Chapter 2
Situating Ubu’s Almanacs. Artistic Counter-Culture and Popular Tradition

Introduction
In this chapter I introduce two important sources of inspiration for Ubu’s Almanacs; Montmartre cabaret-culture and the popular tradition of the almanac genre. The two are in fact connected, because one important characteristic of the artistic cabarets in the late nineteenth century was their recycling of older traditions and popular forms. As said in the introduction, Shaw already considered the Almanacs as literary examples of the humorist and dynamic cabaret culture of Montmartre. She concluded that the use of Montmartre humorist strategies in the Almanacs resulted in a similar anti-bourgeois, deliberately marginal and rebellious statement.1 However, cabaret culture not only provided a source of anti-bourgeois rebellion, although this was no doubt a welcome side-effect for Jarry. It also provided a source of inspiration and offered new aesthetics, which suited Jarry’s vision of literature. In the first part of this chapter I sketch the context of Montmartre cabaret culture and in the second part I discuss the history and characteristics of the popular genre of the almanac. Jarry’s choice for a popular genre such as the almanac could have sprung from the aesthetics of cabaret culture. Several traditional features of the popular almanac genre equally suited Jarry’s poetics. Combined they appear to have provided Jarry with new genres and forms he incorporated in his Almanacs.

2.1 Ubu sur la butte: Jarry, the Almanacs and Montmartre

2.1.1 Humorist groups and artistic cabarets
Around 1900 Montmartre had become a place where art and literature met popular entertainment.2 Historically the home of revolutionaries, anarchists, criminals and other marginal folk, Montmartre was left relatively undisturbed by the Paris municipality and the censors, as long as it did not cause too many problems.3 In the cabarets of Montmartre popular

3 The 1871 Commune originated in Montmartre and this revolutionary, anarchist and anti-establishment spirit continued to characterize the Butte in the years to follow. On the turbulent
entertainment and commercialism were combined with a bohemian counter-culture of rebellion and artistic experiment. Hence the dual position the cabaret occupied in fin de siècle cultural life as the 'bastard son of popular culture and literature.'

Artistic cabarets had evolved from humorist artistic groups which had surfaced in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In 1878 writer Émile Goudeau and some friends founded the Hydropathes, an eclectic club of artists, writers, actors, musicians, singers and students, who gathered together in the bars on the Left Bank. Famous fin-de-siècle humorists like Charles Gros, Alphonse Allais, Aristide Bruant, Sapeck (pseudonym of Eugène Bataille), but also established writers like Maupassant, Anatole France, Catulle Mendès, Jean Moréas and celebrated actress Sarah Bernhardt were among the more known members of this eclectic club. During the 1880's a number of these groups or clubs emerged, although their existence was often short-lived. The Hydropathes lasted six years. In 1881 the group the Hirsutes was formed by some Hydropathes members, followed by similar groups with equally provocative names, such as the Zutistes (founded by Charles Gros in 1883), the Incohérents (1882), the Jemenfoutistes (1884). Most of these groups published their own periodicals. In 1879 the first issue of the journal L’Hydropathe was published. The Album zutique had illustrious contributors such as Rimbaud and Verlaine. In 1882 there was even an exhibition of 'Les Arts Incohérents', showing 'incoherent' works and parodies of famous artists. These humorist groups reacted against the seriousness of their naturalist and Parnassian predecessors. They also reflected the other side of a general pessimism felt at the end of the nineteenth century, not in the least by fellow Decadent and Symbolist writers.

The Decadent and Symbolist movements of the 1880's and 1890's were rooted in these groups. In his book Aux commencements du rire moderne, Grojnowski has in fact argued that humour was just as important to these literary movements as their decadent pessimism. He claims that humorists and writers like Charles Gros, Alphonse Allais, Félix Fénéon and Jarry are equally representative of fin de siècle literature than Lorrain, Moréas, Samain, or Henri de Regnier. Humour was in any case central to Jarry’s work and to the Almanacs and no doubt partly inspired by the works of these humorist literary groups.

