Remembering the Medieval and Early Modern Worlds

Remembering the Reformation

Edited by Brian Cummings, Ceri Law, Karis Riley, and Alexandra Walsham

ROUTLEDGE

REMEMBERING THE REFORMATION

This stimulating volume explores how the memory of the Reformation has been remembered, forgotten, contested, and reinvented between the sixteenth and twenty-first centuries.

Remembering the Reformation traces how a complex, protracted, and unpredictable process came to be perceived, recorded, and commemorated as a transformative event. Exploring both local and global patterns of memory, the contributors examine the ways in which the Reformation embedded itself in the historical imagination and analyse the enduring, unstable, and divided legacies that it engendered. The book also underlines how modern scholarship is indebted to processes of memory-making initiated in the early modern period and challenges the conventional models of periodisation that the Reformation itself helped to create. This collection of essays offers an expansive examination and theoretically engaged discussion of concepts and practices of memory and Reformation.

This volume is ideal for upper level undergraduates and postgraduates studying the Reformation, Early Modern Religious History, Early Modern European History, and Early Modern Literature.

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REMEMBERING THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN WORLDS

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In memory of two eminent and generous scholars. Margaret Aston (1932–2014) and Irena Backus (1950–2019)

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Brian Cummings, Ceri Law, Karis Riley, and Alexandra Walsham
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ABBREVIATIONS

EHR	*English Historical Review*
HistJ	*Historical Journal*
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
P&P	*Past and Present*
RenQ	*Renaissance Quarterly*
SC	*The Seventeenth Century*
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
StCH	*Studies in Church History*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

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RELIGIOUS HERITAGE AND CIVIC IDENTITY

Remembering the Reformation in Geneva from the sixteenth to the twenty-first century

Philip Benedict and Sarah Scholl

Geneva, the 'Protestant Rome', offers an exceptionally interesting case for exploring how the Reformation and the people and events associated with it were remembered in holidays, commemorations, and memorials from the sixteenth century to the present. No city in Europe, not even Wittenberg, had its development and historical experience more profoundly shaped by the Reformation. No city except Wittenberg is accorded more attention in histories of the Reformation. Geneva's Reformation was also closely tied to the consolidation of the city's independence and gave rise to a new myth of urban identity that cast the town as a bastion of the Gospel where morals and manners were reformed as nowhere else; preserving its liberty and prosperity was said to depend on remaining true to this heritage.[1] For over 250 years, Geneva remained the mono-confessional free city, affiliated through treaties of protection with the chief Protestant cantons of the Swiss Confederation, which it became between 1526 and 1536. Then, around 1800, its territorial situation and religious composition were scrambled in ways that would complicate recalling the Reformation. In 1798 it was incorporated into France. Between 1814 and 1816 it was re-attached to the expanded and restructured Swiss Confederation as a full-fledged canton. At the same time, its boundaries were enlarged to encompass a number of previously Savoyard and French, hence Catholic, rural communes, whose religious status quo was guaranteed by the Treaty of Vienna. In 1847, after considerable debate, a new liberal constitution established freedom of worship. By the end of the 1850s, as a result of the border changes and immigration, Catholics formed a majority of the cantonal population, although not of the urban elite.

Surprisingly, far from diminishing the scale or importance of Reformation commemorations, these changes gave them new urgency, although they also obliged the secular authorities to withdraw from sponsoring them. The century from 1814 to 1914 that saw the advent of religious pluralism and a decline in the

Protestant percentage of the population also proved to be the century of Reformation commemorations and monuments par excellence. In part, this was because of general trends across Europe and North America in this century of grandiose centennial celebrations and 'statuemania'. In part, it stemmed from local causes: faced with a population containing many Catholic immigrants, fractions within the local elite found it politically and pedagogically useful to recall the Reformation's role in shaping Geneva. Ultimately, commemorating fifty- and one-hundred-year anniversaries finally became such a routinised practice that the period from 1918 to 2017 saw more Reformation-related 'jubilees' than ever before, but these engaged less of the population and were marked by a growing sense of historical distance from the events and personalities commemorated, as ecumenism advanced, confessional tension abated, religious practice waned, and a new urban identity as an international center of peace and humanitarianism overlaid, without entirely effacing, the old image of 'la cité de Calvin'.

Reviewing Geneva's evolving political memory of the Reformation over nearly five centuries shows us how one changing city recalled this epoch-making event across the ages. It also enables us to explore a question foregrounded in the current literature about the history of memory, that of the extent to which the Age of Revolutions marked a rupture in commemorative practices and memory regimes. The great surge of interest in the history of memory that has taken place over the past thirty years initially focused on the centuries since 1789, said to be characterised by new memory practices and a changed relationship to the past. In the third and concluding volume of the seminal *Realms of Memory*, Pierre Nora argued that the French Revolution invented the practices of public commemoration through anniversary and centennial celebrations that are so familiar to us today. Such celebrations, he asserted, were directed by and focused upon the nation for most of the next two centuries. Then in the late twentieth century they fragmented as regional and group identities came to the fore.[2] But Judith Pollmann has recently challenged the idea that memory cultures underwent a fundamental transformation around 1800.[3] Already in 1995, the anthropologically-inspired Australian historian Charles Zika wrote a pathbreaking article on the Reformation jubilees of 1617 that identified these as 'the first significant public celebration of a centenary in European history'.[4] Since then, Winfried Müller has pushed the first centennial or bicentennial celebrations further back in time, to commemorations held by German universities from 1578 onward to recall their foundation one hundred or two hundred years previously.[5] Thomas Slettebo found state-sponsored centennials of specifically political or constitutional events prior to the French Revolution, notably Denmark's 1749 tercentenary celebration of the accession of the Oldenburg dynasty and 1760 centenary of the establishment of royal absolutism.[6] To say that the centennial has a longer history than Nora or even Zika imagined, however, is not to say that such commemorations did not multiply in frequency or adopt new forms or practices in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. What seems essential now is for historians of public holidays, commemorations, and other public memory practices to

scrutinise the patterns of continuity versus change over the *longue durée*. We can do that for Geneva because local historians have already explored many aspects of the story that we will synthesise here.[7]

The *ancien régime*

In the late Middle Ages, Geneva was subject to the authority of a prince-bishop, with the Duke of Savoy also exercising limited judicial rights in the city. Then an urban revolution occurred. Between 1526 and 1534, the municipality formed a pact of *combourgeoisie* with Bern and Fribourg, reshaped its governing councils, assumed judicial and regalian powers previously belonging to the bishop and duke, and declared the episcopal see vacant. The bishop, the duke and their local partisans threatened retaliation, but the Bernese conquest and occupation of the surrounding Savoyard territories in early 1536 brought a measure of breathing room, even if the Savoyard dynasty would claim the city and scheme to conquer it for decades to follow. Concurrently, evangelical ideas spread within the city. In August 1535, six months before the Bernese incursion, the evangelical faction installed Guillaume Farel in the cathedral by force and pressured the municipality to abolish the mass and seize church wealth. The revenue thus obtained helped pay troops protecting the city. The Reformation and the establishment of urban independence were closely linked.

