To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Francis Roland Hodges entitled "War, Population, and the Structure of Wealth in Sixteenth-Century Bourges, 1557-1586." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in History.

Sarah R. Blanshei
Sarah R. Blanshei,
Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Michael G. MacDonald

Arthur G. Haas

Paul J. Kindlund

Donald W. Hastings

Accepted for the Council:

Carl Minkel
The Graduate School

WAR, POPULATION, AND THE STRUCTURE OF WEALTH IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BOURGES, 1557-1586

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Francis Roland Hodges

August 1983

Copyright © Francis Roland Hodges, 1983

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writing of this dissertation was made possible by the support and encouragement of numerous friends and scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. However, my deepest gratitude must be reserved for Dr. Sarah R. Blanshei, my major professor. It was she who first pointed out that the many fiscal documents surviving in Bourges's archives could be used as the basis for a study of the city's demographic and socioeconomic history in the late sixteenth century. Her enthusiasm, encouragement, and, above all, almost superhuman patience when confronted with my periodic bursts of frustration and discouragement greatly exceeded her responsibilities as my academic advisor.

A number of other scholars also deserve recognition. I am grateful for the support of the remainder of my graduate committee, particularly Dr. Michael J. McDonald, who read several drafts of this work. I would also like to thank Dr. Thomas Barnett-Robisheaux of Duke University for his criticism. In addition, several scholars who willingly responded to my correspondence offered valuable assistance at various points of my research and writing. These include David Herlihy, Natalie Zemon Davis, Philip Benedict, and Anne Carmichael. Monsieur Jean Jenny, conservateur of the Bibliothèque Municipale in Bourges,

deserves special recognition. He graciously gave me access to the archives during my stay in that city and willingly consented to photocopy and send me several important documents after my return.

Several friends and relatives also helped to make this work possible. I am grateful to my parents for their constant support. Pleasant memories survive for old friends in Bourges. Monsieur and Madame Robert Dufau, our landlords, took us into their home and their hearts during our stay in that city, while the fluent English of our neighbor, Mme. P. Lacroix, proved extremely useful on several occasions.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Marianne, whose constant support and encouragement during the many years this work was in preparation never faltered, and whose editorial skills proved invaluable in the preparation of the final draft.

ABSTRACT

The influence of war on the population and wealth structure of one early modern city is the major focus of this study. The wars chosen were the French Wars of Religion. These struggles were selected because, at the local level, they have been examined less extensively than have other major post-Reformation conflicts. Bourges was selected as the city for this study owing to the frequency and variety of its war-related experiences and the abundance of its archival sources. Those sources used most extensively are the minutes and correspondence of the city council, the municipal accounts, and, most important, two fiscal censuses.

Chapter I briefly discusses some of the problems involved in traditional approaches to the study of war's influence on early modern society, pointing out the value of using the methods of the new social history for exploring this topic. Chapter II surveys Bourges's economic life before the religious wars, focusing particularly on the changing fortunes of the city's important woolens industry.

In Chapter III, the Calvinist movement in Bourges is discussed as it developed and waned during the course of the religious wars. Chapter IV describes the war-related violence affecting the city through the 1580's, examining

the most persistent and serious problems stemming from the struggles. War's influence on Bourges's commercial and fiscal life is examined and assessed by analyzing municipal receipts and expenditures between the years 1560 and 1590.

In Chapters V and VI, changes occurring in the city's population and wealth structure are studied by analyzing tax rolls dating from 1557 and 1586. War's role in effecting these changes is discussed and assessed in relation to the role of other influences, particularly plague and long-range economic change. The analysis reveals that war did cause Bourges's population to decline and that losses were most severe among groups occupying the margins—both topographical and socioeconomic—of urban society. Moreover, the wars helped to alter slightly the distribution of Bourges's wealth, although no significant socioeconomic change occurred in the city. The study concludes that, in the long run, war's influence was greater in helping to reinforce long-range structural changes in Bourges's economic life than in making significant alterations in the city's demographic or socioeconomic structure.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	THE URBAN ECONOMY BEFORE THE WARS OF RELIGION	10
III.	THE REFORMED RELIGION IN BOURGES	40
IV.	BOURGES AND THE WARS OF RELIGION	56
	Introduction	56
	A Chronology of Violence	59
	Urban Problems During the Wars of Religion	72
	Commerce and Public Finance	92
	Conclusion	114
V.	PATTERNS OF POPULATION, 1557-1586	120
	Introduction	120
	The Sources: Rolls of the Solde	122
	Patterns of Population: Urban Topography	133
	Patterns of Population: Occupations	145
	Conclusion	162
VI.	PATTERNS OF WEALTH, 1557-1586	166
	The Solde as an Indicator of Wealth	166
	The Distribution of Wealth	172
	Occupational Wealth	187
	Social Topography	194
	Recurring Households	213
	Conclusion	226
VII.	CONCLUSION	231
BIBLIOGRAPHY		240
APPENDICES		271
	Appendix A	272
	Appendix B	279
	Appendix C	283

Appendix D 288
Appendix E 294

VITA 297

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
1.	Urban Receipts and Expenditures, 1560-1590 . .	108
2.	Ordinary and Extraordinary Urban Receipts by Absolute Amounts and Percentages, 1560-1590 .	109
3.	Sources of Extraordinary Urban Receipts by Absolute Amounts and Percentages, 1560-1590 .	111
4.	Frequency and Percentage of Households by Area of City, 1557-1586	137
5.	Frequency of Households by Parish, 1557-1586 .	139
6.	Frequency of Households by Area of Faubourgs, 1557-1586	142
7.	Occupational Distribution of the Population of Selected Sixteenth-Century Cities by Percentage	147
8.	Ten Most Frequently Occurring Occupations, 1557-1586	149
9.	Frequency and Percentage of Occupational Groupings, 1557-1586	151
10.	Distribution of Wealth in Bourges, 1586 . . .	174
11.	Distribution of Wealth in Bourges, 1557-1586 .	177
12.	Distribution of Wealth Among the Poorest 30 Percent of Households, 1557-1586	179
13.	Occupational Groupings by Wealth, 1557-1586 .	189
14.	Distribution of Wealth by Area of City, 1557-1586	196
15.	Frequency and Percentage of Poor and Wealthy Households by Area of the City, 1557-1586 . .	199
16.	Distribution of Wealth in the Faubourgs of Bourges, 1557-1586	201

TABLE		PAGE
17.	Recurring Households, "P" Sample	217
18.	Wealth Changes among Recurring Households, "P" Sample	219
19.	Wealth Changes among Recurring Protestant Households	224
A-1.	Protestant Households	273
B-1.	Mayors and Échevins of Bourges, 1550-1570 . .	280
C-1.	Accounts of the Deniers Communs of Bourges, 1567-1568	284
D-1.	Occupations—1557-1586	289
E-1.	Recurring Households, "P" Sample	295

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
1.	Bourges in the Sixteenth Century	18
2.	Bourges in 1567	20
3.	Tax Farms in Bourges, 1560-1590	98
4.	Distribution of Wealth in the Faubourgs of Bourges, 1557-1586	202

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE		PAGE
1.	The Duchy of Berry and Diocese of Bourges in 1567	In Pocket

ABBREVIATIONS

I. Archival Abbreviations

AMB	Archives municipales de Bourges
ADC	Archives départmentales du Cher
BN, FF	Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds françaises

II. Periodical Abbreviations

ABPO	Annales de Brétagne et Pays de l'Ouest
ABSHF	Annuaire bullétin de la société de l'histoire de France
ADH	Annales de démographie historique
AER	American Economic Review
AESC	Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations
AFR	Archiv für Reformationgeschichte
AHR	American Historical Review
AN	Annales de Normandie
An. Lot	Annuaire du Lot
ASI	Archivio storico italiano
BEC	Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes
BPH	Bullétin philogique et historique du comité français
BSAHL	Bullétin de la société d'archéologie et d'histoire du Limousin
BSBE	Bullétin de la société Belfontaine d'émulation
BSEB	Bullétin de la société d'émulation du Bourbonnais
BSHMC	Bullétin de la section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine (depuis 1610)

BSHPF	Bullétin de la société d'histoire du protestantisme français
CAHB	Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry
CH	Cahiers d'histoire
CJH	Canadian Journal of History
C. Lor.	Cahiers de Lorraine
EHR	Economic History Review
FHS	French Historical Studies
HJ	The Historical Journal
JEH	Journal of Economic History
JIH	Journal of Interdisciplinary History
JMH	Journal of Modern History
MA	Le moyen âge
MSAC	Mémoires de la société des antiquaires du centre
MSHLASC	Mémoires de la société historique, litteraire, artistique, et scientifique du Cher
PP	Past and Present
PS	Population Studies
PWSFH	Proceedings of the Western Society of French History
RB	Revue du Berry
RBP	Revue Bas-Poitou
RBPH	Revue belge philologie et d'histoire
RC	Revue du centre
REP	Revue d'économie politique
RH	Revue historique
RHD	Revue d'histoire droit

RHM	Revue d'histoire moderne
RHMC	Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine
RN	Revue du Nord
RQH	Revue des questions historiques
RSJB	Recueils de la société Jean Bodin
R. Viv.	Revue Vivarais
SCJ	The Sixteenth Century Journal
SMRH	Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History
WMQ	The William and Mary Quarterly

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

No theme looms larger in the history of early modern Europe than that of war. Textbooks often label the years between 1550 and 1650 the "Age of the Religious Wars"; one scholar has counted no less than sixty-five struggles during this century.[1] The most important of these conflicts—Germany's Thirty Years' War, France's Wars of Religion, the English Civil War, and the Dutch Revolt—have been studied extensively. Social historians have been able to draw from a wealth of journals, memoirs, and contemporary narratives providing vivid accounts of the devastation wrought by these struggles; Grimmelhausen's Simplicissimus is only the best known of such sources. Most early modern scholars agree that war's frequency and intensity were greater in the century following the Reformation than in any other century in European history. There is less agreement, however, about the role these struggles played in shaping early modern civilization.

---

[1]Quincy Wright, A Study of War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965; reprint of 1942 edition), pp. 642-43 (Tables 32 and 33). This figure does not include the thirteen separate struggles into which the Thirty Years' War is divided.

In part, disagreement results from the differing ways in which the subject of war has been treated. Because war is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon, scholars who have dealt with its influence on society have been able to adopt a number of conceptualizations and perspectives. Some have focused only on the results of campaigns, sieges, and other direct encounters between military and civilian populations. Others have adopted a broader approach, including not only military, but all war-related activities, from the readjustments war made in a region's economic life to the problem of wartime financing. Still other scholars have adopted a long-range view of war, attempting to assess the role it played in the development of early modern institutions. As a result, conclusions vary so greatly that any comparative assessment of war's effects is virtually impossible.[2]

---

[2]There is a tremendous amount of literature dealing with the influence of war on early modern society. Older works, such as C. V. Wedgwood, The Thirty Years' War (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938), emphasize the destructive nature of war. For a more recent work approaching war from a number of perspectives, see J. M. Winter, ed., War and Economic Development (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), especially Chapters 2-6. An especially good set of essays is found in Geoffrey Parker, Spain and the Netherlands, 1559-1659: Ten Studies (Short Hills, New Jersey: Enslow, 1979). Cited hereafter as Parker, Ten Studies.

For an example of an attempt to assess war's long-term influence on society, see R. Bean, "War and the Birth of the Modern State," JEH, XXXIII (1973), 203-21, which argues that the new military capabilities of the early modern era made it possible for the state to increase its

Even when agreeing on how to conceptualize the problem of war, historians have traditionally had difficulty in reaching a consensus concerning its influence. The now overworked and largely abandoned discussion of the extent to which Germany's economic problems in the seventeenth century can be blamed exclusively on the Thirty Years' War, or, to cite an earlier example, the effects of the Hundred Years' War on English society, are good examples of this difficulty.[3] Obviously, these wars influenced society

---

optimum size. An especially provocative interpretation of the impact of one of these struggles—the Thirty Years' War—on European civilization is presented in Theodore K. Rabb, The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 116-24.

The question of just how negatively or positively war can affect society has, of course, heavy moral overtones, and these overtones have become even more pronounced in the last few decades. For such a debate concerning early modern war, see John U. Nef, "War and Economic Progress, 1540-1640," EHR, XII (1942), 13-38. This article was written in response to the Nazi glorification of war, particularly the writings of Werner Sombart.

[3]For an examination of the traditional debate over the Thirty Years' War, see Theodore K. Rabb, "The Effects of the Thirty Years' War on the German Economy," JMH, XXXIV (1962), 40-51. This question has since been rephrased and placed in the broader context of European economic history. See Henry Kamen, "The Economic and Social Consequences of the Thirty Years' War," PP, XXXIX (1968), 44-61. For the debate over the Hundred Years' War, see Michael M. Postan, "Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War," EHR, XII (1942), 1-12 (cited hereafter as Postan, "Social Consequences") and Kenneth B. MacFarlane, "War, the Economy and Social Change: England and the Hundred Years' War," PP, XXII (1962), 3-11.

in a number of ways, giving rise to situations that were disastrous for some regions and some groups while fortuitous for others. It is thus possible to construct a number of quite possible and highly logical arguments supporting nearly any position one chooses to take.

The best methods for testing the insights of traditional scholars are those developed by the social sciences in the last few decades. Unfortunately, until very recently scholars trained in the use of these methods have shown little interest in the subject of early modern war. This neglect is surprising, since two of the pioneers of the new social history, Fernand Braudel and Jean Meuvret, pointed out more than thirty years ago the need for new studies of this topic. Braudel, in his now-classic study of sixteenth-century Mediterranean civilization, recognized war as one of the most persistent themes in the history of the late sixteenth century. Yet he believed that historians were as ignorant of its nature "as the physicist is of the nature of matter."[4] Meuvret also believed that war greatly influenced early modern society, pinpointing it as an important element in what is today perhaps the best known

---

[4]Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II. Translated from the French by Sian Reynolds. (2 vols., New York: Harper and Row, 1972-73), II, 836.

social and economic phenomenon of the Old Regime—the subsistence crisis.[5]

Two elements of the subsistence crisis—famine and plague—have already been studied extensively by the new social historians.[6] Yet war continues to receive little attention from these scholars. One reason for this neglect can probably be traced to the central role the study of war has always occupied in traditional history; scholars trained in the new methods have frequently been all too quick to shun traditional topics, preferring instead subjects which earlier historians slighted. But a second and more important reason for this neglect probably lies in the great difficulty which any attempt to explain and analyze war's influence on society presents. Plague and famine are natural phenomena whose effects on a given population can be discussed and dissected relatively

---

[5]Jean Meuvret, "Les crises de subsistence et la démographie de la France d'ancien régime," Population, I (1946), 643-50. Cited hereafter as Meuvret, "Crises de subsistence."

[6]On famine, see Andrew B. Appleby, Famine in Tudor and Stuart England (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1978). On plague see Jean-Noel Biraben, Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditeranéens (2 vols., Paris: Mouton, 1976). Cited hereafter as Biraben, Les hommes et la peste. To date, there is no work dealing with war on a national or continental level. The classic study of the subsistence crisis remains Pierre Goubert, Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730: contribution à l'histoire sociale de la France du XVIIe siècle (Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N., 1960). Cited hereafter as Goubert, Beauvais.

neatly; but war is subject to a wide range of human variables that make it difficult to treat with precision.[7]

The present study focuses on the history of one French city during the first two and one-half decades of the Wars of Religion. The city chosen was Bourges, capital of the duchy of Berry and an important cathedral town in the center of the realm. Bourges was selected for this study because, first, the city experienced the strife of the late sixteenth century in a number of ways. At various times during the religious wars, it was pillaged, besieged, blockaded, and occupied by both hostile and "friendly" troops. Moreover, the surrounding countryside, with which the city maintained especially close economic ties, was frequently invaded and plundered. Thus war, either directly or indirectly, almost continually affected the

---

[7]The difficulty of studying war has been noted by several historians. Meuvret, "Crises de subsistence," p. 648, calls war a "complex and not easily understood subject." See also the comment by Myron Gutmann, War and Rural Life in the Early Modern Low Countries (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 4, that "war's unpredictability and repeated changes make it unsatisfactory for analysis." Cited hereafter as Gutmann, War and Rural Life. Gutmann's work is not as geographically broad as its title suggests, since it is limited to a study of the region of the Basse-Meuse near the city of Liège. It is, however, one of two very excellent exceptions to the tendencies of the new social historians to ignore the topic of early modern war. The other is Christopher R. Friedrichs, Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580-1720 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979). Cited hereafter as Friedrichs, Nördlingen.

city, making it an especially suitable vehicle for examining the influence of early modern warfare on urban society.[8]

Second, Bourges's archives contain a rich and varied assortment of documents dating from the late sixteenth century. The minutes of the city council shed light on the most important problems (war-related and otherwise) confronting the city during these years. The urban accounts, which survive for almost every year of the struggles, permit one to measure the fiscal burden of the wars, as well as offering insight into the effects of the wars on Bourges's commercial life. But perhaps the most useful set of documents is a series of tax rolls, making possible an examination of the changes occurring in the city's demographic and socioeconomic structure. Two of these rolls are analyzed in this study.[9]

France's Wars of Religion, as opposed to other post-Reformation conflicts, were selected because of the dearth

---

[8]The history of Bourges has yet to be written; but Louis Raynal's Histoire de Berry depuis les temps plus anciens jusqu'en 1790 (4 vols., Bourges: Librairie de Vermeil, 1844-47), contains a good deal on the city. Cited hereafter as Raynal. See also the sketch in Ferdinand Lot, Recherches sur la population et la superficie des cités remontant à la période gallo-romaine (3 vols., Paris: E. Champion, 1946-54), II, 7-84. Cited hereafter as Lot, Recherches.

[9]These rolls are discussed in more detail, below, Chapter V, pp. 122-33; Chapter VI, pp. 166-72.

of local monographs for this period of French history. For although scholars in the last few decades have produced a number of excellent studies of France's towns and cities in the prerevolutionary era, most of these studies are limited to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Only recently has the late sixteenth century, a once-neglected period in the nation's history, become a focus of interest. Scholars are no longer content to view these troubled years as an unfortunate interlude in the course of the nation's development, or to debate the question of whether these struggles were "political" or "religious" in nature. Instead, in almost every area of history—political, social, economic, and cultural—attempts are being made to assess the changes and restructuring that occurred within French society as the result of the pressures arising from nearly four decades of civil strife.[10] The present study examines the influence of these pressures on Bourges's demographic and socioeconomic structure.

War's influence on the population and wealth of one early modern city is thus the major focus of this study.

---

[10]The most recent general study of these years suggesting this interpretation is John H. M. Salmon, A Society in Crisis: France in the Late Sixteenth Century (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1975). Cited hereafter as Salmon, Society in Crisis.

However, it would be a mistake to treat war as the exclusive theme in Bourges's history during the late sixteenth century, since it was only one of many problems the city confronted. Both plague and famine struck the city during these years. One aim of this study is to separate, insofar as possible, the influence of war from the influence of these other "legs of the subsistence crisis tripod."[11] Finally, if war's influence is to be understood, it must be considered within the context of any major changes occurring in the city's economic life. The study thus begins with an examination of Bourges's economy before the late sixteenth century.

---

[11]This metaphor is found in Gutmann, War and Rural Life, p. 4.

CHAPTER II

THE URBAN ECONOMY BEFORE THE WARS OF RELIGION

The influence of the Wars of Religion on Bourges's population and wealth can be assessed correctly only if the effects of these struggles can be sorted out from the results of any long-range structural changes occurring in the city's economic life. For this reason, the city's demographic and economic history should be examined in the years preceding the wars. Unfortunately, the city's archives were completely destroyed by a fire in 1487, making it impossible to explore any aspect of Bourges's history in detail before that date. The city's demographic history cannot be studied until the mid-sixteenth century, since documents dealing with Bourges's population are not available before that time.[1] The city's economic history,

---

[1]The lack of suitable documents for studying Bourges's population before the mid-sixteenth century has not prevented historical demographers from hazarding estimates of its size. Lot, Recherches, II, 75, says that approximately 7,500 houses were destroyed by the fire of 1487. By using this figure, Josiah Cox Russell, Late Ancient and Medieval Populations, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, XLVIII, Pt. 3 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1958), 61 (Table 64), projects a population of the city in excess of 32,000. This figure is also given in Tertius Chandler and Gerald Fox, Three Thousand Years of Urban Growth (New York: Academic Press, 1974), p. 111. Cited hereafter as Chandler and Fox. Such a figure is too high. The fire

however, is less elusive than its demographic history. Beginning with the years following the fire of 1487, there is sufficient documentary evidence to permit an examination of the most important sources of Bourges's wealth and indirect evidence makes it possible to determine at least the most important trends in the city's economic life as early as the late middle ages.[2]

Bourges's economic life, like that of all preindustrial cities, was closely integrated with the life of the surrounding countryside. The duchy of Berry lay in the center of the realm, where the plains of the north converged with the fringes of the mountains of south-central France. It thus exhibited considerable geographical diversity.[3] Along its southern frontier, near the borders

---

could not have destroyed so many houses, since it failed to reach the densely settled southern areas of the city. Josiah Cox Russell, Medieval Cities and Their Regions (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1972), p. 148, reduces his previous estimate by almost one-half.

[2]The city's history from the close of the Hundred Years' War to the Wars of Religion has been examined in Edouard Taillemitte, La vie économique et sociale à Bourges, 1450-1560 (Thèse de l'Ecole des chartes, 1948), passim. Cited hereafter as Taillemitte.

[3]For a discussion of the topography and geography of the duchy see Raynal, I, i-xxii. The best maps dating to the sixteenth century are found in Nicolas de Nicolay, Description générale du pais et duché de Berry et diocèse de Bourges (Châteauroux: A. Aupetit, 1883), passim. This work, cited hereafter as Nicolay, was published from a 1567 manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Nicolay, a cartographer, was commissioned by Catherine de Médici

of the Marche-Limousin, its hills reached altitudes of over 400 meters. As one moved north and west, the terrain sloped swiftly downward. On the limestone plateaus and in the river valleys that marked the borders of Touraine and Poitou, elevations dropped to under 100 meters.[4] The duchy was divided into two almost equal regions by the river Cher, whose banks marked the traditional boundary between the hills and mountains of Upper Berry to the south and east and the fields and plains of Lower Berry to the north and west.[5] The duchy's most distinctive geographical feature

---

to write a geography of each province in the realm following the crown's grand tour in the mid-1560's. He completed only three—descriptions of Berry, the Bourbonnais, and the Lyonnais. His map of the duchy of Berry and the diocese of Bourges is reproduced as Plate 1 (in pocket). The creation of the Bourbonnais in the sixteenth century made deep and irregular inroads into the duchy of Berry along the west bank of the Loire. However, the diocese of Bourges still extended as far east as the river.

[4]Raynal, I, 6. St. Saturnin, near Châteaumeillant, was 432 meters above sea level, while Châtillon-sur-Indre was only 94. The province lay outside the mountains of south-central France, but did reach into their foothills.