In 1881 Goudeau joined forces with singer Rodolphe Salis to open the cabaret Le Chat Noir in Montmartre which became an instant success. Salis organised poetry readings in the cabaret as well as performances with songs and monologues. The cabaret also featured temporary exhibitions and in general provided a platform for artists to meet and work together. It boasted

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its own journal with the same name, first published in 1882. Directed by Goudeau and with Alphonse Allais as one of the editors, it served as a forum and publicity channel for the cabarets’ artists and writers. The journal contained satirical articles and cartoons aimed at the Third Republic’s political, social, economical and artistic establishment, as well as serious art criticism, literary contributions and poetry, among others by Verlaine. Salis’ personality was the centre of the cabaret’s program. He introduced the performances, held long monologues, promoting the cabaret, its artists and its journal, while insulting the audience in the process. Salis would address his audience with ‘mon cochon’ or ‘tas de salauds’.9 Performer and singer Aristide Bruant, immortalized by Toulouse-Lautrec’s poster, would later do the same at cabaret Le Mirliton, where he mixed French slang with sexual innuendo, and spoke about subjects deemed vulgar by contemporary tastes.10 Ubu’s provocative potty mouth certainly had its counterpart in the cabarets.

Other artistic cabarets followed, inspired by Le Chat Noir’s success. In 1893 François Trombert opened cabaret Les Quat’z’Arts on the Boulevard de Clichy, which continued the bohemian tradition of Salis and his Chat Noir into the twentieth century. It became a favourite hang-out for the younger avant-garde like Jarry, but also for Picasso and Apollinaire in later years. The cabaret’s name was a pun on the four disciplines of the École des Beaux Arts, but it also reflected the artistic collaboration between musicians, performers, writers and artists. The cabaret’s interdisciplinary mix of arts resulted in ‘multi-media’ collaborative performances.11 One of the cabaret’s most innovative creations was a wall journal called Le Mur, to which all visitors could contribute newspaper clippings, illustrations, writings, anything. It was a true democratic platform for (artistic) expression. A similar spirit of artistic collaboration characterizes the genesis of Ubu’s Almanacs.

As is in the Chat Noir, the walls were used by artists and illustrators to exhibit their work. The eclectic nature of the cabaret’s performances was also reflected in its interior design. The Chat Noir had created a pseudo-sixteenth-century Rabelaisian atmosphere and took inspiration from bohemian poets from French literary history. One of its rooms was thus named after poet François Villon, whose fifteenth century poetry about low life filled with slang and lewd jokes was an example for the cabaret’s performances. The Quat’z’Arts was decorated in a pseudo-Renaissance and gothic fashion. The cabaret’s interior was enriched with wood and bronze figures as well as illustrations celebrating the work of Rabelais. The artistic cabarets used the works of these older writers, popular imagery and medieval and renaissance decorations as tools in their bohemian and counter-cultural program. Their quite special vision of fifteenth and sixteenth century culture and its poets for them counteracted rational, bourgeois French Third Republic. That the ‘subversive’ cabaret eventually became a successful guilty pleasure for the same bourgeoisie it said to

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despite, was of course an ironic twist of fate. However, the cabarets saw themselves as the cultural heirs of Rabelais or Villon, who, in their own time, had not conformed to contemporary cultural tastes and values.

2.1.2 Jarry, Ubu’s Almanacs and the cabaret

Recycling older literary and popular traditions in order to counteract present-day artistic norms is also part of Jarry’s poetics, certainly in Ubu’s Almanacs. As a visitor of Le Chat Noir in the 1890’s and later of Les Quat’z Arts, Jarry was familiar with the bohemian counter-culture of Montmartre. Arnaud notes that Jarry was seen several times at Le Chat Noir in the company of Lord Alfred Douglas in 1896, although details remain unclear. In any case Lugné-Poe also recalls Jarry and Douglas, whom Lugné Poe disliked because of the scandal attached to him, visiting the office of the Théâtre de l’Œuvre; this office was situated 22 rue Turgot and virtually next door to Le Chat Noir. The artistic crowd of La Revue Blanche and Le Mercure de France, a lot of whom participated or had participated in cabaret culture, had probably introduced Jarry to Montmartre’s cultural life. Friends like Gustave Kahn, Félix Fénéon and Albert Samain had all contributed to the ‘fumiste’ groups and cabaret culture. Claude Terrasse’s house and the Théâtre des Pantins were located in Montmartre. Terrasse had composed cabaret music and songs. Poet Franc-Noihain, who was involved with the Théâtre des Pantins, had also written for Le Chat Noir’s journal. Both Terrasse and Noihain were involved with the making of Ubu’s Almanacs as I discuss in the following chapter.