Just as they were in reality, so too would they be in civic memory. How closely is shown by a plaque whose erection in two places — on the facade of the Hôtel de Ville and on the city wall — is the first known memorialisation of the Reformation. Voted by the Council just after the definitive triumph of the pro-Calvin faction in 1555, the text as finally engraved read, 'In 1535, after the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist was toppled and its superstitions abolished, Christ's holy religion was restored here in its true purity and the church put in better order through an extraordinary blessing of God. The city, once its enemies were repelled, miraculously reconquered its liberty. In consequence, the council and people of Geneva decided to carve this inscription and erect it in this spot that its memory may be perpetuated and in testimony of their gratitude to God'.[8] The plaque could be considered a Protestant *ex voto*.

From circa 1560 onward, the year 1535 — specifically, the date August 27, 1535 — would also be recalled in the historical calendars that Genevan printers began to insert in the front of psalters and prayer books. Where previously the moveable feasts and saints' days had figured, these calendars listed great dates of sacred and profane history. In addition to 'the Reformation according to the truth of the Gospel in the most renowned city of Geneva', other Reformation-related red-letter dates highlighted in these calendars included October 31, 1517, when '101 years after the burning of Jan Hus Martin Luther began to issue propositions against papal indulgences in the city of Wittenberg', as well as the death dates of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Bucer, and Edward VI.[9] But although historical calendars recalled these dates, neither the moment of Geneva's Reformation nor

the day of Calvin's death were marked annually by any sort of special sermons or church ceremonies in Geneva — in striking contrast to what quickly began to be done in many cities and principalities of Lutheran Germany, whose governing authorities variously decreed that special sermons each year mark the date of Luther's baptism, his death, or the date of the introduction of the new Protestant church order.[10] Notoriously, the Genevan ecclesiastical order involved a particularly thoroughgoing purge of Catholic holy days, including even Christmas. Preaching throughout the year was organised around the *lectio continua* of consecutive books of the Bible. Calvin's hostility to any sort of cult of the dead had been so strong that he had insisted that nothing indicate the place of his own burial. All this differentiated the Genevan from the Lutheran Reformation and discouraged formal remembrance of special dates.

The particularly strong allergy to any chronological practices hinting of Popery may also explain why the coordinated 'jubilee' celebrations held across Protestant Germany to mark the hundredth anniversary of Luther's posting of the Ninety-Five Theses were far more elaborate affairs than the sole public recognition of the centennial to take place in Geneva. The German celebrations, decreed by the secular authorities after consultation with the leading organs of church government, commonly included multi-day sermon cycles, the distribution of special prayers of thanksgiving, and the striking of commemorative medals.[11] Geneva saw no special church events, but only a Latin oration delivered by the rector of the Academy, Theodore Tronchin, on the occasion of the annual ceremony in May to celebrate the promotion of students from one grade to the next. In his speech, Tronchin reminded his audience of what had happened a century ago, reviewed the sweep of Christian history, and lauded the role of that divinely inspired hero, Martin Luther, in unmasking the impostures of the Roman Church that had grown so in the centuries prior to 1517.[12]

While Zika's claim that the extensive commemorations of 1617 constituted the first significant public celebration of a centennial in European history needs modification in light of Müller's demonstration that several German universities earlier celebrated their hundred years with special orations, banquets and theatrical performances, the ceremonies of 1617 certainly publicised the idea that major foundation dates or caesuras in history deserved special recall at hundred year intervals and encouraged the spread of the practices associated with these ceremonies in Germany. Eighteen years later, when the hundredth anniversary of the Genevan Reformation came around, Geneva still avoided special church services (in contrast to Basel's 1628 Reformation centennial), but several of the memory practices of the German Reformation centenaries were adopted. Again, a Latin oration by the rector was the central event. At this mid-point in the Thirty Years' War in Germany, Frederick Spanheim prayed that the miraculous providences that had ensured Geneva's 'protection and the security … amid so many intrigues, dangers, troubles and fears' would continue so that the city would forever remain 'the miracle and prodigy that it is in our time' — a perfect illustration of the post-Reformation myth of Geneva. What was new was that his discourse was printed, a

special commemorative medal was struck, and a second vernacular *pièce de circonstance* was also published: Jacob Laurent's *The Rejoicing Genevan*. This work, which linked political independence and spiritual freedom, also urged the city's inhabitants to rejoice 'inwardly, moderately, and in a Christian fashion'. The outward display of a few 'small sparks that show the fire that burns beneath' might be permitted, but only to promote a renewed dedication to serve God, '*notre patrie*', duty, and the civic authorities.[13]

A century later, in 1735, Geneva's celebrations conformed more to what had become the standard model of Reformation centennials in Protestant central Europe. Now there were special prayers of thanksgiving and sermons on the topic in the city's churches, as well as another commemorative medal. Not coincidentally, the old liturgical austerity had faded by this time, and Christmas had returned as a holiday.[14] Illuminations and banquets also now marked the day, with the public authorities and churchmen walking together through the streets from one event to the next.[15]

Although the centennials of 1617 and 1635 involved less ceremony than in other Protestant territories, by the time these anniversaries rolled around one event associated with the Reformation had become the occasion for annual recollection and rejoicing in a manner that would only grow more elaborate over the next century. Indeed, the way in which this event was already being celebrated each year probably helps explain Laurent's preoccupation with the dangers of excessive outward jubilation. The event in question was the failed attempt by the Duke of Savoy to recapture the city by a surprise escalade on night of December 12, 1602. Its commemoration can be situated squarely within the widespread late medieval and early modern practice of celebrating great deliverances through annual processions and religious ceremonies, with the distinction that where such acts of remembrance in Catholic cities mixed sermons with processions, the formal celebration in Geneva retained only the sermon.[16] What is especially interesting about Geneva's Escalade celebrations is how rich and varied a range of unofficial rituals of rejoicing came to be associated with them, rituals that worried pious men like Laurent and still today seem decidedly un-Genevan in light of the city's general reputation and prevailing civic ideology.

No sooner had the Savoyards been repulsed than the city enacted three measures of commemoration: a public fast of thanksgiving, the engraving of commemorative inscriptions on the spot where the attackers placed their scaling-ladders and on the Hôtel de Ville, and the commissioning of a funerary monument for the seventeen inhabitants who died defending the city. Even though this monument was a simple list of names on a tablet, the pastors protested, fearing that it could inspire prayers for the dead or a cult in their honour. Their objections were overridden. A year later, the city council enacted a measure ordering that 'commemorations and acts of thanksgiving (*actions de grace*)' be held every year on December 12 in the city's three churches. Other manifestations of rejoicing quickly appeared. Within a year, twelve songs celebrating the deliverance, some inspired by canticles, others completely profane, were printed.[17] A clause in the 1603 treaty that resolved the

tensions with Savoy required that 'the memory of everything that has occurred … be forever extinguished', so the city fathers forbade the publication of songs mocking the beaten Savoyards, but this did not prevent Genevans from composing, singing and writing more; by the nineteenth century, local manuscript compilations preserved some 150.[18] Those injured defending the city also soon began to gather for a banquet each year. From this, a larger tradition of family and group banquets emerged. Farces and tragi-comedies began to be privately staged. From 1631 onward the day became a non-working day for many. Beginning in 1673, the public authorities took the day off too. The consistory attempted to enforce restraint in the commemoration, but by the 1660s it was losing the battle. 'For several years now, […] a day of thanksgiving and sanctification has been given over to debauches and amusements in large gatherings', it fulminated in 1673. In 1701 it complained that 'masked and costumed people go through the streets making merry, singing and making loud noise with violins and sticks that they beat against doors … which is totally contrary to Christian propriety and a horrible example in a reformed city such as this'.[19] So integral to Genevan identity by the eighteenth century were joyous banquets on the occasion that expatriates living in Paris formed a Société de l'Escalade, whose annual gatherings involved such excess that a mid-twentieth-century historian of the holiday felt obliged for modesty's sake to spare the reader the details. As so often happens with special days, ludic practices developed spontaneously alongside the officially sponsored commemoration, took on a life of their own, and became deeply rooted in popular culture despite attempts to control them. Those familiar with English history and customs will immediately see parallels with the celebrations commemorating an almost exactly contemporaneous event, the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, with the difference that where the English feted Guy Fawkes Day with bonfires and bells, the Genevans preferred more discreet indoor banquets, living as they did in the immediate vicinity of the much larger Savoyard state.[20]