[5]The rivalry between Upper and Lower Berry and their two largest cities, Bourges and Issoudun, is a persistent theme in the political history of the duchy. In the selection of deputies to the Estates-General, for example, Lower Berry's residents frequently complained that Bourges and Upper Berry controlled the duchy's delegation to the third estate. See Raynal, IV, 25-26. Also J. Russell Major, The Deputies to the Estates-General in Renaissance France (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1960), pp. 59-60.

was the champagne berrichon, a large and fertile plain. Stretching outward from both banks of the Cher, it surrounded the two largest cities of the duchy, Bourges and Issoudun.[6]

Despite the duchy of Berry's location in the center of the realm, access to other regions of France was difficult. To the east, the Loire offered more of an obstacle than a route to neighboring provinces. Enclosed by the hills of the Heurepoix and the Bourbonnais, the river was bridged in this area in the sixteenth century at only two points, Gien and La Charité. The desolate and frequently flooded plain of the Sologne on the duchy's northern edge presented another obstacle to the outside world, while the mountainous regions of the Marche-Limousin to the south were far off the nation's major thoroughfare. The main road from Paris to Lyon and the cities of Italy ran east of the Loire, outside the duchy's borders. A second major artery coming from Paris veered west after reaching Orleans, passing through Blois and Touraine before turning south to the cities of the Midi. Hemmed in by natural barriers and by-passed by the major overland trade routes,

---

[6]The geography of the plain of Berry and the evolution of its agriculture since the sixteenth century are discussed in François P. Gay, Le champagne du Berry: essai sur la formation d'un paysage agraire et l'évolution d'une société rurale (Bourges: Tardy, 1967), passim.

Berry and the provinces to its south formed a large and sparsely populated pocket between northern France and the Midi.[7]

Such isolation encouraged self-sufficiency, and Berry's resources were abundant and varied enough to make considerable self-sufficiency possible. Its forests were not as large as those of Touraine or the Orleannais, but there were several smaller ones, most of them near the duchy's borders. By the sixteenth century the fuel they supplied was supplemented by coal, probably mined in the neighboring region of the Nivernais.[8] The region was also well watered by the Cher and several of its tributaries.

---

[7]These routes can still be seen by consulting a modern highway map of France. The region was also less densely populated than the north or the Midi. See the map in Pierre Bonnard, "Peopling and Origins of Settlements," in Hugh D. Clouts, ed., Themes in the Historical Geography of France (London: Academic Press, 1977), p. 56. Contemporary descriptions of the duchy in the sixteenth century often refer to the region as mal-peuplée. See, for example, the 1583 description of the duchy drawn up for the bishop of Paris and quoted in Marie-Camille Thierry de Brimont, Le seizième siècle et les guerres de la Réforme en Berry (2 vols., Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1905), II, 196. Cited hereafter as Thierry de Brimont.

[8]For a description of the duchy's forests see Michel Devèze, La vie de la fôret française au seizième siècle (2 vols., Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N., 1961), I, 259-64. Jean Chaumeau, Histoire de Berry contenant l'origine, antiquité, gestes, prouesses, privilèges, et libertés des berruyers (Lyon: Anthoine Gryphius, 1566), p. 90, says that in the sixteenth century the forests were beginning to disappear, victims of an increasing number of iron forges. Cited hereafter as Chaumeau. On coal mining in sixteenth-century France see John U. Nef, The Conquest of

Berry's greatest resource, however, was the diversity of its soils. The sixteenth-century cartographer, Nicholas de Nicolay, recognized the importance of this diversity and attributed to it the ease with which the duchy produced the three staples basic to its needs:

> . . . ceste province . . . ayt les terres fort differentes, si ne laisse elle pource a produire grande suffisance de tous biens. Car les terres grasses et rougeastres sont abondantes en bon froment, seigle, orge, avoyne, et légumaige, chanvre et lin. L'autre qui est pierreuse et seiche, est copieuse en tres-bon vin. . . . Mais le troisième qui semble aride et seiche et en aucun lieu inutile, sert néanmoins grandement au pâturage et nourriture . . . des moutons et brébis. . . .[9]

Two of these staples—grain and wine—were produced for the local market. Wheat was most abundant in the "heavy and reddish" soils of Lower Berry, although every region of the duchy produced some grains. Every area produced a local wine as well, but it was the hillsides near Sancerre along the banks of the Loire that produced the

---

the Material World (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 170-74. The closest area to Bourges in which coal was mined was Décize, in the Nivernais.

[9]Nicolay, pp. 11-12. Michael M. Postan, Medieval Trade and Finance (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 152, suggests that the main reason why the economic life of this area has not been studied is that the provinces of central France were "able to cover their needs from their own production and were not dependent on foreign supplies or markets."

best vintages. The plain of central Berry was suitable for grazing sheep. Their wool, made locally into a high-quality cloth, provided the duchy with its most important export commodity.[10]

Grain, wine, and wool thus formed a trinity of traditional staples on which the duchy's economic life depended. These staples supported an equally traditional society whose landscape on the eve of the religious wars had changed little since the middle ages. Castles and donjons dotted the countryside, reminders of the days when the duchy of Berry was a frontier outpost of the Capetian kings against the Plantagenet empire to the south and west. Most of the duchy's towns and cities were still surrounded by extensive twelfth-century fortifications. At Bourges, the Great Tower, a one-hundred-and-twenty-foot stone keep built in the reign of Philip Augustus, still served as the

---

[10]Almost every grain grown in the realm—wheat, oats, rye, and barley—grew well in some region of the duchy. For the distribution of these crops in the middle ages see the map in Guy Devailly, Le Berry du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe: étude politique, religieuse, sociale, et économique (Paris: Mouton, 1973), p. 564. Cited hereafter as Devailly. Even though woolens were the only commodity exported in large quantities, a few others should be mentioned. One was iron, smelted by blast furnaces from open pits in the southern part of the duchy. Another was linen made from the hemp that grew in the region. A final commodity was the small felt caps made from wood produced near Bourges. Thierry de Brimont, I, 4.

key to urban defenses.[11] The duchy's close ties to the past were also visible in the large number of religious houses within its borders, including some sixty abbeys and monasteries and two hundred and seventy-six rural priories. In portions of the duchy, serfdom still survived.[12] Berry's failure to change as rapidly as other provinces of the region is suggested by the comments of those who travelled through it: Rabelais dubbed it a land which time had forgotten.[13]

In the sixteenth century, Bourges was the region's leading town and administrative center, as it had been since the days of Roman Gaul. The city lay a few leagues east of the Cher at the confluence of two smaller rivers, the Yevre and the Auron.[14] Its topographical axis followed

---

[11]For a description of the duchy in the sixteenth century see Thierry de Brimont, I, 5-25. On the Great Tower of Bourges, see Nicolay, pp. 24-25.

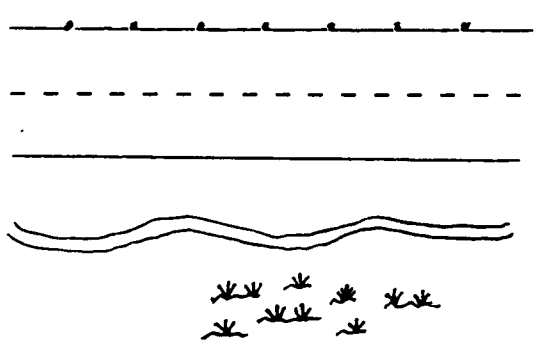
[12]The development of a rural bonded class is discussed in Devailly, pp. 544-51. For its survival into the sixteenth century see Gaston Wimbée, Histoire de Berry des origines à 1790 (Paris: G. Wimbée, 1957), pp. 86-87.

[13]Taillemitte, p. 165, mentions this description from Rabelais' Pantagruel. His exact words describing the duchy were "pays à dormir." I have been unable to locate this quotation.

[14]See Figures 1 and 2. When the city's medieval walls were built in the twelfth century, they were designed to reach as far as the Auron on the west and the Yevre on the north. This would indicate that the city intended to take advantage of the natural defenses offered by these streams and that military considerations rather than population

Figure 1. Bourges in the Sixteenth Century.

PARISH CHURCHES		OTHER LANDMARKS	
1.	St. Ambroix	17.	Cathédrale St. Étienne
2.	St. Austrillet	18.	Palais Jacques Coeur
3.	Château	19.	Great Tower
4.	St. Bonnet	20.	Rue d'Auron
5.	St. Croix	21.	Rue St. Sulpice
6.	Notre Dame du Fourchaud	22.	Rue St. Bonnet
7.	St. Fulgent	23.	Rue Bourbonnoux
8.	St. Hippolyte	24.	Yevrette River
9.	St. Jean des Champs	25.	Faubourg d'Auron
10.	St. Medard	26.	Auron River
11.	Montermoyen	27.	Yevre River
12.	St. Pierre-le-Guillard	28.	Faubourg de Bourbonnoux
13.	St. Pierre-le-Marché	29.	Faubourg St. Sulpice
14.	St. Pierre-le-Puellier	30.	Faubourg St. Privé
15.	St. Privé	31.	Village d'Asnières
16.	St. Ursin	32.	Pré Fichaud



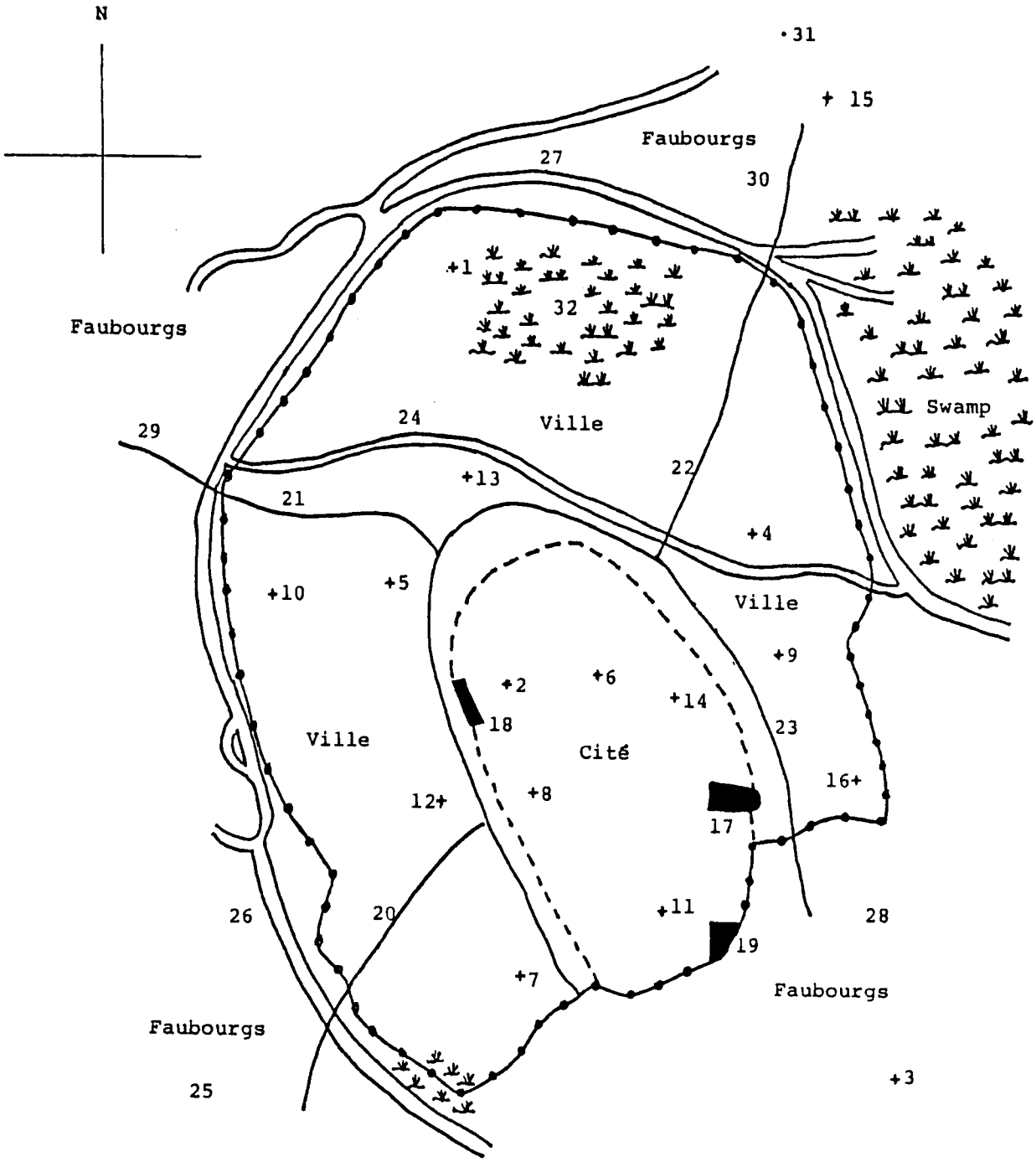
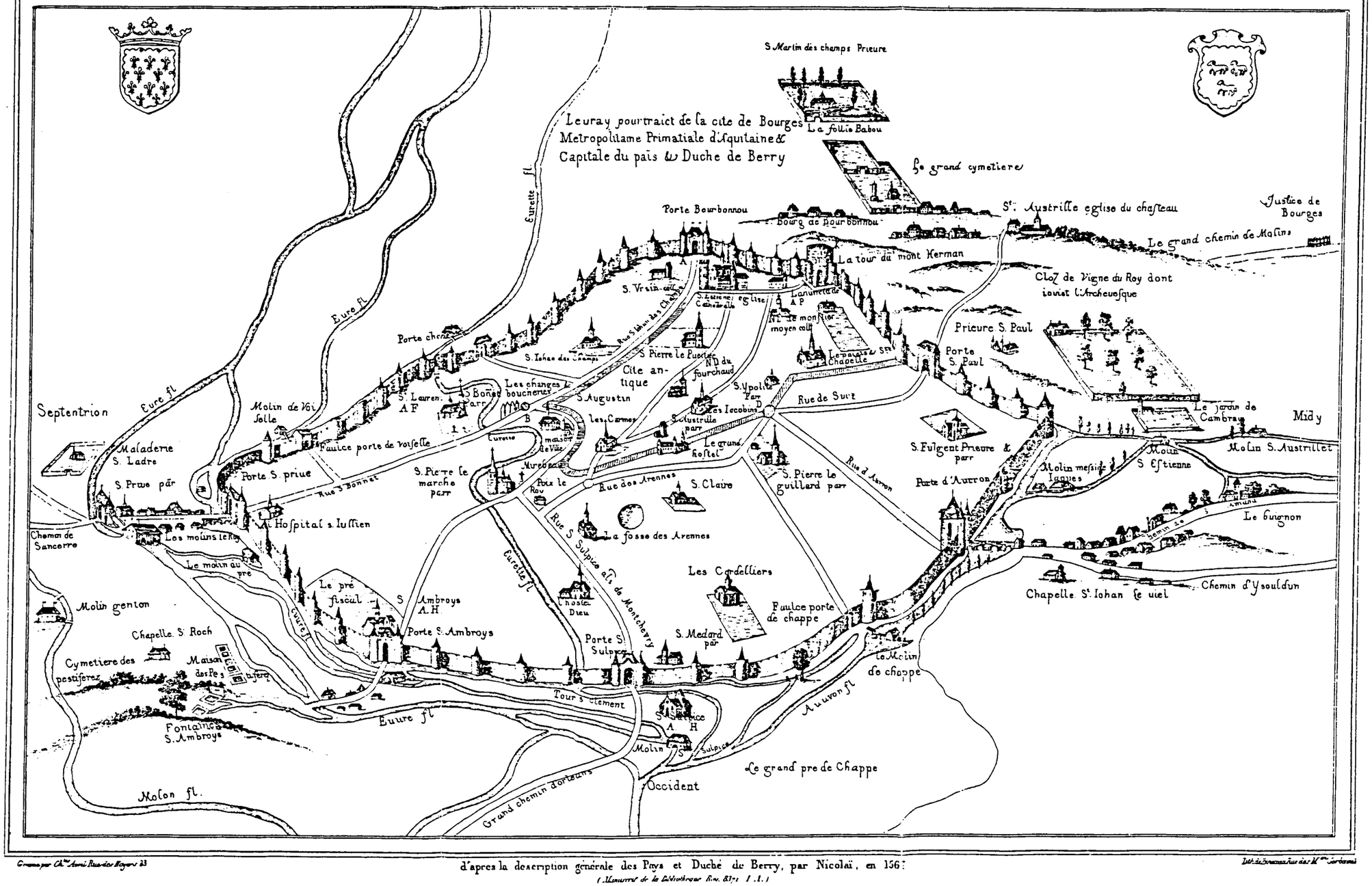

N
31
15
Faubourgs
27
30
1
32
Faubourgs
Swamp
29
24
Ville
22
13
21
4
10
5
Ville
9
2
6
14
18
23
Ville
Cité
16
12
8
17
26
20
11
28
19
7
Faubourgs
Faubourgs
25
3

Figure 1



d'apres la description générale des Pays et Duché de Berry, par Nicolaï, en 1567
(Manuscrit de la Bibliotheque Rue. 837-1 f.1.)

Figure 2. Bourges in 1567.

Source: Nicholas de Nicolay, Description générale du pais et duché de Berry et diocèse de Bourges.

that of the duchy. Its terrain sloped from the southeast, where a low hill crowned by the cathedral St. Étienne marked its highest point, toward the marshy land at the juncture of the two rivers just outside the northern walls. The open plain surrounding the city was broken only on the east where a large swamp pushed against the walls, blocking access from that direction. To the west and north, the line of the medieval ramparts followed the course of the Yevre and the Auron. The city lacked natural defenses only on its southern side, and it was here that the Great Tower had been constructed.

To the sixteenth-century traveller, the city from a distance appeared more rural than urban. On three sides, extensive faubourgs blended almost imperceptibly into the open areas of the surrounding countryside. Within the walls, large tracts of land separated streets and parishes from one another. Areas near the northern end of the city, where the swamp gave way to a large and poorly drained meadow—the pré fichaud—were uninhabited. But the more densely populated parishes on the higher ground farther south also enclosed numerous plots of unsettled

---

pressures prompted the construction of these ramparts. Such a possibility seems even more likely when one remembers that the Plantagenet-Capetian struggle was reaching a critical point during the late twelfth century.

land, much of it planted in gardens, orchards, and, above all, vineyards.[15]

Although the city's wines were produced for only a local market, viticulture played a major role in the urban economy. The tax levied on the sale of wine (aide du treizième du vin) brought the city far more revenues each year than the combined revenues from almost two dozen remaining sales taxes.[16] The purchasing, selling, and leasing of vineyards made up a sizeable portion of the legal transactions taking place in the city in the early sixteenth century, and these transactions cut across occupational and socioeconomic lines. To an artisan, a small vineyard provided a cushion against a sudden subsistence crisis; to a bourgeoisie or a merchant, a larger vineyard offered a means of diversifying his investments and ensuring a steady if unspectacular income.[17]

If vineyards were owned by all members of society, land was still in the hands of the wealthy. A systematic study of patterns of land ownership and tenurial arrangements in the region surrounding Bourges in the sixteenth

---

[15]A good discussion of the city's open, almost rural, topography is found in Taillemitte, pp. 35-47.

[16]The aide du treizième du vin is discussed below in more detail for the sixteenth century, Chapter IV, pp. 94-102.

[17]Taillemitte, pp. 36-37.

century has never been made, but there is little doubt that much of this land was in the hands of the church. The powerful Benedictine monastery of St. Sulpice in Bourges's northwestern faubourgs owned numerous métairies in the countryside adjacent to the city, as did many of the city's lesser religious houses. Many of the parish churches in the duchy were dependencies of the cathedral chapter which drew rents and dues from them. But in Bourges, as elsewhere in sixteenth-century France, the bourgeoisie had begun to invest in rural holdings. Tenurial arrangements varied, depending on tradition and whatever concessions landlords and métayers could obtain from one another; but two forms or relationships were most common: (1) Payments were set in kind, with the landlord providing the tools and the draft animals necessary for the planting and the harvest, or (2) A type of métayage was worked out, with landlord and tenant usually agreeing to share expenses, losses, and profits equally.[18]

---

[18] A good discussion of the development of métayage in sixteenth-century France is found in Salmon, Society in Crisis, pp. 37-47. Also Harry Miskimin, The Economy of Later Renaissance Europe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 68-71. Cited hereafter as Miskimin, Later Renaissance. My discussion of agriculture in the countryside surrounding Bourges is drawn from Taillemitte, pp. 40-42, who offers a few examples of tenurial contracts from the early sixteenth century.

The trade which occurred between Bourges and surrounding regions was typical of that found in any large farm-to-market town. Several local and regional fairs were held each year.[19] In addition to the aide on wine, the city levied sales taxes on more than two dozen other commodities. The more important of these were the tax on grain, the tax on wood and coal, and the "gate taxes" (pavâges des portes), or entry duties, that fell on all goods that came into the city.[20] Traffic moved along the secondary roads that converged at the city's four principal gates. Orleans and the lower Loire valley were accessible via the Sologne by the Porte St. Sulpice, while the Porte St. Privé led to Sancerre and the upper Loire. The Porte Bourbonnoux offered access to the less well-travelled route to the mountains of the south and east, connecting the city with Lyon. But the busiest gate was the Porte d'Auron on

---

[19] Taillemitte, pp. 136-40.

[20] For a list of the commodities that carried the aides in sixteenth-century Bourges see AMB, CC 131. This list is reproduced in Taillemitte, p. 147. When first consulting the archives, my inclination was to read pavage as panage. The panage des portes was a tax farmed at Dun-le-Roi, a small town in Upper Berry that normally followed the custom of Bourges. This tax was derived from leasing the lands outside the city gates for the foraging of livestock, particularly pigs. However, M. Jean Jenny, archivist of Bourges's municipal archives, assures me that the tax was called the pavage, and was used originally for paving the city's streets. In the longhand of the sixteenth century, it is impossible to distinguish an "n" from a "v" when either letter appears in the middle of a word.

the city's western edge. It was via this route that grain from Lower Berry and the woad from the Midi so necessary to the textile industry entered the city.[21]

The city's small rivers offered few commercial advantages. They were adequate for turning the mills that ground the city's grain, for providing fresh fish, and for ensuring a water supply for the textile industry. However, under the best of conditions, both the Auron and the Yevre were barely navigable. In the early sixteenth century the city attempted to open navigation along the Yevre as far as its juncture with the Cher at Vierzon, and by the early 1550's a few small boats made this trip. But despite the support of the duchess of Berry and the crown, permanent success proved elusive.[22]

---

[21]See Figures 1 and 2 for the location of the city's principal gates. A rough index for establishing the flow of goods into the city can be determined by consulting the amount received each year for the farming of the gate taxes. In the sixteenth century, the farm of the Porte d'Auron usually brought in as much revenue as that of the city's other three gates combined. The farm of the Porte Bourbonnoux was always the smallest. Although Bourges was off the major overland trade routes in the sixteenth century, the city did lie on a frequently travelled secondary route connecting Lyon and Nantes. Mule carts carried most of the merchandise travelling between these cities. See Richard Gascon, Grand commerce et la vie urbaine au seizième siècle: Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520-environs de 1580) (2 vols., Paris: S. E. V. P. E. N., 1971), I, 368. Cited hereafter as Gascon, Grand commerce.

