Introduction

Pilgrim shrines were beacons of healing, holiness, and truth in the landscape of early modern France. How they became so – in response to pilgrims' hopes and religious discord – is the story I tell in this book.

Scattered over the kingdom's landscape in the late middle ages, shrines could be found in cities and towns, or in villages or hamlets not far from a larger settlement.[1] Many were tiny places, largely outside the parish structure, built by local communities, dedicated to the Virgin Mary or a saint taken as a holy protector against disease or natural disaster. Many claimed a spring, a fountain, or a beloved image as their centerpiece. Stories spread about shrines' marvels and miracles.

But the sixteenth century interrupted the life of these cherished places, as the Reformation and religious wars left a trail of destruction across the French kingdom. A half-century of iconoclasm, riot, and war undermined public order in towns, cities, and regions. Royal and local authorities were under siege. Churches, images, and the material patrimony of Christianity were damaged. Some were destroyed. Yet something equally important – and more elusive than buildings and public order – was left in ruins: a commonly shared agreement about religious truth. In this book, I explore how bishops, chaplains, patrons, magistrates, villagers and townspeople, pilgrims, and visitors struggled to reckon with doubt and iconoclasm by creating pilgrim shrines as natural, legendary, and historic places whose authority might provide a new foundation for Catholic life.

The book's title, *Storied Places*, highlights the collaborative process of creating significant places by means of story – specifically the legends, myths, and histories told, retold, revised, and publicized about shrines,

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[1] For a useful typology of shrines, see Roger Devos, "Chapelles et dévotions populaires dans le diocèse de Genève-Annecy aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," in *Vie religieuse en Savoie: Mentalités, associations,* Mémoires et documents publiés par l'Académie Salésienne, 95 (Annecy: Académie Salésienne, 1988), 139–47. The Savoyard chapels Devos discusses are functionally identical to the shrines under discussion here.

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over time and across space. Shrines accrued their meanings through story, but they were also built of what nature offered – mountains, valleys, rivers, and springs. A glimpse of what nature and art together wrought can be seen in an early seventeenth-century drawing of Le Puy's Saint-Michel d'Aiguilhe (Figure 0.1), a tenth-century chapel of Saint Michael built atop a volcanic plug or needle. Part I of this book explores three places, each with its own legend, landscape, and past: Sainte-Reine in Burgundy, two Marian shrines in the central Pyrenees, and Notre-Dame du Puy in Languedoc. Part II recounts how seventeenth-century chaplains authored books about their shrines, employing history, myth, and archives to prove that the shrines were authentic and the truths they exemplified were beyond dispute. Shrines absorbed this complex alchemy of nature, history, and legend. They promised spiritual favors, attracted pilgrims, and bravely tried to counter doubts in a world that no longer agreed upon the foundation of divine truth.

Pilgrim shrines might be described as charismatic because the word's rich history suggests the dynamism, effervescence, and power of those special places. English-language dictionaries tell us that the Greek-derived word charisma denotes either divinely conferred power or the capacity to inspire devotion and enthusiasm.[2] Max Weber brilliantly highlighted the uniquely creative impulses embedded in charismatic authority, which he saw not just as the attribute of an individual leader or prophet, but also as a feature of collective projects like the formation of new institutions or religious and political movements.[3] Early modern pilgrim shrines embraced all these qualities: belief in divinely conferred power, a capacity to inspire devotion, and the creative potential of charismatic authority.

Weber's notion of charisma helps us to understand two features of pilgrim shrines that at first seem like odd contradictions, but in the end prove to be sources of dynamic power. Chaplains claimed that their shrines were both old and new: They were ancient places recently reanimated by divine favor, as cures and other miracles attested. Shrines joined the time-honored to the unexpected, a compelling juxtaposition that describes the obviously ancient Notre-Dame du Puy, the ambiently ancient Sainte-Reine, and the newer shrines of the Pyrenees. A second contradiction unites nature, humanity, and divinity. Shrines and their