As the political and diplomatic context changed, the city authorities sought to uncouple from religion the patriotic element that had always been present in this and other Reformation commemorations, and then to end sponsorship of Escalade ceremonies altogether. The sermons delivered on the occasion were initially a time for ministers to compete to see who could serve up the most stirring anti-Catholic rhetoric. In 1680 and 1699, amid the wars of Louis XIV, the magistrates asked the pastors to tone down the anti-Catholicism. 'Should their text [the biblical passage on which they were preaching] lead them to speak of the Antichrist, they [the ministers] should not equate him with the pope in light of the current situation'.[21] In 1739, with reconciliation with Savoy a priority, the Small Council instructed the city pastors to refrain from long history lessons about the event; instead, they should 'insist principally on the love of country'.[22] In 1754, after the treaty of Turin finally settled Geneva's longstanding disputes with what was now the kingdom of Sardinia over sovereignty and boundaries, the Council voted to end the holiday. Popular outrage forced it to backtrack immediately, but a generation later, as the aristocratic government tightened its alliances with

Sardinia and France in response to the abortive democratic revolution of 1781, it successfully put a stop for a decade to the formal portion of the annual commemoration. After the French Revolution, the local revolutionary clubs, determined to 'teach youth that devotion to one's *patrie* is among the highest republican virtues', spearheaded the reintroduction in 1793 of a 'pure Genevan holiday' of 'the Escalade and equality'. The restored commemoration involved both sermons and a parade of militiamen and club members to the tomb of the 'citizens who died as martyrs for Liberty on the 12th of December 1602'.[23] After France annexed Geneva in 1798, official celebration of the Escalade ceased again. A pure Genevan holiday was now inappropriate for citizens of *la grande nation*.

From the Restoration to 2017

One might expect that the Restoration would revive the celebration anew, but now Geneva's political status, its territorial borders, and its religious composition had changed. In a canton that the 1822 census would reveal to be thirty-nine per cent Catholic, the political challenge of the day was to inspire loyalty to Geneva in the formerly Savoyard or French rural communes and to the Confederation among all. Official commemoration of the defeat of the Savoyards two hundred years previously seemed inappropriate. It would take several generations and significant changes in the non-state-supported ways of marking the date for the governmentally sanctioned commemoration of the Escalade to return. Yet because the festive traditions associated with the Escalade had sunk such deep roots among the population, the day was not forgotten. Family banquets continued, and children went door-to-door singing Escalade songs.

More generally, once Geneva stopped being a monolithically Protestant confessional state, the public authorities had to be conscious of Catholic sensibilities. As a result, the local government grew reticent of directly sponsoring anything to do with the Reformation. At the same time, the old families that continued to dominate the political class remained deeply aware of their Protestant heritage and still believed that it had been essential to making the city what it was. The tension between these two impulses cut right through the breast of many civic leaders.[24]

Further complicating commemoration of the Reformation, but also making it seem to many more imperative than ever, were the ways in which this new age of religious pluralism also became a second age of religious schism and confessional rivalry. Evangelising tendencies gained ground within Protestantism. Catholicism experienced a post-revolutionary and anti-revolutionary revival. Accelerating urban growth attracted Catholics from other parts of Switzerland and neighbouring Catholic lands. Debate arose about the place of religion in education and the extent of freedom to be granted to different faiths. Although political struggles about the place of religion in society would not truly die down until the separation of church and state in 1907, Protestant-Catholic conflict was particularly intense in two periods: the 1830s and 1840s, and the *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s. The former era saw Liberal agitation for generalised freedom of

worship, broader national struggles over a new constitution that ultimately produced the 1847 Sonderbund civil war, and the emergence locally of a secret, militant Protestant Union dedicated to defending Geneva's Protestant character and opposing Catholic immigration. The Swiss hot spots of the latter were the mixed confessional cantons such as Geneva.

In these contexts, the centennials or demi-centennials of the Genevan Reformation or of its iconic personality John Calvin, appeared to Protestant opinion leaders to be so many teaching moments to remind and instruct an increasingly diverse and foreign population about the events and ideas that in their eyes had determined Geneva's character, and ensured its eminent rank among the cities of the world. The period from 1835, the tercentenary of the Genevan Reformation, to 1909, Calvin's four-hundredth birthday, consequently saw unprecedented organisational efforts devoted to commemorating the heritage of the Reformation. They were spearheaded not by the public authorities, but by what was now known as the Protestant National Church, evangelical leaders, and private committees composed of leading members from the old Protestant elite. For those involved in their planning, determining what in the city's Reformation legacy deserved to be honoured was not controversy-free, with the growth of evangelicalism having engendered splits and secessions and one wing of liberalism having become hostile to clericalisms of all stripes. Historical understanding of the Reformation also deepened and changed over this century of great interest in history. As this happened, the themes highlighted in the commemorations changed as well.

The first commemorative high point was the three-hundredth anniversary of the Genevan Reformation in 1835. Planned by a committee of pastors, professors and lay notables, its commemoration included several features typical of Reformation centennials under the ancien régime, notably special sermons, commemorative medals, and the preparation of didactic histories. The scale of the event was nonetheless far larger than previous Genevan Reformation centennials and included a far more varied menu of activities. The central four days of the commemoration (August 21–24) combined speeches, sermons, a *grande fête musicale* (planned by the pastor of the local Lutheran church), illuminations, and banquets. Hot air balloons were launched, and a shooting contest was staged. To pass the message along to the next generation, special assemblies were held in the city's churches open to children of all faiths, who received a small version of the commemorative medal and a history of Geneva's Reformation and its significance.[25]

One unquestionable novelty of the nineteenth century was the vogue for erecting statues in public places to great men who were not rulers or saints. In the run-up to this tri-centennial, Count Jean-Jacques de Sellon, a pacifist, politician and philanthropist, proposed a monument to Calvin in the form of a stele engraved '*la patrie reconnaissante*' topped by a bust of the reformer. Even after suggesting that it be sited inside the cathedral 'so as not to offend the sight of our Catholic fellow citizens' (the cathedral had been reserved for Protestant use ever since the Reformation), neither the political nor the ecclesiastical authorities could be convinced to support it, for the conviction that Calvin himself would

not have wanted such memorialisation was simply too strong.[26] Sellon had to content himself with erecting a large pyramidal tomb honouring Calvin on the terrace outside his house on the rue des Granges.[27] Instead, the organisers of the centennial raised funds to re-install the plaque of 1555–1558 commemorating the recovery of spiritual and temporal liberty, that had been taken down from the Hôtel de Ville after French annexation in 1798. It was now placed inside the cathedral, where it remains to this day. The displacement suggests that the post-Reformation myth of Geneva was no longer that of the entire 'République et Canton', but only of the Protestant community.