[22]As early as 1489, the city council sent a mason and a carpenter to Chartres to examine work done in that city on the Eure in an effort to make it navigable. Taillemitte,

In many areas of its economic life Bourges thus differed little from dozens of other sixteenth-century French towns. However, two features of its economy did set it apart from the smaller towns of the region. The first was its importance in the administrative and ecclesiastical life of the kingdom. As the center of a bailliage, a généralité, a royal mint, and (after 1552) the site of a presidial seat, Bourges figured prominently in the complex system of royal administration that served early modern France. The city was also one of the most important episcopal centers in the realm: the archdiocese of Bourges stretched southward to include all of Auvergne, the Limousin, and a large portion of Languedoc. In the early sixteenth century it was the nation's wealthiest ecclesiastical province. The presence of a large number of royal and ecclesiastical administrators in the city, while prehaps draining more wealth from the city than it generated, nevertheless provided Bourges with an office-holding elite which formed an important market for numerous goods and services.[23]

---

p. 125, argues that the coming of the Wars of Religion ended the chances for keeping these streams navigable. Raynal, IV, 5, thinks that chances for lasting success were never very great.

[23]For a map showing the extent of the bailliage of Bourges, see Nicolay, p. 19. For a list of the towns and regions of central France where the coins minted in Bourges were released for circulation see the list from AMB, BB 9,

The second feature of Bourges's economy which distinguished it from most surrounding towns and cities was its textile industry. Since the city's economic fortunes and the fortunes of the woolens trade had been bound together closely since the middle ages, the changing fortunes of this industry in the decades preceding the Wars of Religion deserve special attention.

It is impossible to determine precisely when Bourges's textile industry began to have more than regional importance, although this probably occurred in the thirteenth century. Certainly a market for the high-quality woolens produced in the city should have developed during these years, when the demographic and commercial expansion of medieval Europe reached its peak. As early as 1277, Lombard bankers were in the city, undoubtedly arranging to ship its woolens across the Alps. By 1307, "cloth of Bourges" was known in Florence, and by the 1330's a colony of Italian merchants was established in the city. On the eve of the late medieval depression, Bourges's woolens were winning a place on the Mediterranean market.[24]

---

as reproduced in Henry Jongleux, Archives de la ville de Bourges avant 1790 (2 vols., Paris: A. Jollet, 1877-78), I, 68-70. Cited hereafter as Jongleux. For a discussion of the extent and wealth of the archdiocese of Bourges, see Thierry de Brimont, I, 37-38.

[24]Lot, Recherches, II, 50-52, mentions not only Lombard bankers but also Jews in the city as early as the reign of Louis VII. The presence of "cloth of Bourges" on the Florentine market is mentioned in Henri Laurent, "Draps

The direct evidence that would permit a detailed analysis of Bourges's economic life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is not available since the fire of 1487 destroyed the city's archives. Nevertheless, considerable indirect evidence suggests that while much of France was plunged into a severe and lengthy depression, Bourges enjoyed the most prosperous decades in its history. There is little doubt that the city reached the zenith of its cultural and political influence. The splendor of the court maintained by Jean, duke of Berry (1340-1416), surpassed that of the Valois monarchy, and his magnificent "books of the hours" remain among the great treasures of late medieval art. The St. Chapelle and the palace built by the duke were still standing in the sixteenth century and were among the architectural gems of the kingdom, as was the townhouse of the city's most famous native son, Jacques Coeur, built in the mid-fifteenth century. In the closing decades of the Hundred Years' War, when Charles VII

---

de Burgos, de Bruges, et de Bourges à Florence au XIV siècle," Mélanges offert à Nicolas Iorga par ses amis de France et des pays de langue française (Paris: J. Gambier, 1933), pp. 500-17. The similarity in the spelling of these three cities has led to some confusion concerning the origin of the cloth. Taillemitte, p. 47, discusses a case before the Parlement of Paris in 1337 involving Italian merchants living in Bourges. The merchants were claiming exemption from taxation on the basis of privileges granted by previous kings.

moved his court to Bourges, the city served for several years as capital of the truncated kingdom.[25]

The city's economic life almost certainly reached its zenith during these years also. Like parts of northern Italy and the Low Countries, central France was less adversely affected than were most other regions of Europe by the demographic decline and economic readjustments that occurred during these years. This is especially true for the region surrounding Bourges. Curiously, the duchy of Berry appears to have been spared the Black Death in 1348-49, as well as most of the destruction of the Hundred Years' War.[26] Perhaps more important, circumstances

---

[25]For a brief sketch of the city's political history in the late middle ages, emphasizing the presence of the court of Duke Jean, see Lot, Recherches, II, 19-26.

[26]Biraben, Les hommes et la peste, I, 82-83, says there is no evidence of the plague of 1348-49 in central France. (See also his map on pp. 88-89.) In an attempt to determine which years each city of the realm was visited by plague, Biraben is able to establish the disease's presence in Bourges on no occasion in the fourteenth century and on only two occasions in the fifteenth century—1414 and 1481. While the first outbreak in the mid-fourteenth century may have missed the city, it is unlikely that plague would have occurred so infrequently until the sixteenth century, when several major outbreaks took place.

On the Hundred Years' War, see Raynal, II, 288-346. English troops were active in the duchy in the early years of the war, but a brief attempt by the Black Prince to capture Bourges in 1356 failed. After that, no further sieges occurred until another brief, unsuccessful one in 1412. After 1380, when Duke Jean established his court in the city, the area was relatively peaceful for several decades.

worked to favor the rapid and continuous growth of the textile industry. Complex shifts in the demographic and wealth structure of late medieval Europe, related to the severe depopulation of these years, helped cause the market for inexpensive woolens to decline and the market for luxury woolens such as those produced in Bourges to expand rapidly.[27] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the city's woolens appeared throughout the western Mediterranean. "Cloth of Bourges" passed through Barcelona,

---

[27]On the growth of the market for luxury goods in the late middle ages, see Harry Miskimin, The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300-1460 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 86-105. Cited hereafter as Miskimin, Early Renaissance. Also David Herlihy, Early Renaissance Pistoia (New Haven Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 55-120; 180-212. Miskimin argues that the demand for luxury goods increased because depopulation resulting from plague destroyed people without destroying wealth, leading to an increase in per capita wealth. Furthermore, the terror and uncertainty of the period led to a desire to indulge in the finest and best commodities available. There is less agreement as to whether wealth became more or less equally distributed, although some evidence from Italy suggests that the trend was toward higher concentration (less equal distribution). See, for example, Sarah R. Blanshei, Perugia, 1260-1340: Conflict and Change in a Medieval Italian Society, in Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, LXVI, Pt. 2 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976), 46; E. Fiumi, Storia economica e sociale de San Gimignano (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1961), 114; 121. Also, Herlihy, Pistoia, p. 189. These changes may have affected demand for "cloth of Bourges," since the city's woolens were sold on the Mediterranean market.

Béziers, and Aigues-Mort.[28] In the early fifteenth century, it was second only to Norman woolens among the articles of clothing belonging to the Valois dukes of Anjou.[29] In 1522, a century later, "cloth of Bourges"

---

[28]For the presence of Bourges's woolens in Béziers, see Philippe Wolff, "Esquisse d'une histoire de la draperie en Languedoc du XIIe au début du XVIIe siècle," in Marco Spallanzani, ed., Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panni di lana (nei secoli XII-XVIII) (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1976), pp. 435-62. This collection of articles is cited hereafter as Spallanzani, Produzione. Merchants from Bourges (almost certainly woolens merchants) are mentioned in Barcelona in Claude Carrère, Barcelone: centre économique à l'époque des difficultés, 1380-1462, (2 vols., Paris: La Haye-Mouton, 1967), I, 33; II, 565. In Aigues-Morts, it is not cloth, but raw wool (balles de laine) that is mentioned in 1358. This is the only reference I have found to the export of unfinished wool from the city. See Archives municipales d'Aigues-Morts, CC 86, as quoted in Edouard Baratier, "Production et commercialisation de la laine en Provence du XIIIe au XVIe siècle," in Marco Spallanzani, ed., La lana come materia prima: i fenomeni della sua produzione e circolozione nei secoli XIII-XVII (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1974), p. 308.

There is no evidence "cloth of Bourges" was known in northern Europe. The Hanseatic League, which dominated large-scale trade in this region during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries dealt almost exclusively in English, Flemish, and Dutch textiles. See Philippe Dollinger, The German Hansa. Translated from the French by S. H. Steinberg. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1970), p. 218. Lot, Recherches, II, 52, says that "cloth of Bourges" was not even known in Orleans, where Flemish textiles dominated the export trade.

[29]Francoise Piponnier, "La consommation des draps de laine dans quelques milieux français à la fin du moyen âge," in Spallanzani, Produzione, p. 425. "Cloth of Bourges" shared this position with cloth made in Perpignan.

made up 7.8 percent of the woolens moving through the important Lyon market.[30]

The strong demand for high-quality woolens on the Mediterranean market, combined with little competition from the remainder of the troubled and depressed realm, thus worked to keep the city prosperous during the late middle ages. But in the decades following the end of the Hundred Years' War, the revival of industry and trade in the rest of France turned the advantage toward more favorably located cities and towns. Cut off from the nation's most important trade arteries and unable to adjust to the changing economy of these years, Bourges was unable to participate successfully in this revival. As a result, the city's problems began just as those of much of the remainder of the realm were ending.

Bourges's inability to deal effectively with changing economic conditions is evident as early as the 1480's, when the city engaged in a lengthy quarrel with both Lyon and Troyes over the right to host a major international fair. All three cities competed for the royal patent conferring

---

[30]Gascon, Grand commerce, I, 70. This was a smaller share of the Lyon market than that enjoyed by woolens coming from Paris, Poitou, or Languedoc. However, of all French woolens, only those from Paris equalled those from Bourges in value. Of the woolens coming from outside the realm, only those from Florence and the Low Countries compared favorably.

this privilege. Tradition favored Troyes, which could point to a past that included the great days of the fairs of Champagne. But both Louis XI and Charles VIII chose Bourges, probably because of its close ties to the monarchy and their desire to lure foreign capital as deeply as possible into the realm. Geography, however, was overwhelmingly on the side of Lyon, and it soon became obvious to crown and merchants alike that Bourges was a poor choice for holding such an event.[31]

Despite its unfavorable location, the city strove to retain its privilege. It complained to the crown that the rights of "little merchants" in Bourges were being threatened by the greed of "great merchants" in Lyon—merchants, it added, "more Italian than French in their dealings."[32] When merchants from Lyon arrived at the fairs of Bourges in the spring of 1487, the city council immediately accused them of gathering information that could be used to persuade the crown to transfer the fairs to their city. The merchants were detained and their goods seized. A commission sent by the crown to

---

[31]This quarrel is discussed in Richard Gascon, "Nationalisme économique et géographique des foires: la querelle des foires de Lyon, 1484-1494," CH, I (1956), 253-87. Cited hereafter as Gascon, "Nationalisme économique." See also Emile Levasseur, Histoire de la commerce en France (2 vols., Paris: A. Rousseau, 1911-12), I, 91-92.

[32]Taillemitte, p. 129.

investigate the incident was also arrested and interrogated. Such treatment was sufficient to encourage merchants to boycott the fairs of Bourges even before the fire of the following summer ended them permanently. Shortly afterwards, the fairs were moved to Lyon.[33]

In the nineteenth century, local historians of Bourges were inclined to see the loss of the fairs as a decisive event in the city's decline. However, given the great distance of the city from the crossroads of international trade, it is unlikely that the fairs would ever have become greatly important to the city's economic life. Moreover, the city's economic problems may have helped doom the fairs almost before they began: by the close of the fifteenth century, the great days of the textile trade were in Bourges's past.[34]

By the early 1500's, the problems of the woolens industry had become sufficiently serious to attract the attention of its leaders. In the absence of a guild system, the city council assumed the task of analyzing and attempting to remedy the industry's plight. Initially,

---

[33]Gascon, "Nationalisme économique," pp. 53-54.

[34]There is no good discussion of the decline of the woolens trade, although nearly all authors who have written of the city mention it. Raynal, IV, 6-10, deals with it briefly, as does Taillemitte, pp. 32-48.

the council blamed the dyers, whom it accused of bringing on the difficulties by abandoning the use of traditional woad for less expensive, inferior substances. The appointment of additional cloth inspectors (visiteurs) was designed to halt this problem, but this measure did little to lessen the industry's troubles.[35]

Bourges's historians have had as much trouble explaining the industry's decline as its council had in halting it. The fire of 1487, a misfortune that seemed to coincide with the onset of many of the city's problems, has been cited by some as the most important cause. Others have stressed the growing competition from the textile industries of the smaller towns and cities of the duchy. In the seventeenth century, when the city's municipal freedoms had been lost to the Bourbon monarchy and the textile trade had all but disappeared, the industry's misfortunes were blamed on the crown's conveying of nobility on members of the municipal council, an action that supposedly drove once hard-working wool merchants from the commercial classes and turned them into rentiers. Finally, problems brought on by the Reformation have been cited: specifically,

---

[35]Taillemitte, p. 36, discusses the growing number of ordinances and regulations, both municipal and royal, in the early sixteenth century that were designed to halt decline of the woolens industry.

the industry's decline has been linked to the expulsion of industrious Protestant woolens workers from the city in 1555, an event that occurred at least forty years after the decline had first been observed by the city council.[36]

These attempts to explain the industry's troubles all fall short because each provides only a local and internal explanation for what was an international phenomenon—the changing nature of the sixteenth-century textile market. "Cloth of Bourges" still ranked among the finest of Europe's traditional woolens, but the increasing availability of more expensive fabrics in the rapidly expanding economy of these years offered keen competition for the luxury textile trade.[37] More important, the end of the

---

[36]Raynal, IV, 7, quotes the seventeenth-century pamphleteer Nicolas Catherinot, Prest gratuit (n.d.), p. 38, and Jean Chenu, Recueil des antiquités et privilèges de la ville de Bourges, et plusieurs autres villes capitales du royaume (Paris: Robert Fouet, 1621), pp. 29-30 (cited hereafter as Chenu) as stating that the abandonment of the industry by merchants was the most important reason for its decline. This was also the belief of the seventeenth-century intendants. See, for example, the comments of the intendant Dée de Seraucourt, as cited in Lot, Recherches, II, 76. Taillemitte, p. 128, cites all of these reasons. No one has thought to relate the decline of the city's industry to changes in the woolens market. Those authors who have attempted to explain the decline have emphasized changes in production, rather than in consumption.

[37]The most important such fabric was probably silk, the production of which was an important part of the economy of several regions of southern France by the early sixteenth century. For its growth in Languedoc see Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, The Peasants of Languedoc. Translated from the French by John Day. (Champaign, Illinois:

late medieval depression and the beginning of the demographic upswing of the early sixteenth century saw the general demand for high-quality woolens begin to decline. Lower-quality, less expensive worsteds—the nouvelles draperies—came to dominate the growing mass market. The decline of Bourges's textile industry was thus not the result of circumstances peculiar to the city. It resulted instead from a change in the international textile market—specifically, from a greatly reduced demand for traditional woolens.[38]

Could the industry have adjusted to these changing market demands and continued to enjoy economic prosperity

---

University of Illinois Press, 1974), pp. 71-73. Cited hereafter as Le Roy Ladurie, Peasants. For the growth of the silk industry in Lyon see Gascon, Grand commerce, I, 59-65.

[38]For a discussion of the impact of the nouvelles draperies on the traditional textile market see Domenico Sella, ed., Fontana Economic History of Europe (6 vols., New York: Harvester Press/Barnes and Noble, 1977), II, 375-79. Also Frederic Mauro, Le XVIe siècle européen: aspects économiques (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1966), pp. 117-23. For the growth of the nouvelles draperies in England see Miskimin, Later Renaissance, pp. 81-93. For Flanders, Emile Coornaert, "Draperies rurales, draperies urbaines: l'évolution de l'industrie flamande au moyen âge jusqu'à XVIe siècle," RBPH, XXVII (1950), 57-96. For the decline of the traditional textile industry in Florence see Maurice Carmona, "La Toscane face à la crise de l'industrie lainière: techniques et mentalités économiques au XVIe et XVIIe siècles," in Spallanzani, Produzione, pp. 151-68. The shifting of the woolens industry to Bourges to Châteauroux and the smaller towns of Berry parallels a similar movement in Flanders.

into the sixteenth century? Such adjustment would have required changes far too radical to have been made quickly. The manufacture of traditional woolens would need to have been replaced by the production of the more popular worsteds, and this would have required a major restructuring of the industry. First, the wool from the older varieties of short-haired sheep raised on the plain of Berry would need to have been replaced with the longer and coarser wool of newer species. Second, since worsteds required no fulling, one of the more important jobs of the traditional industry would have been eliminated. Third, since textile workers throughout Europe were inclined to view the nouvelles draperies as greatly inferior to traditional woolens, the industry would have had to abandon its deeply rooted pride in the high quality of the goods it produced. In short, adjusting to the demands of the market would have required a number of difficult structural and psychological changes.[39]

---

[39]Miskimin, Later Renaissance, pp. 89-90, discusses the differences between traditional woolens such as those produced by Bourges and worsteds (nouvelles draperies). The latter were more loosely woven, lighter in weight, and less expensive. Since the material was not fulled, individual strands of yarn remained visible, accentuating color and pattern to a degree not possible in traditional woolens. The manufacturers of traditional woolens saw the production of such obviously "inferior" woolens as giving in to the demands of fashion at the expense of quality.

Thus, by the eve of the Wars of Religion, Bourges's economic life was contracting decisively. The very decade when these struggles broke out—the 1560's—saw the nouvelles draperies come to dominate the Mediterranean market on which cloth of Bourges had sold so well in earlier centuries.[40] Already, the city was on its way to becoming the quiet provincial town that it would remain for the next three hundred years.[41] Thus the Wars of Religion cannot be blamed for the city's long-range economic decline. Nevertheless, this decline was exacerbated and hastened by these struggles, as is demonstrated in the remainder of the study.

---

[40]Miskimin, Later Renaissance, pp. 94-98.

[41]Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century (New York: Academic Press, 1974), pp. 67-129, discusses new divisions of labor and methods of production emerging in Europe in the sixteenth century. He distinguishes between three regions: core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral. Given this conceptualization, Bourges would clearly fall within the semi-peripheral regions of Europe: a region with shrinking industrial production, relative self-sufficiency, and an agricultural system characterized by sharecropping. For a discussion of the semi-periphery see especially pp. 102-07. Like the Italian city states, also developing into semi-peripheral regions in the sixteenth century, Bourges had been a core region in the late middle ages.

CHAPTER III

THE REFORMED RELIGION IN BOURGES

Modern historians of sixteenth-century France are correctly inclined to view confessional rivalry as only one of many interrelated problems that helped set off and sustain the Wars of Religion. Equal importance is usually given to the absence of a strong monarchy, the ambitions of great noble houses, the unsettled international situation, and the economic and fiscal problems related to the inflation of the late sixteenth century. The men and women who fought these wars were certainly not unaware of these problems; at the local level, a number of others must have concerned them as well. Such concerns may often have influenced the confessional position they chose to support more than did personal preference. Yet the principles for which these men and women professed to fight—at least until the emergence of the politique party in the 1570's—were consistently if not exclusively sectarian ones. Without the rapid growth of French Calvinism in the decades preceding the wars, ideological positions would certainly have been less clearly defined and the struggles less fiercely fought. For this reason any discussion of the Wars of Religion in Bourges should begin with a look

at the origin, nature, and fate of the Protestant movement in that city.[1]

As the site of one of the nation's leading universities, Bourges was an early center of that blend of humanism and early Protestanism known as the prérêforme. Within only a few years after the posting of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses, Protestantism had appeared in the city. One of its more sympathetic patrons was Marguerite d'Angoulême, the duchess of Berry, who used her influence to appoint scholars friendly to its doctrines to the university faculty. Among the most prominent were André Alciat, the renowned "legal humanist" who helped develop a critical approach to the study of civil law, and Melchior Wolmar, the eminent Greek and Latin scholar. The latter brought with him from his previous position at the University of Orleans a number of young scholars, including John Calvin and Theodore de Bèze.[2]

---

[1]For a discussion of the interrelation of the political and the religious issues see John E. Neale, The Age of Catherine de Medici (London: Jonathan Cape, 1943), Chapters I-II. Also Nicola M. Sutherland, The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 1-9. For a discussion of some of the issues that influenced several Protestant nobles to participate in the wars see Salmon, Society in Crisis, pp. 127-31.

[2]On the early history of the University of Bourges, founded in 1463 by Louis XI, see Raynal, III, 349-441. Marguerite d'Angoulême's role in the prérêforme is discussed briefly in Nancy Lyman Roelker, "The Role of

For its first two decades, Protestantism's appeal was greatest among the educated and the wealthy. By the 1530's, it had found support among the members of some of the city's religious houses. By 1536, reformed services were being held frequently in the wealthy parish church of Notre Dame du Fourchaud. These services were conducted by Jean Michel, a Benedictine doctor in theology, whose respected credentials kept him immune from persecution for several months.[3] But it was only with the arrival of Calvinist ministers in the 1540's that widespread defection from the traditional religion began to occur.[4] From this period until the outbreak of the first religious war almost twenty years later, Protestantism in Bourges, as elsewhere in France, experienced its greatest gains.

At the beginning of his reign, Henry II (1547-1559), alarmed at the movement's success, stepped up his attempts to suppress it. In 1549, the first Calvinist was burned

---

Noblewomen in the French Reformation," AFR, LXIII (1972), 173. On the préréforme in Bourges, see Thierry de Brimont, I, 46-47; 132-52.

[3]Raynal, III, 339-41. Michel was later tried and imprisoned. He escaped from the city but returned in 1539 and was at that time burned for heresy.

[4]Philip Benedict, Rouen During the Wars of Religion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 50 (cited hereafter as Benedict, Rouen) argues that pre-Calvinist Protestantism in Rouen was unstructured and not well organized. The same was true in Bourges. It was the

at Bourges, and in the following years emigration to Geneva and other centers of Swiss Protestantism increased rapidly.[5] However, neither persecution nor emigration could halt the growth of what good French Catholics called the nouvelle religion or the religion prétendue. In 1556, the first reformed church was founded in Bourges by a Genevan missionary, Simon Brossier. Initially, the congregation met in private residences. By 1558, assemblies were taking place in the secluded regions of the pré fichaud just outside the city's northern walls. As their numbers grew larger, Protestants adopted bolder measures: by 1560, reformed services were held in the Grandes Ecoles of the university.[6]

Attempts to assess the growth of Calvinism in the cities and towns of France in the decade preceding the Wars of Religion have given rise to two questions: (1) What sort of persons chose to convert to the new religion, and

---

appearance of Calvinism in the 1540's that unified the movement and provided an ideological framework for future growth.

[5]Thierry de Brimont, I, 183-91. See also Jean Jenny, "Protestants du diocèse de Bourges refugié à Genève au XVI siècle, d'après le Livre des habitants de Genève," BSEB, LIII (1967), 322-41.

[6]On the growth of Calvinism in Bourges see Raynal, IV, 17-19; Thierry de Brimont, I, 215-46. Also N. Weiss, "La Réforme à Bourges au XVI siècle," BSHPF, LIII (1904), 307-59.