Jarry was in fact familiar enough with the area to suggest to Lugné-Poe that the role of Bougrelas in Ubu Roi should be played by a thirteen year old boy he knew from Montmartre, ‘who is very beautiful, with stunning eyes and long curly brown hair.’ This, Jarry writes, would excite the old ladies, scandalize some, in any case attract attention, and it would be innovative. Lugné-Poe, not so keen on Jarry’s dubious choice, did not take up his suggestion, but this anecdote shows that Jarry saw the provocative value of incorporating some Montmartre street culture in his play. In any case Jarry shared with Montmartre’s counter-culture a similar spirit of provocation.

Jarry’s connection to cabaret culture is also illustrated by Ubu Roi. Louise France, who played the role of Mère Ubu began her career as a cabaret singer and performer and her appearance in Ubu Roi as Mère Ubu brought a slice of cabaret culture to the stage. Furthermore, in a letter from November 1896 to Armand Sylvestre, Jarry wrote he was considering the clown Footit in the role of Bordure. He also spoke of the ‘Achras scene’ being performed at

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12 Arnaud, Alfred Jarry. D’Ubu Roi au docteur Faustroll, p. 191. Lord Alfred Douglas often stayed in Paris at the time to escape the scandal of the Wilde trial. Douglas knew Jarry, probably through their mutual friend Ernest la Jeunesse (see Appendix I); he also figures as the character Bondroit in a passage from Jarry’s novel Les Jours et les Nuits (OC I, 750/51) together with a group of mutual (homosexual) friends, including La Jeunesse, Maurice Cremnitz, painter Léonard Sarluis, Jarry himself and actress Fanny Zaessinger. See also Besnier, Alfred Jarry, p. 170 & p. 231.

13 ‘Voici pourquoi j’ai confiance dans cette idée d’un gosse dans le rôle de Bougrelas ; j’en connais un à Montmartre qui est très beau, avec des yeux étonnants et des cheveux bruns bouclés jusqu’aux reins. Il a treize ans et est assez intelligent pourvou qu’on s’en occupe. Ce serait peut-être un clou pour Ubu, exciterait des vieilles dames et ferait crier au scandale certains ; en tout cas, ça ferait faire attention à des gens ; et puis ça ne s’est jamais vu et je crois qu’il faut que l’Œuvre” monopolise toutes les innovations’, OC I, p. 1050.
Le Chat Noir, although this event apparently never took place. 14 With the opening word 'merdre', the crude language, the lewd subjects and songs, elements of cabaret culture entered into the setting of serious artistic theatre. On the 27th of November 1901 an abbreviated version of Ubu Roi premiered as a marionette play at the cabaret Les Quat’z’Arts in Montmartre. This rewritten version contained both traditional features of puppet theatre and of cabaret performances, including songs and monologues on current affairs. The cabaret version of Ubu Roi would later be published as Ubu sur la Butte (1906) and its premiere was followed by no less than sixty-three other performances.

The cabaret's mixture of artistic experiment, popular entertainment and publicity brought new aesthetic possibilities. Elements of the cabarets' aesthetics and its provocative and subversive humour certainly resonate in Jarry's work in general and in particular in the Almanacs, as I will argue. This includes for example the multi-mediality of the Almanacs as a result of the artistic collaboration, which resulted in a heterogeneous, collagist work (chapter four). The cabaret's dialogue with newspapers, their use of publicity and commercial promotion is reflected in the dialectic of the Almanacs with newspapers and advertising (chapter five and six). Furthermore the cabaret's (crude) jokes and social-political satire echo in the reflection on current events (chapter seven).

The aesthetics of cabaret culture fitted Jarry's vision of literature and his need to reinvent contemporary literary traditions. Most writers and artists participated in this culture alongside their 'serious' work, with the exception of people like Allais, Cros or Fénéon, but they were considered humorists or journalists. However, Jarry incorporated elements from this culture in his theatre and in his other literary works. Whereas the cabarets occupied a special place in the margins of cultural life, Jarry thus blurred the boundaries between this counter-culture and literature, in particular in the Almanacs.