'Tolerance' was a watchword of the planning of the 1835 jubilee, and the organisers sought to involve Genevan citizens of all faiths, yet the celebration retained an emphatically Protestant cast. By the turn of the nineteenth century, a liberal, non-dogmatic faith had come to dominate the national church. The all-Protestant organising committee consequently spoke of 'promoting the grand principles of tolerance which are those of true Protestantism'. But the centrality of the Reformation to the city's destiny and identity remained a key theme. 'Geneva owes all it was and could still be to the Reformation: its independence, its institutions, its men, its laws, its national character, its monuments', the organisers proclaimed. Speakers expressed the hope that this moment of historical instruction might inspire all in the city to 'pass on to your children … the heritage of … family, religion and patriotism that constitute the soul of a people and alone can guarantee its continuation'. One even dared hope that it might yield 'a new covenant between the Almighty and his people'. For the first — but hardly the last — time, the event was given a substantial international dimension. Sixty foreign delegates representing many different Protestant denominations made the trip to Geneva, although several determinedly orthodox institutions such as Scotland's General Assembly and the Presbytery of Ulster failed to send representatives, an absence deplored in the official account of the Jubilee as a symptom of Protestant 'separatists' seeking to impose a straitjacket on consciences. Not all Genevans joined the celebration either. One local evangelical wrote a lively dialogue suggesting that amid the entire commemoration just one thing was missing: attention to Christ's saving message. A Catholic pamphleteer wrote that it was very nice of the organisers to invite Catholics to join the festivities, but 'we … have not forgotten that French and Savoyard blood runs through our veins and have no inclination to … play the hypocrite'. Still, the event touched a chord among the Protestant majority and perhaps even drew some Catholics. One estimate, perhaps exaggerated, claimed that 50,000 people took part in the various events. (The total population at the time was only 56,000). After a public banquet in the parish of Saint Gervais, three hundred attendees accompanied their pastors back to their houses with cries of 'Vive la Reformation! Vive l'Eglise nationale! Vivent nos pasteurs!'[28]

Over the next thirty years, evangelicalism sunk deep roots in Geneva. Local churchmen linked up with international Protestant associational networks and enhanced their place in these by recalling Geneva's historical importance to the

Reformation. Francophone Protestantism, or at least currents thereof, rediscovered the historical Calvin and his ideas, largely forgotten in the eighteenth century.[29] As the three-hundredth anniversary of Calvin's death in 1564 approached, feeling was stronger than before that a significant monument to him should be erected. The leader in promoting this idea was Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné, at once a free church pastor active in international evangelical associations and a renowned historian of the Reformation. He initially dreamed of a statue of Calvin atop a pillar on the shore of Lake Geneva, but soon abandoned this idea in favour of a much more practical construction, an auditorium that could serve as 'a tribune for the exposition and defense of the Gospel truths'. The project was launched in 1864. Money was raised from evangelical banking families in the city and internationally. By 1867, a two-thousand seat auditorium had been constructed known alternatively as the Calvinium or the Salle de la Reformation.[30] The top floor was given over to a Bibliothèque Calvinienne that built up a remarkable collection of books and objects concerning the reformer and served as a little Calvin museum. (Its ever-expanding collections would subsequently be transferred to the Musée Historique de la Réformation, founded in 1897, then put to academic use by the University of Geneva's Institut d'histoire de la Réformation, created in 1969). On completion, the Salle de la Réformation became Geneva's largest auditorium and turned out to have excellent acoustics. It therefore had a long and eventful life until its demolition in 1969, used not only for revival meetings and lectures on religious topics, but also for the first meetings of the League of Nations and, in the 1960s, rock concerts. Before its doors closed, Johnny Halliday played there.

The national church also marked the anniversary with a cycle of sermons about Calvin, the first known commemoration by the Geneva church linked to an event of his life. Five leading lights of local intellectual life, all professors of theology known for their speaking ability, mounted the pulpits of the Protestant parishes. Their sermons, soon published, were strikingly historical in character and not without ambivalence about the idea of honouring a mortal man rather than the eternal Word he served. One refrain ran: we are celebrating Calvin, but he was not the sole figure of importance in the Genevan Reformation, nor do we wish to make him into a saint. Another: Calvin had many great virtues, most notably his iron will and self-sacrificing dedication to his reforming mission, but he also had his flaws, notably intolerance for those who disagreed with him and an inclination toward theocracy.[31]

Forty-five years later, in 1909, the commemoration of Calvin reached its monumental apotheosis on the occasion of the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth with the laying of the foundation stone for the massive, 100-meter-long International Reformation Monument, or Reformers' Wall, that still looms over the Parc des Bastions just below the Old City. This was just the most ambitious and consequential project in a spate of activities held that year.

Before any positive celebration of Calvin's four-hundredth birthday could be attempted, however, his champions felt compelled to erect a smaller monument, expiatory rather than celebratory, to confront the great blot on his reputation that

the growth of Free Thought and the polemics of the debate over the separation of church and state had made notorious, the execution of Michael Servetus. In the run-up to 1909, a group led by the Calvin biographer and professor of church history at the Protestant theology faculty of Montauban, Emile Doumergue, spearheaded the erection of such a monument on the site of the gallows where the Anti-Trinitarian had been burned — a location, it might be observed, well away from the centre of town and from any crossroad or square of symbolic importance or high visibility. This took the form of a massive boulder with plaques on either side recalling the event and expressing atonement through a convoluted formula that so manifestly downplayed Calvin's personal responsibility for Servetus' arrest and condemnation that many questioned whether it truly served the purpose. The wording read:

> As grateful and respectful sons of our great reformer Calvin, condemning an error typical of his era, and firmly attached to liberty of conscience in keeping with the true principles of the Reformation and the Gospel, we erected this monument on October 27 1903.[32]

An ironic epilogue can be added to this story. By the turn of the twenty-first century, the expiatory monument had become an overlooked bit of the cityscape, half-hidden between a bus shelter and encroaching bushes in an awkward space behind the University hospital complex. In 2011 the Mayor of Saragossa visited for a conference of mayors and learned that the monument did not include a figurative representation of his region's famous native son. He offered to donate a copy of the sculpture of Servetus initially cast for a monument erected by French free-thinkers in Annemasse and later reproduced in Saragossa. Geneva's left-wing mayor unhesitatingly accepted the offer. Thus, with virtually no local initiative and little ceremony, did an image of the poor, imprisoned doctor shivering in rags come to be placed just beneath the expiatory boulder [Fig. 15.1].[33]

The planning that went into the Calvin jubilee of 1909 was done by a committee that included representatives of the different Protestant tendencies of the time, but one man, Charles Borgeaud, emerged as its driving spirit. In the preceding decades, the *Kulturkampf* had cemented the view that Protestantism was the religion of modernity and Catholicism that of reaction. Borgeaud, an internationally educated law professor and proto-political-scientist, was one of the most important early expositors of the sophisticated academic version of that view according to which Calvinist Protestantism was the matrix of modern democracy. For a Geneva that Borgeaud believed had been more profoundly shaped by the Reformation than by any other event but was 'no longer the Huguenot republic of former times' but instead 'one of the capitals of the modern world', he envisaged a monument not to Calvin alone, but instead to a certain idea of Calvin's and the Genevan Reformation's world-historical importance. Deferring to the concern expressed by the speakers of 1864 that Calvin not be seen as sole shaper of the Genevan Reformation, his sculptural programme placed 30-foot-high statues of

FIGURE 15.1 Expiatory monument (upper right) and statue (lower left) of Michael Servetus. Photograph: Judith Benedict.