(2) How extensive were its gains? Unfortunately, records that would permit a detailed answer to these questions are not as abundant in Bourges as in some of the nation's cities and provinces. There are, for example, no Protestant parish registers surviving from these years such as those which have been used to study the new religion in some of the cities of Normandy.[7] The most valuable bit of direct evidence is a 1562 list of almost one hundred residents who helped to plot and carry out the seizure of the city during the first religious war. This list, which forms Appendix A, shows that in Bourges many Protestants came from the bourgeoisie and professional classes.[8] In some instances, they came from the highest echelons of urban society. Named on the list are eight members of the urban nobility, two royal lieutenants, the mayor and all

---

[7]The Protestant registers of Rouen have been studied by Philip Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth Century Rouen: The Demographic Effects of the Religious Wars," FHS, IX (1975), 209-34. Cited hereafter as Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots." Those of Caen have been analyzed in Maryélise Suffern Lamet, "French Protestantism in a Position of Strength: The Early Years of the Reformation in Caen," SCJ, IX (1978), 35-55. Cited hereafter as Lamet, "French Protestants."

[8]This list was drawn up in September, 1562, after a Catholic army recaptured the city (in Protestant hands since the previous May). It includes only the city's most prominent Protestants, especially those who had been involved in the first religious war. The wealth of these men shown in this appendix was derived from tax rolls compiled in 1557 and 1586 and is discussed in Chapter VI, pp. 221-24.

four échevins, three physicians, three lawyers, three notaries, and a member of the faculty of the university. Also included are a number of other royal, municipal, and ducal office holders, including the treasurer of the duchess of Berry.

This list, however, should not be taken as a cross section of the city's Calvinist population. Other evidence suggests that many members of the new religion came from more humble origins. Numerous vineyard workers from the village of Asnières in Bourges's faubourgs were Protestant. A fuller, a shoemaker, a tanner, and a joiner were among the first to emigrate to Geneva in the 1550's, while several artisans in the textile industry were expelled from the city in 1555 for their heresy. Finally, the almost two dozen Protestants who perished in the St. Bartholomew's Massacre in the city included a mercer, a tanner, a currier, a drapier, a butcher, and a couturier.[9] Available evidence thus suggests that it is impossible to pinpoint a single variable or group of variables that may have compelled an individual to adopt the new religion. In Bourges, as in

---

[9]For a discussion of the Protestants of Asnières, see Raynal, III, 308; IV, 17, 36, 112, 122, 403. According to tradition, Jean Calvin preached in this village while studying at the university. For a list of those slain in the St. Bartholomew's Massacre see Gaspard Thaumas de la Thaumassière, Histoire de Berry (3 vols., Bourges: A. Jollet et fils, 1865-71; reprint of 1689 edition), III, 372-78. Cited hereafter as Thaumassière.

other French cities, Protestantism drew its support from a broad occupational and socioeconomic range.[10]

The second question—the number of Bourges's residents that converted to the new religion—is more difficult to answer. Aside from estimates of the size of Protestant crowds on various occasions during the wars, there are simply no figures that can be used to answer this question.[11] However, the strength of the Protestant movement in Bourges can be measured in another way—

---

[10]For lists of Protestants from other cities and regions of France see Lamet, "French Protestantism," p. 54 (Appendix IV). Also Marc Venard, "Les Protestants du Comtat Venaissin au temps des premières guerres de religion," Actes du Colloque l'Amiral de Coligny et son temps (Paris, 24-28 octobre, 1972) (Paris, 1974), p. 294; Gerard Moreau, "La corrélation entre le milieu social et professional et le choix de religion à Tournai," Actes du Colloque du Bruxelles (30 novembre-3 décembre, 1967 - IIe section) (Louvain, 1968), p. 299. See also Benedict, Rouen, pp. 73-77.

A few scholars have been able to demonstrate some variables shared in common by Protestants in certain cities. Ann H. Guggenheim, "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Nimes" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1968), pp. 224-33, discusses occupations of Nimes' Protestants, and shows that many of those coming from the city's elite had studied at the same university. Christopher W. Stocker, "The Calvinist Officers of Orleans, 1560-72," PWSFH, VI (1978), 21-33, demonstrates how in Orleans family, patronage, and institutional relationships may have played a role in determining whether members of Orleans' elite adopted the new religion.

[11]Thierry de Brimont, I, 262, says that over three thousand Protestants greeted the captain who seized the city in May, 1562. Over two thousand Protestants were expelled from the city in October of that year following its recapture by Catholics. See Jean Glaumeau, Journal de

specifically, by determining how completely and for how long Protestants were able to participate successfully in the city's institutional and political life.

One of the best ways of measuring this participation is by studying the composition of the city council. In Bourges, the council was made up of a mayor, four échevins, and thirty-two councilors. Members of this body were chosen by an indirect electoral method similar to that used in other cities of northern and central France. Every year, each of the échevins summoned the residents of his quarter to an assembly that chose eight councilors from among the persons attending. The thirty-two councilors (eight from each quarter) then gathered on St. Peter's Day (June 29) in the Hôtel de Ville, where under the supervision of a royal officer they proceeded to elect the city's mayor and new échevins. Experienced men were kept continuously in office by ordinarily retaining for an additional year two of the four échevins currently serving on the council. Mayors were sometimes chosen to serve consecutive terms.[12]

Jehan Glaumeau, prêtre de Bourges, 1541-1562, Just-Bernard, ed. (Bourges: Marguerite Dupré, 1867), p. 132. Cited hereafter as Glaumeau.

[12]The council system of government was established in Bourges by Louis XI (1461-83). For the changes from the older method see Chenu, pp. 29-30. See also Edmond Charlemagne, Les anciennes institutions municipales de

Such an electoral procedure could easily have been manipulated by the city's Protestants who used similar electoral methods for choosing elders and deacons within their congregations, as well as for electing delegates to colloquies and synods. An ambitious, well-organized Calvinist elite that aspired to control the municipal government would have found such a procedure ideally suited for accomplishing its purpose, if this elite had strong grass-roots support in each of the city's quarters.[13]

Bourges (Paris: n. p., 1889), p. 78. It is tempting to view these changes as resulting from the emergence of new families within the upper bourgeoisie who were seeking political power to accompany their economic gains. However, the emergence of such powerful families during these years is unlikely since the city's economy was not expanding, but contracting. Louis XI probably imposed the council system on Bourges for the same reason he imposed it on other cities—because he disliked the unstructured and difficult-to-control municipal assemblies with which he had had so much trouble during the War of the Public Weal. See Bernard Chevalier, "The Politics of Louis XI Toward the Bonnes Villes: The Case of Tours," in Peter S. Lewis, ed., The Recovery of France in the Fifteenth Century. Translated by G. F. Martin. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 267-76.

Louis XI initially established a mayor and twelve échevins, elected by a general assembly of the "bourgeois, manans, et habitans." Half the échevins were replaced each year. In 1484, the Beaujeus reduced the échevins to four but did not alter the electoral procedure. In 1492, the electoral procedure described above was adopted and was used throughout the sixteenth century. For a discussion of the duties of the council, see Taillemitte, p. 25.

[13]The structure of French Calvinist churches, including their administrative and electoral practices, is discussed briefly in Robert M. Kingdon, Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564-1572 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), pp. 37-42.

An examination of the men elected to the office of mayor or échevin between 1550 and 1570 gives some insight into the strength of Protestantism in Bourges in the two decades generally regarded as the high-water mark of French Calvinism. The names of these men are listed in Appendix B. The 1562 roll makes it possible to determine whether these men were Protestant or if they came from families that might have had Protestant members. As early as 1550, men who would figure prominently in the Protestant movement were already holding positions on the city council. Jacques Pastoureau, whose name appears on the 1562 roll, served as mayor in 1551 and 1552. In 1550, one of the city's échevins, Anthoine Dédril, was also destined to play a role in the Protestant seizure of the city in 1562. Two of the échevins chosen in 1552, Charles Gargot and Jean Piat, also came from this group. These men were retained through 1555 and were joined by two more, Guillaume Alabat and François Hemeré.[14]

The mid-1550's marked the beginnings of a major upswing in the fortunes of French Protestantism. In 1555

---

[14]A prominent early Protestant, Leon Colladon, was elected to the council as early as 1543. He was among the first of the city's Protestants to seek refuge in Geneva, going there with his family in the summer of 1550. Thierry de Brimont, I, 186-87. His election, however, appears to have been an isolated instance of a prominent Protestant rising to such a high office at this early date.

Calvin gained uncontested supremacy in Geneva and began to increase the number of missionaries sent into France.[15] The establishment of Bourges's first Protestant church in 1556 was one result of this increased activity. The election of Calvinists to the city council before that date might have stemmed solely from their position as prominent members of the bourgeoisie, since it is possible that Catholics had not yet begun to take seriously the presence of Protestantism in the city or to organize resistance to its growth. However, it is almost certain that after 1556 the election of a Protestant to serve on the council was a sign of the strength of the new religion in the city. From 1557 through 1561, at least one échevin was Protestant in each year. In 1559, two échevins were Protestant, while the mayor and a third échevin came from families that had Protestant members.

Protestant influence reached its greatest level in the summer of 1562 when, during an urban revolt in the first religious war, Calvinists seized control of the city. However, by the end of the summer a successful Catholic siege had terminated this control. Jerome Chambellan, one of Bourges's most ardent Catholics, was elected mayor. He served consecutive terms and was

---

[15] James MacKinnon, Calvin and the Reformation (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962), pp. 195-97.

supported by four Catholic échevins. In 1564, Protestants managed to exert some control over municipal elections by insisting, in accordance with the recent royal Edict of Crémieux, that two slates of candidates for the échevinage be presented to the crown. The city's Calvinists believed correctly that Charles IX and the queen mother, Catherine de Medici, hoping to cool the passions still lingering from the first religious war, would reject any overly zealous Catholic candidates in favor of a more moderate slate.[16] This partial victory proved the end of Protestant influence on municipal elections.[17]

Thus, following a brief period of growth that ended abruptly in the first religious war, Protestantism became an increasingly less influential force in the city's political life. Although Bourges's experience undoubtedly

---

[16]The elections of 1563 and 1564 are discussed in Thierry de Brimont, I, 389-91. The election of Anthoine Baraton, a moderate Catholic, to the office of mayor in 1564 was seen as a "half-victory" for the city's Protestants. For the Edict of Crémieux see F. A. Isambert et al., eds., Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'á la révolution de 1789 (29 vols., Paris: Bélin-le-Prieur, 1821-33), XIV, 172.

[17]Three men who took part in the 1562 municipal revolution—Pierre Godard, Jean Thibaut, and Simon Bigot—served on the échevinage during the 1570's and 1580's. However, this should not be taken as a sign of continued Protestant strength in the city, since many Protestants returned to Catholicism as the years wore on, especially after the St. Bartholomew's Massacre. Two of these men served as échevins between 1587 and 1589, when the city was controlled by the League. For a list of the city's municipal councilors after 1570 see Jongleux, I, 37-47.

parallels that of several French cities, it contrasts sharply with others. A comparison of this experience with that of the Norman city of Caen, where a large Protestant community survived until well into the seventeenth century, underscores the relative weakness of the new religion in Bourges.

In Caen, where as many as 50 percent of the city's residents may have been Protestant during the 1560's, members of the new religion virtually dominated the city council, choosing twenty-four of the thirty-four men who served on this body between 1555 and 1569. In every year, at least one-half of the council members were Protestant and in most years Protestants controlled the six-member échevinage.[18] In Bourges, only eight of the thirty-nine men elected to the city council during these same years can be identified as Protestants and, with the exception of a brief period during the first religious war, Protestants never controlled the city's government.[19] Moreover, while Protestantism remained a strong and influential element in Caen's life until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes over a century later, in Bourges it declined swiftly.

---

[18] Caen's city councilors for these years are listed in Lamet, "French Protestants," p. 55 (Appendix V).

[19] This is true with the exception of 1554 and 1555. However, as pointed out earlier, it is possible that Protestant domination of the council in those years stemmed from reasons other than religion. See above, p. 50.

After the Catholic recapture of the city in 1563, over two thousand members of the new religion were expelled from the city.[20] During the second religious war, Protestants were singled out for heavy taxation, a policy that continued for the duration of the struggles.[21] In 1567, anti-Protestant sentiment was so strong that the city closed its university rather than admit the eminent Protestant jurist, François Hotman, to its faculty.[22] Such policies and attitudes must have taken a toll on the city's Calvinist populations. Parish registers of the reformed church surviving from the decade 1613-1623 reveal only thirty Protestant families in the city. In 1682, only three years before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the crown's intendant for the duchy of Berry listed only five such families still residing in Bourges.[23]

---

[20]See below, p. 77.

[21]AMB, CC 344. The urban accounts for the year 1567-68 list receipts of almost 4,400 livres levied on ". . . ceulx de la nouvelle religion." See Appendix C. Throughout the 1570's, Protestants were regularly taxed in lieu of performing guard duty on the city's walls.

[22]Donald R. Kelley, François Hotman; a Revolutionary's Ordeal (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp. 191-92. Also Thierry de Brimont, I, 396-97.

[23]Yves Gueneau, Les Protestants dans le colloque "de Sancerre" de 1598 à 1685. CAHB, XXX-XXXI (1972), 33 (map); 35. The same study shows that the village of Asnières in Bourges's faubourgs and the town of Sancerre continued to be Protestant strongholds in Berry. The registers from 1613-23 show seventy-three Protestant families in Asnières and 270 families in Sancerre. At the time of the revocation

In his history of French Protestantism, Robert Mandrou distinguishes four types of urban experiences which Calvinism produced in late sixteenth-century France. Some cities adopted the new religion enthusiastically and quickly, remaining devout centers of the faith until well into the seventeenth century. Others experienced Protestant seizures of power which lasted from one to two years. A third group saw Protestants, after a brief rise to power during the first religious war, quickly fade from influence. A final group of cities managed to resist successfully all Protestant attempts to assume control of urban affairs.[24]

Bourges clearly belongs to the third of these groups. Why did Calvinism, after making such striking gains in the decade preceding the religious wars, quickly lose its importance as a political force in the city after 1562? There is, of course, no simple answer to this question. In part, this pattern holds true for other regions of the kingdom, and the same arguments that have been offered for its failure to maintain its position in these places can also be offered for Bourges. One scholar has recently

---

of the Edict of Nantes, there were about 4,000 Protestants in Berry, of whom 2,200 were in Sancerre and 700-800 in Asnières.

[24]Robert Mandrou et al., Histoire des Protestants en France (Toulouse: Privat, 1977), pp. 87-88.

argued that Protestantism needed social "space"—the freedom from social, ideological, and political harassment—if it was to survive over the long term. In Bourges, this "space" was clearly lacking.[25] The presence of a large archepiscopal court and the fact that the city fell within the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris, one of the strongest enemies of the new religion in the realm, would certainly have hampered any chances of Protestantism's long-range success. The extreme violence and destruction of the first religious war probably also worked to turn many persons against the new religion who before that time were neutral toward it.

Bourges's early return to the traditional religion did not, of course, ensure that the city would avoid being caught up in the remainder of the religious wars. Catholic or Protestant, all the towns of France were involved in these struggles until the end of the sixteenth century. In the following chapter, the frequency and nature of the violence which struck Bourges and its surrounding region are discussed.

---

[25]This argument is developed in Benedict, Rouen, pp. 93-94.

CHAPTER IV

BOURGES AND THE WARS OF RELIGION

A. Introduction

Any discussion of war's influence on a city over a period of two and one-half decades should begin with a look at the nature and frequency of the war-related violence that occurred during those years. For this reason, the sieges, riots, and other violence Bourges experienced during the Wars of Religion are discussed in this chapter. However, the destruction of life and property resulting from such violence was only the most direct and dramatic way war influenced the city. Even if hostile troops never approached a city's walls, urban life could be disrupted by the burden of supporting garrisons or by the difficulty of maintaining a normal relationship with the surrounding countryside. War could also create serious economic and fiscal problems for a city. Trade could be disrupted, while the levies and loans necessary to finance the war could drain its resources. An examination of Bourges's commercial and fiscal life in the late sixteenth century should provide additional insight into how the city was feeling the influence of the religious wars. Finally, if war's influence on Bourges is to be understood

properly, it must be weighed against the influence of the other two "legs of the subsistence crisis tripod,"[1] famine and plague. These problems are also considered in this chapter.

One set of sources for studying Bourges's experiences in the Wars of Religion consists of the journals and memoirs surviving from these years, as well as the secondary sources that have made use of them. These works usually discuss only the more direct and dramatic side of the wars, painting a grim picture of the destruction wrought by pillaging troops and rioting mobs. Nevertheless, a survey of these sources is an appropriate starting point for a study of how the wars influenced the city's residents, since the information contained in them provides a good chronological overview of the most important events of these years.

Two works are particularly valuable for this purpose. The first is the history of the duchy of Berry in the sixteenth century, written almost eighty years ago by Thierry de Brimont. This study discusses at length the wars in the duchy, including numerous descriptions of the damages suffered by towns and rural areas. Like most traditional historians, Brimont draws heavily from the memoirs and

---

[1]Gutmann, War and Rural Life, p. 4. See above, Chapter I, p. 9.

correspondence of the men and women who participated in these struggles. However, much of the value of his work stems from his use of archival sources, particularly the many official inquests made into the damages caused by the wars. These inquests are often accompanied by the depositions of persons who witnessed these struggles.[2]

A second important source is the description of the duchy of Berry written in 1567 by Nicholas de Nicolay. Nicolay's work is important because it includes detailed maps of both Bourges and the duchy.[3] By using these maps as an aid to Brimont's narrative, it is possible to locate many of the rural parishes, châteaux, and religious houses

---

[2]Most of the depositions cited in this work are found in the archives of the department of Cher. They were made as a result of inquests, conducted for the most part by the various religious houses, in Bourges and in the duchy, into the damages occurring to their holdings. As a result, damages inflicted by Protestant armies are discussed more than those inflicted by Catholic armies. Many of these inquests were conducted several years after the damages had taken place; others were conducted immediately. See, for example, ADC, L 23, for an inquest of 13 October, 1570, into the damages done in the parish of Cuzay, a dependency of the cathedral in Bourges. According to the testimony of a parish priest and a notary, ". . . la plus grande partye des maisons, granges et autres bastimens du lieu Cuzay, ensemble partye de l'eglise et maisons presbyteralle sont brusle et ruyne, tant par le moyen de feu que pour fortune advenue. . . . Les habitans dudict lieu ont perdu tous leurs biens et bestail et sont contraints d'aller chercher leur vie." These depredations occurred at Easter, 1568, and Pentecost, 1569. This deposition is typical of those cited by Thierry de Brimont.

[3]See Chapter II, f. n. 3, pp. 11-12.

touched by the violence of these years. My first task is to examine the frequency and extent of this violence. Once this has been accomplished, some of its resulting problems are considered.

B. A Chronology of Violence

When the Wars of Religion broke out in the spring of 1562, they did not interrupt a period of prolonged peace. From 1494 to 1559, Valois France was periodically at war with the growing Habsburg empire. Although these struggles were not fought on French soil, troops moving to and from the battlefields of Italy and the Low Countries frequently brought trouble to those regions through which they moved. In the early 1520's, bands of soldiers passed through the duchy of Berry and terrorized the open countryside, sometimes raiding as far as the faubourgs of the smaller towns.[4] In March, 1524, Bourges's city council instructed the urban militia to create a detachment of cavalrymen to deal with the "mauvais garcons" who were pillaging the countryside.[5] In 1537, the passage of troops caused damages sufficient to compel the duchess of Berry to write

---

[4] Thierry de Brimont, I, 121-28.

[5] AMB, BB 5. Cited in Thierry de Brimont, I, 129.

to the crown protesting the suffering of the region.[6] In 1552 and again in 1554, Gascon troops en route to the wars in the Low Countries passed by Bourges and plundered the open countryside. In the latter year, they camped in the faubourgs, leading the city council to authorize the immediate repair of the walls.[7]

It was the nation's and the city's misfortune that the conclusion of the foreign wars in 1559 coincided with the beginnings of the worst of the urban unrest that preceded the Wars of Religion. As Calvinist worship in Bourges became more visible during the next three years, the threats and taunts that passed between members of the rival confessions sometimes led to open violence. As early as 1560, the council authorized extensive repairs to the city's ramparts, anticipating military activity in the region.[8] In August, 1561, two thousand Catholics and Protestants engaged in a day-long riot in the southern

---

[6]Marguerite d'Angoulême, Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême, soeur de François I, reine de Navarre, François Génin, ed. (4 vols., Paris: J. Renouard, 1841-42), I, 146.

[7]AMB, BB 6. Assembly of 1 August, 1554.

[8]Glaumeau, pp. 112-13. In repairing the city's northern ramparts, the course of both the Auron and the Yevre was altered in such a fashion that the monasteries of St. Sulpice and St. Ambroix were deprived of access to water from these streams. Both monasteries immediately accused Protestants on the city council of plotting this development.

faubourgs, where each group strove to control the Porte Bourbonnoux.[9] The outbreak of the first religious war following the Massacre of Vassy on 1 March, 1562, must have seemed more like the climax to several years of mounting tensions than like the opening of almost four decades of civil war.

The beginning of the war was a signal for France's Calvinists to seize the country's most important fortified places. Several towns in the south and west were already effectively under their control, since Protestants were in the majority in parts of this region. By early April, several additional towns in the Loire valley had been captured as well. When a Protestant army under Condé failed to take Paris, it fell back on Orleans and made that city the nerve center of Protestant operations for the duration of the conflict.[10]

---

[9]Raynal, IV, 27-28. No prosecution followed this riot, because the members of the city council were too divided along confessional lines to conduct an unbiased investigation. Glaumeau, pp. 117-18, says that the council did prohibit the bearing of arms the following week, on penalty of hanging if not obeyed. On this occasion, as on most others when the city's peace was disturbed, members of the council ordinarily placed restoration of order before their confessional preference.

[10]James Westfall Thompson, The Wars of Religion in France, 1559-1576: The Huguenots, Catherine de Medici and Philip II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), pp. 134-40. Cited hereafter as Thompson.

The duchy of Berry's location between the Protestant strongholds of the south and west and the equally important Calvinist towns of the Loire made it especially vulnerable to the movement of troops. In late April, Protestant armies from the Midi moving northward toward a juncture with Condé at Orleans crossed its borders, pillaging the open countryside. At the same time, troops sent southward from Orleans to secure the Sologne spilled over into the duchy's northern regions, where their depredations were joined by those of Protestant garrisons in Sancerre and the towns of the upper Loire.[11] With a Protestant tide swirling just beyond its walls and its own population seriously divided, Bourges's capture was virtually assured. In the early morning hours of 28 May, a small cavalry detachment from Orleans secretly entered and secured control of the town. Calvinism was approaching its zenith in Bourges.[12]

During the next three months, the city experienced the most extensive and direct violence that the late

---

[11]Thierry de Brimont, I, 249-53.