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[2] Oxford English Dictionary, sv "charisma."
[3] Max Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers,* ed. S. N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968). The relationship of charismatic authority to institution building is more fully elaborated in Weber, *The Theory of Economic and Social Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1947).
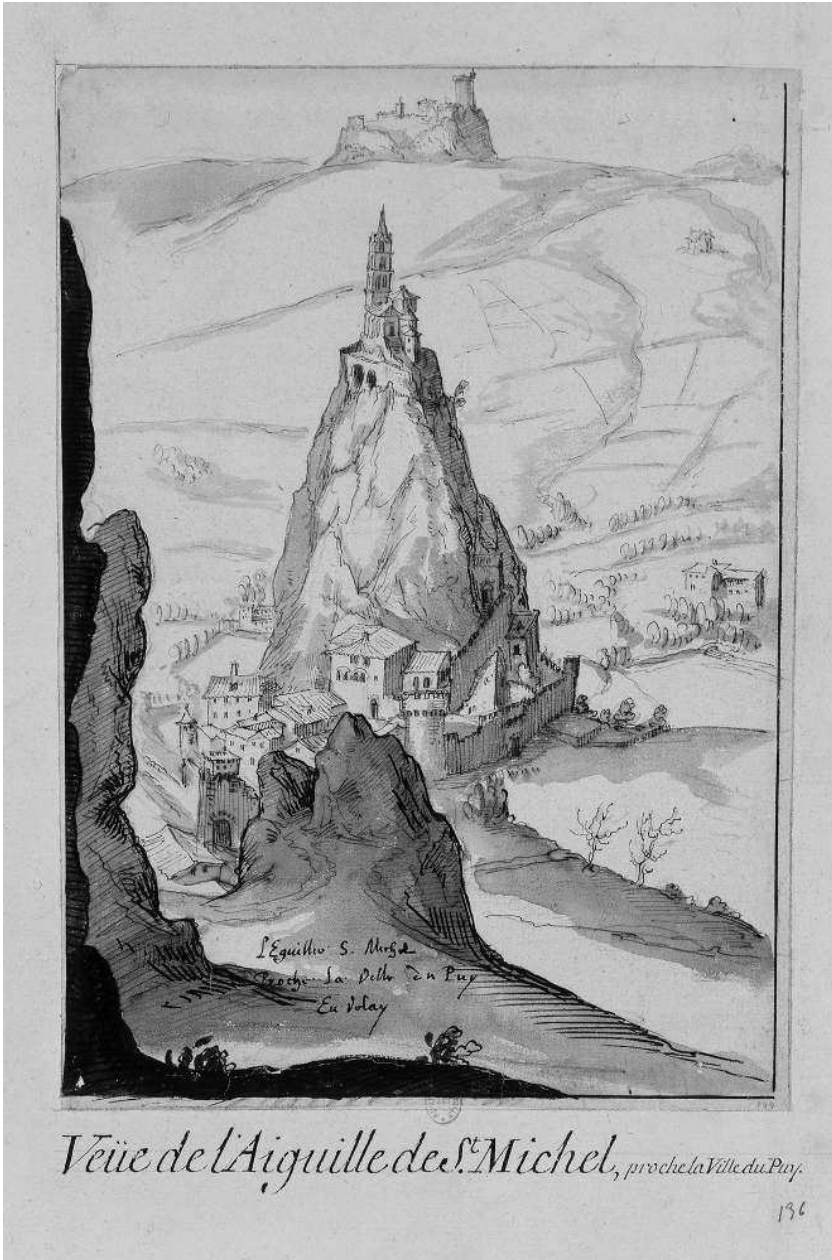
Figure 0.1 Étienne Martellange, *Veüe de l'Aiguille de St Michel, proche la Ville du Puy* (1611). Bibliothèque Nationale de France

spiritual gifts were made of what nature and the landscape offered: rivers and springs at Sainte-Reine, waters and mountains in the Pyrenees, and volcanic landscapes in Le Puy. Hewn from natural elements, shrines were anchored to the earth. Yet at the same time they were created by divine election and human labor. The oscillation between old and new, when added to the sometimes unruly union of humanity, divinity, and nature, produced the most notable features of early modern shrines.