Farel, Beza, and Knox alongside Calvin in the centre. Flanking them were smaller statues of carefully selected Protestant heroes from other lands such as William the Silent, Oliver Cromwell, and Roger Williams, alternating with bas-reliefs depicting events such as the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, William and Mary accepting the English Bill of Rights, and the Great Elector welcoming Huguenot refugees to Brandenburg. This was a representation in stone of what the cutting edge of international social science then considered to be the Calvinist Reformation's essential role in promoting the modern, universal values of toleration and human rights — a legacy the entire city could be proud of and that, as an international monument for a city that was now the seat of the International Red Cross, could be largely financed by donations from abroad. Theodore Roosevelt served as the honorary chair of the American fundraising committee. Kaiser Wilhelm II contributed. After Hungarian Protestants made particularly generous gifts, Istvan Bocksai was added to the tableau.[34] An international competition resulted in the selection of a group of Swiss architects to design the monument and of the French artists Henri Bouchard and Paul Landowski (later responsible for the Christ of Rio de Janeiro) to sculpt it [Fig. 15.2].

Special church services, concerts, banquets, a parade in historical costumes, fireworks, and children's events were also on the programme for 1909, while the *Journal de Genève* saw fit to publish a special issue devoted to the centennial.

Doumergue opened the festivities with a lecture in the cathedral entitled 'Calvin, Geneva's Preacher'. At the University, Nathanaël Weiss, the guiding spirit of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, spoke on 'The Reformation and Modern Thought'. The participation of prominent academic figures charged with explaining the historical significance of the Reformation had been a constant in local centennial observations since 1617. Now, in an age of increased mobility, the featured speakers came from abroad.[35]

Meanwhile, the nineteenth century did not forget the Escalade. During the 1840s, the Protestant Union made December 12 a date on which to rally its members and 'all true Protestants' at the cathedral to recall the event. In 1857, a fountain with bas-reliefs depicting the defence of the city was erected in the commercial heart of town, although inaugurated without ceremony because the subject was still confessionally marked and considered politically inflammatory. In the 1860s and 1870s, and then again from 1898 onward, prominent pastors spoke about the event at the Salle de la Reformation. But it would be by de-confessionalising and folklorising the form of remembrance that public commemoration of the Escalade would be enduringly reinvented at the century's end. In 1898 the 'Geneva Patriotic Association for the Renewal of the Escalade' was founded to prepare for the upcoming three-hundredth anniversary. The major citywide celebration it mounted for 1902 included forms of church-based remembrance that show, through their evocation of the event during Catholic and Jewish services alongside sermons in the Protestant temples, that the non-Protestant religious groups were now well enough integrated into the body politic to associate themselves with its commemoration so long as this was cast chiefly as a manifestation of civic patriotism and historical recollection. The bishop even issued a dispensation allowing Catholics to eat meat on the Friday on which the anniversary fell. But the central element of the public commemoration designed by the association was a historical cortege: men and women dressed in period costume and impersonating figures of 1602 marched through the streets in solemn procession, stopping regularly to read out the names of those who died defending the city. This form of ceremony proved so successful that it was soon made an annual event. It was taken in hand in 1926 by a private association, the Compagnie de 1602, which flourishes to this day, as does the annual procession. Five years after the tri-centennial, the Department of Public Instruction decreed that special lessons about the event be given in every school on the date. Related rituals subsequently grew up, the most famous being the ritual shattering of a chocolate soup kettle by the youngest and eldest person present as all intone 'thus perish the enemies of the republic'. A hugely popular foot race through the Old City was initiated in 1978 that now draws 30,000 participants. The holiday has increasingly become a high point in Geneva's annual calendar, an occasion for the long-time Genevans who eagerly seek membership in the Compagnie de 1602 to remind a globalised city with a large component of recent arrivals working for high-turnover international organisations and corporations of the distinctiveness of the place in which they find themselves.

While this folklorised and deconfessionalised celebration of the city's distinctive past flourished in the twentieth- and twenty-first century, the zeal for other Reformation-related commemorations diminished even while their frequency increased. When the Reformers' Wall was completed on schedule in 1917, Europe was three years into a murderous war pitting some Protestant countries whose heroes were depicted on the wall against others. The monument's inauguration was a discreet local affair that contrasted sharply with the gathering of international eminences for the laying of the cornerstone. The chiming of temple bells in unison, topical sermons and a few historical brochures also soberly noted the four-hundredth anniversary of the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses that year.[36] In the war's aftermath, the choice of Geneva as the seat of the League of Nations decisively accelerated the shift in its civic identity from Protestant Rome to international centre of peace and human rights. As clashing secular ideologies of the left and right came to dominate political debate, the question of religion receded in importance. Confessional rivalry gave way to ecumenism. Religious practice declined. Historians of the Reformation ceased to think that Calvinist Protestantism constituted the high road to modernity. In this context, major monuments to the reformers or their legacy were no longer proposed, although a minor change was made to the Reformers' Wall in 2002 to include the name of a woman of importance in the local Reformation, Marie Dentière. More generally, it became harder and harder to muster wide support for the commemorations or make them

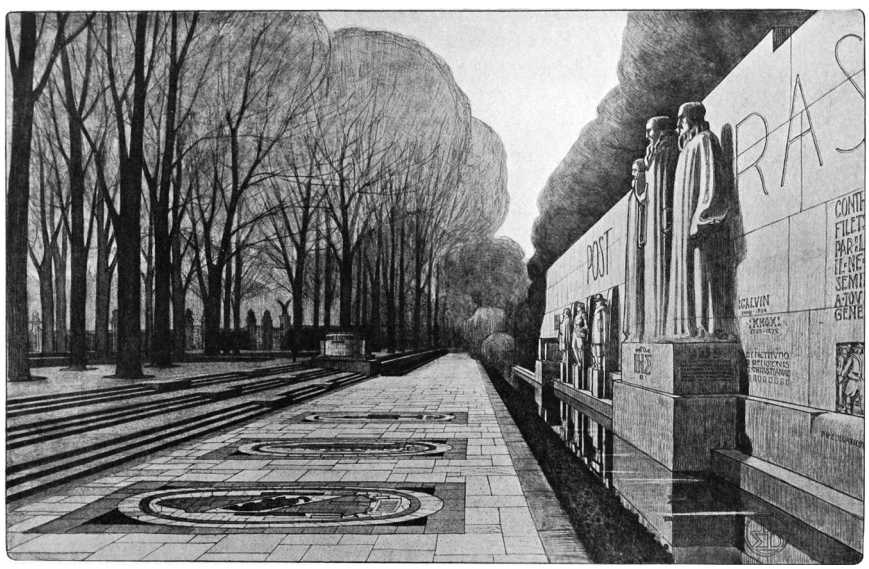

FIGURE 15.2 Design sketch by Alphonse Laverriere and Eugène Monod for the Reformers' Wall, incorporating Charles Borgeaud's programme, from *The International Studio*, 1909.
(https://archive.org/stream/internationalstu00newy10#page/160/mode/1up).