[12]Glaumeau, p. 143. Montgomery was assisted by Protestants from the village of Asnières, who prepared a small wooden bridge for crossing the Yevre. Entry was through a lesser gate, St. Ambroix. Thierry de Brimont, I, 257-59, stresses the involvement of Protestants on the city council. On the evening before the city was taken, the town crier had forbidden residents to leave their homes after nine in the evening, except to serve on guard duty.

sixteenth century would bring. First came the pillaging of its numerous churches and religious houses. For several days in June, Protestant iconoclasts systematically destroyed or carried away every accessible object associated with the traditional faith. The relics and treasures accumulated by Duke Jean in the fourteenth century were plundered from the St. Chapelle. In an act which shocked even some members of the new religion, the body of Jeanne de France, Louis XII's first queen, was dragged from its vault in the Annonciades and desecrated. The monastery of St. Sulpice, against which the Protestant commander d'Yvoy held a personal grudge, was looted with especial severity. Following its plunder by the soldiers, it was pillaged a second time by an urban mob.[13] In all, the wealth taken from the city's churches and monasteries was estimated at 300,000 écus.[14]

---

[13]The most detailed account of the destruction occurring in the city is given in Thierry de Brimont, I, 264-86.

[14]See the anonymous letter, neither dated nor signed, reproduced in Baron Alphonse de Ruble, ed., Documents inédits sur la guerre civile de 1562 en Berry (Bourges: Tardy-Pigelet, 1888), pp. 17-21. Cited hereafter as Ruble, Documents inédits. This letter was probably written by a spy in the Catholic camp in the service of Philip II of Spain. If the value of the plunder taken from Bourges's churches and religious houses equalled 300,000 écus, this would be approximately as much as the total of the city's municipal revenues in the last forty years of the sixteenth century.

France's Catholics had been caught off guard by the speed with which the Calvinist minority had acted. However, they quickly recovered from their initial surprise and united behind the "triumvirate" of Guise, Montmorency, and St. André to resist further gains of the new religion. As Catholic resistance grew throughout the summer of 1562, the capture of Bourges came to be seen as a necessary step in the reduction of the network of towns and cities linking Protestant strongholds throughout the realm. By mid-August, the Catholic triumvirate, the young king, the queen mother, and almost twenty-thousand troops were camped just outside the walls. It appeared that Bourges was to undergo a major siege.[15]

The siege, however, turned out to be both brief and undramatic. The inability of the Catholic army to capture the city by force is a good example of the difficulties involved in sixteenth-century siege warfare.[16] The army

---

[15]There are several accounts of the siege of Bourges dating from the sixteenth century. For two of the most detailed, see Agrippa d'Aubigné, Histoire universelle, Baron Alphonse de Ruble, ed. (10 vols., Paris: Libraire Renouard, 1887), II, 75-81, and Théodore de Bèze, Histoire écclesiastique des églises reformées au royaume de France (3 vols., Nieuwkoop: B. de Graf, 1974; reprint of the Paris edition, 1883-89), II, 575-99. Cited hereafter as de Bèze. Glaumeau, pp. 150-69, provides an eyewitness account of the siege. The most detailed secondary account is Thierry de Brimont, I, 297-340.

[16]Sixteenth-century leaders were aware of the frustrations of siege warfare. See the comment of Gaspard

attempted first to place its artillery just beyond the city's eastern ramparts near a weak spot in its defenses. This position proved too near the swamp, and the heavier pieces mired into the earth. Once more stable ground had been found farther south, the bombardment began. After four days, no significant breach had been made in the city's walls, and powder and shot were beginning to run short. Supplies anticipated from Paris never arrived because Condé had intercepted them at Orleans.[17] Nor was there much chance of capturing the city by storm: an initial assault was turned back with heavy losses.[18] Reiters brought in to assist in the siege showed more interest in pillaging the surrounding countryside than in defending the trenches. Finally, troops the queen mother

---

de Saulx, seigneur de Tavannes, Memoires de très-noble et très-illustré Gaspard de Saulx, in Joseph-François Michaud et Jean-Joseph Poujoulat, eds., Nouvelle collection des mémoires sur l'histoire de France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, VIII (Paris: Didier, 1836-39), 424, that during the Wars of Religion ". . . the art of attack . . . was little understood."

[17]Ruble, Documents inédits, pp. 6-7.

[18]A loss of 2,500 men was reported to Elizabeth I, probably by Nicholas Throckmorton, her ambassador to France, on 2 September. See Joseph Stevenson, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1562 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1867), p. 279. I have been unable to find any evidence supporting this claim. Throckmorton's strongly Protestant bias may have led him to exaggerate Catholic losses.

had requested from Guyenne were called back when the Parlement of Bordeaux thought them needed for the defense of that region.[19]

Having failed to capture the city by force, the besiegers turned to diplomacy. In a series of secret negotiations with d'Yvoy, the Protestant commander, Catherine de Medici managed to persuade him to surrender the city. On 1 September the siege ended when the Catholic army peacefully entered Bourges's gates.[20] For the remainder of the war, which ended with the Peace of

---

[19]Ruble, Documents inédits, pp. 7-8.

[20]The negotiations surrounding the surrender of the city are discussed in de Bèze, II, 588-92. His account is similar to that found in Raynal, IV, 59-63, and Thierry de Brimont, I, 328-40. Catherine first sent the duke of Nevers to negotiate with the Protestant garrison, but he was rejected because of his role in the conspiracy of Ambroise. She next sent the Protestant royalist, the count of Rhinegrave, who was accepted more readily. She personally discussed the terms of the surrender with d'Yvoy, although no account of their meeting survives. By convincing him it was in his interest to surrender the city (probably by promising that he could retain a portion of the plunder from the St. Chapelle), she was able to obtain the capitulation. The terms of the surrender promised the Protestants a full pardon and freedom of conscience. These conditions were not fulfilled. D'Yvoy was forced to give up his booty, and incurred the wrath of the garrison and of Condé for his surrender. Catherine was anxious to spare the city from being sacked and pillaged, a hope she expressed in several letters written while camped before Bourges. See Catherine de Medici, Lettres de Catherine de Médicis (11 vols., Hector de la Ferrière, ed., I-V; Gustave Baguenault de Puchesse, ed., VI-XI; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880-95; 1897-1909), I, 389; 391.

Ambroise the following spring, no more hostile armies approached the city's walls. In Lower Berry, however, Protestant raids carried out by garrisons from Sancerre and the towns along the Cher continued to inflict heavy damage.[21]

The nation and the city enjoyed an uneasy peace for the next four years. But in the summer of 1567, fears that the duke of Alva's invasion of the Netherlands was the beginning of an international conspiracy to crush Protestantism led to an unsuccessful Calvinist attempt to seize the court at Meaux. The result was the second religious war.[22] Bourges, now firmly in Catholic hands, was spared another direct assault, but the duchy of Berry was again invaded. In a repeat of the first religious war, armies from the Midi and Provence moved northward, overrunning both Upper and Lower Berry and pillaging the countryside as they marched to join Condé along the Loire. The outbreak of hostilities was again the signal for Protestant garrisons in Sancerre to begin their raids into the surrounding countryside.[23]

---

[21]Thierry de Brimont, I, 361-71.

[22]For Alva's march, the conspiracy of Meaux, and other events leading to the outbreak of the second religious war, see Thompson, pp. 309-26.

[23]Thierry de Brimont, I, 398-406.

In the spring of 1568, the crown's attempt to seize both Condé and Coligny, the two leading Protestants in the realm, opened the third religious war. Both men retreated to Sancerre, from which they led an exodus of Protestant refugees across Berry and Poitou to the security of La Rochelle.[24] During the summer of 1569, in one of the most destructive campaigns that the wars would bring to the duchy, Wolfgang of Bavaria, the Duke of Zweibrücken, led an army of 12,000 reiters from La Charité on the upper Loire southwestward across the duchy to a juncture with a Protestant army in the Marche-Limousin.[25] A royal army attempting to head off this juncture failed when its troops, their pay greatly in arrears, mutinied and pillaged the countryside along the border of Berry and Poitou.[26] For

---

[24]Thompson, pp. 364-65. Bourges's municipal accounts for 1567-68 contain an entry labelled "despense d'aucunes gentilz-hommes venuz pour le secours de la ville lors que Monsr. le prince, admiral et leurs trouppes passer pres cestd. ville eulx allant a La Rochelle." AMB, CC 344. Appendix C.

[25]The best account of Zweibrücken's march through Berry is found in Thierry de Brimont, I, 429-34. Here, and in other French sources, the duke is often called "Deuxponts." Because of his haste to join a Protestant army waiting for him in Poitou, Zweibrücken rarely tarried long enough to besiege and capture well-fortified sites. However, the open countryside suffered extensively from the depredations of his troops.

[26]Thierry de Brimont, I, 428-29.

the next year—until peace was finally made at St. Germain in August 1570—Protestant and Catholic armies continually crisscrossed the duchy, capturing and recapturing its smaller towns and fortified places.[27]

Like many provincial cities, Bourges was caught up in the St. Bartholomew's Massacre in the summer of 1572. Riots broke out when news of the slaughter in Paris reached the city three days later. The council, torn between its responsibility to keep the peace and what it thought was a royal command to slaughter the city's Protestants, failed to take measures to contain the disturbances. Continued Catholic militancy and the inability of the crown to convey clearly what policies it wished its cities to follow led to greater slaughter almost two weeks later. On this occasion, nineteen Protestant prisoners were massacred in a guard tower where the council had imprisoned them for their safety. As elsewhere, some Protestants fled to Geneva while others abjured their faith.[28]

---

[27]Thierry de Brimont, I, 444-48. The most devastating raid was carried out by the sieur de Guerchy, a Protestant commander whom Zweibrücken had placed in charge of La Charité. In the fall of 1569, when a Protestant army leaving the siege of Poitiers became trapped by Catholic forces near Châteauroux, Guerchy came to its rescue, leading a highly destructive raid across the southern regions of the duchy and back again to La Charité.

[28]Thierry de Brimont, II, 19-29, gives the most detailed account of the massacre in Bourges, drawing on contemporary accounts and on the city's archives. This is

In 1576, during the fifth religious war, the city encountered a threat more serious than any since the siege of 1562. On this occasion, the troubles stemmed from Henry III's decision to include Bourges among twenty-one cities he planned to grant as an appanage to his younger brother and heir apparent, the duke of Alençon. Alençon, one of the earliest members of what was to become the politique party, was distrusted by the now solidly Catholic city council for his suspected Protestant sympathies. Fearing a reprisal for the St. Bartholomew's Massacre, Bourges refused to recognize his suzerainty and closed its gates. The crown responded by declaring the city in rebellion and its citizens guilty of treason. From January to May the governor general of Berry, Claude de la Châtre, camped with an army just outside the walls, stopping the movement of goods to and from the city and heavily damaging the faubourgs. Supplies ran low and Bourges was threatened with serious shortages. However, as in 1562,

---

one of the few occasions that the city council proved unresponsive to the usual pressures to maintain public order at all cost. The council was at this time completely in Catholic hands, and many members believed the massacres in keeping with the crown's wishes and orders. See also Philip Benedict, "The Saint Bartholomew's Massacres in the Provinces," HJ, XXI, 2 (1978), 205-25, which argues that many Catholics chose to believe (because they wished to believe) that the crown desired the slaughter, even though written instructions from the king called for the slaughter to stop. In Bourges, twenty-three persons died in the massacre.

the worst was averted: in May, the Peace of Monsieur ended hostilities throughout the realm. Bourges opened its gates to Alençon, welcoming him with a costly entry festival.[29]

The next decade brought no more armies to the city's walls, although the duchy was almost continually invaded in what had by this time become endemic warfare. Reiters were frequently in the open countryside, threatening the city and demanding provisions.[30] In 1587, fears that a Protestant army under the king of Navarre was moving in its direction led the city to begin preparations for a siege that never took place.[31] Following the outbreak of the Wars of the League in 1588, the situation grew even more critical; both royalists and Leaguer armies moved

---

[29]Thierry de Brimont, II, 102-23, gives a detailed account of this clash between the city and the crown. See also AMB, BB 8, for a letter addressed to the crown from the city council carefully explaining and justifying the position the city had adopted. For the entry of d'Alençon, see the documents in Jongleux, I, 88-120.

[30]On the efforts to discourage the reiters from entering the duchy see Jongleux, I, 88. The municipal accounts often list revenues used to bribe these raiders, or to equip companies for dealing with them. See, for example, AMB, CC 352, for the ". . . deniers levez a Bourges pour la compaigne faicte a cause du passaige des reistres du duc de Casimir."

[31]Thierry de Brimont, II, 235-36.

into the area, opening the final round of the religious wars.[32]

Bourges thus experienced the violence of the late sixteenth century in a number of ways. Siege, military occupation, riots, blockade, and the repeated pillaging of its surrounding countryside must have severely tested the city during the first twenty-five years of the Wars of Religion. But to determine the extent of war's influence, it is necessary to go beyond simply describing the violence that occurred in the city during these years. The problems this violence caused for the city's residents must also be examined, as well as the plague and famine that on occasion coincided with the wars.

C. Urban Problems During the Wars of Religion

The most direct contact Bourges's residents had with the Wars of Religion came in the summer of 1562 during the first religious war. On this occasion, the city was captured, occupied by a Protestant army, besieged, and reoccupied by a Catholic army after its surrender. The

---

[32]Thierry de Brimont, II, 207-469, discusses the closing decade of the wars in Berry. I have not included these years in this study because the documents used to study the city's population and wealth structure in the following chapters do not cover this period. However, scholars generally agree that the decade of the 1590's was the most difficult phase of the wars.

difficulties the city experienced during those few months provide a logical focus for beginning a study of urban problems during the wars. At first glance, Bourges appears to have weathered these events with a minimum of difficulty. At least it was not taken by storm, nor was its population massacred. However, a closer examination reveals that this summer brought the city problems that would trouble it for years to come.

Even though Bourges opened its gates to its besiegers after a few days, the city still suffered extensive damages. In its southern regions, where the bombardment had been heaviest, several residences and businesses were destroyed. The owner of a gaming house declared that he had been ruined "owing to the misfortunes befalling as a result of the wars lately in this city."[33] Persons owning houses that had survived the siege claimed these dwellings were in danger of being damaged by the collapse of nearby structures weakened during the bombardment.[34] Added to the damage done by the besiegers was that done by the defenders: in preparing for the siege, the city had followed the normal precautions of sixteenth-century warfare and razed

---

[33]ADC, E. Minutes des notaires. Cited by Thierry de Brimont, I, 385.

[34]ADC, E. Minutes des notaires. Cited by Thierry de Brimont, I, 384.

its faubourgs to the ground.[35] Within the walls, all buildings bordering the ramparts had also been destroyed, in order that troops and supplies could move freely from one point to another on the defenses.[36] And this damage came after the considerable destruction caused by the Protestant troops who had occupied and pillaged the city's churches and religious houses earlier in the summer.[37] As a result, litigation was set in motion that would last in some instances for years. Property owners sued both the city and their neighbors and Catholics sued Protestants in an effort to regain some of the losses suffered in the siege.[38]

The siege was only one of the problems the first religious war brought to the city. The ten thousand Protestant soldiers occupying the city during most of the summer placed a tremendous burden on its residents. Both the commanders in charge of these troops and the city

---

[35]Glaumeau, p. 151, notes the burning of the faubourgs and says that not a single structure was spared. De Bèze, II, 585, also notes this event, and makes the typically Calvinistic comment that ". . . ceux qui fut paresseux ou opiniatres y perdirent beaucoup de leurs biens."

[36]Thierry de Brimont, I, 293-94.

[37]See above, pp. 62-63.

[38]Thierry de Brimont, I, 385, says that Catholics brought numerous suits against their Protestant neighbors, whom they blamed for the summer's disorders.

council knew the troops would be impossible to control if their pay fell in arrears. Shortly after the viscount Montgomery seized the city, he issued an ordinance commanding that a portion of the plunder taken from the churches and religious houses be sold immediately to pay the troops.[39] When these funds proved insufficient, Montgomery's successor, d'Yvoy, was obliged to use for this purpose a portion of the plunder taken from the St. Chapelle, even though Condé had ordered it sent to Orleans to pay the troops stationed there.[40] In addition, a tax of 12,000 livres had to be levied on the city's residents.[41] But in the long run even this proved inadequate, and in July the city council was forced to borrow 1,300 écus from two wealthy Protestant citizens to keep the garrison satisfied.[42] By the beginning of August, the

---

[39]See the pamphlet by Nicholas Catherinot, Le siège de Bourges (Bourges, 1684), which states that on 1 June, Montgomery ". . . pour entretenir la garde et garnison de la ville . . . tires cuivres, plombs et meubles des temples, serres chez les Carmes, et vendues." Only non-precious metals were selected for this purpose.

[40]Thierry de Brimont, I, 287; 289.

[41]Thierry de Brimont, I, 289. The municipal accounts are missing for the summer of 1562, making the extent of urban expenditures during these months impossible to determine.

[42]Thierry de Brimont, I, 290. Following the Catholic recapture of the city, these two creditors saw their loans repudiated. However, a lengthy process ensued. The case

burden of supporting such a large number of troops had become so intolerable that d'Yvoy was compelled to relieve the city by attempting to secure additional sites in the surrounding countryside. But even this was not enough to prevent the troops from briefly mutinying when they suspected that d'Yvoy was not sharing fairly with them the plunder taken from the city.[43]

After Bourges's surrender to the crown at the beginning of September, a Catholic army was stationed in the city in place of the Protestant one. The soldiers, angry at having been denied the sack of the city, were promised compensation of 20,000 livres to be levied on the leading Protestants. But this large amount proved impossible to collect.[44] On 28 September, when a plague that had broken out immediately following the siege was still raging, the city council wrote to the crown's

---

was ultimately appealed to the Chambre des comptes resulting in their being reimbursed by 1580. Thierry de Brimont, I, 352-53.

[43]Raynal, IV, 45, suggests this was the reason d'Yvoy was determined to bring the surrounding countryside under his control. Thierry de Brimont, I, 297-313, gives an account of this campaign and the brief mutiny that followed. The approach of the royal army was sufficient to end the quarrel.

[44]This is the list making up Appendix A. On the difficulty of collecting this imposition see the letter of 23 September, 1562, from the mayor of Bourges to La Roche-sur-Yon in Ruble, Documents inédits, pp. 39-40.

lieutenant in Berry, La Roche-sur-Yon, informing him that the maintenance of the troops was becoming intolerable. The soldiers were penniless, the council explained, and had no means of livelihood except to prey on the residents of the households in which they were quartered. But these persons were already so impoverished they could not possibly furnish additional support. The council urged the crown to see that the troops were paid immediately. The letter also included a request that the city be allowed to expel by force its remaining Protestants. It justified this request by explaining that the Protestants had begun to fraternize with the troops, many of whom were no longer heeding their commanders, and would soon be in a position to regain control of the city.[45] In early October, the request was granted. Two thousand Protestants were forced from the city and their abandoned households were turned over for pillage to the soldiers.[46]

The problems the first religious war brought to Bourges were especially severe. At no time during the next twenty-five years would siege, military occupation,

---

[45]BN, FF 15877, folio 122. Letter of 28 September 1562, from the residents of Bourges to La Roche-sur-Yon, as quoted in Thierry de Brimont, I, 355-56.

[46]Thierry de Brimont, I, 356-57. De Bèze, II, 596-97, claims the order was enforced so rigorously that several Protestants were wounded and a few killed while passing through the gates of the city.

and plague strike almost simultaneously. In a meeting of 5 May, 1564, the city council took note of the serious problems that had developed over the preceding two years and attempted to remedy them. The most serious problem was the threat of depopulation. As a result of the war and plague, the council claimed the city had lost more than ten thousand residents, and was in danger of becoming uninhabited. To correct this problem, the council decided to open the city's crafts and trades to any artisans who wished to move to Bourges and work. It was hoped that this act would not only repopulate the city, but also revive the still-declining textile industry, a misfortune the council continued to blame on the poor quality of woolens produced.[47]

The next twenty-five years brought no encounters with war as direct or violent as the events of 1562. Nevertheless, war-related problems continued to affect urban life. The obligation of the city to support military garrisons was perhaps the most annoying of these problems. The city ordinarily endeavored to avoid this burden at almost any cost. One method of keeping these troops out of the city was to convince the crown or military commander who was

---

[47]AMB, BB 6. Assembly of 4 May, 1564. This attempt to revive the textile industry, of course, failed, as did several subsequent ones. In 1582, Flemish cloth-makers were brought to the city, but they were unable to halt the decline. Thierry de Brimont, II, 183.

trying to control the city that Bourges's residents were loyal and peaceful and could handle any problems which might arise without additional assistance.[48] When war threatened, the council expanded the twenty-four hour guard to include private citizens. Protestants, who could not be trusted to guard the city, ordinarily paid a tax in lieu of this duty, as did the clergy.[49]

On those occasions when a garrison was about to be imposed on Bourges, the city council sometimes tried to deflect the burden from private residences by suggesting that troops be stationed only in the Great Tower or by agreeing to lodge them in the city's inns and hostelries at public expense.[50] Nevertheless, there were occasions when the garrisoning of troops in private residences could not be avoided. During the second and third religious wars both the Great Tower and the city were garrisoned. On this occasion, the troops were fewer and

---

[48]See, for example, AMB, BB 11. Assembly of 9 May, 1585.

[49]The tax levied on Protestants and clergy in lieu of guard duty appears frequently in the city's accounts, especially during the 1570's. See, for example, AMB, CC 352, for an entry of 100 livres collected from those of the prétendue religion to help defer the expenses of guarding the walls from October, 1575, to February, 1576.

[50]AMB, BB 11. At an assembly of 9 May, 1585, the council decided to lodge a garrison in the city's inns in order to avoid burdening the residents.

more orderly than those occupying the city in the first religious war. Bourges's Catholics probably welcomed them, since the movement of several large Protestant armies throughout the duchy posed a serious threat to the city's security. In 1569, when the duke of Zweibrücken was terrorizing the region south and east of Bourges, the garrison helped to keep the city in a state of continual military readiness.[51] Later that year, the garrison stationed in the Great Tower helped to prevent that key to the city's defenses from being captured by Protestant conspirators.[52]

Orderly garrisons, such as those occupying the city during the second and third religious wars, were unquestionably preferable to disorderly troops, such as the garrisons occupying Bourges during the summer of 1562. Still, the burden of maintaining a garrison was great: in 1568, the municipal accounts list over 5,500 livres for the maintenance of soldiers. In 1576, the city spent 1,300 écus

---

[51] AMB, BB 7. Ordinance of 20 August, 1569.

[52] The attempt to capture the Great Tower is discussed in Thierry de Brimont, I, 448-54. It was plotted by Protestants in La Charité and Bourges. The plot, however, was betrayed to the city council. An anonymous pamphlet, Discours de l'entreprise et conspiration faicte par ceux de la nouvelle opinion portans les armes contre le Roy sur la ville de Bourges et du succes de la dite entreprise (Paris, 1570), provides the most detailed contemporary account of this undertaking.

to purchase provisions for the troops stationed in the Great Tower. After 1569, when Claude de la Châtre became governor general of the duchy, both he and his troops were frequently lodged in the city at public expense.[53] And no matter how orderly a garrison might be, from time to time trouble broke out. In 1581, La Châtre's soldiers were involved in several brawls with both bourgeoisie and university students, during which a captain was wounded.[54]

Both the advantages and disadvantages of having a garrison in the city are reflected in a letter written by the council to the crown in the summer of 1570. At that time, the third religious war was in progress, and raids by Protestant troops stationed in Sancerre and the towns of the upper Loire had become so severe the city actually requested that a garrison be stationed within its walls. Without the protection a garrison could offer, the council argued, the population of the open countryside would find it impossible to gather the harvest. But the council also requested that the garrison be made up of men drawn from

---

[53]The funds spent for supporting the 1568 garrison are listed in AMB, CC 344, the municipal accounts for 1567-68. The contents of this document are summarized in Appendix C and are analyzed in more detail later. The funds spent provisioning troops in the Great Tower are listed in AMB, CC 352, the accounts for 1575-76. For almost every year after 1569 the accounts contain entries summarizing the expense of maintaining La Châtre or his troops.

