responsible for the revolts across the country and she was consequently targeted more virulently than other *places de sûreté*. For the author of *Apologie royale*, for instance, it is the similarity between Montauban's and La Rochelle's behaviour that ultimately identifies Montauban as a rebellious city: 'pourquoy cité rebelle | Feins-tu de battre pour la loy | À l'exemple de la Rochelle[?]'¹¹².

The anonymous octavo entitled *Les Méditations d'un avocat de La Rochelle* (1622) certainly supports my claim that while Montauban was targeted in polemical writings, it was primarily as a response to the actions and words of a (fictional) social actor and it was ultimately La Rochelle who was considered to be at the source of Protestant rebellion: '[L']hérésie t'a choisie pour tutrice et nourrisse de ses enseignemens'.¹¹³ In fact, in these publications, the Protestant cities are described with few distinctive features save their fortifications that, as Mißfelder states, became the symbol of rebellion.¹¹⁴ The author of *Les Méditations d'un avocat de La Rochelle* ascribes a similar meaning to La Rochelle's fortification but subverts other symbols that relate to the city's (self-)identification. For instance, her topography and the natural elements that were considered her allies and even brought the city to life, are here described as her opponents: 'De tous costez on te poursuit, le Ciel, l'Air, la Mer, la Terre, ne cherchent que ta ruyne, tous les elemens sont bandez contre toy'¹¹⁵ Therefore, unlike the other publications, this pamphlet is anchored in La Rochelle's

¹¹² Ibid., p. 7.

¹¹³ [Anon.], *Les Méditations d'un advocat de La Rochelle* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6024315]. Ibid. p. 6.

¹¹⁴ Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, p. 240: 'die Realität der *places de sûreté* als befestigter Orte zusammen mit der *assemblée* in der Sicht der monarchistischen Pamphletisten als Ausweis für Rebellion und Souveränitätsanmaßung gedeutet wird.'

¹¹⁵ *Les Méditations, d'un advocat de la Rochelle*, p. 3.

geographical space and her identification could not be compared to or fashioned on any other *place de sûreté*.

*

Although pamphlets targeted many Protestant *places de sûreté*, including Montauban, their final focus always targets La Rochelle. This attack is likewise visible in the titles of *Antienne des psalmes penitentieux. Des fidelles de La Rochelle et de Montauban, penitents* (1622) and *Antienne des psalms penitentieux. Aux rebelles de La Rochelle, et autres rebelles penitents* (1622).¹¹⁶ The recentralization of conflict on La Rochelle is evident in the publication of an anonymous map entitled *Pourtraict de la forte ville S. Jea[n] d'Angély* (1621) that circulated from Belgium after the Siege of Saint-Jean-d'Angély.¹¹⁷ The broadsheet includes a description of the blockade of Saint-Jean-d'Angély but a map of La Rochelle occupies most of the engraving as the cropped *faubourg* is nearly excluded from the engraving.¹¹⁸

The image of the ill-fated city was favoured in literature, as it instilled fear and hate.¹¹⁹ La Rochelle was therefore still portrayed as the seat of rebellion and sin, fated for destruction as suggested the numerous use of the term ‘fortune’ in *Les*

¹¹⁶ [Anon.], *Antienne des psalmes pénitentiaux. Des fidelles de La Rochelle et de Montauban penitents. Ensemble la Responce de Sa Majesté, à ces bons reformez* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC 6033386] and [Anon.], *Antienne des psalmes penitentiaux. Aux rebelles de La Rochelle, et autres rebelles penitents. Ensemble la response de sa Majesté, à ces bons reformez* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1622) [USTC No classification, U. M. Lib. DC111.3 .F74 no. 4717].

¹¹⁷ *Pourtraict de la forte ville S. Jea[n] d'Angély, assiegée par le Camp du Roy de Fra[n]ce, le 1. de Juin 1621* (Antwerp: Abraham Verhoeven, 1621) [USTC No classification, BnF RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (22)].

¹¹⁸ The *estampe* contains a description of the events surrounding the siege of Saint-Jean but the geographical focus is clearly set on La Rochelle.

¹¹⁹ Lestringant, ‘Canards contre La Rochelle’, p. 87.

Méditations d'un advocat de la Rochelle. In titles, such as *Les Regrets et soupirs des Huguenot de Sainct Jean d'Angely. Avec leurs plaints contre l'Assemblée de La Rochelle, qui a cause la ruine de leur ville* (1621), the actions of the Assemblée of La Rochelle are seen as a metaphorical plague devastating the country.¹²⁰



Figure 21 - *Pourtraict de la forte ville S. Jea[n] d'Angély* (1621)

*

* *

The texts from my corpus could therefore be characterised by a recycling of pamphlets and titles, which suggests an urgent need for quantitative production of low-quality prints. Yet in this rejuvenation of pamphlets, the Protestant urban space was evidently redefined. The *Assemblée* and subsequent rebellions, as Mißfelder concludes, became

¹²⁰ Reynaud de Saint-Émilion, *Les Regrets et soupirs des huguenots de Saint-Jean-d'Angély. Avec leurs plaintes contre l'assemblée de La Rochelle, qui a causé la ruine de leur ville. Par M. Reynaud de Saint-Émilion* (Saintes: Bichon, [n.d.]) [USTC No classification, Desgraves, RC, I, p. 334].

strongly associated with the *places de sûreté* and the physical walls that protected the inhabitants. The fortresses of Montauban and La Rochelle were — because of their physical space — rebellious.¹²¹

I would push the argument further and suggest that the conflict was deeply rooted in the fashioning of a new French national identity that excluded Protestant collective groups as the ‘Other’. If the *Assemblée* can be defined as an agent (or actor) that acted in defense of its Protestant identity (its salient identity) then, according to Burke and Stets, their behaviour as a Protestant collective was hindered by Louis XIII’s policies, which in turn made the Rochelais ‘resort to illegitimate (criminal) means’ to defend their identity.¹²² As we have explored, the meaning and interpretation of behaviour is fundamental to identity theory. The *Assemblée*’s actions were thus a catalyst that reopened disputes around the meanings of key symbols, such as *rebellion* and *bon François*.

It was not only the *Assemblée* that was targeted since it was both La Rochelle’s politics and her (self-)identification that challenged Louis XIII and Richelieu’s desire for national unity.¹²³ La Rochelle not only hosted the *Assemblée* but also represented diversity in its language, culture and history became the prime target for those adhering to Louis XIII’s vision. In symbolic terms, La Rochelle’s identification in polemical pamphlets was not just fashioned according to political and urban topography but also according to the conflict of cultures, femininity, disorder and

¹²¹ Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*

¹²² Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 6,

¹²³ Vray, *La Rochelle et les Protestants*, p. 125: ‘La politique du Cardinal de Richelieu est fondée sur le seul intérêt national, sans tenir compte d'une quelconque idée chrétienne ou européenne, son seul but étant de parvenir à un royaume uni autour d'une monarchie absolue.’

chaos, characteristics that directly opposed the image of the monarchy promoted by Louis XIII.

The analysis of La Rochelle's identification during the period of 1620-1623 certainly demonstrate that the conflicts were not only 'lost and won by the ability of Catholics and Huguenots to create and to block competing narratives and representations of each other' but also, I would content, by the fashioning of regional identifications and their belonging to or exclusion from a broader French national identity.¹²⁴ As Burke and Stets argue, those 'who control more resources' are 'better able' to control symbolic meanings and, consequently, 'better able' to verify their identity standard.¹²⁵ The decline of Protestant and militant publications (or 'resources') in La Rochelle and other Protestant strongholds, signified that the royalists' control over the French identity standard was greater. As we shall now see, this control naturally extended to greater control over La Rochelle's own identification.

¹²⁴ Racaut, *Hatred in Print*, p. 5.

¹²⁵ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 111.

Chapter Seven: The Second Siege: Reappropriating the Urban Identity (1625-1635)

New identity was deemed possible only on the rubble of former identities, the significant symbols of former citizens; destruction of the old means building the new.

– Mariusz Czepcynski and Michal Czepcynski, *Heritage resurrection: German heritage in the Southern Baltic cities*, 2015

The blockade of 1622 and the ensuing Treaty of Montpellier (18 October 1622) signed between Louis XIII and the Duke of Rohan only further exacerbated the relation between the Crown and La Rochelle.¹ In 1625, the Duke of Rohan's seizure of the nearby island of Oléron renewed the conflict. The Duke of Soubise and the English fleet (under the command of George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628)) joined forces with the Rochelais but were soon defeated near the island of Ré.²

The subsequent treaty Treaty of Paris (also dubbed ‘Paix de La Rochelle’), signed in 1626, did not remain in force for long.³ In 1627, La Rochelle welcomed the Duke of Soubise and the English fleet back into her harbour. This was, as Jouhaud remarks, a ‘political mistake’, since the fleet’s continued (and failed) attacks on the island of Ré only fuelled Richelieu’s ire towards La Rochelle.⁴ On 10 September 1627,

¹ Catholic Europe, especially the Vatican, felt the growing tension and cautioned Louis XIII to take action against the Huguenots. Jack A. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior: The Life and Times of Henri de Rohan, 1579-1638* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1966). See Vaux de Foletier, *Le Siège de La Rochelle*, p. 203.

² See Nicholas A. M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: a Naval History of Britain, 600-1679*, (London: Harper Collins, 1997), p. 356.

³ Amongst several articles, the treaty insisted that Catholic worship was to be reinstated in La Rochelle. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, p. 185.

⁴ Christian Jouhaud, ‘The Context of the Siege of La Rochelle’, in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly and Margaret Shewring, 2 vols (Surrey: Ashgate, 2004), II, pp. 120-27 (p. 123).

La Rochelle and Fort Louis, a royal fortress built just outside the city, exchanged cannon fire, marking the start of the Second Siege.⁵

Nicole Vray estimates that no less than two thirds of the inhabitants lost their lives during this siege.⁶ Unlike the First Siege of 1572-1573, which was clearly motivated by confessional differences, the Second Siege was presented as a political battle and scholars have argued that news of Louis XIII's victory over La Rochelle marked a turning point in the French monarchy's move towards absolutism.⁷

The production of printed media may provide a clearer picture of the public opinion at the time. Most historical accounts published during the siege did not necessarily vilify La Rochelle but rather focused on the succour provided by the English fleet and, more often still, on Louis XIII's victories. I have found fifty-one publications (including reprints) that were published in France between 1627 and 1628 and that offered a historical account of the events during the siege. A vast majority circulated from Paris.

From a macro-level analysis of the corpus, I would argue that public interest partly lay in the articles of reconciliation between Louis XIII and La Rochelle as these were continually reprinted throughout the country up until 1643.⁸ The articles were also included as appendices in several historical pamphlets that offered an account of

⁵ Pierre Mervault, *Le Journal des choses les plus Mémorables qui se sont passées au dernier Siège de La Rochelle. Par Pierre Mervault, Rochelois* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1644), p. 71.

⁶ Vray, *La Rochelle et les Protestants*, p. 10.

⁷ See, for instance, Crété, 'Le Grand siège de La Rochelle', p. 613; Etienne Trocmé, 'Actualité du siège de La Rochelle (1627-1628)', p. 119. Cf. Alan James, *The Origins of French Absolutism 1598-1661* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), pp. 26-29 and Alexandra D. Lublinskaya, *French Absolutism: The Crucial Phase 1620-1629*, trans. by Brian Pearce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

⁸ Louis XIII's articles of peace, for example, were published a total of nineteen times in 1628 alone (See the Corpus, pp. 244-.47).

Second Siege and were even clarified in the octavo *Explication des Articles XXII. et XXIII. de la Déclaration du Roi sur la Réduction de la Rochelle* (1628).⁹

It was especially under Richelieu's growing influence over the printing press and his desire to promote Louis XIII's reign that polemists refashioned La Rochelle's identification.¹⁰ First, the Second Siege inspired a host of occasional publications, and writers across the country profited from the events to 'make their literary career' by celebrating Louis XIII's victory through a symbolic representation of his relationship with La Rochelle.¹¹ Second, the refinement and more consistent use of pictorial engravings and the increased control exercised by Richelieu over the press allowed for a redefinition of symbols associated with the city's identity.

The aim of this chapter is therefore to examine, in symbolic terms, the representation of La Rochelle's identification and relation with the monarchy between 1625 and 1630. We shall see that each trait traditionally advocated in La Rochelle's (self-)identification was reappropriated throughout this period and gained a secondary meaning in order to redefine the rebellious city and promote the reign of Louis XIII. The chapter is thus divided into three sections, each of which revisits the symbols at the core of La Rochelle's identity standard, that is her faith, her topography and her femininity.

⁹ [Anon.], *Explication des Articles XXII. Et XXIII. De la Déclaration du Roi sur la Réduction de la Rochelle à son obéissance, etc.* (Paris: Bornier, 1628) [USTC No classification, Le Long, III, n°21514].

¹⁰ See Władysław Józef Stankiewicz, 'The Huguenot Downfall: The Influence of Richelieu's Policy and Doctrine', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 99.3 (1955), 146-68. For a more general autobiography, see Joseph Bergin, *The Rise of Richelieu* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

¹¹ Jouhaud, 'The Context of the Siege of La Rochelle', p. 125.