do the kind of political work they had done between 1835 and 1909. Recalling the most important events of the past at every fifty-year and hundred-year anniversary had nonetheless become such a deeply ingrained practice that more centenary events were staged over the century following the end of the Great War than ever before: the 400th anniversary of the Genevan Reformation in 1936, Calvin's 450th birthday in 1959, the 400th anniversary of Calvin's death in 1964, the 450th anniversary of the Genevan Reformation in 1986, Calvin's 500th birthday in 2009, and most recently the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in 2017. As each date approached, the church, the University's theology faculty, and in 2009 and 2017 the university's non-confessional Institute of Reformation History saw that the anniversary offered useful opportunities: for the church, to try to renew a commitment to the faith or simply remind the population of Protestantism's historical place in the city; for the theologians, to re-examine Calvin's work to see what remained of contemporary relevance; for the historians, to present the fruits of their academic research to a wider public than normal. They consequently responded to the solicitation of each date by mounting a panoply of events that typically included a special church service (now often broadcast via radio or television), an academic conference, the publication of one or more commemorative histories, and a component aimed at a broader public that might vary from a 'Huguenot village' to historical dramas to comic book contests.

The four-hundredth anniversary of the Genevan Reformation was celebrated in 1936, not 1935, because under Borgeaud's prodding Geneva had chosen since 1909 to foreground as the decisive moment in the local Reformation an event that seemed less insurrectionary and more democratic than the outlawing of the mass and expropriation of church property in August 1535: the formal adoption of the Reformation by oath at a general assembly of citizens in May 1536. One high point of the 1936 commemoration was a ceremony in which a crowd estimated by its organisers at 25–30,000 gathered at the Reformers' Wall to swear the oath anew. (The total population of the Socialist-governed canton by then had risen to 170,000 people). The lectures and sermons by pastors that the church gathered into a book entitled *The Reformed Faith that We Promised to Uphold* continued to cast the Reformation as the event that forged the city's destiny, but in the sombre atmosphere of the times, with Fascism and Communism both on the rise internationally and the industrial city in the grip of economic crisis, the essence of the Reformation legacy was understood differently than in 1909. Younger pastors influenced by Karl Barth grappled more deeply with Calvin's actual teachings than had been the case in prior jubilees, finding in them an ethic of responsibility and a source of consolation that they hoped could offer solutions to a troubled world.[37]

By 1986, a significant fraction of Genevans of Protestant ancestry was beginning to fall away from the faith and identify as areligious. In the 1980 census, only thirty per cent of the population checked the 'Protestant' box. As the church leaders felt their hold over the public diminishing, they gave the occasion a more festive character in an effort to draw in as much of the population as possible. A comic

book contest, children's books, guided tours and exhibitions, a party in historical dress, a reconstitution of a market square, and an international village were all on the agenda. With ecumenism now strong in Geneva, an official ceremony involving the civic authorities and the president of the Confederation included an address by a Catholic curé in the name of an ecumenical working group, the Rassemblement des Eglises de Genève. Yet the fun-filled programme for the *grand public* could not hide the anxious uncertainty of the most perceptive Protestant leaders about the relevance and posterity of the Reformation in an increasingly de-Christianised and ecumenical Europe. The professor of church history at the University's theology faculty, Olivier Fatio, the scion of an old and distinguished Genevan family who subsequently become the faculty's dean and director of the Institut d'histoire de la Réformation, asked in a provocative paper: does Protestantism have a future? A collective volume written with several colleagues sought to define the relevance of the Reformation message for the present, without really succeeding in articulating a clear answer. The uncertainty and disagreement expressed in the essays revealed how much the local and international religious landscape had changed since 1909, when the Reformation's significance seemed so clear, positive, and wide-reaching.[38]

The five-hundredth anniversary of Calvin's birth in 2009 came around just before the 2010 census revealed that declared Protestants were only twelve per cent of the population. It brought two large outreach events, one chiefly academic and international, the other more ecclesiastical and locally oriented, as well as issues of local magazines with leading personalities commenting on what Geneva owed to Calvin.[39] The scale, however, was small in comparison with a hundred years previously. The city's engagement was minimal by comparison with Rousseau's 300th birthday three years later. With the Barthianism that was growing in the 1930s now on the wane, the awkward theological position in which the spokesmen of the mainline Reformed found themselves as they sought to expound Calvin's legacy was summed up by the title of a short book by the Lausanne theology professor Bernard Reymond, *Protestantism and Calvin: What's To Be Done with such a Bothersome Ancestor?* [40] The international academic conference explored Calvin's legacy across the centuries as so many episodes from a now bygone era.[41]

Geneva still houses guardians of the flame of Protestant identity, the clearest proof being the ambitious new Musée International de la Réformation, opened in 2005 in an elegant eighteenth-century residence next door to the cathedral. Fatio was the guiding force behind the museum's creation. Financing came from private sources, chiefly old Protestant families and foundations. One can speculate that the museum's creation responded in part to a belief in these circles that something needed to be provided to satisfy the demand of tourists who come to Geneva looking for the cradle of Calvinism. Text within the museum made it clear that it sought to illustrate with state-of-the-art museology the tradition of historical mainline Protestantism, especially in its francophone variants, for both residents and visitors unfamiliar with it and inclined to associate Protestantism with mega-churches and Pentecostalism. While the MIR quickly established itself as one of

Geneva's five most visited museums, it seems symbolic of the Reformation's place in present-day Genevan memory and identity that its current annual attendance of roughly 20,000 people is just a fourth of that of the Red Cross Museum.[42]