[54]Thierry de Brimont, II, 166.

the city's own residents and supported by revenues contributed by the entire population, clerical as well as lay. Experience had taught, the letter continued, that garrisons made up of men who were not residents were generally weak and undependable. To make matters worse, when prisoners were brought into the city such garrisons quickly robbed them and then turned them loose on the open countryside, where they proceeded to regain their losses by plundering the defenseless rural population.[55]

By the end of the third religious war, Bourges had learned that garrisons were, at best, an unpleasant necessity. At worst, as in the summer of 1562, they were an intolerable burden. Whenever possible, garrisons were to be avoided; when they could not be avoided, garrisons made up of local troops were preferable to those made up of foreign ones.

The council's letter to the crown requesting that a garrison be established in the city reveals another way the Wars of Religion caused serious problems for Bourges. Violence in the open countryside, even when armies did not come near the city's walls, seriously upset the relationship between Bourges and its surrounding region. A glance at some of the ordinances passed by the council during

---

[55]BN, FF 15552, folio 131. Quoted in Thierry de Brimont, I, 463-64.

these years reveals some of the ways this relationship was upset. First, war brought an influx of uprooted persons into the relative security of the city's ramparts. Dealing with these persons was a continual problem for the council. Ordinarily, the city attempted to round up and expel them, although on occasion these persons were given grain or bread and put to work on public projects, such as the repair of the walls or the maintenance of the streets.[56] However, since Bourges's life was so closely interwoven with the life of the surrounding region, war's ability to upset its relationship with those parts of the duchy lying outside the walls went far beyond the problems created by an influx of displaced persons. Many of the city's residents drew rents and dues from the land and métairies that lay outside the walls. Its parish churches, religious houses, and cathedral chapter also controlled dependencies throughout the duchy. When these properties

---

[56]See, for example, the ordinance reproduced in Jongleux, I, 180-83. This ordinance concluded by ". . . admonestant les bons et notables bourgeois de ceste ville d'employer les dicts pauvres vallides a leur besoigne particuliere come aussy les dicts maire et eschevins entendent les employer aux oeuvres publiques . . . et ceulx qui ne vouldront travailler seront expulses hors de la dicte ville. . . ."

were pillaged or destroyed, revenues coming into the city were reduced or eliminated.[57]

The city knew its prosperity was linked directly to the prosperity of the surrounding countryside. For this reason, it went to great lengths to reduce the sufferings of the region. The council's request that a garrison be established in the city in order to protect the rural population while it gathered the harvest was only one of several occasions during the wars when the city showed concern for the plight of the neighboring region.[58] During periods of poor harvests, the council extended preferred hours for purchasing grain in Bourges's marketplaces to the population of the surrounding countryside.[59] When

---

[57]The pillaging of the parish of Sury-en-Vaux near Sancerre in the third religious war, for example, caused the cathedral chapter to lose its income from that source in 1569 and 1570. See ADC, L 23, for an inquest into these losses dated 19 September, 1570. Cited by Thierry de Brimont, I, 422.

[58]See above, f. n. 55, p. 82.

[59]Jongleux, I, 167-68. ". . . affin que le peuple de la dicte ville puisse plus commodement avoir du bled pour sa nourriture et aussy que les pauvres gens des villaiges circonvoisins qui viennent querir leurs fournees et achapter leurs provisions d'une ou deux sepmaines au dict marche ayant plus de commodite d'achapter leur dicte provision de bled; il est ordonne qu'ils seront preferes a tous aultres en l'achapt qu'ils vouldront faire pour leur dicte provision d'une sepmaine, et ce depuys les dix heures que le marche commance jusques a la dicte heure de deux heures, sans que les aultres estrangers ny marchands foraine en puissent aulcunement achapter qu'apres la dicte heure de deux heures sonnees."

war made it unsafe for the rural population to store its grain outside the city's walls, the council stored the grain in Bourges's granaries. Passports were issued guaranteeing access to the city to those persons whose grain was stored there.[60] In 1581, a municipal ordinance even prohibited the city's residents from purchasing goods brought into Bourges by soldiers. Such goods, the ordinance stated, were likely plundered from the duchy's rural population.[61]

The city worked to ease the burdens that war placed on Berry's smaller and less well-protected areas. It contributed to the maintenance of strategic fortresses throughout the duchy, and on occasion shouldered far more than its

---

[60]Jongleux, I, 168. ". . . sy plusieurs laboureurs et habitants du plat pays ont amene leurs bleds en ceste Ville pour le garder et conserver de la gendarmerye, il est permis aux dicts laboureurs et aultres du plat pays qui ont des bleds en ceste Ville, de les emmener avec passeport et permission des dicts Maire et Eschevins, qui leur bailleront le dict passeport pour telles quantites qu'ils cognoistront leur estre necessaire et pour leur nourriture."

[61]Jongleux, I, 141. "Pour ce qu'il advient souvent que les soldats et aides qui sont a la suitte des armees et compaignyes de gens de guerre pillent les chevaulx, meubles et bestail des pauvres laboureurs et habitants du plat pays et arrivent vendre leur pillaige dans les villes, qui leur donne occasion d'en aller reprendre d'aultre, a la ruyne totalle du pays, il est inhibe et deffendu a toutes personnes, quels qu'ils soient, d'achapter, des soldats ou aides qui sont a la suitte des compaignyes des gens de guerre, autant chevaulx, bestail, linges, habits my aultres meubles quel conques, sur peine de perdre ce qu'ils auront achaptes et d'estre pugnys et chasties comme recelleurs de larrons, par pugnition corporelle, selon l'exigeance du cas."

share of the impositions the crown periodically levied on the towns and cities of Berry.[62] In 1573, it shipped large amounts of grain and other supplies to a Catholic army that successfully besieged Sancerre. In 1577, it supplied 2,000 livres to another army attempting to capture La Charité.[63] And throughout the wars, it worked continually to prevent bands of reiters from entering and pillaging the duchy, offering them bribes of cash or munitions to stay away.[64]

Despite the city's efforts, its relationship with those parts of the duchy lying outside its walls was frequently upset as a result of the extensive damage inflicted by armies passing through the region. Plate 1 (in pocket), which reproduces Nicolay's map of the duchy, indicates, by shading, those towns, châteaux, parish churches, and religious houses captured or destroyed during the first twenty-five years of the wars. Some places obviously

---

[62]On at least one occasion, the city was reimbursed. AMB, CC 372, lists 941 écus, 10 sous among the urban receipts for 1593-94. These revenues were derived from parishes in the duchy obligated to Bourges for having earlier assumed their share of a royal imposition.

[63]Expenses incurred by the city relating to the siege of Sancerre are listed in AMB, CC 349 and AMB, CC 350. For the contribution to the capture of La Charité see AMB, CC 353. Both of these cities contained Protestant garrisons that repeatedly plundered the countryside between Bourges and the Loire. Bourges must have realized the advantages of reducing these strongholds.

[64]See, for example, above, f. n. 30, p. 71.

suffered more frequent and extensive damage than others: unfortified sites were always more vulnerable than fortified ones, although most of the duchy's towns were captured and pillaged at least once. In general, the region to the east and south of Bourges—Upper Berry—appears to have been struck more extensively by the violence of these years than the region to the west—Lower Berry. The repeated raids into Upper Berry by Protestant garrisons stationed in Sancerre, La Charité, and the towns of the upper Loire are the most likely explanations for this pattern. But damage was heavy in Lower Berry as well, especially along the border of Poitou. In short, no region within the duchy was spared the violence of these years.[65]

---

[65]The sites marked on this map are those mentioned in Thierry de Brimont as having suffered damages during the wars. Although he does not specifically mention the fate of all 771 parishes in the diocese of Bourges, or of all the region's religious houses and châteaux, it is obvious that most of these were visited at some time by troops. In 1583, Bourges drew up a list of the damages to the surrounding countryside and presented it to the bishop of Paris, then travelling through the region. While some exaggeration probably occurred, the region was in desperate circumstances by this date. Thierry de Brimont, II, 184, says that the residents of Bourges were forced to ransom their métayers from the hands of passing soldiers. See AMB, BB 10, for the comment of the city council that ". . . guerre a ete si particulierement attachee a ce pais qu'il ne se peult dire qu'il y ait eu en Berry aulcune ville ou chasteaus qui n'ayt assiegee, assallie, battue ou prinse et les unes doublement prinses et reprinses avec telle foulle, pillerye et oppression que c'est chose execrable et horrible."

The problems war brought to the city and the surrounding countryside were occasionally made worse by famine and plague. The most serious famine during the first two and one-half decades of the Wars of Religion was the nation-wide famine of 1573. Grain shortages resulting from an extremely poor harvest the previous year were exacerbated by the fourth religious war. In Berry, the famine coincided with the siege of Sancerre, where the need to supply the munitions for the large Catholic army encamped before the town placed a heavy strain on the surrounding countryside.[66]

In Bourges, the city dealt with the grain shortage according to well-established procedures. When it appeared that grain would be in short supply that year, the city council closed the grain market to all but its residents and carefully regulated its hours. By March, the "bled méteil" from which the city's bread was made had been exhausted, and the council passed an ordinance permitting the city's bakers to make bread exclusively from barley. In April, the tax on grain and the tax on beans and peas sold in the city was abruptly suspended.[67] But by the end

---

[66]On the famine of 1573 see Raynal, IV, 135; Thierry de Brimont, II, 81-83.

[67]AMB, CC 349. The aide was reimposed in the fall of 1574.

of June, the city's grain supply was exhausted, and the council petitioned La Châtre for permission to draw upon the grain stored in the Great Tower for the garrison stationed there.[68]

Throughout the summer of 1573, disturbances occurred in the city. These were caused by the attempts of crowds, despite the appeals of the city council and the archbishop, to block shipment of grain from the city's religious houses to the army besieging Sancerre. By July, the price of wheat had risen to one écu, one livre per bushel, the highest level of the century. Bourges was in the midst of a major subsistence crisis that lasted until the autumn, when the new harvest appeared on the market.[69]

On two occasions between 1560 and 1590, the city was struck by plague. The first epidemic broke out in 1562, immediately after the lifting of the siege. Although abating in December, it returned the following spring, and remained in the city for the next two years. In 1582, the city was struck by one of the most severe outbreaks of plague in its history. Its arrival had been expected for at least two years, since Paris had been struck in 1580

---

[68]Thierry de Brimont, II, 82.

[69]Raynal, IV, 135. This was almost six times the price for which grain had sold during the previous year.

and nearby Vierzon in 1581. When the disease appeared in June, the plague house, destroyed in the first religious war, had already been rebuilt and staffed with a concierge and two barbers. Still, the city was unprepared for the violence of this epidemic.[70]

Before the epidemic ended the following February, the plague house had been hastily expanded and victims were also being housed in the neighboring leprosery of St. Ladre and the Hôtel-Dieu. During the summer, the city quickly emptied. The university closed, most of the clergy fled to the countryside, and one branch of royal administration—the bureau des finances—was transferred to the little town of Dun-le-Roi.[71]

The mayor and échevins, however, remained in the city, striving to maintain order and contain the epidemic. Several ordinances were passed to ensure these aims. Members of households struck by the disease were forbidden to appear in public without carrying a white wand as a warning to others. The sale of clothing and other goods belonging to plague victims was forbidden. On Sundays, grain was distributed at designated places to beggars to keep

---

[70]On the plague of 1582 see Raynal, IV, 158-60; Thierry de Brimont, II, 179-85. For documents concerning this epidemic see AMB, GG 708.

[71]Raynal, II, 181.

them from roaming the city and spreading the disease. Victims who were recuperating were forbidden to loiter in the streets, drink from public fountains, and pick grapes from the city's vines. As the plague worsened in the fall, maintaining order became more difficult, and the council found it necessary to pass ordinances prohibiting blasphemy and sexual violence.[72]

The number of persons dying in the two plagues that struck Bourges during these years is impossible to establish with precision. On both occasions, the council claimed that more than ten thousand persons had perished. Figures from the plague house in 1582 record that at the height of the outbreak in October, four hundred patients were hospitalized there.[73] However, many victims never entered the plague house and all who entered did not die. If the council exaggerated the number of deaths, there

---

[72]These ordinances are reproduced in Jongleux, I, 75-79. See especially the ordinance stating that ". . . il y en a aulcunes qui jusrent et blasphement le nom de Dyeu ordinairement, qui arrachent des filles de famille pour en abuser et font aultres fautes et se livrent au scandale contre l'honneur de Dyeu. . . ." Such behavior was prohibited ". . . sous peine d'etre pendu ou estrangle ou tue a l'arquebuse. . . ." Jongleux, I, 78.

[73]Raynal, IV, 160. For a city whose population was likely less than 20,000 (see above, Chapter II, f. n. 1, pp. 10-11), such figures seem exaggerated, but within the range of possibility. In the plague of 1586 in the little town of Romans, one-half the population died. See Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Carnival in Romans. Translated from the French by Mary Feeney. (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1979), pp. 3-5. Cited hereafter as Le Roy Ladurie, Romans.

can nevertheless be little doubt that these epidemics took a substantial toll on the city's population.

Famine, plague, and the recurring wars obviously placed a heavy burden on Bourges's residents in the late sixteenth century. The difficulties these problems caused could be described at length. However, it is possible to measure this burden more precisely by analyzing two areas of urban life—commerce and public finance—which each of these problems influenced. Such an analysis also reveals the relative burden which each—war, famine and plague—placed on the city.

D. Commerce and Public Finance

Bourges's commercial and financial life during the late sixteenth century can be studied by examining the municipal accounts, or the deniers communs. The accounts were maintained by the city treasurer, the receveur des deniers communs. The receveur was a member of the bourgeoisie, drawn from the same group within urban society as members of the city council. It was his task, with the help of clerks (greffiers), to keep a record of the city's receipts and expenditures during the course of each fiscal year. At the end of the year, the accounts were compiled under his supervision and presented to the city council to be reviewed and approved before being sent to Paris for auditing by the Chambre des comptes.

In sixteenth-century Bourges, as in most places north of the Alps, double-entry bookkeeping had not yet been adopted. Instead, the receveur divided the accounts into two sections. The first was labelled "recettes" and was placed at the beginning of the accounts. The second was labelled "despenses" or "fraicz" and was placed at the end. Each section was then divided into several chapters, which broke down receipts and expenditures into more detailed entries. In each entry, the amount received or spent was explained and then written in longhand. The same amount was then listed in the margin in Roman numerals.[74]

---

[74]Municipal finance is an area of early modern French history that has received little attention. For a discussion of urban accounts, including the methods by which they were compiled, see Jean Glénisson and Charles Higounet, "Remarques sur les comptes et sur l'administration financière des villes françaises entre Loire et Pyrenées (XIVe-XVIe siècles)," Finances et comptabilité urbaines du XIIIe au XVIe siècle. Actes de colloque international de Blankenberge (6-9 sept., 1962) (Brussels, 1964), pp. 31-51. See also the discussion of this article on pp. 67-69. A description of urban finances during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is found in Albert Babeau, La ville sous l'ancien régime (2 vols., Paris: Didier, 1884), I, 251-70. For earlier centuries, there are several older monographs, the best of which is Roger Doucet, Finances municipales et crédit public à Lyon au XVI siècle (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1937).

Bourges's fiscal life has never been studied. The best discussion of the procedure by which its accounts were compiled can be found at the end of each account in a chapter entitled "Despens communs." This is an itemization of the expenses involved each year in drawing up the accounts, including the expense of carrying these documents to Paris for auditing. The accounts were compiled from the records of urban receipts and expenses collected by the

The first question to be asked of the information contained in the accounts is what they reveal about the influence of the Wars of Religion on Bourges's commercial life. An examination of the revenues derived from the aides provides insight into this question. These taxes were levied on a variety of goods sold in the city.[75] Since the aides formed an important part of Bourges's annual receipts, they are listed each year at the beginning of the accounts. However, an analysis of the revenues derived from this source involves several problems.

First, with the exception of the treizième du vin, the name of which reveals the rate of the wine tax, it is impossible to know either the rate at which an aide was levied or the size or volume of the unit on which it was assessed. While this prevents determining the absolute quantity of any item sold in a given year, it does not prevent tracing changes that might have taken place in the sale of a commodity over a period of several years. Relative fluctuations can be measured, if not absolute differences.

---

receveur during the year. These records also survive. They are found in AMB, CC 533, to AMB, CC 849, and are called "pièces à l'appui des comptes." For a discussion of the deniers communs and the duties of the receveur in Bourges, see Chenu, pp. 30-31.

[75]See Chapter II, p. 24.

A more serious problem is raised by the manner in which these revenues were derived. In Bourges, as elsewhere in early modern France, the aides were not collected directly by the government, but were farmed out annually. The figures recorded at the beginning of each year's accounts thus do not reflect the income received from these taxes, but only the amount for which they were farmed. Tax farmers were undoubtedly more skilled in predicting annual receipts than were most persons, since the profits of their undertaking depended on this ability. However, it is possible that a farmer could fail to gauge the year's receipts correctly, since fluctuations in the sixteenth-century market could be sharp, swift, and unpredictable.[76]

A careful examination of the procedure by which the accounts were compiled offers a partial solution to this difficulty. To balance the accounts, the receveur had to list as an expense any part of the anticipated receipts he had not been able to collect in that year, including those revenues derived from the farming of the aides. At the close of the year, when the accounts were being prepared for auditing, this information was carefully recorded near

---

[76]On the risks one assumed when becoming a tax farmer see Martin Wolfe, The Fiscal System of Renaissance France (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 317-29. Cited hereafter as Wolfe.

the end of the expenditures in a separate chapter entitled "Deniers renduz et non-receuz." By consulting this chapter, it is possible to determine in what years tax farmers were unable to meet their bid and by how much they fell short.[77]

A final problem remains. Determining the cumulative effects of war, plague, and famine on the aides requires that the accounts be analyzed for the almost three decades under consideration. However, since the late sixteenth century was a period of rapid inflation, the relationship between the nominal value and the real value of the livre tournois changed constantly. To determine the real value of the livre, it is necessary to know how rapidly its purchasing power declined as the sixteenth century progressed. A wage-price index for Bourges, such as the indices compiled for other regions of Europe, would make it possible to determine this decline. Unfortunately, no such index exists. Lacking such information, the best

---

[77]This procedure can be attempted safely only with the treizième. Other aides are sometimes listed separately in this chapter, but are more often lumped together with other uncollected receipts, thus making it impossible to distinguish them. Evidently, the treizième was considered sufficiently important for the receveur to list any portion of its farm that had not been collected in a separate entry. For a discussion of the treizième, see E. Toubeau de Maisonneuve, "Le droit du treizième sur le vin vendu en détail à Bourges," MSAC, IV (1870-72), 211-29.

solution is to use the index compiled by Paul Raveau for Poitou. Poitou lay just to the west of Berry, and changes in the value of the livre occurring there would likely be a safer guide for determining the changes occurring in Bourges than would an index from a more distant region or an index compiled from a combination of several regional ones.[78]

The amount for which both the treizième and the remainder of the aides were farmed in each year between 1560 and 1590 is plotted in Figure 3. This graph reveals the sharp fluctuation that could occur in tax farms from year to year. The general course of the farms is upward, although owing to inflation real revenues from this source did not rise as rapidly as nominal revenues. With few exceptions, the farm of the treizième and the farm of the remaining aides follow similar patterns, although "peaks" and "valleys" are more pronounced for the former. This difference can probably be explained by the potentially greater, although more erratic and less certain, profits that could be anticipated from the sale of a commodity such as wine, whose trade included a sizeable luxury

---

[78]Paul Raveau, L'agriculture et les classes paysannes: la transformation de la propriété dans le Haut Poitou au XVIe siècle, précédé d'une étude sur le pouvoir d'achat de la livre tournois de règne de Louis XI à celui de Louis XIII (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1926), xxxvi.

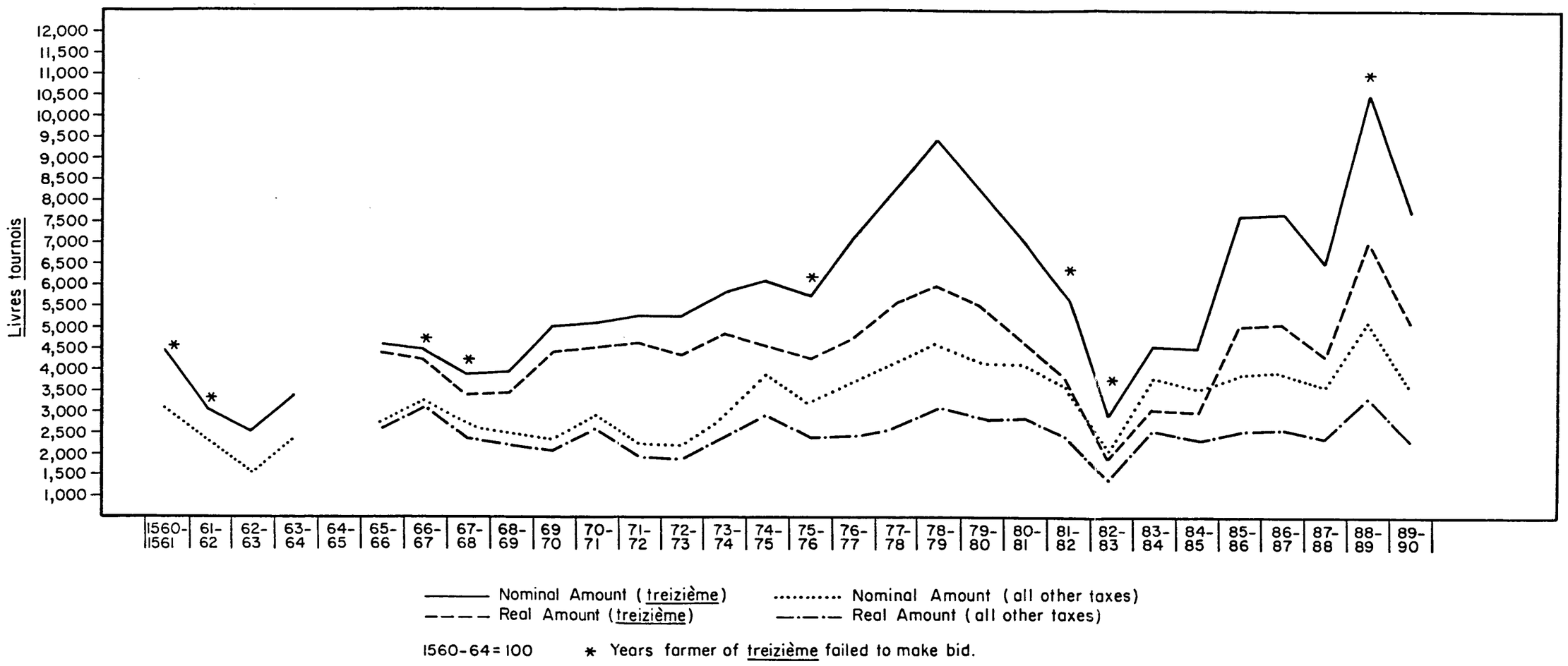


Figure 3. Tax Farms in Bourges, 1560-1590.

segment and was also inter-regional.[79] The graph also reveals that during eight of these thirty years, the farmer of the treizième was unable to meet his bid in the year it was due. Most of these years were those in which either war or plague was in the region, a clear indication the movement and sale of wine were being hampered by these problems.[80]

In 1561-62, during the disastrous first religious war and the outbreak of plague that followed, the farmer of the treizième fell over 500 livres short of his nearly 3,000-livre bid. When the aides were farmed on Michaelmas, 1561, these problems had been impossible to forecast. In 1562-63, the bid for the treizième fell considerably, probably because the first religious war was still in progress and plague had recently broken out in the city.[81] After rising in the relatively peaceful years of the mid-sixties, the farm dropped again in 1567-68, probably

---

[79]The accounts frequently list wine purchased in the city in a unit known as the queue. This wine was often given in tribute to visiting dignitaries. The queue was a unit for measuring wine used in Burgundy. It equalled approximately 220 litres.