I chose Sainte-Reine, Notre-Dame du Puy, and the Pyrenean shrines for a close examination not because they precisely represent shrines of the era, though they have much in common with popular shrines in France, Spain, Germany, Italy, the Low Countries, and New Spain. Rather, the three places reveal the range of locales, landscapes, spiritual patrons, and histories that pilgrim shrines claimed. Notre-Dame du Puy sat inside the walls of a small city, while Sainte-Reine was in a Burgundian village and the Pyrenean shrines were located outside small hamlets. A major concern of this book is to show how shrines and their legends were constructed out of what nature and the landscape offered. All three places demonstrate this. Sainte-Reine and the Pyrenean shrines were near springs and medicinal waters. Notre-Dame du Puy was lodged into a cluster of volcanic peaks, and one of the Pyrenean shrines was built on a mountain. Many French shrines were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, as at Le Puy and the Pyrenean shrines. But saints' cults, with their relics and monastic heritage, also drew pilgrims to shrines like Sainte-Reine. The three regions of Burgundy, Languedoc, and the central Pyrenees represent different experiences of confessional conflict, violence, and war, experiences that shaped the shrines' profiles and appeal to pilgrims in the aftermath of the wars. All the shrines boasted a foundation legend widely known in the early modern period, though details of the legends and their authors varied. Only by taking account of the particularities of specific places can we assemble a broader picture of shrines in the early modern French landscape and imagination.

Historians have long been interested in shrines, their founders and patrons, and the pilgrims who visited them. We have some excellent studies of shrines in early modern France, many of them focusing on what archives best document: how bishops, religious orders, and noble patrons built shrines and promoted pilgrimage.[4] Nicolas Balzamo, Sylvie

[4] Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, *Espace et sacré en Provence, XVIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle: Cultes, images, confréries* (Paris: Cerf, 1994); Dominique Julia, *Le voyage aux saints: Les pèlerinages dans l'Occident moderne (XVᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle)* (Paris: Gallimard/Seuil, 2016); André Vauchez, ed., *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires: Approches terminologiques, méthodologiques, historiques et monographiques* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2000), 241–95; Bruno Maes, *Le roi, la vierge, et la nation: Pèlerinages et identité nationale entre guerre de Cent*

Barnay, William B. Taylor, and others have published compelling
studies of shrines' miracles, legends, and images.[5] The online inventory
of French Christian shrines by Catherine Vincent and her colleagues
provides valuable data about hundreds of shrines across France,
grounded in archival research and building inventories.[6] Beyond France,
we have valuable studies of shrines, images, legends, and miracles in
early modern Europe and colonial Latin America.[7] Many early modern

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Ans et Révolution (Paris: Publisud, 2002); Maes, *Les livrets de pèlerinage: Imprimerie et culture dans la France moderne* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016); Maes, ed., *Pèlerinages et sanctuaires mariaux au XVIIe siècle: Manuscrit du père Vincent Laudun dominicain* (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2008); Robert Sauzet, *Chroniques des frères ennemis: Catholiques et Protestants à Nîmes du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Caen: Paradigme, 1992); Keith P. Luria, *Territories of Grace: Cultural Change in the Seventeenth-Century Diocese of Grenoble* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Philippe Martin, *Les chemins du sacré: Paroisses, processions, pèlerinages en Lorraine du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (Metz: Serpentoise, 1995); Catherine Vincent, ed., *Identités pèlerines: Actes du colloque de Rouen, 15–16 mai 2002* (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 2004); Elizabeth Tingle, "Long Distance Pilgrimage and the Counter Reformation in France: Sacred Journeys to the Mont Saint-Michel, 1520–1750," *Journal of Religious History* 41 (2017): 158–80.