Conclusion

This examination of Genevan public memory practices across the early modern/modern divide has provided us an interesting mix of continuity and change. The new religious order so powerfully imprinted on the city at the Reformation was marked by exceptional liturgical austerity and led by a man insistent that a cult of personality not grow up around him. In keeping with this original character, the earliest forms of public commemoration of the Reformation were modest: an *ex-voto*-like plaque placed on the Hôtel de Ville; mention of the event in calendars; more plaques, a tomb to the victims, and services of thanksgiving in the city's churches after the 1602 repulsing of the Savoyard escalade; nothing more than a history lesson at the annual school promotion ceremony on the hundredth anniversary of the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses. After the more elaborate jubilee celebrations held in many German territories in 1617 publicised the practice of celebrating centennials of major historical events, Genevan centennials of the local Reformation gradually incorporated such conventional components of these as commemorative medals, publications, and special sermons. In the changed circumstances of the nineteenth century, after the dramatic reshaping of both Geneva's political status and its religious composition, centennial and half-centennial celebrations increased in frequency and grew in scale, even while the state withdrew from sponsoring them, contrary to what Pierre Nora's remarks about modern commemoration would lead us to expect. Concerts, academic conferences, and historical re-enactments were added to the mix of commemorative practices, along with hot-air balloon rides or comic book contests. The blend of celebration, reflection, education, and recreation varied each time, but the trend was clearly to increase the last element as public outreach became a growing priority of the organising committees. If the nineteenth- and twentieth-century commemorations can be seen as attempts by the leadership of the Protestant fraction of the population to compensate for the Reformed loss of confessional exclusivity and influence by reminding a changing population of what the city owed to the Reformation, a clear shift can also be seen in where they located this legacy. Under the ancien régime, it lay with the recovery of the Gospel, the reformation of manners, and the establishment of urban independence, all of which were interconnected. The nineteenth century placed more emphasis on toleration and the liberation of minds from the tyranny of authority. At the turn of the twentieth century, the finest fruits of the Genevan Reformation were seen as its promotion of stable representative government, human rights, and the humane treatment of refugees. As the twentieth century advanced, however, uncertainty about where to locate the positive legacy of the Reformation grew. At the same time, the rise of secular ideologies, ecumenism, declining religious practice, and the shift in urban identity toward '*La*

Genève internationale' made that legacy, whatever it might be, less salient to either politics or personal identity for much of the population. More commemorations than ever were held, but their importance dwindled.

Already by the later seventeenth century, one event, the annual commemoration of the Escalade, belied Geneva's otherwise deserved reputation for sobriety. The public authorities decreed an annual sermon of thanksgiving in the immediate aftermath of the event. Alongside it, much to the dismay of churchmen, a series of festive forms of celebratory commemoration sprang up including banquets and public singing. The more formally organised component of the annual celebration changed in character in an oscillating fashion over the centuries. Born in the confessional age and initially marked by a heavy dose of anti-Catholicism, it became more focused on patriotic themes in the eighteenth century, took on a renewed, if more sublimated, confessional character for most of the nineteenth century after the secular authorities stepped away from supporting it lest they offend the ex-Savoyard portion of the population, and finally became folklorised and stripped of its anti-Catholic components at the beginning of the twentieth century in a manner that allowed the public authorities to embrace it anew. The precise mix of such popular practices as banquets, nocturnal noise-making, singing special songs, and children going door-to-door may also have altered over time, although we lack the evidence to trace the waxing and waning of each of these with precision. Whatever their mix, they were what ensured the perpetuation of the celebration from the eighteenth century to the present. Historians of holidays overlook the place of *homo ludens* in their story at their peril.

Geneva did not escape the statuemania of the nineteenth century, but as monuments to a range of benefactors and heroes began to dot the cityscape, statues of Geneva's greatest Reformation hero remained all but totally absent. This was not because of enduring Calvinist iconophobia; it was because so many of those most inclined to honour Calvin knew that to do so with a statue contradicted his thought. When Charles Borgeaud proposed a symbolisation in stone of Geneva's central place in Calvinism's larger world-historical role, a vast bas-relief in which the reformer was just one figure among many, he inspired the construction of what was almost certainly the largest Reformation monument anywhere in Europe at the time. This was a true discontinuity of form in Geneva's commemoration of its Reformation.

Meanwhile, if one continuity stands out throughout our tale, it is the recurring role of academic historians in articulating the significance of the events commemorated. In the seventeenth century, Theodore Tronchin and Frederick Spanheim, both professors of theology but also historians in their spare time, explained on centennial occasions why the Reformation was important for both the city and the wider world. From 1865 through 2005, Jean-Henri Merle d'Aubigné, Charles Borgeaud, Emile Doumergue, and Olivier Fatio not only spoke at the major commemorations and wrote the books and brochures produced for the occasion; they shaped the most important constructions of each epoch. Social memory and academic history are communicating realms.

Notes

1 Alain Dufour, 'Le Mythe de Genève au Temps de Calvin', *Revue Suisse d'Histoire* 9 (1959), 489–518.
2 Pierre Nora, 'The Era of Commemoration', in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, ed. Pierre Nora (New York, 1996; original French ed., Paris, 1988–1992), III: 609–637. John Gillis, 'Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship', in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton, 1994), 3–20, also posits a distinctive post-Revolutionary era of commemoration focused on the nation.
3 Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800* (Oxford, 2017).
4 Charles Zika, 'The Reformation Jubilee of 1617: Appropriating the Past in European Centenary Celebration', first published in D. Kennedy, ed., *Authorized Pasts: Essays in Official History* (Melbourne, 1995), reprinted in Charles Zika, *Exorcising our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2003), 199.
5 Winfried Müller, 'Erinnern an die Gründung: Universitätsjubiläen, Universitätsgeschichte und die Entstehung der Jubiläumskultur in der frühen Neuzeit', *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 21, no. 2–3 (1998), 79–102.
6 Thomas E. W. Slettebo, 'In Memory of Divine Providence: A Study of Centennial Commemoration in Eighteenth-Century Denmark-Norway (1717–1760)' (PhD thesis, University of Bergen, 2015), chapters 6–7.
7 Notably Jean-Pierre Ferrier, 'Histoire de la Fête de l'Escalade', in *L'Escalade de Genève—1602: Histoire et Tradition*, ed. Paul Frédéric Geisendorf (Geneva, 1952), 487–530; Olivier Fatio, 'Quelle Réformation? Les Commémorations Genevoises de la Réformation à travers les Siècles', *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 118, no. 2 (1986), 111–30; Mireille Lador, 'Le Jubilé de la Réformation de 1835 à Genève: "Religion-Patrie-Tolérance"', *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève* 25 (1995), 97–110; Sarah Scholl, '"Nous sur notre montagne…" Le Jubilé de 1917 et l'Identité Réformée Helvétique', *Chrétiens et Sociétés* XVI^{e}–XXI^{e} siècles 23 (2016), 47–64; Antony Ardiri, *Les Enjeux du Souvenir: Calvin et les Jubilés de Genève en 1909* (Geneva, 2017); Christian Grosse, 'Célébrer la Providence Divine: Jubilé et Culture Commémorative Réformée (Genève, XVIe-XVIIe Siècle)', *Études Épisté* 32 (2017), 1–18.
8 Grosse, 'Célébrer la Providence Divine', 9.
9 Francesco Maiello, *Histoire du Calendrier: De la liturgie à l'Agenda* (Paris, 1996), esp. 155–66; Max Engammare, *L'Ordre du Temps: L'Invention de la Ponctualité au XVIe Siècle* (Geneva, 2004), chapter 4; Philip Benedict, 'Divided Memories? Historical Calendars, Commemorative Processions and the Recollection of the Wars of Religion during the Ancien Régime', *French History* 22, no. 4 (2008), 381–405 (385–8).
10 Zika, 'Reformation Jubilee', 200; Michael Mitterauer, 'Anniversarium und Jubiläum: Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung Öffentlicher Gedenktage', in *Der Kampf um das Gedächtnis: Öffentliche Gedenktage in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Emil Brix and Hannes Stekl (Vienna, 1997), 23–89 (54).
11 Zika, 'Reformation Jubilee', 197–236; Thomas Albert Howard, 'Remembering the Reformation, 1617, 1817 and 1883: Commemoration as an Agent of Continuity and Change', in *Protestantism after Five Hundred Years*, ed. Thomas Albert Howard and Mark A. Noll (Oxford, 2016), 25–46; Christopher W. Close, 'Reawakening the "Old Evangelical Zeal": The 1617 Reformation Jubilee and Collective Memory in Strasbourg and Ulm', *SCJ* 48, no. 2 (2017), 299–321.
12 'Discours du recteur Théodore Tronchin prononcé à l'occasion de la cérémonie des promotions du Collège de Genève' (May 7, 1617), *Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève*, vol. XIII, ed. Gabriella Cahier, Nicolas Fornerod, and Matteo Compagnolo (Geneva, 2001), 330–43.
13 Fatio, 'Quelle Réformation?', 111–3.
14 Maria-Cristina Pitassi, *De l'Orthodoxie aux Lumières: Genève 1670–1737* (Geneva, 1992), 55–61; Pitassi, 'Entre Liberté et Nostalgie: Noël à Genève aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles', in *C'est la faute à Voltaire, c'est la faute à Rousseau*, ed. R. Durand (Geneva, 1997), 321–30.
15 J.-M. Paris, *Le jubilé de la Réformation célébré à Genève le 21 août 1735* (Geneva, 1870).