1 A Heretical Rebellion against a Catholic King

1.1 The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

Labelled as the seat of rebellion, La Rochelle embodied characteristics juxtaposed with the French national identity, and even with Louis XIII's identification. Of course, the most significant comparative trait was religion. We have seen in previous chapters that Catholic polemists considered heresy, which, to them, included Protestantism, indistinguishable from rebellion. As a Huguenot bastion, La Rochelle was a symbol of rebellion not only because of her politics but simply because of her faith. Her external identification therefore challenged Louis XIII's rule on both political and symbolic premises, which meant that La Rochelle had to be conquered both physically and symbolically.

As we have seen, in print, the need to defeat La Rochelle was evident in the rise of symbolic analogies with fallen cities, either historical or biblical. Similar to other Protestant fortresses, she was increasingly compared to legendary cities fallen from glory, mainly Troy and Carthage, which, it is worth noting, were also associated with femininity through the tragic female characters of Helen and Dido. These correlations naturally focused on the notion of fated destruction but, at the same time, enabled authors to promote national glory by drawing comparisons between Rome's Golden Age and the might of France under Louis XIII.¹²

¹² There was an early modern fascination with Rome's Golden Age. Cf. Hassan Melehy, *The Poetics of Literary Transfer in Early-Modern France and England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010; repr. Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 19-20. This encouraged French writers to redefine the origins of France back to the fall of Troy. See Paul Cohen, 'La Tour de Babel', (2005).

This trend was accompanied by the introduction of prophecies and prophetic figures as contemporary writers began publishing their own predictions of the fall of the Huguenot fortress, especially after the end of the Second Siege. The prophecies, were, nonetheless; predominantly biblical in nature and the figures that had once been so prevalent in Protestant literature, such as David and Jeremiah, reappeared but, this time, to condemn La Rochelle and the Reformation.

The aim of this section is to examine how prophecies interacted with La Rochelle's external identification. Prophecies, above all, seek to find meaning in a text, in images or in dreams: they interpret symbols. This would certainly explain their popularity during a conflict that sought to undermine La Rochelle's symbolic status which, as we shall now see, was mostly connected to her faith.

1.1.1 The Fashioning of France's Antithesis in Early Modern Prophecies

Early modern prophecies gained popularity during the Second Siege with the publication of octavos, such as Jean-Cécile Frey's (c. 1580-1631) *Rebellis Rupellae ruina* (1628) or Pierre Bonin's *La Vérité des mytères de l'octonaire ou des conjectures* (1628).¹³ Even Nostradamus's (1503-1566) *Centuries*, republished in Lyon in 1627, were said to reveal the fall of La Rochelle.¹⁴ I have identified only one author, whom

¹³ Jean-Cécile Frey, *Rebellis Rupellae ruina, oraculum Jani Caecilii Frey, ex caninis literis* (Paris: Denis Langlois, 1608 [1628]) [USTC 6023770] and Pierre Bonin, *La Vérité des mystères de l'octonaire, ou des Conjectures tirées du nombre huict [...] faisant foy qu'en cette année de bon augure 1628, La Rochelle seroit domptée, [...] selon qu'il a esté prédict depuis huict mois en ça, savoir est dès le 15e jour de mars dernier en ceste mesme annee [...] par M. Pierre Bonin* (Paris: [n. pub], 1628) [USTC 6021697].

¹⁴ Michel Nostradamus, *Les Propheties de M^e Michel Nostradamus. Dont il y en a trois cens qui n'ont encores jamais esté imprimées. Adjoutées de nouveau par ledit Autheur* (Lyon: Jean Didier, 1627) [USTC 6903856]. The verses concerning La

critics have, so far, accepted as a female writer: Claude Scotte (fl. 1617-1629). Between 1628 and 1629, she published two pamphlets predicting the fall of La Rochelle, under the name *La Martingale*.¹⁵ However, as the name Claude could likewise refer to a man, it may be that the author was in fact the King's falconer, Claude Scotte (also named Claude de La Fosse).¹⁶ This, in turn, would imply that *La Martingale* is a fictional prophetess.

These prophecies are short (eight pages on average), printed on cheap paper and were published to curry favour with the French court. The first prophecy, entitled *Le Songe admirable de Martingale* (1628), was published before the end of the siege and describes Scotte's (or *La Martinguale*'s) craft and financial situation, more so than her vision of La Rochelle's defeat.¹⁷ It is in *La Prophétie de la Martingale* (1628 and 1629), printed twice after La Rochelle's defeat, that Scotte gives the Rochelais more discernable traits.¹⁸ She names them *Rebelles* and *Parpaillots*, a pejorative term used against Protestants.¹⁹ Used together, along with the noun *Rochelais*, these epithets unite Protestantism, rebellion, and La Rochelle under one umbrella identity. For La Martingale, the city was thus the symbolic antithesis of Louis XIII's France that, she

Rochelle (Century 9) circulated in manuscript form before being added in the editions printed in Lyon.

¹⁵ I have been unable to find any research on Claude Scotte and only know from her publications that she came from Provence and occasionally sent prophecies to members of the court. I would argue that her nickname *Martingale* stems from the town Martigues, situated near Marseilles.

¹⁶ <<https://francearchives.fr/faccomponent/7576e2b9622eea5fa6cc2943db0a927293d7c4e7>> [accessed 27 March 2020]. I would like to thank Prof. Ingrid De Smet for sharing this information.

¹⁷ Claude Scotte, *Le Songe admirable de Martingale. Sur la réduction infaillible de la Rochelle* (Paris: Jean Martin, 1628) [USTC 6023092].

¹⁸ Claude Scotte, *Prophétie de la Martingale en cour, sur la réduction de la Rochelle* (Paris: [n. pub.], 1628) [USTC 6023697] and ead./id., *Prophétie de la Martingale en cour, sur la réduction de la Rochelle, Montauban et autres villes rebelles* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1629) [USTC 6021779].

¹⁹ *Prophétie de la Martingale en cour*, pp. 3-6. Cf. Footnote page 297.

proclaims, was united under one faith (Catholicism) and one King ('une Foy et un Roy') and whose court was at the Louvre, in Paris.²⁰

Although this juxtaposition between La Rochelle and Paris has been overlooked by previous research, on a macro-level, we can observe from my corpus that between 1627 and 1629, the vast majority of the literature published about La Rochelle originated in Paris (over 60%, then Lyon 9%, Niort 7% and Poitier and Rouen 5% respectively). Among the Parisian printers, Jean Barbote (1597-c. 1645) printed at least nine publications on La Rochelle in the space of a year (1627-1628), most of which were historical accounts.

On a meso- and micro-level, Paris and La Rochelle were presented as each other's counterpart: writers and artists alike argued over the symbolic attributes of the cities' self-identification, as we can see from Pierre Rocolet's (c. 1590s–1662) *Éloges et discours sur le triomphante reception du roy* (1629), an illustrated folio of 191 pages describing Louis XIII's royal entry into Paris after his victory over La Rochelle. The title page bears a stamp (Figure 22) that depicts a laurel wreath enclosing Rocolet's initials and surrounding Paris's coat of arms. Yet, the similarities between Paris and La Rochelle's coat of arms (a ship resembling a galleon with three *fleurs-de-lys* in the chief) was a source of contention. The 1626 *Mercure françois*, for example, states that La Rochelle changed her blazon to emulate Paris: 'voulans comme par ces armes imiter et contrecarrer Paris, la capitale du Royaume, comme on dit que Capouë et Cartage estoient emulatrices de la grandeur de Rome.'²¹

²⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

²¹ *Mercure françois*, XI (Paris: Jean Estienne Richer, 1626), p. 313.



Figure 22 - Paris's coats of arms on the title page of *Eloges et discours sur le triomphante reception du roy* (1629)



Figure 23 - Paris's coats of arms on the title page of Montaigne's *Essais* (1635)

However, I would argue that the Printer's vignette on *Éloges et discours sur le triomphante reception du roy* purposefully imitates that of La Rochelle's coat of arms, especially when compared to a later one employed by Rocolet for the title page of Montaigne's *Essais* (1635).²² The vignette (Figure 23) follows the more traditional

²² Representations of the ship on the crest would vary quite a lot throughout the years, often evolving alongside historical events. See Marc Declerck, *Les Armoiries de Paris* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007), pp. 29-30.

form of the French capital's coat of arms since the boat is no longer a galleon but a carrack and the chief has more than three visible *fleurs-de-lys*. Rocolet's choice to emulate La Rochelle's coat of arms certainly fits with the postliminary poems in *Éloges et discours sur la triomphante réception du roy*. 'Sur le navire de Paris' and the marginalia of the poem 'La Rochelle aux pieds du Roy' that both describe La Rochelle's coat of arms.²³

The similarities between the two cities' coats of arms influenced the interpretation of prophecies. In the allegorical romance, *Suite des Amours du brave Cavallier le Fort Louys* (1626), Bon Espoir, an envoy sent to arrange the marriage contract between the Fort Louis and Dame Rochelle on behalf of the King, states that, according to a prophecy, it must be a city bearing a ship on its coat of arms, that will submit to Fort Louis and become his bride. A Rochelais, Philopolite ('lover of the city'), then suggests that the city mentioned in the prophecy is not La Rochelle as her coat of arms displays a horse.

Philopolite's description of La Rochelle's coat of arms is in fact the city's seal dating from 1308 which depicts the city's mayor riding a horse and bearing a ragged staff, representing municipal authority.²⁴ His interpretation of the prophecy thus considers La Rochelle's municipal and religious independence (depicted on the city's seal) more salient than the symbols borne on her coat of arms, including the *fleurs-de-lis*, which was considered to be an emblem for the monarchy but also for

²³ [Anon.], *Éloges et discours sur la triomphante réception du Roy en sa ville de Paris après la Reduction de la Rochelle; Accompagnez des figures tan des Arcs de Triomphe, que des autres preparatifs* (Paris: Pierre Rocolet, 1629) [USTC 6019333 and 6021511], p. 180 and p. 5^{bis}: 'La Rochelle a d'azur à la Nef d'arge[n]t, aux voiles de mesme, surmo[n]tée de trois fleurs de Lis d'or den chef.'

²⁴ [Anon.], *Suite des Amours du brave Cavallier le Fort Louys, et de la Belle Dame Rochelle* (Niort: [n. pub.], 1626) [USTC No classification, Méd. M.C. 2232 C], pp. 214-16. Cf. Léopold Gabriel Delayant, *Histoire des Rochelais racontée à Julien Méneau par son grand-père L. Delayant*, 2 vols (La Rochelle: A. Siret, 1870), I, p. 28.

Catholicism.²⁵ Philopolite then suggests to Bon Espoir that Fort Louis should instead consider marrying Paris: ‘Que ne jettoit-il plustost l’oeil sur ceste grande et admirable ville de Paris’.²⁶

Similarly, in Jean de Gaufreteau’s (1572-1639) panegyric of 420 pages, *La Digue, ou le siège et prinse de la Rochelle* (1629), the author offers in both prose and verses reinterpretations of alleged oracles which, according to the Rochelais, revealed that their city would never fall.²⁷ In a section entitled ‘Les Prophéties des Rochelais’, Gaufreteau compares the rebellion of the Rochelais to Lucifer’s rebellion against God, and later, under the title ‘Explication des Prophéties, ou La Rochelle Imprenable’ reveals that the impenetrable city is not La Rochelle as suggested by the coat of arms, but rather Paris.

1.1.2 The Influence of Biblical and Mythological Prophets

I have identified sixteen publications that use prophecies to condemn La Rochelle, two of which were written by the Jesuit François Véron (1575-1649), Louis XIII’s preacher.²⁸ *L’Accomplissement de la prophétie de David* and *Description prophétique du roy David* were both published in 1629 and reveal Véron’s prophetic interpretation

²⁵ Michel Pastourou, *Heraldry: its Origins and Meaning*, trans. by Francisca Garvie (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), pp. 98-101.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 225.

²⁷ Jean de Gaufreteau, *La Digue, ou le siège et prinse de la Rochelle. Livre premier* (Bordeaux: Pierre de La Court, 1629) [USTC 6800792 and 6808622] Although the title suggests that this was the first volume of a series yet to be printed, Gaufreteau never published a second book.

²⁸ François Véron, *Description prophétique du roy David, de la prise de La Rochelle, et avis du saint au Roy en estrennes, présentée par F. Véron* (Paris: Jean Mestais, 1629) [USTC 6023544] and id., *L’Accomplissement de la prophétie de David, de la prise de Montauban et de La Rochelle, et discours sur le glorieux retour de M[onsei]g[neur]r l’illusterrissime C[ardin]al de Richelieu, par François Véron* (Paris: François Jacquin, 1629) [USTC 6021653].

of the Old Testament.²⁹ In *Description prophétique du roy David*, he claims that the prophecy came to him after opening the Bible at random and interpreting the words of David as a foreboding of the demise of La Rochelle and, in *L'Accomplissement de la prophetie de David*, Montauban.³⁰

It was not just the words of biblical prophets that were interpreted against the Protestant city as their very names could equally be used to further isolate the Rochelais from their religious identity. In the octavo *Les Lamentations du Jérémie Rochelois* (1628), published anonymously in Paris, an imaginary inhabitant of La Rochelle, named *Jérémie* after the Old Testament prophet, pleads to his fellow citizens and criticizes Protestant social actors, including Soubise and Calvin, in a tirade in alexandrines.³¹

The *Lamentation de Jérémie* is derived from Jeremiah, a popular Book of the Old Testament that was used and paraphrased throughout the religious wars in an attempt to defuse conflict through pity.³² The text was translated and published in 1602 in La Rochelle and, similar to the story of Deborah and Judith, it contained a narrative with which the inhabitants could identify, and which was etched in local discourse. Merlin mentions in his diary that, circa 1616, the local church was troubled by a preacher, La Nagerie, who was roaming the streets of La Rochelle, prophesying the Apocalypse and claiming to be the ‘second Jérémie’.³³ The author of *Les Lamentations*

²⁹ Cf. Hervé Dréville, *Lire et écrire l'avenir: l'astrologie dans la France du Grand Siècle, 1610-1715* (Seyssel: Editions Champ Vallon, 1996), pp. 71-72.