2.2 The popular tradition of the almanac genre

Jarry's choice for the popular almanac genre seems a logical extension of the cabaret's practice to borrow from older and popular traditions. It also reflects Jarry's joy in finding new artistic forms or renovating older ones. The almanac genre was also rooted in a longstanding, popular tradition and this tradition equally offered features which Jarry recycled in his own Almanac. Furthermore, although most traditional, popular almanacs have virtually disappeared in our time, they were still widely published at the end of the nineteenth century. In fact, I will show in chapter four how some of elements in Ubu's Almanacs were directly borrowed from or modelled after older (astrological and satirical) almanacs as well as contemporary ones (like the Almanach Hachette).

2.2.1 Definition

In the *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle*, a work of reference often consulted by Jarry, Pierre Larousse provides the following definition of an almanac: 'petit ouvrage publié chaque année et contenant, outre le calendrier, qui n’est devenu qu’un accessoire, des indications sur différents sujets, des anecdotes, des chansons, surtout des prédictions météorologiques.'\(^{15}\) The *Nouveau Larousse illustré*, published at the turn of the twentieth century, gives a similar definition of the almanac.\(^ {16}\) The *Grande Encyclopédie* of those years does not offer an exact definition, but provides a detailed history of the popular almanac and its origins instead.\(^ {17}\) The contemporary *Petit Larousse* (2005) defines the almanac as a ‘calendrier, souvent illustré, comportant des indications astronomiques, météorologiques, ainsi que des renseignements d’ordre varié (médecine, cuisine, astrologie, etc.).’ An almanac can therefore be described as a small illustrated work, published annually, containing a calendar, indicating the seasons, as well as meteorological and astronomical predictions. In addition, it contained a diverse range of texts and material, such as anecdotes, practical information or songs, and a variety of themes (history, current events, medicine, cooking, or astrology).

2.2.2 A heterogeneous genre

The almanac is therefore a fundamentally heterogeneous genre. The first almanacs date back to ancient civilizations and cultures. Some claim that the word almanac comes from the Arabic *al-manach*, ‘to count’; others believe it stems from the Saxon word *almonaght*, meaning ‘the observation of all the moons.’\(^ {18}\) Regardless of its exact etymological origins, the word *almanac* in Europe originally designated a *calendar* indicating the days, the months, and from the 5th century onwards Christian holidays. These religious calendars, illustrated with handmade miniatures, were essentially visual works, containing typographical and astrological signs and figures, meant for those unable to read. At the end of the 15th century the illustrated religious calendars made way for the popular almanacs. These almanacs functioned as early newspapers, providing news, practical information and trivia. One of the most well-known popular almanacs was the *Compost et Kalendrier des Berger*, originally a farmer’s almanac and first published in 1491. The religious and saint’s calendar was complemented by the indication of seasons and astrological predictions. A very successful type of almanac was the astrological almanac. A famous example of these astrological almanacs is *Nostradamus’ Almanac*, known as *Les prophéties de Nostradamus*, which originated around 1550. These almanacs always

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centred on an astronomer and contained astrological predictions about the weather and possible events.

Lüsebrink argues that the traditional popular almanac was generally divided into four main parts:
- A pragmatic part, containing information about the weather, fairs, religious dates
- A calendar part, divided into months, indicating days, saint’s names and astrological signs
- A historic part, referring to events of the past year in the form of narratives and anecdotes
- A ‘varieties’ section, containing proverbs, advice, riddles, fables.  

In chapter four we will see that Jarry, especially with the first Almanac, appears to respect this traditional division.

2.2.3 Audience

The almanac developed rapidly after the invention of book print in the 15th century. A multitude of different texts were added to the calendar. In the early print culture of the Renaissance, almanacs were cheap and readily available, sold by travelling vendors (colporteurs). They continued for over three centuries to be the only publications ‘read by multitudes who read nothing else.’  

Illustrations and codified information in the form of simple, conventional signs allowed the almanacs to reach a broad, virtually illiterate audience. Therefore the almanac, in rural, pre-modern society, was the only non-religious publication printed on a large scale and a source of information available to everyone. It aimed at being an encyclopaedia of the world, and a practical handbook. It provided useful knowledge; health tips, insight in nature and agriculture, weather forecasts, dates of fairs and markets, important historical events, schemes for calculation (of important dates and days), but also advice in moral matters, education and behaviour. Most almanacs centred on an important real or mythical persona; they were often supposedly written by the person in question or by ‘anonymous’ scribes transmitting their words.