[80]These years were 1560-61, 1561-62, 1566-67, 1567-68, 1575-76, 1581-82, 1582-83, and 1588-89.

[81]Plague broke out in September, immediately after the ending of the siege. See above, p. 89. Since it was in progress when the aides were farmed at Michaelmas, the farmer probably was reluctant to make a high bid, for fear a prolonged epidemic might upset the city's economic life.

because the second religious war had just begun and because the previous year, the farmer had fallen short of his bid by some 1,200 livres. Nevertheless, in 1567-68 he again fell short, but this time by a smaller margin. The problems facing the farmer of the treizième are easier to appreciate when one remembers that the second and third religious wars (1567-70) were especially hard fought in the important wine-producing regions of Upper Berry to the east of Bourges. These wars could also have affected the shipment of Burgundian wines from that direction.[82]

The famine of 1573 had no effect on the wine farm or on the farmer's ability to meet his bid. However, there was a slump in the farm of the remainder of the aides owing to the dropping of the tax on grain and on peas and beans. In 1575-76, another war year, the farmer of the treizième again fell short of his bid. His problems are not surprising: for several months a royal army blockaded the city, making it impossible for any goods to enter its gates.[83]

The most disastrous year of these three decades was not a war year. It was instead the plague year of 1582. The critical but short-lived impact of this epidemic on the farming of the aides deserves close consideration.

---

[82]See above, pp. 67-69.

[83]See above, pp. 70-71.

After climbing rapidly in the relatively peaceful years after 1576, the farm of the treizième reached a high of nearly 9,000 livres in 1578-79. The farm then began to tumble, reaching its lowest point of the late-sixteenth century in 1582-83. This decline is more understandable when one remembers that in 1577 a major epidemic of plague had struck Lyon, and by 1579 was moving northward along the Rhône and the Loire. In Bourges, tax farmers were likely watching its advance, probably aware that an outbreak would dislocate the city's economic life.[84] By the summer of 1580, the plague was raging in Paris. By 1581, Vierzon had been struck, and in June, 1582, the disease finally broke out in Bourges.[85]

When the aides were farmed at Michaelmas, the plague was at its height. The city council decided to collect the treizième directly from the city's larger retail dealers and to farm the remainder for the duration of the plague for the extremely low sum of 510 livres. When the outbreak abated the following February, the entire aide

---

[84]On the problems plague could cause for urban finances, see Biraben, Les hommes et la peste, II, 150-58.

[85]The circuitous route by which this plague reached the city, moving from Lyon to Paris to Vierzon to Bourges, supports the earlier contention that the city was off the major trade routes and was relatively isolated from the remainder of the realm. See above, pp. 13-14.

was farmed again, but the results were still poor. The treizième brought in only slightly over 2,100 livres.

Once the plague had passed, recovery set in quickly, although a brief reappearance of the disease in the summer of 1584 may have frightened the farmers and lowered bids. Receipts from the aides rose sharply in 1587-88, when the outbreak of the wars of the League may have again caused the farmer to fall short of his bid. However, in the last two years of the 1580's the farm tumbled, as war again became endemic in the region.

When viewed over the thirty-year period between 1560 and 1590, the farming of the aides thus offers one gauge for assessing the influence of the Wars of Religion on Bourges's commercial life. The increase in the city's receipts from this source at first appears to indicate the wars had no serious effects on these revenues. But a second glance reveals that much of this increase can be traced to inflation, since the real value of the livre tournois fell sharply during these years. The cycle of plagues and wars, to which inflation was in part related, was taking its toll. In over one-fourth of these years (eight out of thirty) the farmer of the treizième was unable to meet his bid in the year it was due.

If the problems of the late sixteenth century influenced Bourges's commerce, they also influenced the

city's finances. An examination of the deniers communs during one year will provide some insight into the devastating impact of the wars on the city's budget, if a year in which war was occurring in the region is chosen. After the accounts for a single year have been examined, a cumulative study of the thirty-year period between 1560 and 1590 can be undertaken.

Appendix C breaks down by chapter the revenues listed in the deniers communs for 1567-68. This year was selected because the beginning of the fiscal year on 1 October coincided closely with the outbreak of the second religious war, and because by the end of the year, the third religious war was already under way.[86] The accounts for 1567-68 should thus reveal some of the burdens these struggles placed on the city's residents. The city's receipts have been divided into "ordinary" and "extraordinary" to emphasize further the difficulties caused by the wars. Ordinary receipts include the revenues derived from the farming of the aides, including those funds that came from the treizième. In addition to the aides, these receipts include octrois of two sous and five sous on each

---

[86]Since 1561-62 was the year in which Bourges came most directly in contact with the violence of the religious wars, it would be preferable to analyze the city's receipts and expenditures for that year. However, the accounts for that year are not complete. They end following the Protestant seizure of the city in May.

minot of salt sold in Bourges's greniers. Income from this source was considerably less than income from the farming of the aides. The rents from the land and properties owned by the city—the domaine—were also included among ordinary receipts, although revenues from this source were insignificant, in most years equalling less than 1 percent of all urban funds.[87]

Even during periods of peace, the receipts from ordinary revenues were rarely sufficient to meet the city's needs. In a war year such as 1567-68, these funds were grossly inadequate. Of the more than 36,000 livres coming into the deniers communs in that year, those derived from ordinary revenues totalled under 9,000 livres, or slightly less than 25 percent. The remainder of these revenues had to be found elsewhere.

The accounts clearly reveal the source of these extraordinary funds. Over 11,000 livres were levied by the sieur de Vatan, the crown's governor in the city. These funds went to support a Catholic garrison occupying Bourges and to help the crown finance the wars.

---

[87] AMB, CC 136, contains the baux des fermes for the years under examination. The amounts listed in these documents are the same as the amounts listed at the beginning of each year's accounts. The octrois on salt were collected directly by the city when the salt was sold. These receipts are listed in AMB, CC 153, to AMB, CC 167, as well as in the accounts. In some years, the domaine was listed separately and in some it was listed with the aides.

Protestants, by this time a virtually powerless minority in Bourges, were singled out for over 4,300 livres of this assessment, but the remainder fell on all the city's population, regardless of confessional preferences.[88] A royal levy of 3,000 livres further contributed to the fiscal burden of this difficult year.[89] However, revenues were still insufficient to meet the city's obligations, and these levies had to be supplemented with a huge loan of almost 11,800 livres which the city negotiated with over one hundred of its residents.[90] In all, loans and levies for this year totalled almost 26,000 livres.[91]

The remainder of the city's extraordinary receipts was acquired less painfully. Over 1,400 livres were derived by the sale of provisions and supplies to the troops occupying the city and the Great Tower—an exception to the usual procedure of supporting the garrison at public expense—and by the sale of the goods of the deceased Nicholas Pain, a prominent Protestant whose property had

---

[88]Appendix C. Extraordinary Receipts. Chapters 1 and 2.

[89]Ibid., Chapter 6. Loans and levies going to the crown did not actually constitute a portion of municipal receipts, since such revenues were not spent locally. However, in Bourges these funds were recorded in the deniers communs both as receipts (at the time they were collected) and expenditures (at the time they were sent to the crown).

[90]Ibid., Chapter 4.

[91]Ibid., Chapters 1, 2, 4, 6.

been seized during the first religious war.[92] A final small amount came from the collection of sums that had been in arrears since the previous year.[93]

The receveur listed the city's expenditures in considerably more detail than the receipts, dividing them into thirty-one chapters. Some chapters include a variety of expenditures and bear only general labels.[94] However, most chapter titles are sufficiently precise to reveal that the wars were creating tremendous financial problems. Over 5,500 livres went directly for the maintenance of troops garrisoned in the city.[95] In addition, over 11,000 livres were used to repair defenses and to supply wood and candles for the corps de guard stationed in each of the city's quarters. Another 6,000 livres were used to purchase weapons or supplies needed to ensure the city's safety.[96] Even the normal expenses of repairs, litigation, and the journeys of those on city business were increased

---

[92]Ibid., Chapter 5. [93]Ibid., Chapter 3.

[94]Appendix C. Expenditures. Chapters 19 and 27, for example. The entries in these chapters cover a wide range of expenses, some of which appear to belong logically to other chapters.

[95]Ibid., Chapters 8 and 21. This would represent minimum expenditures for this purpose. Many of the entries in some of the other chapters indicate that funds were also being used to support troops in the city.

[96]Ibid., Chapters 10, 11, 12, 13, 22, 23, 24, 25.

as a result of the wars: individual entries under each of these chapters clearly reveal the influence of these struggles.[97] Moreover, it is likely that at least a portion of the receipts which the city had been unable to collect (the "deniers renduz et non-receuz") were in arrears owing to difficulties relating to the wars.[98] Only the wages of the city officials and the university faculty and the expense of preparing the accounts (the "despense commun") were probably uninfluenced by the struggles.[99]

An examination of the accounts for one war-torn year thus reveals how Bourges's budget was devastated by the Wars of Religion. However, an examination of the city's finances during the entire period being studied is necessary if one is to determine the full impact of the wars on Bourges's fiscal life. In Table 1, the years between 1560 and 1590 are divided into six, five-year periods; the city's receipts and expenditures are presented for each of these periods. In every five-year period, expenditures exceeded receipts. Moreover, beginning in the late 1570's, both receipts and expenditures began to increase rapidly, a trend consistent with the inflation of the late sixteenth century. Table 2 uses these same five-year periods to

---

[97]Ibid., Chapters 3, 18, 26. [98]Ibid., Chapter 30.

[99]Ibid., Chapters 1, 2, 31, 32.

TABLE 1

URBAN RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES, 1560-1590[a]

Years	Receipts	Expenditures
1560-65	43,094	46,437
1565-70	83,384	110,599
1570-75	66,537	68,015
1575-80	129,287	150,263
1580-85	116,744	133,827
1585-90	121,817	133,237
TOTAL	560,863	642,378

[a]These figures were derived from AMB, CC 337—AMB, CC 368. All figures are rounded to the nearest livre tournois.

TABLE 2

ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY URBAN RECEIPTS BY ABSOLUTE AMOUNTS AND PERCENTAGES, 1560-1590[a]

		Ordinary Receipts	Extraordinary Receipts	Total
1560-65	Absolute	28,263	14,831	43,094
	Percentage	66.6	33.4	100.0
1565-70	Absolute	47,382	36,002	83,384
	Percentage	56.8	43.2	100.0
1570-75	Absolute	53,407	13,130	66,537
	Percentage	80.3	19.7	100.0
1575-80	Absolute	69,692	59,595	129,287
	Percentage	53.9	46.1	100.0
1580-85	Absolute	53,153	63,591	116,744
	Percentage	45.5	54.5	100.0
1585-90	Absolute	70,072	51,745	121,817
	Percentage	57.5	42.5	100.0
TOTAL	Absolute	321,969	238,894	560,863
	Percentage	57.4	42.6	100.0

[a]These figures were derived from AMB, CC 337—AMB, CC 368. All figures are rounded to the nearest livre tournois.

divide urban receipts into categories of "ordinary" and "extraordinary." In no period were the city's ordinary revenues sufficient to cover its needs. Although these revenues rarely made up as small a portion of Bourges's total receipts as in 1567-68, the year analyzed above, they were nearly always supplemented by extraordinary revenues, which in some instances nearly equalled them.[100]

In Table 3, Bourges's extraordinary receipts are analyzed by source. These revenues came from the three sources—loans, levies, and miscellaneous—that can be distinguished in the 1567-68 accounts. Most of the miscellaneous receipts came from the repayment of loans the city had extended or from the collection of revenues in arrears from earlier accounts. Such receipts were hardly fiscal windfalls. On a few occasions, as in 1567-68, Bourges was able to profit slightly from the wars by selling supplies and munitions to passing troops or to garrisons stationed in the Great Tower. But such occasions were rare.[101]

A closer look at the city's extraordinary receipts reveals that the same problems working to reduce the

---

[100]In only one year in the thirty-year period being examined were there no extraordinary receipts. This year was 1571-72.

[101]One such occasion was 1573-74, when the city sold over 1,200 livres of supplies to the garrison in the Great Tower.

TABLE 3

SOURCES OF EXTRAORDINARY URBAN RECEIPTS BY ABSOLUTE AMOUNTS AND PERCENTAGES, 1560-1590[a]

		1560-65	1565-70	1570-75	1575-80	1580-85	1585-90	Total
Levies	Absolute	4,000	14,079	2,434	27,146	44,189	29,696	121,544
	Percentage	27.0	39.1	18.5	45.6	69.5	57.4	50.9
Loans	Absolute	5,287	12,710	1,950	15,443	17,775	19,717	72,882
	Percentage	35.6	35.3	14.9	25.9	27.9	38.1	30.5
Miscellaneous	Absolute	5,544	9,213	8,746	17,006	1,627	2,332	44,468
	Percentage	37.4	25.6	66.6	28.5	2.6	4.5	18.6
Total	Absolute	14,831	36,002	13,130	59,595	63,591	51,745	238,894
	Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a]These figures were derived from AMB, CC 337—AMB, CC 368. All totals are rounded to the nearest livre tournois.

revenues from the aides—particularly war and plague—were responsible for swelling the city's revenues by creating the need for loans and levies. In 1562-63, the first religious war helped push loans and levies to more than 9,000 livres for the years 1560-65, a sum rarely reached by all urban receipts in any earlier year.[102] Levies and loans for the late 1560's totalled nearly 27,000 livres, almost three times the total in the first half of the decade.[103] A brief respite in the early 1570's ended in 1575-76 when a loan and a levy, each in excess of 10,000 livres, pushed the total to more than 45,000 livres for the decade. The need for the levy clearly stemmed from the wars: almost 7,000 livres were to go to the crown as a solde, while the remainder was to be used locally for organizing military companies to deal with the reiters plundering the duchy.[104]

During the 1580's, the city's extraordinary revenues increased greatly. Pushed up by inflation, by the severe

---

[102] It should be pointed out again that the accounts are missing for the summer of 1562, and urban expenses were undoubtedly very great then. The accounts are also missing for 1564-65, further reducing the total for the first half of the 1560's. For a list of receipts and expenditures for several years in the decades preceding the wars see Taillemitte, p. 26.

[103] Nearly all of these levies and loans came in 1567-68. See Appendix C.

[104] AMB, CC 352.

outbreak of plague in 1582, by the continuing religious wars, and by the extravagant and hard-pressed monarchy of Henry III, the receipts from loans and levies reached 110,000 livres. More ominously, levies—a greater burden on the city's residents than loans, since they did not have to be repaid—began to assume an increasingly large percentage of these funds. At the same time those revenues derived from miscellaneous sources virtually disappeared. The city was having trouble collecting its debts or capitalizing on even the modest windfalls it had enjoyed earlier. Between 1580 and 1585, these revenues were only 2.6 percent of all extraordinary receipts, while levies constituted almost 70 percent of the total. In 1584, a levy of 20,000 livres combined revenues to pay the crown's troops with funds needed locally for plague expenses, for litigation against the duchy St. Ambroix, and for the maintenance of military outposts in the duchy.[105] As the 1580's came to a close, the outbreak of the wars of the League began to take a toll on urban finances. In 1590, over 14,000 livres in loans and levies went to pay royal troops and to repair a breach in the city's ramparts.[106]

The most obvious result of the above analysis of the city's extraordinary revenues is the discovery that Bourges's financial problems increased dramatically in the

---

[105] AMB, CC 360.

[106] AMB, CC 368.

1580's. Levies, which constituted less than 39 percent of the city's extraordinary revenues in the 1560's and 1570's, rose to more than 64 percent in the 1580's. During these same years, loans rose from 29 to 32 percent of the total. It was the miscellaneous sources that declined. In the 1560's and 1570's, these sources had made up one-third of all extraordinary receipts. By the 1580's, such receipts had dropped to less than 4 percent. If the first two decades of the religious wars brought more military problems to Bourges than the third decade, the same cannot be said of the city's financial problems. By the 1580's, the cost of dealing with war and other urban problems had greatly increased.[107]

E. Conclusion

The Wars of Religion brought a host of problems to the city of Bourges. When combined with plague and famine,

---

[107]The destruction of the Chambre des comptes by fire in 1737 has made a detailed study of the national budget before that date impossible. However, there is general agreement that in the 1580's, the nation's fiscal problems increased greatly. See Wolfe, pp. 158-213. Also J. J. Clamageran, Histoire de l'impôt en France (3 vols., Paris: Guillaumin, 1867-76), II, 227-81. Cited hereafter as Clamageran. These years have been labelled as the "guerre dur," as opposed to the "guerre douce" of the 1560's. See Pierre Chaunu, "L'Etat," in Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse, Histoire économique et sociale de France, Pt. 1, I (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1977), 167-75. Benedict, Rouen, pp. 156-57, finds a similar increase in the cost of war during the 1580's in Rouen.

these struggles placed a heavy burden on the city's residents. The extent of this burden is reflected in the city's commercial and fiscal life. Trade did not cease, but it was periodically hampered, and the loans and levies necessary to combat these difficulties, exacerbated by inflation, grew more onerous as the years passed. The continued decline of the city's textile industry, which did not respond to attempts to revive it, underlay these more immediate difficulties.

Early modern warfare always evokes an image of undisciplined troops wantonly pillaging or destroying everything they encountered. Yet in Bourges such violence was rare. Aside from the terrible summer of 1562, when siege and military occupation took a heavy toll, damage to the city resulting directly from contact with troops was not extensive. Garrisons continued to be stationed in Bourges after this occasion, but never again did they virtually hold the city captive, draining the wealth of its residents almost at will. Nor did military activities again seriously damage the city: in the following twenty-five years, the wars brought a hostile army to Bourges's gates on only one occasion. This was in 1576, when the city had defied the crown. But this encounter was a blockade, not a siege, and the whole enterprise was called off before serious consequences developed.

Nor does internal violence directly related to the wars appear to have made great impact on the city's population. Skirmishes between Catholics and Protestants, garrisons and civilians, and between the city's residents and those refugees taking shelter behind its walls occurred, but these encounters were usually brief and limited. Such encounters probably served to annoy the council more than to damage the city. The most serious urban riot occurred during the St. Bartholomew's Massacre, but on this occasion violence was sharply focused on the homes and businesses of a few of the city's leading Protestants and does not appear to have resulted in general or indiscriminate damage. The twenty-three deaths resulting from the massacre are few when compared with the hundreds who died in Paris and other cities.

The remainder of the duchy of Berry was not so fortunate as its capital. Bourges's walls were sufficiently formidable to discourage the armies that moved through the countryside, but Berry's smaller towns, châteaux, parish churches, and religious houses were easier prey for these troops. In the long run, the terrible damage to which the surrounding region was repeatedly subjected caused Bourges greater problems than the damages the city experienced directly. For Bourges drew much of its wealth from this region: its economic life was closely interwoven with that of the fields, plains, and vineyards surrounding the

city. On two occasions, once in 1562 and again in 1576, the open regions nearest the city's walls—its faubourgs—were destroyed or heavily damaged. In the more distant portions of the duchy, destruction was more frequent and more extensive. The numerous ordinances that the city council passed to alleviate the sufferings of the surrounding region are evidence of how warfare in the open countryside was injuring the city's economic life. The city's contributions toward maintaining strategic fortresses in the duchy, toward recapturing Protestant strongholds along the Loire, and toward bribing reiters to stay out of the area also show that Bourges was aware of the need to protect Berry's open countryside.

An examination of Bourges's commercial and fiscal life in the first twenty-five years of the Wars of Religion provides more precise insight into the relative burdens war placed on the city. When compared with the other two scourges of early modern society, famine and plague, the burden of war was far greater. This is not because the city was spared famine and plague. The great famine of 1573 was one of the worst of the century, and the plagues which struck on two occasions (1562-64 and 1582) were major epidemics. While it is difficult to separate the problems caused by the first outbreak of plague from those caused by the first religious war, the epidemic of 1582 stands

out clearly as a crisis in urban life. For several months, the city's trade came to a virtual halt, and the costs of dealing with the epidemic greatly swelled urban expenditures in the few years that followed it.

In the long run, the burden of war appears to have been greater than the burden of famine and plague for two reasons. First, war was a more frequent visitor to the city and the duchy in the late sixteenth century. While only one major famine and two outbreaks of plague occurred between 1562 and 1587, the region was rarely continually at peace for more than four or five years. And even during the "peaceful" years, reiters often moved through the region. As a result, war become virtually endemic, especially after 1567. Second, while plague and famine were problems with which the city had to grapple only locally, war affected the city at both the local and national level. This is most obvious in Bourges's fiscal life, where the burdens of dealing with war locally were greatly increased by the demands of the monarchy—demands which increased during the inflation-ridden 1580's.

It is impossible to determine all of the funds spent on war by consulting the accounts, since many chapter labels and entries are not precise enough to permit one to determine how funds were spent. In many instances, however, expenditures are clearly marked, and by consulting

only those revenues some idea of the relative burden of war emerges. Between 1560 and 1590, over 90,000 livres were spent on supplies, munitions, troops, and repairs related to urban defense. During these same years, plague expenses totalled approximately 40,000 livres. The expenses of the latter coincided with the two epidemics of plague. War's expenses were spread more evenly over this thirty-year period.

It would be a mistake, however, to blame the Wars of Religion for Bourges's transition from its late medieval prosperity to the economic stagnation that characterized the city's economic life during the Old Regime. The continued decline of the textile industry, already well under way before the wars broke out, ensured this transition. Nevertheless, the influence of the wars on the city should not be underestimated. If, in the long run, the changing fortunes of the textile industry ensured the city's decline by failing to generate the wealth necessary to maintain prosperity, war, in the short run, did something far worse: it destroyed wealth. The changes occurring in the city's population and the structure of its wealth are examined in the following chapters of this study.