³⁰ Such comparisons were common and used by people of all ranks much to Arcère’s distress: ‘Je fus étonné que Véron homme docte d’ailleurs ait débité tant de fadasies au sujet de la Rochelle’ (*Histoire de la ville de la Rochelle*, II, p. 328).

³¹ [Anon.], *Les Lamentations du Jérémie Rochelois* (Paris: François Jacquin and Julien Jacquin, [1628]) [USTC 6027422], p. 11.

³² Cf. Natalia Wawrzyniak, *Lamentation et polémique au temps des Guerres de Religion*, Bibliothèque d’Histoire de la Renaissance (Paris: Classique Garnier, 2018).

³³ See Merlin, *Daire*, pp. 312-13.

du Jérémie Rochelois thus exploits a biblical character present in Catholic and Protestant narratives but, as we shall now see, brands him a Rochelais to offer an alternate identity to La Rochelle's inhabitants, a Catholic one.

In his lamentation, the inhabitants of La Rochelle are abandoned by their allies and other foreign Protestant nations.³⁴ Alone, with no social actor to represent their cause, and driven by hunger, the Rochelais succumb to cannibalism. To Jérémie, who distances himself from his fellow inhabitants, they have become inhuman: ‘Lougaroux et Tigres inhumains | Vous vous estes repeus du sang de vos germains.’³⁵ These events have encouraged him to abandon Calvinism, a conversion that implicitly enables him to hold onto his humanity.³⁶ In other words, it is the Protestant aspect of La Rochelle’s broader identity that has led to her fall and turned her inhabitants away from civilization. Even as Jérémie concludes, begging his brothers and other Protestant strongholds to convert, he equates obedience to Louis XIII with conformity to Catholicism: ‘Rochelois, Rochelois abaissez vostre cœur, | Convertis toy Rochelle à ton Roy et Seigneur’.³⁷ Even after Louis XIII’s victory over La Rochelle, pamphlets described the return of Catholicism within the bastion and praised the conversion of her inhabitants.³⁸

Prophecies proclaimed by fictional characters imbed religious traits in their fashioning of a French national identity. Both octavos, the *Oracle sur la Rochelle* (1628) and *La Sybille françoise* (1628), pit France against the Rochelais and assure its

³⁴ *Les Lamentations du Jérémie Rochelois*, p. 10.

³⁵ Ibid., p.7.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁸ See, for example, [Anon.], *Les Remarques particulières de tout ce qui s'est passé en la réduction de la Rochelle: et depuis l'entrée du Roy en icelle. Ensemble les cérémonies observées au restablissement de la religion catholique apostolique et romaine. Avec la conversion de plusieurs habitans de ladite ville* (Paris: Nicolas Rousset, 1628) [USTC 6002867].

victory by means of a prophecy.³⁹ In *Oracle sur la Rochelle*, for example, the Spirit (*génie*) of France begs Apollo for help to defeat La Rochelle.⁴⁰ The god of prophecy and art takes up arms and issues a prophecy that condemns the Huguenot bastion: at his words, the Spirit of France is revealed to be Victory itself.⁴¹

The *Sybille françoise*, which includes a preliminary address to La Rochelle's inhabitants, describes a more realistic prediction as the anonymous writer draws a very fine line between Christianity and mythology.⁴² Besides metatextual references, it is unclear, for instance, whether the title 'sibyl' refers to the prophetesses in Delphi or pertains to the more Christian tradition.⁴³ More importantly, however, is the author's use of La Rochelle's self-identification to subvert or even destroy her identity characteristics. Femininity is portrayed as a weakness, her fortifications are rendered useless and her religious creed is described as a *secte*.⁴⁴ It is worth noting that the author reappropriated the title of an earlier, possibly Protestant, publication also entitled *Sybille françoise* (1626) that targeted the Jesuits.⁴⁵

To a certain extent, the author has even reappropriated La Rochelle's etiological myths previously encountered in La Haize's *Carmina* and Pontaymeri's

³⁹ [Anon.], *Oracle sur la Rochelle* (Paris: Simon Le Febvre, 1628) [USTC 6023695] and [Anon.], *La Sybille françoise, Sur la victoire des Armes du Roy. Aux habitans de la Rochelle* (Paris: Jean Barbote, 1627) [USTC 6023414].

⁴⁰ See John L. Lepage, *The Revival of Antique Philosophy in the Renaissance* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 90-94.

⁴¹ *Oracle sur La Rochelle*, p. 13: 'Le voicy bien revenu, | L'ennemy l'a recognu, | Et lit en son front VICTOIRE'.

⁴² *La Sybille Françoise*, p. 3.

⁴³ Françoise Lecocq, 'La Sybille Europa, ou la Renaissance d'un symbolisme chrétien médiéval', in *D'Europe à l'Europe, III. La Dimension politique et religieuse du mythe d'Europe de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, ed. by Odile Wattel-de Croizant (Paris: ENS-Ulm, 2001), pp. 155-87.

⁴⁴ *La Sybille Françoise*, p 8

⁴⁵ [Anon.], *La Sybille Françoise, qui Sous la comparaison de la Cabale de Loyola au Cheval d'Epeus, Remontre à la France la ressemblance qu'il y a de son Estat présent à celuy d'Ilion, peu auparavant la ruine de l'Empire Troyen* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1626) [USTC 6020962].

Hymne sur La Rochelle.⁴⁶ The sea queen Amphitrite, for example, becomes a symbol of destruction instead of prosperity as she lends her aid to the galleys that sail to defeat La Rochelle.⁴⁷ Likewise, instead of helping to build the city and bring her fortune, the natural elements here come together to destroy her and transform the once wealthy bastion into a desolate place, a grave (*sépulture*).⁴⁸

The popularity of prophecies is, in part, attributable to the superstition and fear stimulated by eschatological accounts published throughout the religious wars but, in this growing trend of predictions, we also find that the label of ‘false prophets’ was increasingly applied to those preaching Calvinism and allowed the authors to directly attack Protestantism.⁴⁹ In a period where superstition was still rampant, false predictions likewise incited panic and were addressed by the monarchy, as attested by the ordonnance that Louis XIII issued in 1628 at a camp near La Rochelle, entitled the *Déclaration qui defend d'insérerer dans les almanachs de predictions illicites*.⁵⁰

1.2 Sermoning the Rochelais: Prosopopoeic Admonishments

Urban prosopopoeia in political discourse gained popularity before 1628, with the short but famous Latin poem in which Hugo Grotius commemorated the defeat of Ostend in 1604, following three years of beleaguerment by Spain, and which well-known poets, including Guillaume Du Vair and François Malherbe, imitated in

⁴⁶ See Chapter One (pp. 137-138) and Chapter Four (p. 224)

⁴⁷ *La Sybille françoise* (1627), p. 9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10-11

⁴⁹ Véron’s *L’Accomplissement de la prophétie de David*, in particular names Protestant leaders such as Du Moulin and Mornay as false prophets.

⁵⁰ France Decrusy and others, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789*, 28 vols (Paris: Belin-Leprieur, 1821-33), XVI (1829), pp. 215-16.

French.⁵¹ The literature published during and after the Second Siege suggests a revival of the genre: in relation to La Rochelle, through a macro-study of the corpus, I have identified fifteen prosopopeias published between 1620 and 1630, as opposed to three between 1560 and 1619, which represents a considerable increase of the genre. As we shall see, the reappropriation of the city's voice and body provided artists and writers with an effective weapon to criticize and/or describe La Rochelle through symbolic reinterpretation.

The prosopopeias published between 1625 and 1630 were habitually written in the vernacular but existed in different literary forms (e.g. poetry, novels, songs...). With the exception of the anonymous *Les Augustes et fidèles Amours du haut et puissant chevalier le Fort-Louis* (1625) and its sequel, *Suite des amours du brave cavalier le Fort-Louis* (1626), narratives drew heavily on religious symbols.⁵² For example, *Le Deprofundis de La Rochelle* (1627), a duodecimo of thirteen pages inspired by Psalm 130 entitled *De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine*, adopts a theological narrative that includes lines from the psalm inserted between the octosyllabic quatrains.⁵³ Even René de Bordier's (15..-1658) *La Prosopopoée de La Rochelle* (1628), which is cast in alexandrines, heavily alludes to the religious nature of La Rochelle's downfall.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Hugo Grotius' poem was printed in his collection Hugo Grotius, *Hugonis Grotii Poemata, Collecta et magnam partem nunc primum edita à fratre Guilielmo Grotio* (Leiden: Andries Clouquius, 1617), pp. 341-42.

⁵² [Anon.], *Les Augustes et fidèles amours du haut et puissant chevalier le fort Louis, filleul du Roy, avec la belle et noble Rochelle, ensemble les articles portant les conventions de leur contrat de mariage* (Fontenay-le-Comte: [Pierre Petit-Jean], 1625) [USTC 6806821] and [Anon.], *Suite des amours du brave cavalier le Fort-Louis* (Niort: [n. pub.], 1626) [USTC No classification, Méd. M.C., 2232 C]. I offer a micro-analysis of these texts further down.

⁵³ [Anon.], *Le Deprofundis de la Rochelle. Envoyé à l'Illustrissime Roy d'Angleterre. Par un Courrier reformé* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [1627]) [USTC 6031881].

⁵⁴ René de Bordier, *La Prosopopoée [sic] de La Rochelle par le sieur Bordier* (Paris: Jean Guillemot, 1628) [USTC No classification, BnF YE-15907].

Bordier's thirty-nine stanzas ascribe the victory over La Rochelle to both Louis XIII and Richelieu, the 'oracle vestu de la pourpre de Rome' (as opposed to the false prophets of the city).⁵⁵ Amidst the religious undertones, La Rochelle appears as the epitome of human weakness as she fights against her innate passions, represented here by anger, pride and revenge.⁵⁶ Her surrender to impious emotions places her in stark contrast to the peace and order embodied by Louis XIII and to the Neostoic values so often promoted by the political writers of the era.⁵⁷

Even the preliminary engraving, which portrays a scene without any distinguishing characteristics that would allow us to identify La Rochelle and/or her inhabitants, reveals the author's assessment of La Rochelle's salient identity: her heresy (Figure 24). The image shows a central figure, closely resembling Luther, standing with his back to the altar and his gaze turned towards a diabolical figure lecturing him. In the background, hidden behind a column, a single man contemplates the altar. His clothes and appearance suggest it is Jesus. Like Luther, La Rochelle has been led astray and has turned her back on Christianity, and subsequently on the King and Catholic France. For the personified Huguenot bastion, the effect is not only spiritual but also physical: her Protestant beliefs have given her diabolical features, *cornes* ('horns'), which only Louis XIII can rebut.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Bordier, *La Prosopopoée de La Rochelle*, p. 11.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 8-9 and 11.

⁵⁷ Mathilde Bernard, *Écrire la peur à l'Époque des guerres de Religion* (Paris: Hermann éditeurs, 2010), p. 336.

⁵⁸ Bordier, *La Prosopopoée de La Rochelle*, p. 8: 'Le vainqueur destiné pour abaisser mes cornes'.



Figure 24 – Engraving from René de Bordier’s *La Prosopopoée de La Rochelle* (1628), fol. A 2^r

Diable chassé de La Rochelle (1628), a placard recently rediscovered by Mickael Augeron in the Bibliothèque Municipale of La Rochelle, is a more illustrative example (Figure 25).⁵⁹ It shows the she-devil of La Rochelle, an elderly dishevelled woman, pushing the Devil as he sits in a wheelbarrow and holds towards her a bowl which, according to the legend above it, is *la Boîte à Perette*.⁶⁰

They are both fleeing from a burning city in the background, which we presume is La Rochelle, even though it possesses no distinguishing features, such as

⁵⁹ [Anon.], *Le Diable chassé de la Rochelle* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [1628]) [USTC No classification, Méd. M.C.].

⁶⁰ The *boîte à perette* usually refers to the war-chests of Jansenists with which they primarily used to fund clandestine polemical publications in the early eighteenth century. However, as Prof. Ingrid de Smet suggested, the term was previously used to mock the alms box in Protestant temples. See Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tous les mots François tant vieux que modernes, et les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts ...* (La Haye: A. and R. Leers, 1690), I, p. 236: ‘la boëste à Perrette: c’est celle où on reçoit les charités de ceux de la Religion P[rétendue] R[éformée].’

the harbour or one of the three renowned towers. Underneath the picture is a text entitled ‘Dialogue d’entre le diable, et la diablesse de Rochelle’, which was published in another pamphlet similarly entitled *Le Dialogue d’entre le Diable et la Diablesse, chassé de la Rochelle, et comme le Diable se plaint à eux* (1628).⁶¹ This text complements the woodcut: it stages a scene in which La Rochelle blames the devil for leading her astray and ends with a note addressed to the readers that invites them to pray for the Rochelais’ salvation so that they may submit to their King.