[5] Nicolas Balzamo, *Les miracles dans la France du XVIe siècle: Métamorphoses du surnaturel* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014); Balzamo, *Les deux cathédrales: Mythe et histoire à Chartres (XIe–XXe siècle)* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012); Balzamo, "Renaissance d'un sanctuaire: Notre-Dame de Verdelais en Guyenne (1620–1624)," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 97 (2011): 81–101; Balzamo, "Objets incertains et croyances ambiguës: La Vierge et ses images miraculeuses dans le catholicisme moderne (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)," *Histoire, monde et cultures religieuses* 38 (2016): 87–103; Sylvie Barnay, *Un moment vécu d'éternité: Histoire médiévale des apparitions mariales (IVe–XVe siècle), lire et traduire le langage visionnaire* (thèse de doctorat en histoire, Université de Paris-X, 1997); Barnay, "Les apparitions de la Vierge au Puy: Histoire d'une topique," in *Jubilé et culte marial (moyen âge—époque moderne)*, ed. Bruno Maes, Daniel Moulinet, and Catherine Vincent (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2009), 37–48; Barnay, "'La bergère, l'apparition, l'annonce et le signe': Genèses des sanctuaires et apparitions de la Vierge. Réflexions de formes et de fonds," *Annali di studi religiosi* 2 (2002): 141–54; Barnay, "La chambre des anges de Notre-Dame du Puy: Une relecture de la fondation visionnaire du sanctuaire," in *Autour du culte marial en Forez: Coutumes, art, histoire* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1999), 33–45; Barnay, "Lorette, terre d'apparition mariale: Le sens de la légende au miroir de la mariophanie," in *Loreto: Crocevia religioso tra Italia, Europa ed Oriente*, ed. Ferdinando Citterio and Luciano Vaccaro (Brescia: Editrice Morcelliana, 1997), 73–95; William B. Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images in New Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Amy Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

[6] Inventaire des sanctuaires et lieux de pèlerinages chrétiens en France (Catherine Vincent, director; CNRS): http://sanctuaires.coldev.org/.

[7] William A. Christian, Jr., *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981); Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981); Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Craig Harline, *Miracles at the Jesus Oak: Histories of the Supernatural in Reformation Europe* (New York: Doubleday, 2003); Willem Frijhoff, *Embodied Belief:*

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shrines were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and historians and art histor-
ians have investigated the Marian theology, iconography, and legends
underlying them.[8] Incisive interpretations of images and iconoclasm by
Olivier Christin and Lee Palmer Wandel called attention to the theolo-
gies and meanings of images while also charting the complex politics of
image-breaking, all of which shed light on the power of shrines and their
images.[9] Nor has pilgrimage been neglected: Work by Victor and Edith
Turner and Alphonse Dupront continues to shape the way we under-
stand religious life in the early modern world.[10] Dominique Julia's more

    Ten Essays on Religious Culture in Dutch History (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2002);
Yves-Marie Bercé, *Lorette aux XVIᵉ et XVIIᵉ siècles: Histoire du plus grand pèlerinage
des temps modernes* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2011); Luciano
Vaccaro and Francesca Ricardi, eds., *Sacri monti: Devozione, arte e cultura della Contror-
iforma* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1992); Vauchez, ed., *Lieux sacrés*; Taylor, *Theater of a Thou-
sand Wonders*; Amy Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in
the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[8] Maes, *Le roi, la vierge, et la nation*; Olivier Christin, Fabrice Flückiger, and Naïma
Ghermani, eds., *Marie mondialisée: L'Atlas Marianus de Wilhelm Gumppenberg et les topo-
graphies sacrées de l'époque moderne* (Neuchâtel: Éditions Alphil-Presses Universitaires
Suisses, 2014); Christin and Flückiger, "Rendre visible la frontière confessionnelle:
l'Atlas Marianus de Wilhelm Gumppenberg," in *Les affrontements religieux en Europe du
début du XVIᵉ siècle au milieu du XVIIᵉ siècle*, eds. Véronique Castagnet, Olivier Christin,
and Naïma Ghermani (Villeneuve d'Asq: Les Presses Universitaires du Septentrion,
2008), 33–44; MariAtlas: Topographies sacrées de l'époque moderne, l'écriture du
surnaturel au XVIIᵉ siécle (Olivier Christin, director; Université de Neuchâtel): https://
unine.ch/histoire/en/home/recherche/projets_fns_en_cours_1/en-cours/mariatlas.html.
On the Virgin Mary and Marian devotion and theology, see also Miri Rubin, *Mother of
God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); and
Sylvie Barnay's publications cited in note 5.