16 On which see Benedict, 'Divided Memories?', 383–4, 390–7, and the literature cited there.
17 François Ruchon, 'Les Chansons de l'Escalade', in Geisendorf, ed., *L'Escalade de Genève*, 323–64.
18 Ruchon, 'La Littérature de l'Escalade', 321–77, in Geisendorf, ed., *L'Escalade de Genève*, esp. 324, 325, 336.
19 Ferrier, 'Histoire de la Fête de l'Escalade', 498. Unless otherwise noted, this deeply researched article is the basis for all statements about the Escalade celebrations in this and subsequent paragraphs.
20 On Guy Fawkes day, see David Cressy's pioneering *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989); Cressy, 'The Fifth of November Remembered', in *Myths of the English*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge, 1993), 68–90.
21 Ferrier, 'Histoire de la Fête de l'Escalade', 500.
22 Ferrier, 'Histoire de la Fête de l'Escalade', 503.
23 Ferrier, 'Histoire de la Fête de l'Escalade', 519.
24 Irène Herrmann, *Genève entre République et Canton: Les Vicissitudes d'une Intégration Nationale (1814–1846)* (Geneva, 2003), esp. 227–58.
25 *Jubilé de la Réformation à Genève. Août 1835. Historique et conférences* (Geneva, 1835); Fatio, 'Quelle Réformation?', 116–20; Lador, 'Jubilé de la Réformation de 1835', 98–104.
26 J.-J. Sellon, *Notice sur le monument proposé par le comte de Sellon, fondateur de la Société de la paix de Genève, à l'occasion du jubilé de l'an 1835* (Geneva, 1835), 2.
27 David Ripoll, 'Un Hommage Contrarié: Le Monument à Calvin du comte Jean-Jacques de Sellon', in *Une Question de Goût: La Collection Zoubov à Genève*, ed. Frédéric Elsig (Milan, 2013), 34–41.
28 *Jubilé de la Réformation à Genève. Août 1835*, 6, 23, 74; Fatio, 'Quelle Réformation?', 116–123, esp. 117, 122 (citing the contemporary *Dialogues sur le jubilé annoncé par les ministres de Genève, entre un élève catholique du collège de Carouge et un élève protestant du collège de Genève*); Lador, 'Jubilé de la Réformation de 1835', 104–8.
29 André Encrevé, 'Lost, Then Found: Calvin in French Protestantism, 1830–1940', in *Calvin and His Influence, 1509–2009*, ed. Irena Backus and Philip Benedict (Oxford, 2011), pp. 224–54.
30 Luc Weibel, 'Un Rêve de Merle d'Aubigné: La Salle de la Réformation à Genève', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 152 (2006), 245–63; Weibel, *Croire à Genève: La Salle de la Réformation (XIXe Siècle–XXe Siècle)* (Geneva, 2006).
31 *Calvin. Cinq discours prêchés à Genève le 29 mai 1864 par MM. Oltramare, Coulin, Tournier, Bungener et Gaberel* (Geneva, 1864).
32 Ardiri, *Enjeux du souvenir*, 61–74; Valentine Zuber, 'Servetus vs. Calvin: A Battle of Monuments during the Secularization of the French Third Republic', in *Sober, Strict and Scriptural: Collective Memories of John Calvin, 1800–2000*, ed. Herman Paul, Johan de Niet, and Bart Wallet (Leiden, 2009), 167–94.
33 'Une Statue Réhabilite Michel Servet, Humaniste Condamné au Bûcher', *Tribune de Genève*, October 4, 2011, 23.
34 *Monument international de la Réformation à Genève/ International Monument of the Calvinian Reformation/ Internationales Denkmal der Genfer Reformation. Guide-Mémorial* (Geneva, [1909?]); *Monument internationale de la Réformation à Genève* ([Geneva?], [1909?]), Alexandre Claparède, *Les voix magyares au Jubilé de Calvin, Genève 1909* (Geneva, 1910); Ardiri, *Enjeux du souvenir*, 158–161. On the prominent place of Calvin and Calvinism in Hungarian nationalism c. 1900, see Botond Gaál, '"Calvin's Truth" and "Hungarian Religion": Remembering a Reformer', in Paul, de Niet, and Wallet, eds., *Sober, Strict and Scriptural*, 97–124.
35 *Jubilé de Calvin à Genève: juillet 1909: allocutions, adresses, lettres et documents* (Geneva, 1910); *Actes du Jubilé de 1909, Université de Genève* (Geneva, 1910).
36 Scholl, 'Nous sur notre montagne…', 47–64.
37 Fatio, 'Quelle Réformation?', 124–8.
38 Alain Dufour et al., *1536: Quelle Réforme!* (Geneva, 1986).

39 International Congress 'Calvin and His Influence 1509–2009' sponsored by an ad hoc Association Calvin 2009, the Musée Historique de la Réformation, and the University of Geneva's Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation and Faculté Autonome de Théologie Protestante; '1509–2009 Jubilé Calvin Genève' sponsored by the Association Jubilé Calvin-Genève; 'Calvin revient!', *Tribune de Genève*, 17–18 January 2009; 'Un Homme Nommé Calvin. L'Héritage de la Réforme. Son Influence sur Genève. Témoignages de Romands', special issue of *L'Hebdo*, 2009; 'Que reste-t-il de Calvin?', *Campus* no. 94 (April–May 2009).

40 Reymond, *Le Protestantisme et Calvin: Que faire d'un Aïeul si Encombrant?* (Geneva, 2009). Cf. Martin Ernst Hirzel and Martin Sallmann ed., *John Calvin's Impact on Church and Society, 1509–2009* (Grand Rapids, 2009), a volume of essays commissioned by the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches; 'Jean Calvin à Genève', 3 volume c.d. produced by www.Calvin09.org.

41 Backus and Benedict ed., *Calvin and His Influence* (see note 29).

42 Information kindly provided by Gabriel de Montmollion, director of the MIR, telephone conversation, April 6, 2018.