Figure 25 – *Le Diable chassé de la Rochelle* (1628)

In his analysis of the placard, Mickäel Augeron suggests that the Rochelais’ rebellion was not only perceived as a refutation of France’s religious identity but also its political one as the Rochelais seemingly opposed masculine authority: ‘[I]a révolte la cité rochelaise peut ici être rapprochée du refus de toute tutelle masculine (celle du

⁶¹ [Anon.], *Le Dialogue d’entre le Diable et la Diablesse, chassé de la Rochelle, et comme le Diable se plaint à eux* (Paris: Jean Proté, 1628) [USTC No classification, Méd. M.C., 2584 C].

roi), dont la domination est pourtant voulue par Dieu.⁶² While the image does indeed portray a female figure that is stronger than her male counterpart, the woodcut validates earlier representations of La Rochelle as an independent woman, either unmarried or a widow, but subverts its symbolic meaning by associating it with heresy and rebellion.

Prosopopeias also included La Rochelle's allies as neighbouring geographical spaces that admonished the city and her inhabitants in pamphlets such as *La Prosopopée de l'île de Ré* (1627) or *Prosopopoeia gementis Angliae* (1628).⁶³ Jean Mairet (1604-1686), who later gained fame as a dramatic author, wrote many poetic pieces condemning the inhabitants and the conflict they caused as he experienced the battles first hand when he followed his patron, the Duke of Montmorency, into battle in 1625.⁶⁴ In a *recueil* published in 1628, Mairet vehemently condemns the Rochelais for disturbing the peace he longs for: ‘Execrables sujet des dernières batailles’.⁶⁵ He includes two poems that explore the prosopopoeic genre through mythological social actors who both name La Rochelle as ‘une ville voisine’ that desires the island’s ruin.⁶⁶ Hercules, a nod to the *Hercules Gaulois*, represents the voice of France and a nymph embodies the island of Ré.

⁶² His analysis, entitled ‘Le Diable et la Diablesse de La Rochelle (1628): un témoignage de la “guerre des images” entre catholiques et protestants’, can be found in the Médiathèque de Michel Crépeau at La Rochelle as an uncatalogued entry and was kindly provided to me by Jean-Louis Mahé.

⁶³ [Anon.], *Prosopopée de l'île de Ré au duc Bouquinquan sur les diverses rébellions des Rochelois* (Paris: J. Bessin, 1627) [USTC 6023443] and [Anon.], *Prosopopoeia gementis Angliae post Raeanam insulam obsidione liberatam, caesos Anglos, fugatum Bouquinquam, victori Ludovico Justo, Galliae, et Navaruae Regi Christianissimo* (Grenoble: Pierre Verdier, 1628) [USTC 6809133].

⁶⁴ See Gaston Bizos, *Étude sur la vie et les œuvres de Jean de Mairet* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), p. 15. His study offers a comparative analysis of Mairet’s work with his life.

⁶⁵ Jean Mairet, *Autres œuvres poétiques du sieur Mairet* (Paris: François Targa, 1628) [USTC 6019221], p. 21.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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As Burke and Stets argue, behaviours convey specific meanings, which are consistently being ‘negotiated’ through symbolic interaction. In other words, behavioural patterns create structures on which symbols and meanings are validated or invalidated.⁶⁷ As Louis XIII was increasingly compared to a divine messenger, enacting the will of God, the Rochelais’ Protestant creed not only confirmed the city’s rebellious identity, it was even considered as the origin of dissent and was therefore regarded as La Rochelle’s salient identity.

Both the prophetic and prosopopeic genres encouraged the reappropriation and subversion of the meanings of La Rochelle’s symbols. Since the Protestant creed became synonymous with rebellion and heresy, the Huguenots’ sacred bastion was compared to prophesised fallen cities. Zdzisław Mach writes that ‘[s]ymbolic communication, apart from conveying meanings, confirming values and ideas and enriching them with emotions, has also another, very practical function, namely it stimulates action.’⁶⁸ By subverting the meaning of these symbols, the authors not only encouraged the reader to reassess La Rochelle’s identification but they also portrayed the city as a symbol that disputed the existing French national identity as well as Louis XIII’s reign, a symbol that therefore had to be destroyed and realigned with Catholicism.⁶⁹ These texts likewise added a mythical dimension to Louis XIII’s

⁶⁷ Burke and Stets, *Identity Theory*, p. 16.

⁶⁸ Zdzisław Mach, *Symbols, Conflict and Identity: Essays in Political Anthropology* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993), p. 36.

⁶⁹ See for instance [Anon.], *La Conversion de M. le duc de la Trémouille, faite en l’armée devant la Rochelle, le 18 juillet 1628* (Paris: Toussaint Du Bray, 1628) [USTC 6002865 and 6806826].

victory: he was anointed by God to deliver France from heresy and bring the country to a new Golden Age. For Gaufreteau, as for other early modern contemporaries, the victory over La Rochelle consequently ‘inaugurat[ed] a new era of peace, Christian order and reformed morality.’⁷⁰

2 Subverting the Physical Space against the Rochelais

2.1 Rebuilding La Rochelle’s Topography through Print

As discussed in the previous chapters, after the First Siege (1572-1573) and the Huguenot assembly in 1621, La Rochelle had become an icon of Protestant resistance. Nosjean even compares the city to an earthly heaven for the Huguenots.⁷¹ La Rochelle’s fortifications and history had warranted her reputation as an impenetrable bastion, so much so that early modern contemporaries, including Agrippa d’Aubigné, considered the city to be one of the strongest fortifications of Europe (‘[l’] une des meilleures fortifications de l’Europe’).⁷² The city’s reputation led soldiers to desert the ranks of the royal army as they were convinced that the siege would endure and would inevitably end in defeat.⁷³ In Italy, the Pope urged his envoy, the cardinal Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno (1578-1641), to maintain Louis XIII’s interest in the siege and to discourage the French King from conceding defeat.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Jouhaud, ‘The Context of the Siege of La Rochelle’, p. 126.

⁷¹ Nosjean, ‘Le Siège de La Rochelle et les poètes du temps’, p. 435.

⁷² D’Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, I, p. 573

⁷³ Armand Jean du Plessis Richelieu, *Lettres, instructions diplomatiques et papiers d’État du cardinal de Richelieu, recueillis et publié par M. Avenel*, ed. by M. Avenel, 8 vols (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1853-77), III (1858), p. 29.

⁷⁴ Emmanuel Rodocanachi, ‘Les Derniers temps du Siège de La Rochelle (1628): d’après une relation inédite du nonce apostolique’, *Bulletin historique et littéraire de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 48.1 (1899), 44-53.

In print, the *éminence grise*, François Le Clerc Du Tremblay (or Père Joseph) (1577-1638), countered people's doubts that the siege would succeed by targeting La Rochelle's symbolic status: even though he believed the siege was part of God's plan and that victory was certain; he needed to convince his peers and chose the printed word to win the sceptics over.⁷⁵ According to abbé Dedouvres, Père Joseph and his publications played a vital role in Louis XIII's victory.⁷⁶ Based on the symbolic images alone, Dedouvres estimates that among the numerous pamphlets published in that period thirty-one were written by Père Joseph alone.⁷⁷

Although the actual number of his publications is uncertain, Père Joseph's allegories and personifications — especially those used against England — inspired contemporary writers and artists who, likewise, attacked the emblematic strength of La Rochelle by refashioning her identification. The pamphlets circulating during and after the siege were not necessarily an accurate reflection of public opinion but rather a political action, which aimed to destroy the fear and awe La Rochelle inspired and to stiffen the King's resolve to take action against the city.⁷⁸

This section studies how the refashioning of La Rochelle's identification was translated into the representation of her topography in symbolic terms as well as in materials, such as paintings and maps, that depicted the city and her environment. We have previously explored how La Rochelle's topography, either natural or man-made,

⁷⁵ Dedouvres, *Le Père Joseph et le Siège de La Rochelle*, p. 42. Cf. Benoist Pierre, *Le Père Joseph: l'éminence grise de Richelieu* (Paris: Perrin, 2007). The expression *éminence grise* has since been used to designate a person who holds influence over a man of power.

⁷⁶ See also Aldous Huxley, *Grey Eminence: A Study in Religion and Politics* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1949), pp. 153-72.

⁷⁷ Dedouvres, *Le Père Joseph*, p. 160.

⁷⁸ See for example, François de Malherbe's (1555-1628) ode to Louis XIII entitled *Pour le Roy, allant chastier la rébellion des Rochelois et chasser les Anglois qui en leur faveur estoient descendus en l'isle de Ré, ode* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1627) [USTC 6023159], that was published again in 1628.

was at the heart of her (self-)identification on which other identities, such as religion, were constructed: just as the sea was both physically present and depicted as a mythological ally so her towers and fortifications were not only practical but had a strong symbolic meaning pertaining to the Rochelais' municipal traditions. During, and especially after the Second Siege, writers and artists depicted La Rochelle using similar symbols but, as with religion, reappropriated them to instead link them to Louis XIII's identity and celebrate his reign.

2.1.1 The Maps of La Rochelle: A Visualization of Louis XIII's Power

During the Second Siege, visual depictions of La Rochelle customarily appeared in the form of maps. It was only after her defeat that allegorical representations of the city or of Louis XIII's victory became widespread. Yet, the maps published in that period differ from those we encountered in Chapter Three and Six as, rather than foregrounding La Rochelle's status as a rebellious stronghold, these new drawings — which were published in Paris — aimed to depict La Rochelle's urban space and topography as accurately as possible to illustrate the narrative of the Second Siege. Since most maps were published under royal authority, they also served a political agenda and, similar to their textual counterparts, they were 'representational, ideological [and] allegorical'.⁷⁹

This double-edged purpose is evident in the works of Melchior Tavernier (1594–1665). Famed for his world maps, Tavernier later taught Abraham Bosse (1604-1676), who would become one of the leading engravers of seventeenth-century

⁷⁹ Louisa MacKenzie, *The Poetry of Place: Lyric, Landscape, and Ideology in Renaissance France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), p. 28.

France.⁸⁰ In 1628, Tavernier published four different maps of La Rochelle during the Second Siege, each one more detailed than the other, and accompanied by a text that provided a description of the topography and the events illustrated.⁸¹ Although one of these broadsheets states that it was printed in 1627 (Figure 28), I believe it was the third engraving Tavernier made of the siege, as the full title clearly stipulates that it was published in 1628 (*M. Tavernier Fecit. A[nn]o 1628*) and both Richelieu's *digue* ('embankment') and the urban outline of La Rochelle are clearly pictured while they are absent from the two earlier maps.

⁸⁰ Cf. Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed Word Maps, 1472-1700* (London: New Holland Publishers Ltd, 1993), pp. 383-84.

⁸¹ Melchior Tavernier, *Plan véritable et très exact du siege de La Rochelle faict ce quinziesme de Mars 1628, par Melchior Tavernier Graveur et Imprimeur de sa Majesté* (Paris: Melchior Tavernier, 1628) [USTC No classification, Rich. RESERVE QB-201 (170, 3)-FT 4], Melchior Tavernier and René Siette, *Plan véritable de la Ville de la Rochelle et les nouvelles fortifications qu'ils ont faictes au devant d'Icelles. Avecq le dessinq de lattacquement faict et Com[m]encé par sa Majesté le Premier Jour de Septembre 1627. Observé Par le S[ieur] de Siette. Con[troleur] Ingenieur et Geographe ord[inaire] du Roy. M. Tavernier Fecit* (Paris: Melchior Tavernier, [1628]) [USTC No classification, BnF, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (24)], Melchior Tavernier and René Siette, *Plan véritable de la Ville de la Rochelle et les nouvelles fortifications qu'ils ont faictes au devant d'Icelles. Avecq le dessinq de lattacquement faict et Com[m]encé par sa Majesté le Premier Jour de Septembre 1627. Observé Par le S[ieur] de Siette. Con[troleur] Ingénieur et Géographe ord[inaire] du Roy. M. Tavernier Fecit. A[nn]o 1628* (Paris: Melchior Tavernier, 1627 [1628]) [USTC 6002818, Rich., RESERVE QB-201 (170, 3)-FT 4, p. 31] and Melchior Tavernier and Charles Leber du Carlo, *Plan de la ville et des environs de La Rochelle, Ensemble des Forts redoutez et lignes de communication, digue et palissades que le Roy y a fait faire pour lenvironner. Desseigné par le Commandement de sa M[ajesté] par le S[eigneur] du Carlo Ingénieur et Géographe ordinaire de sa M[ajesté] A[nn]o 1628. Achevé de Graver le 30[e]me d'Aoust Lan 1628 par Melchior Tavernier Graveur et Imrpimeur du Roy pour les Tailles douces* (Paris: Melchior Tavernier, 1628) [USTC No classification, BnF GE C-9840].