[9] Olivier Christin, *Une révolution symbolique: L'iconoclasme huguenot et la réconstruction
catholique* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1991); Lee Palmer Wandel, *Voracious Idols
and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel* (New York:
Cambridge University Press, 1995). On images and visual practices, see Wandel and
Walter Melion, eds., *Early Modern Eyes* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Wandel and Melion, eds.,
Image and Incarnation: The Early Modern Doctrine of the Pictorial Image (Leiden: Brill,
2015); Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 2007).

[10] Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropo-
logical Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); Alphonse Dupront,
Du sacré: Croisades et pèlerinages, images et langages (Paris: Gallimard, 1987). See also
Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (New York: Penguin Compass,
1999); Philippe Boutry, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia, eds., *Rendre ses
voeux: Les identités pèlerines dans l'Europe moderne (XVIᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle)* (Paris: Éditions de
l'École Française de Rome, 2000); Philippe Boutry and Dominique Julia, eds., *Pèlerins
et pèlerinages dans l'Europe moderne: Actes du Table ronde organisée par le Département
d'Histoire et Civilisation de l'Institut Universitaire Européen de Florence et l'École Française
de Rome, 4–5 juin 1993* (Rome: École Française de Rome/Paris: Diffusion de Boccard,
2000); Vincent, ed., *Identités pèlerines*.

recent work joins extensive archival research to a method inspired by
Dupront's anthropology of religion.[11]

Histories of religious life centered on space, the environment, land-
scape, and nature have opened up new ways of explaining religious
change in the medieval and early modern worlds. In his pathbreaking
scholarship on local religion in Spain, William Christian took seriously
(as few others have) the land, its contours, and the ways human beings
lived on and with it.[12] Natalie Zemon Davis showed how differently
Lyon's Catholics and Huguenots understood the rivers, streets, build-
ings, and public spaces of the city they shared.[13] More recently, his-
torians have fruitfully used the concept of sacred space to analyze
confessional contests over cemeteries, churches, processions, and places
of memory.[14] Alexandra Walsham traced the many ways the Reforma-
tions of Britain and Ireland were embedded in particular landscapes
and reshaped the natural world.[15] Natural elements of religion have
also attracted scholarly attention, exemplified by a recent volume of the
Ecclesiastical History Society's Studies in Church History series.[16] We
now have investigations of the religious uses of water and forests in

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[11] Julia, *Le voyage aux saints*, a book that incorporates many of his previously published
articles on pilgrimage and shrines in early modern Europe.

[12] Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*; Christian, *Local Religion
in Sixteenth-Century Spain*; Christian, *Person and God in a Spanish Valley* (New York:
Seminar Press, 1972); Christian, *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ*
(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Christian, "Priests, Mountains, and
'Sacred Space' in Early Modern Europe: Review Article," *Catholic Historical Review* 93
(2007): 84–103.

[13] Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon,"
Past and Present 90 (1981): 40–70.

[14] Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press, 2005); Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Defining
the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2006);
Vauchez, ed., *Lieux sacrés*; Denis Crouzet, "Recherches sur les processions blanches,"
Histoire, économie, société 1 (1982): 511–63; Angelo Torre, *Luoghi: La produzione di
località in età moderna e contemporanea* (Rome: Donzelli, 2011), part I; Penny Roberts,
"Contesting Sacred Space: Burial Disputes in Sixteenth-Century France," in *The Place
of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds.
Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000),
131–48; Keith Luria, "Separated by Death? Burials, Cemeteries, and Confessional
Boundaries in Seventeenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 24 (2001):
185–222; Andrew Spicer, "(Re)Building the Sacred Landscape: Orléans, 1560–1610,"
French History 21 (2007): 247–68; Barbara Diefendorf, "Religious Conflict and Civic
Identity: Battles over the Sacred Landscape of Montpellier," *Past and Present* 237 (2017):
53–91.