The almanac’s capability to reach large audiences made it a potentially subversive tool. The popularity of astrological almanacs in particular bothered the Church and the State, who considered them a danger to the cultural status quo. Writers and scholars considered them as examples of idiotic superstitions. Between 1533 and 1550 Rabelais, for instance, wrote his satirical almanacs, Les Pantagruelines prognostications, intended to parody people’s blind belief in astrology. But satirical or more politically oriented almanacs were also considered dangerous. In 1682 Louis XIV therefore prohibited both astrological and satirical almanacs.

However, the popularity of almanacs remained unchanged. The astrological Almanach Matthieu Laensberg or Almanach de Liège, for example, first published in the seventeenth century, was very much en vogue among all classes, including the nobility and intellectuals. In the


seventeenth century another famous almanac, Le Messager boîteux, was published in Switzerland. Appearing in both French and German (Hinkende Bote), this annual chronicle of events is still published today.

2.2.4 Information, education and propaganda

Whether religious, astrological, political or satirical, almanacs catered to all layers of society. Witnessing the reach and impact of the almanac, governments soon realized their worth as instruments of propaganda. As such, the French royals issued their own almanacs. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century lusciously illustrated historical almanacs were commissioned by the state, glorifying the king and France, while ridiculing their enemies. Later, the French revolutionary government also understood the almanac's potential. The Almanach du Père Gérard was the result of a competition issued in September 1791 by the ‘Société des Amis de la Constitution’ for a publication that would popularize and vulgarize the constitutional principles adopted by the ‘Constituante’ that same month. Written by Collot d’Herbois in the form of a dialogue between peasant representative Gérard and village inhabitants, this almanac was an instant best-seller. The Royalists quickly responded with their own anti-revolutionary Almanach de l’abbé Maury ou Réfutation de l’almanach de Père Gérard, couronnée par la Société des amis de la monarchie. The almanac thus proved a perfect medium for political propaganda.

Popular almanacs continued to exist throughout the nineteenth century. In the 18th and early 19th century the almanacs of Matthieu Laensberg were still the most wide-spread popular almanacs in the north of France. The colportage tradition however slowly disappeared and made way for new forms of printing and distribution. By 1900, the almanac’s informative function was largely replaced by newspapers.

2.2.5 Popular almanacs at the end of the nineteenth century

Nevertheless there were still a large number of almanacs at the end of the nineteenth century. The Catalogue de la librairie française lists 175 almanacs which were issued between 1891 and 1899. Between 1900 and 1905 the number of published almanacs was 179.

Some almanacs still retained a political and propagandistic value. As such, writer and left-wing anarchist Émile Pouget published the Almanach du Père Peinard, hebdomadaire anarchiste from 1889 until 1902. Its title is reminiscent of the French revolutionary almanac. It contained radical texts, cartoons and pamphlets, addressing French workers in an aggressive language full of argot. Another example was the conservative Almanach populaire, which was catholic and nationalist. It was an educational almanac, anti-reformist, emphasizing traditional values and warning its readers against socialists and anarchists. Thus the propagandistic and educational function of the traditional almanac was still used to reach

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21 For a history of these almanacs see Bollème, Les almanachs populaires aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Essai d’histoire sociale.
23 Catalogue générale de la librairie française 1891-1899, (1900).
24 Almanach populaire 1899, (Paris/Lille: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie (Société St-Augustin), 1898).
specific groups in society, in particular rural populations and the working class.

But there were also more light-hearted alternatives. The Almanach Hachette, which sported the subtitle ‘petite encyclopédie de la vie pratique’ provided all sorts of news and facts related to the arts, sports, as well as practical information and advertisements. There were humorist almanacs, like the Almanach humoristique et illustré du Messager de Seine-et-Marne, or highly specialized ones such as the Almanach des fleurs, the touristy Almanach de Paris, the Almanach des colonies françaises or the Almanach du cultivateur et de l’industriel de Maine et Loire.25 Even Le Mercure de France had published its own almanac; the Almanach des poètes pour 1899, only one year before Ubu’s first Almanac. This brief overview shows that Jarry did not just have to turn to an older, popular tradition for inspiration. He could have found enough contemporary and inspirational models for his Almanacs.