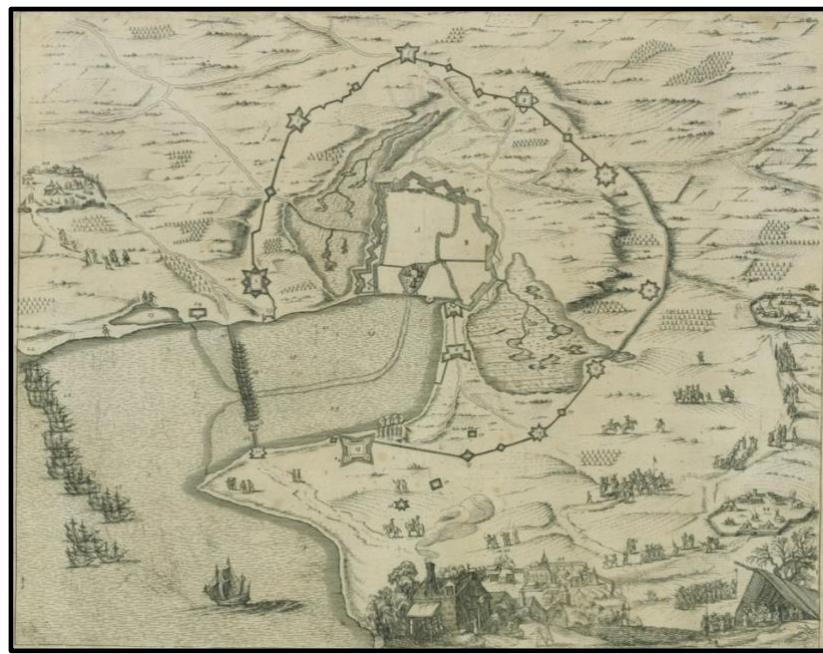


Figure 26 - Plan véritable et très exact du siège de La Rochelle faict ce quinzième de Mars 1628 (1628)



Figure 27 - Plan véritable de la Ville de la Rochelle et les nouvelles fortifications qu'ils ont faictes au devant d'Icelles ([1628])



Figure 28 - Plan véritable de la Ville de la Rochelle et les nouvelles fortifications qu'ils ont faites au devant d'Icelles (1627 [1628]),



Figure 29 - Plan de la ville et des environs de La Rochelle (1628)

In his first design (Figure 26), which Thomas Walkely (fl. 1618-1658) reprinted in English the same year, Tavernier reveals, in both the title and his address to the reader underneath the map, a desire for accuracy, a goal that is not without its challenges: ‘Il est fort difficile de sçavoir au vray comme elles [the maps] sont si ce n'est avec le temps.’⁸² The main source of information for the first map was provided by engineers and heads of army. In order to provide a more detailed rendition of the siege, Tavernier then employed the help of the King’s engineers, René Siette (Figure 27 and Figure 28) and Charles Leber Du Carlo (d. 1629) (Figure 29)

According to Fordham, maps of the Second Siege were repeatedly issued throughout its duration to allow the public to follow the royal army’s movements against La Rochelle.⁸³ The development of Tavernier’s maps certainly do corroborate Fordham’s argument as La Rochelle’s harbour, rather than the city, is situated at the centre of the map and, consequently, Louis XIII’s naval fleet and *digue* are consistently the primary focus. The celebration of the King’s military power is especially evident in Jacques Callot’s (1592-1635) ambitious depiction of the siege, *Le Siège de La Rochelle* (Figure 30).⁸⁴ His engravings of the sieges of Saint Martin de Ré and La Rochelle, the latter constituted of six different plates illustrating Louis XIII’s military campaign, were commissioned by Louis XIII after he had seen Callot’s

⁸² Melchior Tavernier, *A True and Most Exact Map of the Siedge [sic] of Rochell, Presented to the Kings Majestie the First Day of May, 1628. By Melchior Tavernor. Graver and Printer to His Ma[jes]tie., Dwelling in the Isle of the Palace, at the Golden Wheate-eare* (London: Thomas Walkeley, 1628) [USTC 3013716].

⁸³ Sir Herbert George Fordham, *Maps, their History, Characteristics and Uses: A Hand-Book for Teachers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), p. 31.

⁸⁴ Jacques Callot and Jan Van Vianen, *Le Siège de la Rochelle par Louis XIII, roy de France, où estoit en personne le cardinal de Richelieu* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [after 1628]) [USTC No classification, BnF, GE D-13603]. Cf. Édouard Meaume, *Recherches sur la vie et les ouvrages de Jacques Callot*, 2 vols (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1860) and *Jacques Callot (1592-1635). Actes du colloque du Louvre*, ed. by Daniel Ternoi (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993).

work on the surrender of Breda.⁸⁵ *Le Siège de La Rochelle* draws attention to the King's navy as most of the lower half of the map consists of a panoramic view of a large-scale naval battle as well as the royal fleet and the blockade in La Rochelle's bay.



Figure 30 - *Le Siège de La Rochelle* (n.d.)

2.1.2 The Symbolic Meaning of Maps as Objects

Maps likewise held a purely symbolic meaning when placed within a broader image. In Grégoire Huret's (1606-1670) untitled allegorical representation of Louis XIII's victory over La Rochelle (Figure 31), a map is presented by the Virgin Mary holding a sword in her right hand.⁸⁶ The only feature on the map that ascertains it is the Huguenot bastion is the presence of a neighbouring island which vaguely resembles

⁸⁵ Fordham, *Maps, their History, Characteristics and Uses*, p. 31.

⁸⁶ Grégoire Huret, *Pièce allégorique sur le siège de La Rochelle* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [n.d.]) [USTC No classification, BnF GE D-13603].

the island of Ré. Huret has omitted all traces of La Rochelle's identities and Louis XIII's victory is solely represented as a French Catholic victory over Protestantism: a female representation of the *Hercules Gaulois* on the bottom right-hand side corner, underneath Louis XIII, is beating the gorgon of heresy with a club. Just as in the prophecies, Huret places Catholicism and Louis XIII at the core of French national identity.



Figure 31 - Pièce allégorique sur le siège de La Rochelle (n.d.)

I have found only one engraving celebrating La Rochelle's defeat that also includes a detailed drawing of the city's urban space. Crispin de Pass (or van de Passe) the Elder (1564-1637) published an engraving adapted from a previous work that depicted Louis

XIII's brother, Gaston d'Orléans (1608-1660) and his victory over Rhodes.⁸⁷ In *Domino Fratri Regis* (Figure 32), the Duke is portrayed astride a rearing horse, over which he exerts remarkable control. He is flanked by the allegories of France and Victory and underneath him, kneel the chained sailors (*Mattelote*) and inhabitants (*Rochelais*). On the plinth beneath the horse's hooves, is a relief with a bird's-eye view of La Rochelle, heavily based on the engraving in the fourteenth volume of the *Mercure Fran ois*, published in 1628.⁸⁸ Its position on the title page of the publication suggests that the Second Siege was considered to be the most important event of that period.



Figure 32 - *Domino Fratri Regis* (fol. 1^r)

⁸⁷ Cf. Michael Bryan and George Stanley, *A Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, from the Revival of the Art Under Cimabue to the Present Time: with the Ciphers, Monograms, and Marks, Used by Each Engraver* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1849), p. 548 and Daniel Franken, *L'Œuvre grav  des Van De Passe* (Amsterdam: Frederik M ller, 1881).

⁸⁸ *Mercure Fran ois* (Paris: Etienne Richer, 1628), XIV.

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MacKenzie claims that it was both poets and cartographers who, hand in hand, ‘[shaped] the social identities of a France whose notional coherence was still emergent, elaborating and circulating images that continue to construct the spatial and territorial aspects of the French national imaginary.’⁸⁹ If we examine these maps in their historical and social context, we can establish that they promoted the construction of Louis XIII’s identity as a powerful Catholic monarch as well as French national identity. Unlike the examples we have encountered in previous chapters, the headings and depictions of the siege do not draw attention to the elements that constitute La Rochelle’s identification. Instead, the focus is on a military and symbolic conquest over heresy and of the sea.

La Rochelle’s defeat also caught the interest of other countries, especially Italy. Publications included Giovanni Battista Lauri’s (1579-1629) short panegyric of three pages, entitled *Rupella* ([1628]) as well as the more substantial victory poem publication *Epinicum Ludovico Francorum regi christianissimo* (1629), written by Giovanni Battista Doni (c. 1593-1647), who had accompanied Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1587-1679) to his meeting with Richelieu in Paris at the behest of the Pope.⁹⁰ The foreign interest in La Rochelle’s fate is similarly revealed in the

⁸⁹ Mackenzie, *The Poetry of the Place*, p. 35.

⁹⁰ Giovanni Battista Lauri, *Rupella Kal. Novembris MDCXXVIII Ludovico XIII Galliarum Regi Invicto* ([Rome]: [n. pub.], [1628]) [USTC 4043850] and Giovanni Barrisa Doni, *Epinicum Ludovico Francorum regi christianissimo, ob receptam Rupellam, repulsamque Anglorum classem, Joannis Baptistae Donii* (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1629) [USTC 4000501].

widespread circulations of maps published throughout the Second Siege, that were, from the samples I have been able to examine, reproductions of Tavernier's work.

2.2 The Symbolic Conquest of the Elements

2.2.1 Dominating Neptune

History (we may remind ourselves) is filled with apocalyptic tales which originate from the sea and with numerous accounts of floods. Floods, as in the biblical story of Noah's Ark, were perceived as an instrument of God's wrath and a means of punishing humankind for its hubris and arrogance.⁹¹ The oceanic world was also the home of dangerous monsters, including the Leviathan, a large monster living in the depths of the sea and which St Thomas Aquinas described as the demon of envy, although it was more commonly associated with Satan himself in the Middle Ages.⁹² The Leviathan even made such an appearance on a commemorative silver coin produced after the Second Siege (Figure 33). It is unclear wherever the monster represents La Rochelle or the English fleet but, Richelieu's *digue* is unmistakably the weapon that crushes the beast, as suggested by the inscription *Partes ne jungeret obstat*, which roughly translates to 'He [The cardinal] opposes the union of the warring factions'.

⁹¹ Cf. Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside 1750-1840* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1995), pp. 1-10 and Raingard Eber, 'Fear of Water and Floods in the Low Countries', in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. by Penny Roberts and William G. Naphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 62-77.

⁹² Cyrus H. Gordon, 'Leviathan: Symbol of Evil', in *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations*, ed. by Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 1-9.



Figure 33 – Commemorative coin representing Richelieu's Digue defeating a sea monster (Musée des Beaux Arts de La Rochelle)

It was a common belief that the master of the sea would master the land. As we have examined in previous chapters, literary topoi associated with the sea had previously served to glorify La Rochelle and give her a status akin to heaven on earth. In return, the spiritual manifestation of God could be recognized by the sea's subservience to the city and thus validated La Rochelle's religious justification. When Louis XIII conquered La Rochelle, he regained control of both the sea and the Rochelais's divine right.

The victory over La Rochelle was therefore predominantly portrayed as a victory over the sea rather than over the city herself, and so the sea god Neptune became, quite naturally, an occurring character in pamphlets, mostly panegyrics. In another untitled engraving (Figure 34), Huret once again consigns the city to the background and instead foregrounds Louis XIII, depicted here with the attributes of Jupiter, and his victory over the sea (or Neptune).⁹³ The various elements that form

⁹³ Grégoire Huret, *Louis XIII avec les attributs de Jupiter, assis sur les nuages, est couronné par Henri IV* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [n.d.]) [USTC No classification, BnF RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (26)].

the allegorical picture and their accompanying legends all point towards a predestined and divine victory. The late Henry IV, for instance, is pictured in the top left-hand corner, crowning Louis XIII with the caption *Quas fata parenti non dederant has nate capi* ('The [victories] which fate did not give to your parent, son, you must take').



Figure 34 -Louis XIII with the attributes of Jupiter (c. 1630)

Similarly, in Gabriel Ladame's (1613(?)–1682(?)) engraving entitled 'La Digue' (Figure 35) published in *Les Triomphes de Louis le Juste* (1649), the sea, embodied by Neptune, presents his court to Louis XIII.⁹⁴ As the allegory of Triumph dominates two thirds of the upper half of the illustration and announces the King's victory, La Rochelle is once again kept in the background.

⁹⁴ *Les Triomphes de Louis le Juste XIII du nom, Roy de France et de Navarre...*, ed. by Jean Valdor, trans. by Jean Nicolai (Paris: Antoine Estienne, 1649) [USTC 6037973].



Figure 35 – *Les Triomphes de Louis le Juste* (p. 35)

However, the details of the book's publication serve to further our conclusion on how effective the use of the sea was in the glorification of Louis XIII's reign. Published after the King's death in 1649, the engraver Ladame still, nonetheless, envisioned the defeat of La Rochelle first and foremost as a conquest over the sea. The inscription underneath, written by none other than Corneille, suggests that it was Richelieu's *digue* that had compelled the sea and the wind (Éole or Aeolus, the ruler of the winds) to submit to the King leading to La Rochelle's defeat:

Vois Éole et Neptune à l'envi faire hommage
À ce prodigieux ouvrage,
Rochelle, et crains enfin le plus puissant des rois.
Ta fureur est bien sans seconde
De t'obstiner encore à rejeter des lois
Que reçoivent le vent et l'onde.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 35.

As we have examined in previous chapters, the Rochelais and their allies employed the symbol of the sea and La Rochelle's control over it to represent her prosperity as well as religious virtue. During the Second Siege, Catholic polemicists and royal panegyrists used the same symbol and meaning but instead associated it with Louis XIII's identity. As such, although the city's opponents had previously likened La Rochelle's unruliness to the sea's protean nature, the sea was here depicted as an ally or a vassal to the King, and its subservience symbolized Louis XIII's rule over La Rochelle.