[15] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in
Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[16] Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, eds., *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*,
Studies in Church History 46 (Woodbridge [UK]: The Boydell Press, 2010).

medieval Europe.[17] Collective volumes on Europe's "sacred mountains" by historians working on periods from antiquity to modernity engaged deeply with mountain ecologies, economies, and religions.[18] To the scholarship on religion and nature should be added Keith Thomas' and Simon Schama's influential studies of nature and landscape.[19] Yet the environmental turn has only begun to transform what we know about religious life, and much is yet to be discovered about how religion and nature mutually shaped each other.

Pilgrimage was central to early modern Catholicism. I recount what pilgrims would have seen, done, and experienced at Sainte-Reine, Notre-Dame du Puy, and the Pyrenees shrines. But this is not a book about the experience of pilgrimage, laying out the range of devotional activities united under the rubric of pilgrimage.[20] Nor is this book an account of Marian shrines, images, and devotion, which have been brilliantly investigated by Bruno Maes, Miri Rubin, Sylvie Barnay, and others.[21] Postwar Catholic restoration is an important framework for understanding pilgrim shrines, as I will show. But it is not my primary concern here.

Instead, *Storied Places* takes a specific approach to pilgrim shrines, by shifting our attention from pilgrimage to the places that pilgrims visited.

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[17] Ellen F. Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Arnold, "Engineering Miracles: Water Control, Conversion, and the Creation of a Religious Landscape in the Medieval Ardennes," *Environment and History* 13 (2007): 477–502; Arnold, "Rivers of Risk and Redemption in Gregory of Tours' Writings," *Speculum* 92 (2017): 117–43; Carolyn Twomey, "Rivers and Rituals: Baptism in the Early English Landscape," in *Water in Early Medieval England*, eds. Twomey and Daniel Anlezark (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming [2019]).

[18] Serge Brunet, Dominique Julia, and Nicole Lemaître, eds., *Montagnes sacrés d'Europe: Actes du colloque "Religion et montagnes," Tarbes, 30 mai–2 juin 2002* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005); Serge Brunet and Nicole Lemaître, eds., *Clergés, communautés et familles des montagnes d'Europe: Actes du colloque "Religion et montagnes," Tarbes, 30 mai–2 juin 2002* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005); Philippe Joutard, *L'invention de Mont Blanc* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986). See also Serge Brunet, *Les prêtres des montagnes: La vie, la mort, la foi dans les Pyrénées centrales sous l'ancien régime, Val d'Aran et diocèse de Comminges* (Aspet: PyréGraph, 2001); and Serge Brunet, ed., *Relation de la mission des Pyrénées (1635–1649): Le jésuite Jean Forcaud face à la montagne* (Paris: CTHS, 2008).

[19] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage, 1995).

[20] Dominique Julia's *Le voyage aux saints* and Elizabeth Tingle's forthcoming book offer comprehensive accounts of the experience of pilgrimage in the early modern age.

[21] Maes, *Le roi, la vierge, et la nation;* Maes, ed., *Pèlerinages et sanctuaires mariaux au XVIIᵉ siècle*; Christian Desplat, "Des eaux, des rocs, un culte: Marie dans les Pyrénées occidentales françaises à l'époque moderne," in *Montagnes sacrés d'Europe*, eds. Brunet, Julia, and Lemaître, 121–35; Barnay, *Un moment vécu d'éternité* (and her articles cited in note 5); Christin, Flückiger, and Ghermani, eds., *Marie mondialisée;* Rubin, *Mother of God.*

This allows us to investigate the layers of use and meaning associated with particular locations. I propose that we cannot understand shrines without understanding how such places were made. I focus here on place, a concept rooted in particularity and specificity.[22] Some have identified "space" as abstract and measurable, perhaps the raw material from which communities make meaningful places. But Henri Lefebvre showed long ago that space itself was a social creation, the product of power and resistance.[23] Denis Cosgrove offered a similar account of the concept of landscape.[24] So tidy definitions distinguishing place from space and landscape are difficult to sustain. Nevertheless, and despite the cogency of Lefebvre's and Cosgrove's formulations of space and landscape, I focus in this book on places and how they were made, taking place to be the product of space or landscape on the one hand, and story and legend on the other.