2.2.6 Ubu’s Almanacs

Jarry shared a fascination for popular texts and images with many of his (Symbolist) contemporaries. One reason for Jarry to write the Almanacs was therefore probably simply his curiosity for this popular genre. He was known to spend quite some time in the Bibliothèque Nationale, flicking through old manuscripts, scholarly works or works of reference. His encyclopaedic desire for knowledge led him to surprising sources of inspiration and might have equally kindled his interest in the genre. At the library he would not only have stumbled upon almanacs, but also upon works discussing almanacs. In fact, the Lorenz catalogue de la librairie française lists several books about almanacs, twenty-eight in the years between 1891 and 1899. Judging from these studies there seems to have been a general, scholarly interest in popular culture, including almanacs.26

Jarry’s fascination for popular culture had also partly motivated the founding of magazine L’Ymagier in 1894 together with Remy de Gourmont. L’Ymagier was entirely devoted to images, combining popular imagery (such as cliché Épinal images or anonymous medieval woodcuts) with modern works by contemporary (Symbolist) artists. After his fall out with De Gourmont in 1895, Jarry published two issues of another magazine, Perhindérion. Both L’Ymagier and Perhindérion had a sort of catalogue function, assembling images from contemporary art as well as from popular traditions. To some extent, Ubu’s Almanacs can certainly be regarded as a continuation of Jarry’s fascination for popular forms.

Since almanacs traditionally targeted a mass audience, Jarry might have also thought that the almanac’s broad appeal would popularize the Ubu

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25 Titles taken from the Catalogue de la librairie française. I also consulted several of these contemporary almanacs at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, including: Almanach du cultivateur et de l'industriel de Maine et Loire: 1899, (Angers: Germain et Grassin, 1899), Almanach humoristique et illustré du Messager de Seine-et-Marne 1900, (Melun: 1900), Almanach populaire 1901, (Paris/Lille: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie (Société St-Augustin), 1900).

character and bring him much-needed success. Lüsebrink provides an interesting account of French-Canadian writers who in the late nineteenth century (from 1870 onwards) used the almanacs (and their mass distribution) to diffuse their manuscripts, even before they were published as books. Their hoped to achieve a bigger profit then they would get from regular publication or publication in newspapers. Jarry’s work was of course largely unsuccessful and certainly not profitable. He might have hoped that writing an almanac would finally land him a best-seller. However, his unwillingness to comply with contemporary literary conventions, let alone with commercial demands, made such success highly unlikely. It therefore seems more likely that artistic motives, rather than just commercial ones, motivated Jarry to write the Almanacs, even though a bit of commercialism certainly characterizes both works, as I will also argue in chapter six.

Jarry appears to have been particularly inspired by some features of the popular almanac. The traditional ‘anonymity’ of the almanac genre is reflected for example in the collective, ‘anonymous’ writing of both Almanacs, as I will discuss in chapter three. The traditional almanac’s inherent heterogeneity facilitated the collage aesthetic (chapter four). The almanac’s function of newspaper avant la lettre relate to Ubu’s Almanacs dialogue with the contemporary press (chapter five). This status of a popular and semi-fictional genre also affects the complex relationship between literature and everyday life in Ubu’s Almanacs (chapter six). Furthermore the socio-political function of the almanac genre is mirrored in the ‘politics’ of Ubu’s Almanacs and its treatment of current affairs (chapter seven).

Conclusion
The main advantage of the almanac genre for Jarry was probably that it did not adhere to contemporary literary genres or models of writing. Mixing genres and artistic media was also part of the aesthetics of the cabaret and must have equally appealed to Jarry. The cabarets represented the artistic counter-culture of the day, whereas the popular almanac did not fit any particular artistic context. As a result, Ubu’s Almanacs also seem to linger on the boundaries of literature, artistic counter-culture and popular tradition. The status of both almanacs and artistic cabarets, residing in the margins of mainstream literature and art, gave Jarry tools to play with prevailing notions of art and literature. Both elements from Montmartre’s cabaret culture as well as from the popular genre of the almanac provided Jarry with new forms and genres which, as I will show, helped shaped the aesthetics of the two Almanacs.