2.2.2 Richelieu's Digue: A Legend Personified

When picturing the Second Siege of La Rochelle, one often envisions Henri Motte's famous nineteenth-century painting of Richelieu standing on the *digue* with the city ablaze in the background. The *digue*, or embankment, was constructed by Clément Métezeau and Jean Thiriot and spanned across the harbour for nearly a mile to isolate La Rochelle and successfully prevented the English fleet from providing help to the inhabitants. It is no wonder that to drawing-artists and writers, such as the poet Claude de L'Estoile (1602-1652), son of Pierre de L'Estoile, the embankment enabled Richelieu to discover 'le secret de captiver Neptune' and consequently to conquer the city.⁹⁶

The *digue* features mostly in images or literary pieces that personify or foreground the structure while historical accounts focus on the outcome of battles.

⁹⁶ Claude de l'Estoile, 'M. De L'Estoille. À M. Le Cardinal de Richelieu', in *Recueil de poésies diverses. Dedié à Monseigneur le Prince de Conty. Par M. de La Fontaine*, ed. by Jean de La Fontaine, 3 vols (Paris: Jean Couterot, 1671-82), III (1682), pp. 40-43 (p. 41).

This suggests that the interest in Richelieu's *digue* was not purely military but also symbolic. Pierre du Ryer, for example, gives the structure a voice as one of the two main characters in the octavo *Dialogue de la Digue et de La Rochelle* (1629), where it argues against La Rochelle.⁹⁷ It also speaks against the city in a liminary sonnet, balancing the concluding sonnet that voices the thoughts of La Rochelle.

Jean-Baptiste de Machaut's substantial *Éloge et discours sur la triomphante reception du roy en sa ville de Paris* (1629), is a written guidebook of over two hundred pages that contains illustrations and written descriptions of the temporary triumphal arches that were erected to honour the King's return to Paris, each of which illustrated a royal trait (e.g. clemency, piety etc.).⁹⁸ On its columns, the arch that represents the King's glory (Figure 36) refers to past events that symbolize the history of the Crown and La Rochelle's relationship, such as Charles V's royal entry in the city. Above the arcade, a relief foregrounds the *digue* and its role in the victory over La Rochelle. For Machaut, as for many of his contemporaries, the *digue* secured Louis XIII's dominion over the sea and therefore the world: 'après la Digue et ses effects, le monde se peut doresnavant dompter, quand elle voudra l'attaquer'.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Pierre Du Ryer, *Dialogue de la Digue et de La Rochelle* (Paris: Jean Martin, 1629) [USTC 6022948].

⁹⁸ Jean-Baptiste de Machaut, *Éloge et discours sur la triomphante réception du Roy en sa ville de Paris, après la Réduction de la Rochelle: Accompagné des figures, tant des Arcs de Triomphe, que des autres préparatifs* (Paris: Pierre Rocolet, 1629) [USTC 6019333 and 6021511].

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 140.



Figure 36 -Engraving of the Arch of Glory in *Éloge et discours sur la triomphante réception du Roy* (1629)

On the top of the arch, a majestic, winged Victory hovers over the *digue*, holding in one hand a Sovereign's Orb that represents the rule of Christianity over the world, and in the other the chains that imprison Vulcan, Cybele, Neptune and Jupiter, each deity representing a different element (fire, land, sea and air). According to Mißfelder, this depiction is primordially a contrast between La Rochelle's rebellious nature (represented by the elements) and the King's absolute power (represented by the *digue*).¹⁰⁰ However, my previous micro-analysis, which considers other publications that used those same symbols to identify La Rochelle, demonstrates that this image is not just a representation of a thwarted rebellion but rather an incorporation of La

¹⁰⁰ Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, p. 270.

Rochelle's identity through an assimilation of symbols previously associated with the city. If La Rochelle had been fashioned as a city ruling the elements, this role was now fulfilled by Louis XIII with the help of the *digue*.

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As we have seen in previous chapters, La Rochelle's (self-)identification was largely reliant on her topography, symbolized by the natural elements and her fortifications. For the Rochelais and their allies, La Rochelle was said to have emerged from the union of the four elements and divine will, to have gained her prosperity from her relationship with the sea and to have built an impenetrable fortress blessed both by Nature and the Divine.

During the Second Siege, these symbols were either purposefully omitted or reappropriated to fashion the King's identity. Celebratory pictures even showed Nature itself betraying the city and attacking her just as it had previously been shown attacking La Rochelle's enemy.¹⁰¹ A ceremonial coin (Figure 37), for instance, depicts the wind (Éole) feeding the fire raging in one of the city's towers, the *Tour de la Lanterne*.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Bordier, *La Prosopopoeie de la Rochelle*, p. 5: 'La Terre m'abandonne et la Mer me trahit.'



Figure 37 – Commemorative coin representing the *Tour de la Lanterne* on fire (Musée des Beaux-Arts de La Rochelle)

3 Silencing Dame Rochelle: The City's Submission to the King's Authority

3.1 A Voiceless Victim

Very few publications between 1627 and 1630 mention the Protestant social actors who, during the siege, encouraged the Rochelais to resist, such as Catherine de Partenay or even the mayor Jean Guiton (1585-1654).¹⁰² In *Capta Rupecula* (1630), a 348-page-long detailed account of the siege, the Jesuit Philibert Mornet (1566-1643) alludes to Guiton in only a total of six pages.¹⁰³ Even the representation of the

¹⁰² For more information on Guiton's role during the siege, see Armand de Quatrefages, 'Les Deux sièges de La Rochelle. 2° sous Louis XIII', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, 2 (1853), 190-95, and Pierre-Simon Callot, *Jean Guiton, dernier maire de l'ancienne commune de La Rochelle, 1628: sa famille, sa naissance, ses actions comme citoyen et comme amiral Rochelais, sa mairie pendant le siège de La Rochelle, ce qu'il devint après la reddition de la ville, sa mort, ses descendants* (La Rochelle: A. Thoreux, 1872).

¹⁰³ Philibert Mornet, *Capta Rupecula, cracula servata, auspiciis, ac ductu Christianissimi Regis, et Herois Invicti[ss]imi, Ludovici XIII: descripta utraque Ab P. Philiberto Moneto, de Societate Jesu* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1630) [USTC 6904155], pp. 224-25, 243, 282, 287 and 302.

Rochelais was generally nebulous and, occasionally, altogether absent. In *De obsidione urbis Rupellae* (1631), Nicolas Prou des Carneaux (d. 1640), one of the royal historians, portrays the Rochelais as fantastical opponents who disappear in the mist.¹⁰⁴ Unable to engage in symbolic interaction and circulate print outside their city walls, the Rochelais were powerless in defending their identity standard to change the external perception and, consequently, the identification of La Rochelle. With the absence of identifiable social actors that supported the citizens, the only consistent figure and representative of La Rochelle was the city herself, becoming the sole social actor for the Rochelais.

Prosopopoeias were not only used to fashion La Rochelle in line with the writer's convictions. They allowed for a fictitious dialogue (or symbolic interaction) between La Rochelle and her inhabitants that enabled polemical authors to turn the urban space against the Rochelais. For example, Jean Guillemot (1598-1649), the Parisian printer behind the publication of Bordier's *La Prosopopée de La Rochelle*, issued another prosopopoeia from his workshop: *Prosopopée de la Rochelle, et la fièvre continue des Rochelois* (1628).¹⁰⁵ This anonymous poem of fifteen pages offers a more empathetic portrayal of the city: she is possessed and weakened by her inhabitants and their actions.¹⁰⁶

Having considered the reappropriation of the city's symbols, I now examine how Louis XIII and French identity were portrayed as the saviours of La Rochelle, on

¹⁰⁴ Nicolas Prou Des Carneaux, *De Obsidione urbis Rupellae Libri Quatuor. Per Nicolaum des Carneaux, Regis Historiographum* (Paris: Melchior Mondière, 1631), [USTC 6023646].

¹⁰⁵[Anon.], *Prosopopée de La Rochelle. Ensemble la fièvre continuë des Rochelois* (Paris: Jean Guillemot, 1628) [USTC 6023794].

¹⁰⁶ [Anon.], *Prosopopée de la Rochelle. Ensemble la fièvre continuë des Rochelois*, p. 3: 'peuple qui me possède' and 'les plus dures pierres de mes murailles s'attendrissent en la compassion que j'ay des misères de ces aveuglez'.

a religious and cultural level, through a redefinition of the city's representatives and allies.

3.1.1 The Silent Majority and Neighbouring Allies

Most publications would specifically choose to erase any symbols or social actors that would define the inhabitants according to their cultural identity. Pierre Matthieu's *La Rocheloise, tragédie* (1629), for instance, has specific social actors representing the Catholic side, such as Louis XIII, Cardinal Richelieu and even an Angel.¹⁰⁷ La Rochelle's side is divided between two generic groups: a chorus of Rochelais and English troops. Even La Rochelle's mayors during the siege, Jean Godeffroy and Jean Guiton, are only referred to by their title, *nos maires*.¹⁰⁸

As demonstrated in the 1627 adaptation of the 1622 *Deprofundis*, briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, pamphlets deliberately chose to omit the names of the social actors that represented La Rochelle.¹⁰⁹ The 1627 edition, for example, displays significant variants that erase the social actors and focuses on the more abstract voice and identity of the city and her allies. First, the author does not replace James I of England with the name of his successor, Charles I, but simply with the title 'Prince'.¹¹⁰ Secondly, Soubise's name no longer appears in the original verse 'Quand

¹⁰⁷ Pierre Matthieu, *La Rocheloise tragédie. Où se voit les heureux succez et Glorieuses Victoires du Roy Très Chrestien Louys XIII, depuis l'advènement de sa Majesté à la Couronne de France, jusques à present. Par P.M.* (Troyes: Jean Jacquard, 1629) [USTC 6802429].

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁰⁹ [Anon.], *Le Deprofundis de la Rochelle. Envoyé à l'Illustrissime Roy d'Angleterre. Par un Courrier reformé* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [1627]) [USTC 6031881].

¹¹⁰ [Anon.], *Le Deprofundis de la Rochelle. Envoyé à l'Illustrissime Roy d'Angleterre*, p. 3.

Soubize ira dans ta terre' as it becomes 'Quand j'envoyeray dans tes Terres'.¹¹¹ Even the Rochelais are no longer represented in the title but are replaced by an unknown character as the heading has been modified from *Le De Profundis, adressé au Roy d'Angleterre, par les rebelles de La Rochelle* to *Le Deprofundis de la Rochelle. Envoyé à l'Illustrissime Roy d'Angleterre. Par un Courrier reformé*. On the other hand, those opposing La Rochelle's rebellion are now clearly named: Louis XIII's title replaces the more ambiguous pronoun *ceux* used in the 1622 version, for instance.¹¹²

3.1.2 Torn Between Two Countries: the War between France and England

The conflict between France and England was another predominant theme reflected in historical accounts that focused on the defeat of the English fleet, such as Marc Lescarbot's *La Chasse aux Anglais en l'île de Ré et au siège de la Rochelle* (1629), which is one of the very few pieces to mention the Protestant leaders in La Rochelle by name.¹¹³ Yet, it was also exploited in prosopopeias. As mentioned above, in some cases a figurehead was used instead of the geographical space to represent France, including Joan of Arc or the mythological character of Francion.

In 1627, the prosimetric satire *Menipée de Francion ou Response au manifeste angloys* introduces Francion, a mythological prince, who is said to have escaped the siege of Troy and founded France, ascribes the conflict to the Duke of

¹¹¹ [Anon.], *Le De Profundis*, p. 4 and [Anon.], *Le Deprofundis de La Rochelle. Envoyé à l'Illustrissime Roy d'Angleterre*, p. 4.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 6.

¹¹³ See for instance Marc Lescarbot, *La Chasse aux Anglais en l'île de Ré et au siège de la Rochelle* (Paris: F. Jacquin, 1629) [USTC 6019346] which is one of the few pieces to mention the Protestant leaders in La Rochelle by name.

Soubise and England.¹¹⁴ Francion believes that the true threat is of a foreign nature and has its roots in England. On the title page of the pamphlet, we find the inscription *Omne malum ab Aquilone* ('Every evil hails from the North'), a reference to Jeremiah 1:14, accompanied by a stanza, which plays on the word for a northern wind (*bise*) and Soubise's name. Similarly, in his criticism of the manifesto, Francion draws attention to its language, described as broken French, and states La Rochelle's downfall stems is due to the presence of foreigners within the city walls.¹¹⁵ Rather than accusing La Rochelle, Francion holds another nation responsible for the conflict: the city needs to be saved from England, France's antithesis.

In another pamphlet, it is Joan of Arc who condemns Charles I's intervention during the Second Siege in *Apparition de Jeanne d'Arque surnommée la Pucelle d'Orléans, au Roy d'Angleterre* (1628), which according to historian Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, was commissioned by Richelieu himself.¹¹⁶ Joan of Arc also appears in Geoffroy de Gai's octavo of twenty four pages, *La Pucelle d'Orléans apparue au duc de Boukingan* (1627) as a reminder of France's military power over England but also of the country's freedom from English rule.¹¹⁷ The evocation of Joan's voice here serves to protect La Rochelle from English influence.¹¹⁸ For instance, in *La Pucelle*

¹¹⁴ [Anon.], *Ménipée de Francion, ou réponse au manifeste anglais* (Paris: Jean Bessin, 1627) [USTC 6019003].