Because place is particular and specific, it requires that we investigate it in relation to the communities inhabiting it over time. My approach to the making of places includes three elements: particularity, collaboration, and mapping.

Each shrine had its own particularities, growing out of local topography, natural resources, forms of community and governance, and history. Burgundy's experience of the Reformation and religious wars differed from that of the people of the Pyrenees and Languedoc. Mountains differed from valleys, and water governed all. Each shrine

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[22] Among the books by geographers, naturalists, essayists, anthropologists, archaeologists, geologists, literary critics, philosophers, and historians that have inspired my thinking about place and nature are Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969); Henry David Thoreau, *Collected Essays and Poems*, ed. Elizabeth Hall Witherell (New York: Library of America, 2001); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. S. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, eds., *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996); Nan Shepherd, *The Living Mountain* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2011); Robert Macfarlane, *The Old Ways* (New York: Penguin, 2012); Robert Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind* (New York: Vintage, 2003); Richard Bradley, *An Archaeology of Natural Places* (London: Routledge, 2000); Robert Pogue Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Robert Pogue Harrison, *The Dominion of the Dead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Martine Chalvet, *Une histoire de la forêt* (Paris: Seuil, 2011); Lauret Savoy, *Trace: Memory, History, Race, and the American Landscape* (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2015); Rebecca Solnit, *A Field Guide to Getting Lost* (New York: Penguin, 2005); and Yi-fu Tuan, *Space and Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

[23] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

[24] Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, new edn (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998).

was fashioned of natural matter, at a particular site, by local stories of marvels and miracles. Miracle stories of the Pyrenees shrines and Sainte-Reine include abundant tales of water's benefits and dangers. Beyond that, the shrines were near healing springs, thermal waters, and spas. Mountains play a starring role in the legends of Notre-Dame du Puy and the Pyrenees shrines. Each place was also curated so that visitors were close to nature, but shielded from the dangers of real wilderness. The stories told about these beautiful, natural places disclosed generations of human desires, beliefs, and dilemmas leading to the designation of a place to build a shrine.

Collaboration is the second element of my approach to placemaking. By "collaboration" I mean that shrines were built through the contributions of many people, not only religious and secular authorities and aristocratic patrons, but also local communities, pilgrims, visitors, and the authors who took shrines into the world of print culture. This was the work of many generations rather than an intentional collaboration stretching over years or decades. Over centuries Le Puy's residents built, fought over, and rebuilt the shrine and pilgrimage of Notre-Dame du Puy. Sainte-Reine, Notre-Dame de Garaison, and other shrines were built on communally owned land, a legal peculiarity that caused no end of headaches for diocesan officials who wanted to assert authority over them. For that reason alone we might think of shrines as a kind of commons, a resource open to all and belonging to all. The rich heritage of local stories about divine favors experienced at the places gives us all the more reason to define shrines as the common patrimony of a local community, created in collaboration with church officials, pilgrims, and visitors. Church officials and magistrates built and promoted their shrines, but I will show that villagers, townspeople, urban residents, pilgrims, and visitors had an equal claim to being designated the creators of holy places.

The third element of place to which I call attention is mapping. Each shrine is mapped onto terrain located with reference to mountains, rivers, valleys, forests, fields, and roads. But a shrine also reached down into the bedrock of nature and outward to God in the cosmos. So a shrine linked human beings to God, the Virgin Mary, the saints, and each other in a cosmic order rooted in one point on the earth.[25] Maps were thus as much about networks of persons and communities as they were grids of territory.

[25] The recent work of Olivier Christin and his colleagues develops a similar notion of mapping in a rich way. See note 8.