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

¹¹⁶ [Anon.], *Apparition de Jeanne d'Arque surnommée la Pucelle d'Orléans, au Roy d'Angleterre dans son Palais en la ville de Londres, en la présence de plusieurs de la cour avec la Remonstrance qu'elle luy a fait sur le secours qu'il a voulu donner aux Rochelois. Suivant les nouvelles qui en sont venues à Calais* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [c. 1628]) [USTC No classification, Lanéry d'Arc n°1323^{bis}]. See Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, *Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à Jeanne d'Arc* (Amsterdam: Verlag B. R. Grüner, 1970), p. 605.

¹¹⁷ [Geoffroy Gai], *La Pucelle d'Orléans apparue au duc de Boukingan. Pour le tanser de sa folle entreprise et attentat contre le Roy* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1627) [USTC 6023300].

¹¹⁸ Even now Joan of Arc is used in politics, especially by the Front National, as a figure of resistance against invaders. For a brief study of her symbolic status, see Ton

d'Orléans, Joan is a young, virginal woman who compares herself to the likes of Deborah and Judith. As we have explored in Chapter Four, the Rochelais identified with these same characteristics.¹¹⁹ Joan of Arc therefore reintegrates La Rochelle's self-identification with French national identity and thereby creates a collective identity opposed to that of England. From a preliminary study of the texts published between 1500 and 1630, I have been unable to find any other pamphlets that included the figure of Joan of Arc in such a way, which substantiates my claim that her appearance in these two pamphlets was a deliberate choice by the authors to reappropriate La Rochelle's self-identification.

With the focus of the conflict set on England and the Duke of Buckingham, Richelieu's desire was for La Rochelle to be portrayed as under attack not only from Protestantism, but also from England. The siege had thus become a noble fight, a just war to free La Rochelle and rebuild her identity within the nation. A. M. Morel's firework display that was held in Paris in honour of the King's victory was inspired by the myth of Andromeda and Perseus. In his *Sujet du feu d'artifice* (1628), Morel explains that Andromeda, the virgin sacrificed to the monster, represents La Rochelle, the virgin city that had resisted capture.¹²⁰ Perseus, the son of Jupiter, who liberates Andromeda, stands for Louis XIII. And finally, the monster, represented as a danger to La Rochelle, is England. In this symbolic analogy, Louis XIII is therefore interpreted as La Rochelle's saviour and his victory over La Rochelle not only restored

Hoenselaars and Jelle Koopmans, *Jeanne d'Arc entre les nations*, Cahiers des Instituts Néerlandais de langue et de littérature française, 33 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998).

¹¹⁹ Gai, *La Pucelle d'Orléans apparue au duc de Boukingan*, p. 8.

¹²⁰ A. M. Th. Morel, *Sujet du feu d'artifice sur la prise de La Rochelle, que Morel doit faire pour l'arrivée du roi sur la Seine, devant le Louvre. Au roi* (Paris: C. Son et P. Bail, 1628) [USTC 6027426], p. 5: 'cette Pucelle attachée contre le Rocher, ne peut représenter autre chose que la Rochelle'.

Catholicism but delivered the city from England to reunite her with her true cultural identity.

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The personification of the geographical spaces offered an efficient means of political propaganda. By giving geographical spaces a voice and an identity, the writer could create a discourse where La Rochelle symbolically interacted with other external spaces thereby refashioning her identity. Although not as common as the prosopopoeia of La Rochelle, strong nationalistic figureheads from France, such as Joan of Arc, were used alongside mythological heroes to embody French identity. Social actors that embodied La Rochelle's cultural and religious identity, on the other hand, were either silenced or part of an inconspicuous group. In other words, the identification of France and Louis XIII was not only strengthened but included characteristics commonly associated with La Rochelle self-identification, bar the inhabitants' religious creed.

Few pamphlets actually interacted with the Huguenot stronghold as most of the pleas and *harangues* were addressed to the King or to the English troops and leaders. La Rochelle was generally addressed through the embodiment of physical spaces, and, similarly, the only time pamphlets sought to communicate with the inhabitants, it was through symbolic characters, such as the island of Ré, an oracle or even La Rochelle. The Second Siege was therefore predominantly portrayed as a conflict between Louis XIII and England, where the fate of La Rochelle's national identity rested on the outcome.

3.2 A Symbol of Submission: Dame Rochelle Silenced

The end of the Second Siege was mostly portrayed as a symbolic victory over heresy and a confirmation of Louis XIII's might, purposefully avoiding a more tangible representation of La Rochelle that would include symbols such as her social actors or her fortifications. When she was given a voice and a body, it was to complement Louis XIII's reign or his identification. She therefore often appeared on her knees before Louis XIII, begging for his clemency. As we shall see, her submission to the King was not always described as a simple military conquest but rather a celebration of the city's long-awaited reunion with France.

Indeed, the juxtaposition between La Rochelle's identification and the notion of French national identity was often represented as a difficult relationship between a prosopopeic representation of La Rochelle and a social actor that symbolized France, mainly Louis XIII.

3.2.1 The Tumultuous Relationship of Fort Louis and Dame Rochelle

Some historians partly attribute the series of conflicts leading to the Second Siege of La Rochelle to the presence of Fort Louis, which was erected on the outskirts of the town in June 1622 during the blockade.¹²¹ Following the Peace of Montpellier in October 1622, however, the Fort remained standing ‘à la fureur (et l'angoisse) des

¹²¹ Vray, *La Rochelle et les Protestants*, p. 119; Pascal Rambeaud, ‘Comparaison des sièges de 1572-1573 et 1627-1628, au travers d'une publication anonyme du XVII^e siècle’, in *1573, 1622, 1628 La Rochelle assiégée: actes du colloque*, Société des Archives historiques de Saintonge et de l'Aunis (Saint-Michel: LDC Print, 2008), pp. 127-42 (p. 135) and Mißfelder, *Das Andere der Monarchie*, p. 280.

Rochelais, comme le symbole d'une présence et d'une menace royales.¹²² In a letter, which dates from December 1622, Louis XIII ordered Pierre Arnault (1580-1624), the governor of Fort Louis, to postpone the demolition of the forts until the Rochelais dismantled the fortifications they had recently built.¹²³ Arnault himself pleaded for reason with the Rochelais in *Le Manifeste de Monsieur Arnault* (1623).¹²⁴

The symbolic significance of Fort Louis's presence near La Rochelle, and its effect on her inhabitants, inspired writers who sought to examine La Rochelle's relationship with the French crown. In the anonymous *Menipée*, for example, Francion argues that it was the English who contended the presence of Fort Louis and encouraged the Rochelais to rebel.¹²⁵

The quarrel between Fort Louis and La Rochelle was already examined during the growing tensions of 1625, when an anonymous yet substantial allegorical romance of 123 folios in-12, was published under the title of *Les Augustes et fidèles amours du haut et puissant chevalier le fort Louis* (1625). Printed in Fontenay-le-Comte by Pierre Petit-Jean, this yet unstudied work illustrates the disagreement initiated by the presence of the Fort and its effect on La Rochelle's relationship with the Crown.¹²⁶ As I have only found two surviving copies of the same edition (respectively, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and the Bibliothèque Mazarine), it seems the publication knew only a limited circulation as there were no calls for a second edition. It nevertheless managed to inspire a sequel from a different author who

¹²² Vray, *La Rochelle et les Protestants*, p. 119.

¹²³ Méd. M.C., MS 111 (fol. 112).

¹²⁴ Pierre Arnault, *Le Manifeste de Monsieur Arnault, gouverneur pour le royaume au Fort-Louis, près de la Rochelle. Sur les plaintes des Rochelais, faites contre sa personne* (Lyon: Claude Armand, 1623) [USTC No classification, BnF 8-LB36-2150].

¹²⁵ *Ménipée de Francion*, p. 10.

¹²⁶ See Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Les Imprimeurs qui existent ou ont existé en Europe* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1834), p. 48.

entitled it *Suite des Amours du brave Cavalier le Fort Louys. Et de la Belle Dame Rochelle* (1626) which, as we shall see, took a different stance.

In *Les Augustes et fidèles amours*, La Rochelle is portrayed as a young woman, the ‘belle, riche et noble Rochelle’, whose physical beauty is a reminder of the city’s prosperity.¹²⁷ The author refers to La Rochelle’s previous rebellions through analogies, yet always portrays her in a sympathetic light. For example, her marriage with England, her deceased husband, is compared to a kidnapping:

[La Rochelle] s'est de son [England's] autorité, et à la faveur de ses enfans separée de corps et de biens d'avec luy, à cause qu'il l'avait enlevée comme par force de chez son père legitime, qui avait été contraint pour se redimer de prison, de luy accorder en mariage¹²⁸

The French monarch, on the other hand, serves as a father figure to whom La Rochelle owes her prosperity.¹²⁹ This paternal affection towards the city is most visible in a rewriting of the events of the Huguenots’ assembly in La Rochelle in 1621:

[L’Assemblée était] contre la volonté de son père protecteur, peché dont elle a été punie en la mort de ses enfans et confiscation de ses bien, et dont la coulpe luy a été remise par acte solemnel, à condition que se repentant de sa faute, elle serait plus fidèle et obéissante à l’advenir [sic]...¹³⁰

As a young widow, La Rochelle is depicted as an independent yet repentant woman who is a victim of her children, the Rochelais, here portrayed as over-protective and tyrannical.

¹²⁷ *Les Augustes et fidèles amours du haut et puissant chevalier le fort Louis*, p. 1^r.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39^r.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39^v.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.40^r.

When Fort Louis's envoy, Bon Espoir, comes to the city in the hope of asking for La Rochelle's hand in marriage on his behalf, the author reveals the rift between the mother and children:

[Bon Espoir] estait venu au pays pour faire l'amour à la plus belle and riche vesve [sic] qui fusts en France, mais qui avait des enfans qui estaient tousjors en pique les uns avec les autres, les aisnez qui sont en charge publique voulant commander trop absolument.¹³¹

The ideological differences, and consequent identity differences, are partly presented as a language barrier (in symbolic terms), most notably when both parties debate the meaning of loyalty to the King.¹³² The Rochelais differ from France because of their detachment from their monarch. A marriage would therefore enable La Rochelle to be reunited with her French family. Yet, there is a conciliatory note of hope in Bon Espoir's name, as well as in the words uttered by his unnamed host who claims that the city's identity is still mutable: 'Vous ne la devez qualifier du nom rebelle, dit l'hoste, puisque vous ne luy avez encore rien demandé dont elle vous ait refusé'.¹³³

The sequel, *Suitte des amours du brave cavallier le Fort-Louis* was published in Niort, a municipality with a significant Protestant population and, — albeit still anonymous —, as Delayant remarks, it was evidently written by a different author, seemingly a Huguenot.¹³⁴ The work, for example, criticizes the wedding of 1572 which led to the Saint Bartholomew Day Massacre and La Rochelle is there portrayed as an independent and strong-willed woman who challenges Fort Louis' claim for her hand in marriage.

¹³¹ Ibid., p.38^v.

¹³² Ibid., p. 12^r: 'vous parlez plus obsurement que moy, ne pouvant vous entendre ni me faire ente[n]dre de vous si vos paroles plaines d'ambages ne me descourent mieux vostre interieur'.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 6^r.

¹³⁴ Delayant, *Bibliographie Rochelaise*, p. 229.

3.2.2 Adorning the Colours of France

Nonetheless, when La Rochelle gains a voice in the literature published during the Second Siege, it is often one of supplication, asking for the King's clemency, an image which Louis de La Croze exploits in his occasional poem *La Rochelle aux pieds de Louis* (1628, also included at the end of *Éloges et discours sur le triomphante réception du Roy*).

If the defeated city kneeling in front of the victor was a popular image used by writers and drawing-artists alike, it was even more meaningful for La Rochelle's identification. It subverted a story that was engrained in her history and a local legend that was occasionally used to justify the inhabitants' political revolt: that of Louis XI kneeling before entering the city in the fifteenth century.¹³⁵ This event was targeted and discredited by royalists who denied it ever happened, such as Auguste Galland (1572-1637), a Protestant state counsellor.¹³⁶ It was finally Louis XIII's victorious and orchestrated entry in the city, on horseback, that put an end to the image of a monarch kneeling in front of La Rochelle.

¹³⁵ See, for instance, France. La Rochelle., *Manifeste contenant les causes et raisons qui ont obligé ceuz de la ville de La Rochelle de prendre les armes, et se joindre à celle du Serenissime Roy de la grande-Bretagne, avec la copie des lettres de Sa Majesté à Monseigneur le Duc d'Angoulesme, plus le Serment de fidélité de Louys XI* (La Rochelle: [n. pub.], 1627) [USTC No classification, Méd. M.C. Rés. 716 C].

¹³⁶ Auguste Galland, *Discours sur l'état de la ville de la Rochelle et touchant ses anciens priviléges*, (Paris: [n. pub.], 1626) [USTC No classification, Le Long n°14978] and [Auguste Galland or François Leclerc du Tremblay(?)], *Discours au Roy sur la naissance, progrès et accroissement de la ville de La Rochelle, pour montrer que la dite ville est naturellement submise à la souveraineté du royaume* (Paris: Etienne Richer, 1629) [USTC 6023667 and 6027405], p. 94.



Figure 38 - Adam Frans van der Meulen's *Louis XIII recevant les clés de La Rochelle* (17th century)

In fact, in the century following the end of the Second Siege, pictorial representations of La Rochelle's defeat also included an allegory of the city kneeling in front of Louis XIII. In Adam Frans van der Meulen's (1632-1690) painting *Louis XIII recevant les clés de La Rochelle*, La Rochelle is portrayed as a young, beautiful maiden on her knees and handing the key of her gates to the King (Figure 38). The city wears a symbolic blue cloak that can either be associated with the Virgin Mary, the sea or French royalty and her white robe is decorated with the royal *fleur de lys*.¹³⁷

The Flemish painter was famed for his depictions of Louis XIV's military campaigns and, in this particular painting, refers to the last days of the Second Siege by including a depiction of the navy on the right-hand side. Even if this scene takes up almost half of the painting, our eyes are drawn to the allegorical figure of the city and to the heavenly clouds above her, where Victory crowns the King and an angel

¹³⁷ Jean Prieur, *Les Symboles universels* (Paris: Fernand Lanord, 1989), p. 172. 'Sa robe estoit de satin bla[n]c, pour signifier la pureté de sa foy, couverte par modestie d'un gaze noir ouvré'.

holds the inscription ‘Auxilium suis Deus’ (God helps his own). The focus is therefore not on La Rochelle’s defeat but rather on her assimilation to the identity characteristics of a Catholic France embodied by Louis XIII: the victory is thus symbolically portrayed as a union between King and La Rochelle.

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* * *

The materials we have explored in this chapter demonstrate that the Second Siege was not perceived as a simple military campaign but the destruction of a symbol that centred around Louis XIII’s identity through a reappropriation of La Rochelle’s (self-)identification. From 1622 until the end of the siege, polemists sought to isolate the city from self-defined identity characteristics. Her celebrated fortifications were absent or painted in the distance as cartographers and engravers lauded Louis XIII’s military prowess. Likewise, the city’s social actors were scarcely acknowledged, be it La Rochelle’s tenacious mayor, Guiton or even Anne de Rohan (1584-1646) and her mother, Catherine de Partenay, who both refused to submit to the King after the city’s defeat.¹³⁸ In fact, La Rochelle’s environment, and even occasionally the urban space, was turned against the Rochelais and their allies.

Instead polemists aspired to define and praise the characteristics promoted by Louis XIII’s reign: a Catholic France united under one ruler. The narrative thus shifted to the notion of heresy, whether it was associated with Protestantism, the English navy or the foreigners within the city. More importantly, however, was the notion of unity:

¹³⁸ Nicole Vray, *Femmes, Églises et société: du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Desclée des Brouziers, 2014), p. 49.

Louis XIII was presented as a magnanimous ruler who embodied the subverted characteristics of the city and, by doing so reunited La Rochelle to a broader French national identity.

As Delayant reveals, the reports of everyday life behind the city walls were absent or unclear during the Second Siege.¹³⁹ Naturally, La Rochelle's presses were at a standstill and the only surviving testaments of the horrors endured by her inhabitants were recorded by local figures, which were published later. Most famously, *Le Journal des choses les plus mémorables qui se sont passées au dernier Siège de La Rochelle* (1644), by Pierre Mervault, has been used as a reference for historians who have tried to chronologically recreate the events that transpired within the city. Although it was published nearly twenty years later, it offers what historians consider to be the most reliable and insightful account of the events within the city's walls.

This eleven-month long siege captivated the imagination of early modern contemporaries and has since gained a near-mythological standing in popular culture. The Rochelais' obstinate defiance became both notorious and worthy of praise just as the numerous casualties resulting from this conflict was forever etched on La Rochelle's identity as it became a symbol of religious martyrdom. This is evident from the city's representation in images, such as the anonymous German engraving *In patientia sauvitas* (c. 1628) that represents the fall of La Rochelle, as well as in literature, such as Georges Reveau's (fl. 1640-1662) Latin account of the Siege entitled *De Rupella ter obsessa, dedita demum, capta, subacta libri tres* (1649).¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Delayant, *Bibliographie Rochelaise*, p. 279: '[l]es histoires et les poèmes du parti triomphant ont tous le même défaut; ils ne connaissent pas les assiégés. Or le vrai drame est tout en dedans des murs.'

¹⁴⁰ Georges Reveau, *De Rupella ter obsessa, dedita demum capta, sub acta libri tres* (Amsterdam: Johannes Janssonius, 1649) [USTC 1024545]. The engraving *In*

According to Arcère, the writer ‘regardoit cette ville comme sa seconde patrie’.¹⁴¹

Similarly, Gerrit Verhoeven’s study of the Calvinist Dutch tours around France reveals that La Rochelle was one of the stops on the journey and that the pilgrims recognized the Rochelais as martyrs for the *Cause*. Verhoeven identifies six journals and two guidebooks which mention the Huguenot city in the Calvinist *Grand Tour* and concludes that their pilgrimage to La Rochelle served as a way to reaffirm their Calvinist identities ‘against historical amnesia.’¹⁴²

patientia sauvitas was rediscovered by Neil Kamil, who offers a full analysis in *Fortress of the soul*, pp. 390-92.

¹⁴¹ Arcère, *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle*, II, p. 378.

¹⁴² Gerrit Verhoeven, ‘Calvinist Pilgrimages and Popish Encounters: Religious Identity and Sacred Space on the Dutch Grand Tour’, *Journal of Social History* (2010), 615-34 (pp. 626 and 634).

Conclusion

My aim for this thesis was to demonstrate the significance of La Rochelle's print in the development of the city's identity as a Huguenot bastion. I have examined printed materials chronologically and thematically to attest how they contributed to La Rochelle's (self-)identification at a time when France was moving towards creating its own homogeneous national identity.

Identity theory has consequently played an essential role in this thesis: it has underlined the fact that identity is not a fixed construct but is constantly evolving and is created both by the city and by others. As a result, La Rochelle's identity could be used against her and by the outside world to further its own political agenda. Identity theory has also led me to propose a broader approach to La Rochelle's (self-)identification compared to previous research, which has tended to focus more narrowly on one aspect of her identity, such as religious (Robbins (1997)) or political (Mißfelder (2012), Pugh Meyer (1996), Vray (1999) and Parker (1980)). La Rochelle's defiance towards the French Crown has been documented by other scholars but, in this thesis, I have been able to explore in depth how, through the medium of print, social actors, symbolic interactions and the symbolic interpretation of the urban space, influenced the city's (self-)identification. As such, contrary to these approaches, I have carried out a threefold analysis of La Rochelle's identity in terms of national consciousness, Protestantism and last (but not least) urban identity.

Previous work on written records has focussed mainly on wills, baptismal registers, business contracts, court records to monitor La Rochelle's development into a Huguenot bastion. By including a wider range of works that interacted in symbolic terms, such as pamphlets, paintings, engravings, novels, and ceremonies, I have been

able to offer a fuller picture of how La Rochelle's (self-)identification developed between 1563 and 1635. I have also referred at times to other contemporary materials as comparators, for instance manuscripts from early modern contemporaries (e.g. Cavriana's *De Obsidiome Rupellae*) or polemical pamphlets published against other collective groups or cities (such as Montauban in 1622), which have allowed me to better contextualize La Rochelle's identification

Both Droz and Desgraves (1960) have greatly advanced the research on La Rochelle's printing press and provided a springboard for my corpus. However, since identity constructs depend on social exchanges, it was also vital to consider materials outside the city walls. I have compiled a corpus that includes publications between 1563 and 1635 that were either published in La Rochelle, used the city's name for false imprints or broached on matters that dealt with the city. I have included works that have been hitherto unexplored or overlooked, such as Jean de La Haize's *Carmina* (1566), the *Cantique de Debora* (1574), and the *Diable chassé de La Rochelle* (1628). I have also been able to supplement and correct certain attributions made by the USTC or by book historians. My corpus is thus the most comprehensive to date and has been able to incorporate material that is, as yet, unavailable online via data bases and websites such as USTC, Brigham Young University's *French Political Pamphlets Online*, *E-RARA*, *EEBO*, *Gallica*. It is by analyzing this wide-ranging corpus in the light of identity theory that I have been able to demonstrate how the city's salient identity wavered between her regional, religious and, finally, political identity.

Throughout my thesis, I have used Fairclough's three-levelled framework in conjunction with identity theory to examine the various printed works but also, on occasion, other materials, such as commemorative coins or the symbolic displays during Charles IX's Royal Entry. This framework has allowed me to place these

materials within the broad social context of the time (macro-level reading), within the various processes of production and interpretation (meso-level reading) and finally, by adopting a micro-level approach, I have been able to show how specific tropes and images have contributed to establishing La Rochelle's identification.

It has also enabled me to highlight the significance of symbolic interaction. This connection is initially visible in the external response instigated by local publications, be they political, historical, religious or scientific. In these responses, Catholic polemists generally targeted individuals and would directly address Protestant authors or individual social actors. For example, in the sixteenth century, they were primarily directed towards specific works, such as Launay's *De la faculté et vertu admirable de l'antimoine*. Increasingly, as La Rochelle's printing shops established themselves, it was the local government or urban space that would become the recipient of their attention. As early as 1574, La Rochelle's identity became associated with the symbols and opinions introduced in the texts that circulated outside her walls, rather than the publications destined for her local readership. In fact, during the movement of the *malcontent*, the key ideas published by the printers in La Rochelle were not only visibly linked to the city's external identification, but they established concrete ties between the city and other Protestant spaces, consequently cementing the Catholic's portrayal of La Rochelle as the centre of rebellion.

La Rochelle's symbolic interaction with the 'external environment' was also observable on a micro-level, with the development of how publications in La Rochelle reacted to the city's association with the term 'rebel'. As we have seen in Chapter Two, at the start of the religious wars, especially in 1568 with La Haize's *Declaration et protestation* and *Seconde declaration et protestation*, when La Rochelle publically declared herself for the Protestant *Cause*, local printing shops circulated pamphlets

that justified for the inhabitants' behaviour and defended their identity standard against the term 'rebelle'. Through a diachronic study of the discourse, we can observe that these defences began to focus on broader definitions of the term 'loyalty' that were attached to the arbitrary concept of the *bon François*. Local publications therefore reduced their effort to actively separate La Rochelle's identification from the term 'rebellion'. In fact, this identity characteristic has now been proudly adopted by the Rochelais, who have since incorporated it in the city's motto: 'La Rochelle, belle et rebelle'.

The interdisciplinary use of identity theory and critical discourse analysis in my thesis has likewise demonstrated how social actors played a fundamental role in the development of La Rochelle's (self-)identification by contributing to her symbolic interaction both within and outside the city walls but also, unintentionally, by representing the city's views. This is first visible in the development of the city's print culture since advocates for the Protestant *Cause*, such as Jeanne d'Albret and Jean Pierres, who encouraged the development of print to further their agenda. Similarly, Protestant social actors (e.g. Philippe de Mornay and Jean de La Haize) as well as political figureheads (e.g. the Prince of Condé) used La Rochelle's press to disseminate their beliefs to the rest of France and to other countries (e.g. England or the Holy Roman Empire). This inadvertently associated the city with political movements, like the *malcontents*, and with the identity characteristics of those broader collective groups.

Finally, I have confirmed the importance of locality in La Rochelle's (self-)identification through its representation in print, particularly the significance of La Rochelle's topography in the development of her identity. It is to be expected that an environment would influence the physical and social development of an urban

space. La Rochelle's geographical position and her role as a harbour, for instance, exposed the Rochelais to the natural elements, especially the sea, and to the customs of other countries, which, in turn, influenced the development of the local culture. Throughout my thesis, I have shown that many printed materials issued from La Rochelle as well as outside, actively engaged with symbols relating to the city's topography and culture (e.g. the sea, the fortress, femininity etc.).

The symbolic interactions between La Rochelle and the outside world were, therefore, not purely political or religious but systematically targeted the city's identity, that is La Rochelle's belonging within the broader French national identity. This, of course, translated into a focus on La Rochelle's urban space that was described in symbolic terms. These symbols enabled her enemies to subvert the identity characteristics and redefine the city as France's 'Other'. In short, the printed materials demonstrate that, unlike the other Huguenot strongholds, La Rochelle was more than just a rebel city but was recognized as a symbol for Protestants and Catholics alike, not unlike the concept of nationhood.

The interdisciplinary approach that I have adopted throughout my thesis will, I hope, offer valuable insights into how symbolic interactions, through the medium of print, contributes to the creation of a collective identity, for both historians and literary scholars. The methodological approach I have adopted for this thesis has not only uncovered new areas of research but also offers possible fields for further study. An investigation of the important role played by manuscripts and oral transmission, which took place in public spaces, would give a clearer idea of the actual impact of print on the collective consciousness at the time. Furthermore, my extensive corpus provides a good purview and can be further developed since a vast array of early modern pamphlets have been lost or are yet to be discovered.

Yet, even if this is a case study of a specific city at a specific point in time, the methodology employed and the threefold level of analysis I have used means that my research is replicable and could be used to examine the development of identity within a city or country in a different context.

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