For contemporary testimony about the shrines and their pilgrims I have turned to books published about the shrines by their chaplains, supplemented by local chronicles, travelers' accounts, travel guides, and eighteenth-century naturalists' books. Authors of shrine books devised an ingenious blend of history, myth, and archive, in an effort to prove to readers that their shrines were authentic and holy. Admittedly, a seventeenth-century chaplain's work of apologetic history is a flawed source for the history of a shrine. But this flaw can be turned to good account. For chaplains eager to prove that God and the Virgin Mary favored their place above all others created archives of miracles and marvels experienced there. In effect they created archives of God's gifts and human faith in God's benevolent intervention. When read alongside the landscape and other sources like eighteenth-century naturalists' observations, even these archives of faith show how a holy place was made from the particularities of landscape, nature, and shards of local talk, rumor, and testimony.

An early modern concern threaded through *Storied Places* is antiquity, in all its guises. Shrines often claimed to be ancient, even if their histories were undocumented or impressively short by seventeenth-century standards. As Simplician Gody, the author of a book about Notre-Dame de Mont-Roland (near Dole in Franche-Comté), commented, "Antiquity and novelty are so equally esteemed that it is quite difficult to judge which of the two should be preferred."[26] Each had advantages when it came to shrines. "Antiquity leads to more veneration, because [the shrine's] authority increases through the benefit of the ages that preceded us." Time can erase signs of the past, whereas novelty arouses our curiosity and perplexes us. But in matters of religion, antiquity holds great advantages over novelty, for "to call something new is almost to call it suspect." Antique monuments provide "no small proof" of "the constant and invariable truth of our faith," Gody wrote, and thus he admitted that religious claims to antique origins outweighed the curiosity that the latest news could arouse.

Early modern people strongly favored old over new. But what qualified as "ancient" or "antique"? This was a world of many possible antiquities: the Roman past revered by humanists; the pagan antiquity rejected as "idolatrous" by Catholic authorities; the antique Christianity only just being excavated by ecclesiastical historians; the past use of legal claims that jurists prized. The three places explored in Part I of this book represent the range of antiquities that shrines invoked, created, and curated.

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[26] Simplician Gody, *Histoire de l'antiquité et des miracles de Nostre Dame de Mont-Roland* (Dole: Antoine Binart, 1651), 1–4.

Sainte-Reine absorbed the ambient antiquity haunting the Auxois region of Burgundy. Promoters of the Pyrenees shrines boasted about the centuries-long history of Marian devotion in Bigorre and Béarn. Notre-Dame du Puy's famed Madonna had a legitimately long history, but she seemed to grow older by the decade as she was repaired, displayed, and researched. Judith Pollmann has recently reminded us that almost all early modern claims to authority or rights were also claims about the past.[27] However much shrines set store by novelty and news as signs that God recently favored a place with his grace, antiquity proved an enduring foundation for a shrine, as indeed it did for early modern Christianities.

Storied Places explains how early modern women and men made, unmade, and remade their religious worlds over the course of the Reformation, the religious wars, and the postwar aftermath. Each chapter of Part I explains how a particular shrine was created out of nature, legend, and history. In Chapter 1 I recount the history of the shrine of Sainte-Reine from antiquity to the late eighteenth century. In Chapter 2 I show how two small Marian shrines in the central Pyrenees – one built at a spring believed to have healing powers and the other on a mountain fashioned into a miniature Calvary – were created on the Catholic-Huguenot frontier. Chapter 3 explains how the Reformation and religious wars transformed the city of Le Puy and its famed Marian shrine from a medieval pilgrim city into a Catholic citadel with an incorruptible image of the Virgin Mary and a revised past. The two chapters of Part II continue the story of the Reformation and religious wars into the world of ideas and print culture. In a religious world destabilized by doubts about salvation, images, and intercession, authors of books about shrines fought back, defending Catholicism by resorting to history, myth, and archives. How shrines acquired their dynamism and authority – authority not uniformly acknowledged, by no means complete, and always under siege – on the new territory of the post-Reformation age is the story to which I now turn.

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[27] Erika Kuijpers and Judith Pollmann, "Introduction" to *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Kuijpers, Pollmann, Johannes Müller, and Jasper van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 6. This is a major theme of Pollmann's *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).