CHAPTER V

PATTERNS OF POPULATION, 1557-1586

A. Introduction

In the preceding chapter, a number of the problems the Wars of Religion brought to Bourges were discussed. Siege, military occupation, garrisons, and—above all—the continual pillaging of the surrounding countryside were among the most serious of these problems. As a result, commerce faltered and fiscal burdens greatly increased. In this chapter, the examination of how the wars affected the city is broadened to include their impact on Bourges's population.

The study of the population of an early modern city hardly breaks new ground in French history; no nation's population has been studied as extensively in the pre-industrial era as the population of France. Yet most of these studies deal with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The late sixteenth century is a less studied and particularly frustrating period for historical demographers. Sources are abundant enough in some of the country's archives to tempt scholars to undertake demographic research, but these sources are usually extremely fragmentary, and rarely yield more than a glimpse into

population change.[1] Not surprisingly, conflicting findings have been discovered for different regions of the country during different decades of the religious wars.[2] A few generally accepted conclusions have emerged in the last few

---

[1]Most of the demographic studies of these years, as well as for all the early modern period, have been based on two sources, parish registers and fiscal censuses. Parish registers beginning as early as the sixteenth century are rare, and those which do survive ordinarily record only births. For an inventory of the registers surviving in each of France's departments see Jean Noel Biraben, "Inventaire par sondage des registres paroissiaux de France," Population, XV (1960), 25-58. There is no single source listing fiscal censuses surviving from the sixteenth century. The paucity and poor quality of the data for these years has led Salmon, Society in Crisis, p. 31, to dub the sixteenth century the "twilight years" of French historical demography.

[2]The modern debate over population trends in the late sixteenth century began almost twenty years ago when Pierre Goubert, one of the deans of French demographic history, suggested that the population decline of these years (until at least the 1590's) was probably less severe than traditional historians had claimed. See Pierre Goubert, "Recent Theories and Research in French Population Between 1500 and 1700." Translated from the French by Margaret Hilton. In D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, eds., Population in History (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 462-65. Goubert based this claim on an analysis of birth rates in a series of parish registers from western France. His conclusions have been seconded by Alain Croix, "La démographie du pays nantais au XVIe siècle," ADH (1967), pp. 63-89. Recently, the dangers of generalizing about population trends during these years has been pointed out in Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots," pp. 205-06. Benedict found that Rouen lost approximately 25 percent of its population during the Wars of Religion, with most of this loss coming in the 1590's. Gascon, Grand commerce, II, 347-50, found severe decline in Lyon (perhaps as much as one-third of the city's population) in the first decade of the wars.

years, but there is still great need for additional studies.[3] The following discussion, in addition to shedding light on how the wars influenced Bourges's population, should also supply another piece to the still badly fragmented late sixteenth-century demographic puzzle.

B. The Sources: Rolls of the Solde

The sources used to study Bourges's population in the first twenty-five years of the Wars of Religion are drawn from a series of tax rolls that survive in the city's archives. Most of the rolls in this series were prepared for levying the taxes necessary to finance these struggles. Some of these impositions were levied by the crown; others, by the city. From the 1550's through the 1580's, one such roll was compiled approximately every two years.[4]

---

[3]At present, most scholars agree that not until the 1590's did nearly every region of France experience serious population problems. However, most are willing to admit that in some regions decline set in much earlier. Among early modern scholars, there is some agreement that the French religious wars were generally less demographically disastrous than were the post-Reformation struggles in most other areas of Europe. See, for example, Henry Kamen, The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe, 1560-1660 (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 39, who states that ". . . the wars had much less effect upon the civilian population than has commonly been thought."

[4]A list of these documents is found in Charles Desages and Jean Béreux, Répertoire numérique des archives municipales de Bourges antérieure à 1790 (Bourges: M. H. Sire, Dusser, et Larchevêque, 1922), pp. 11-12. Cited hereafter as Desages and Béreux.

However, not all these rolls were compiled in the same fashion. Some of them exclude certain regions or households; others appear to have been compiled from earlier lists, and thus would not accurately record information about the city's population for the year they are dated. But a few of the rolls are free of these problems, and the two analyzed in this study were selected from this group.[5]

The rolls chosen for this study were prepared for levying the solde, a royal tax designated for paying mercenaries in the crown's service. The solde was a direct tax, imposed at irregular but frequent intervals on the walled cities of France, many of which were free from the taille. The earliest reference to the solde dates from the reign of Francis I. In 1538, several of the walled cities of the realm paid an imposition to the crown

---

[5]The oldest complete roll in this series was compiled in 1590. However, it is not an imposition but a loan (emprunt) made to repair the city's fortifications. Rolls compiled before 1550 and after 1590 are fragments, and do not include all areas of the city. Taxes levied in 1556, 1558, and 1567 appear to have been determined from rolls drawn up in earlier years, and would not accurately reflect conditions for the year they are dated.

Parish registers, which could be used to supplement these rolls, are too incomplete to be useful. Only one parish, St. Fulgent, has registers beginning as early as the 1560's. These registers have major gaps and, for the years they are complete, record only births. Six other parishes have registers recording births beginning in the 1580's, but these, too, were very poorly and irregularly maintained. For a list of the registers, see Desages and Béreux, pp. 35-37.

collected specifically for "la solde des gens des pieds appelez vulgairement soldats."[6] By mid-century, the nation's lengthy involvement in foreign wars, coupled with growing inflation and continued reliance on mercenaries, had made the solde a regular feature of the fiscal policy of the last Valois kings.[7]

Bourges was frequently called on to contribute to this imposition. One of the earliest rolls of the solde surviving in the city's archives dates from 1557. In that year, Henry II, caught in a fiscal crisis brought on by the

---

[6]For a brief discussion of the solde, see Wolfe, pp. 116, 131. Also Roger Doucet, Les institutions de la France au seizième siècle (2 vols., Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1948), I, 205, 308; II, 574. Cited hereafter as Doucet, Institutions. The solde was first collected in the sixteenth century, but monarchs had exacted revenues from France's towns and cities centuries earlier. For a discussion of the crown's policies toward its towns in the late middle ages see John Bell Henneman, Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 6-7. Henneman discusses the overlapping of royal and municipal taxes. For an earlier period see C. Stephenson, "The Aids of the French Towns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in Bryce Lyon, ed., Medieval Institutions (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1954), pp. 1-40. The "aids" discussed in this work were direct taxes and not the aides, or indirect taxes, of the Old Regime.

[7]Wolfe, p. 116, says the solde or a comparable levy was collected from the cities of France in 1553, 1555, 1575, 1582, and 1588. The solde was also levied in Bourges in 1545, 1552, 1557, 1563, 1569, 1577, and 1586, although some of these impositions might be among those Wolfe mentions, having simply been postponed by the city for a year or two after the crown called for them. It is certain that taxes were levied in Bourges in these years because the rolls drawn up for collecting them survive in the archives.

expenses of the lingering Habsburg-Valois wars and nearing the bankruptcy that came two years later with the Treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis, called on the cities of his realm for financial assistance.[8] This roll has been selected for analysis because it has none of the problems described above, and because it was prepared at a time when most French cities were well into their sixteenth-century growth, but before they had been affected by the struggles of the 1560's. One of the last rolls containing similar information was compiled for levying another solde in 1586, after more than two decades of civil war had taken its toll on the kingdom. In that year, Henry II's hard-pressed son, Henry III, appealed to the cities for aid in his struggle against both Protestants and the League.[9] These two years, 1557 and 1586, bracket a crisis-ridden period in the city's

---

[8]AMB, CC 8. The full title of this imposition is "Raolle de la cottization de la soulde des cinquante mil hommes de pied en l'annee 1557." Although the title includes the word "cottization," the figures listed in this and the other rolls are not assessments of the absolute wealth of the city's taxpayers. They are rather the amount each paid to this tax.

[9]AMB, CC 25. "Role de l'imposition de cinq cents ecus pour la solde de 50,000 hommes de pied demandee par le roy en l'annee derniere 1585 et de 213 ecus 1/3 pour et au lieu de l'imposition de V sols pour muy de vin entrant. . . dus pour ladicte annee 1585." As was often the case, more than one tax was levied on the same list of inhabitants. Although the crown called for this levy in 1585, it is referred to throughout this study as the solde of 1586, since its title clearly indicates that it was collected in that year.

history, as has been shown by the discussion in the preceding chapter. Some of the changes occurring in Bourges's population during this interval should be reflected in these rolls.

The questions one may ask of these rolls are, of course, limited by the information found in them. Since these documents were drawn up solely for collecting a tax, they contain far less detailed information than that found in a modern census. One of the most important groups within the city, the clergy, is not listed in these documents, because its privileged status exempted it from this tax, as from most direct impositions. Nor do the rolls list all the city's remaining residents. Only the name of each taxpayer is given.

Despite such limitations, which are common to most early modern censuses, one can still glean a good bit of information about the city's population. The rolls reveal the quarter, parish, and frequently the street on which each taxpayer lived, as well as the taxpayer's name and sex. In many instances, occupations or titles are listed as well. The rolls also contain an important indication of the relative wealth of the city's taxpayers, reflected in the amount each of them paid to the solde.[10] However,

---

[10]For an explanation of why these payments can be accepted as a reliable indicator of wealth, see below, Chapter VI, pp. 167-69.

these rolls are useful only if the information one contains is comparable to the information found in the other. It is thus necessary to determine how the solde was assessed and levied in each year.

Like the taille, the solde was an impôt de répartition; its amount was set by the crown when the tax was levied. This amount was then divided among the various cities of the realm. In fixing the quota for any city, the crown was obliged to consider the city's resources; if the city thought its share was too great, it was free to bargain (remonstrer) for a reduction. Once final quotas were determined, it was the responsibility of the city to partition its share among its taxpayers and to supervise the collection.[11]

Bourges's share of the solde for 50,000 foot soldiers called for by Henry II in 1557 was 3,400 livres tournois.[12] The archives contain sufficient information about this levy to shed light on how payments were determined. On 9 January, 1557, the city held a general assembly to select

---

[11]The solde appears to have been levied similarly to the taille. For a discussion of how the taille was collected, see Wolfe, pp. 304-16. Also Doucet, Institutions, II, 562-67.

[12]AMB, CC 8. The total given at the end of the roll is 3,552 livres and three sous tz., but that includes the expenses involved in levying the tax. The amount requested by the crown was exactly 3,400 livres.

those persons who would supervise and approve the partitioning of the tax among the city's residents. Seventeen persons were chosen. The mayor and four échevins represented the municipality; four procureurs from the local presidial seat and a royal notary represented the crown; a lawyer, another procureur, and seven merchants were also present, probably as representatives of the residents of the city. A royal bailiff presided over the session.[13]

To ensure that each taxpayer paid a fair share of the imposition, it was necessary for the assembly to enlist the aid of persons with more detailed knowledge about the wealth of the city's residents. This task was assigned to six municipal sergeants. Each was instructed to obtain specific information about the resources of residents in the quarter of the city over which he had jurisdiction. If necessary, the sergeants were told ". . . to ask persons in every street of the city to assist. . . in the said tax and

---

[13]Information concerning the soldes of 1557 and 1586 can be found in several places in the city's archives. Series BB, 6, and BB, 10, contain the minutes of the city council meetings, including the ones summoned to authorize the collection of these impositions. Series CC, 362, the municipal accounts for 1586, list the expenses involved in collecting the 1586 solde. The most useful information is found at the beginning of each of the rolls.

to inform us of the means of their neighbors."[14] The assembly thus used not only municipal officials, but also private citizens, in its efforts to obtain accurate appraisals of wealth. The amount each taxpayer was to pay was relayed to the city's secretary who, with the aid of clerks, prepared the rolls for each quarter and parish.[15]

The solde of 1586 was levied in a similar fashion, although fewer persons attended the municipal assembly that approved the collection of this smaller imposition of 500 écus (1,500 livres tournois).[16] In addition to the mayor and four échevins, only one representative from each of the city's four quarters was present. The municipal sergeants, assisted by the concierge de la ville, again determined the amount each taxpayer would contribute. These men were aided, as in 1557, by private citizens, since the assembly directed that funds be set aside to

---

[14] AMB, CC 8. ". . . querir des personnes de chacunes des Rues delad. ville pour assister avec nous alad. taxe et nous faire certains de la faculte de leur voisin."

[15] AMB, CC 8.

[16] AMB, CC 25. The city was able to remonstrate successfully against the 1,000 écus originally demanded by the crown and reduce this amount by one-half. However, a total of 630 écus, 25 sous tz. was collected. The expenses of collecting this tax were considerably greater than the expenses of collecting the 1557 solde.

pay ". . . those who have been sent out in order to assist in the said assessment and to inform us of the means of the persons taxed."[17]

Thus, in both 1557 and 1586, the city compiled rolls for levying impositions on each of its taxpayers. The amount paid by each taxpayer was based on information that municipal officials, assisted by private citizens, could acquire about the taxpayer's wealth. No permanent list, or master roll, of the assets and liabilities of each taxpayer was compiled and maintained for reference. The information recorded in each roll should be accurate for the year in which the roll was drawn up.

Since each of the taxpayers on these rolls serves as a unit for the purpose of studying changes in Bourges's population, it is important to determine who these taxpayers were. It is tempting to assume that each was the head of a household, but analyses of other fiscal censuses have shown that households were not always the unit on which a tax was levied.[18] The nature of those units listed on each roll must thus be carefully considered.

---

[17]AMB, CC 25. ". . . despance faict par ceulx qui este envoyez querir pour assister a ladicte cottisation et nous donner cognoissance de la faculte des personnes."

[18]Goubert, Beauvais, p. 251, discusses briefly the ambiguity of a simple word such as "feu" when used to describe the units listed in a fiscal census. Other scholars have pointed out similar problems. For a

Information drawn directly from the rolls offers the best evidence for determining the nature of those units. In a few instances, it does appear that a unit other than the household was assessed for the solde. The most obvious example occurs when wealth was held jointly. For example, a few entries begin by designating that the unit taxed is made up of the "heirs" of a particular person. Very likely, the unit in this instance was the estate of a recently deceased resident whose goods had not yet been divided among the heirs. In other words, a common patrimony was taxed. However, such entries are extremely rare, and occur in both 1557 and 1586.[19] They should thus do little to alter the relative number of entries on each roll. Occasionally a wife is listed with her husband, suggesting that she may have controlled wealth independently (perhaps in custody for a minor child or by an earlier marriage?).[20] But such a practice would not alter the number of households, assuming husband and wife lived together.

---

discussion of why early modern tax rolls can be used (if proper caution is taken) as demographic sources, see Jacques Dupâquier, "Démographie et sources fiscales," ADH (1966), pp. 233-39.

[19]Only nine such households were found in the rolls: three in 1557 and six in 1586.

[20]Only nineteen such households were found in the rolls: eight in 1557 and eleven in 1586.

It thus appears safe to assume that all but a few of the taxpayers on each roll were heads of households. This assumption can be tested by plotting the number of taxpayers listed on various streets of the city. If most of these taxpayers were heads of household, there should be at least a rough correlation between the length of a street and the number of taxpayers residing on it. This correlation would not exist if some other unit (e.g., common patrimony) formed the majority of the units taxed. While it is possible that between 1557 and 1586 streets may have been lengthened or shortened, new houses built, or old ones torn down or subdivided, there is nevertheless sufficient correlation between the length of several streets and the number of units listed on those streets to support the argument that these units were households.[21] Since those taxpayers too poverty-stricken to contribute to the solde are labelled "mendicant" and those whose privileged position kept them from contributing are labelled "exempt," it is safe to assume that all of the

---

[21]The Rue Bourbonnoux, which stretched from the Porte St. Prive to the Porte Bourbonnoux; and the Rue d'Auron, which stretched from the Porte d'Auron to the base of the Gallo-Roman walls, are two good examples. One can be sure that these streets were not altered between 1557 and 1586 since they are still important thoroughfares and are identical on modern and sixteenth-century maps. In 1557, the Rue Bourbonnoux had 256 households; in 1586, 229. The number for the Rue d'Auron was 117 and 115, respectively.

city's households are included.[22] Analysis of these two documents should thus provide information about the city's households that can be safely compared.

C. Patterns of Population: Urban Topography

The first question to ask of the information in these rolls is whether any change in the number of Bourges's households occurred between 1557 and 1586. This question can be answered by counting the entries on each roll. The 1557 solde lists 3,507 households, while the roll prepared in 1586 lists only 3,075. These figures show a loss of 432 households, or a decline of 12.3 percent. Bourges thus lost approximately one-eighth of its households during the first two and one-half decades of the wars.[23] An

---

[22]In 1557, there were sixty-three households labelled as "mendicant" on the roll of the solde; in 1586, only nine. In the former year, thirty-two households were exempted from the solde; in the latter, sixty-three.

[23]It is tempting to try to convert the loss of households into loss of population by estimating a mean household size (MHS) for both 1557 and 1586. However, given the great temporal and spatial variation of MHS in preindustrial Europe, this would be risky. J. C. Russell, "Recent Advances in Medieval Demography," Speculum, XL (1965), 84-101, suggests that the number of women heading households in a town is a guide to MHS. Since such women likely lived alone, a large number of these households (10 or 15 percent of the total households in the city) would indicate that the MHS was small. By the same logic, a large number of extended households (those with more than one head) would probably indicate a large MHS. In Bourges, figures are too similar for each year to be helpful. In 1557, 15.6 percent of the city's households were headed by women; in 1586,

examination of the changes in the distribution of these households among different areas of the city offers some insight into the role war played in this decline.

The parish is the most obvious administrative unit into which Bourges's households can be grouped. However, since parish lines frequently cut across important social and economic areas of the city, this unit has been avoided as the exclusive basis of analysis. Instead, the city has been divided into three areas based on more distinct topographical and socioeconomic boundaries than parish lines ordinarily followed.[24]

As in most medieval and Renaissance cities, Bourges's wealthiest districts were concentrated near its center, on

---

13.9. In the former year, 4.9 percent of the households had more than one head; in the latter, 2.1 percent. These figures would seem to point to a fairly small MHS for both years, although changes from one year to another are impossible to estimate.

In relation to other cities of the realm, Bourges's size on the eve of the Wars of Religion placed it at the third or fourth level of French towns. Paris occupied first place, while Rouen and Lyon vied for second. Following these three came a large number of provincial capitals, of which Bourges was one. In 1557, the city was very close to the size of the neighboring town of Poitiers, where a 1552 solde lists 3,230 households. See Gérard Jarousseau, "Une rôle d'imposition de Poitiers en 1552: étude des structures sociales et économiques de la ville," BPH (1965), p. 482. Cited hereafter as Jarousseau. For the estimated population of several other sixteenth-century French towns see Chandler and Fox, pp. 15-16.

[24]Figure 2 and Figure 3 (pp. 18 and 20) should be consulted while reading the following discussion. The terms "cité," "ville," and "faubourgs" used for these three areas in this discussion are used throughout the remainder of the study.

the high ground that sloped north and west from the cathedral. This area, the cité, covered 26 hectares. On this site, the ancient city of Avaricum had been located. In the sixteenth century, it was still enclosed by the remains of the Gallo-Roman walls. The cité was composed of five parishes—St. Austrillet, Notre Dame de Fourchault, St. Pierre-le-Puellier, St. Hippolyte, and Montermoyen. Most of its households were located near its northern end, while its southern end was dominated by the Great Tower, the cathedral, the archepiscopal palace, and several small religious houses. Beyond the cité, stretching still farther toward the north and west, was the medieval city, or ville, surrounded on three sides by extensive twelfth-century fortifications. The ville was Bourges's largest area, enclosing 89 hectares and containing all of the parishes of St. Pierre-le-Marché, St. Bonnet, St. Jean des Champs, St. Croix, St. Fulgent, and parts of St. Médard, St. Pierre-le-Guillard, St. Ambroix, and St. Ursin. The remainder of the last four parishes lay outside the city's medieval walls where, with the parishes of the Château and St. Privé, they formed the city's sprawling faubourgs. On Bourges's southern side, the faubourgs were exclusively agricultural, inhabited largely by the métayers who tended the lands belonging to the city's religious houses and bourgeoisie. The northern faubourgs—particularly the

large faubourg St. Sulpice—were more industrial, supporting in the early sixteenth century a number of textile workers. Farther north, the village of Asnières, populated almost exclusively by vignerons (vineyard workers), was also included in Bourges's faubourgs, although it lay nearly a league from the walls. Only to the east, where the swamp approached the walls, was the adjacent countryside uninhabited.

The distribution of the city's households among these three areas—the cité, ville, and faubourgs—in 1557 and 1586 is presented in Table 4. The number of households decreased in each area, but the rate of this decrease differed greatly. The losses of the ville were relatively small—only 3.6 percent—while the cité lost a larger 15.2 percent of its households. However, Bourges's faubourgs bore the brunt of this decline. By 1586, 35.8 percent of the more than eight hundred households present in this area in 1557 had disappeared.[25]

---

[25]It was not unusual for a large portion of the population of an early modern city to live outside the walls, although the percentage in Bourges appears rather large. However, this only reinforces the comments of contemporaries about the "rural" nature of the city. Pierre Deyon, Amiens, capitale provinciale: étude sur la société urbaine au XVIIe siècle (Paris: La Haye, Mouton, et Cie, 1967), p. 7, says that in the early eighteenth century, 1,404 of Amiens' 8,442 households (16.6 percent) were outside the walls.

When the rolls of 1557 and 1586 were compiled, the parts of a parish that lay within Bourges's walls were

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS BY AREA OF CITY, 1557-1586[a]

Area of City	Frequency 1557	Frequency 1586	Percentage 1557	Percentage 1586	Absolute Change	Percentage Change
Cité	396	336	11.3	10.9	- 60	-15.2
Ville	2,303	2,220	65.7	72.2	- 83	- 3.6
Faubourgs	808	519	23.0	16.9	-289	-35.8
All of city	3,507	3,075	100.0	100.0	-432	-12.3

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

The contraction of Bourges's faubourgs points clearly to war as the major cause of decline. Neither plague nor famine would have affected this area of the city more severely than it affected the cité or the ville. Narrative sources reveal that the siege of 1562, when the faubourgs were razed, caused the greatest destruction to this area. But additional destruction occurred in 1576, when the city was blockaded during its dispute with the crown. And throughout the struggles, this area was always more vulnerable to passing troops than were the more sheltered areas of the city.[26]

Additional evidence from the rolls permits some speculation about the fate of the households in the faubourgs. Many of them probably disappeared permanently, but some may have sought safety behind the city's walls. Table 5, in which the city's households are grouped into parishes, reveals that three of Bourges's sixteen parishes—St. Bonnet, St. Ambroix, and St. Fulgent—actually gained households between 1557 and 1586. All three of these parishes were located in the ville, and shared common topographical features. St. Bonnet and St. Ambroix were

---

usually divided from the parts that lay outside. In the one instance in which this was not done (St. Ursin in 1557), it was possible to determine this division by consulting a map of the city's streets.

[26]See above, Chapter IV, pp. 70, 73-74.

TABLE 5

FREQUENCY OF HOUSEHOLDS BY PARISH, 1557-1586[a]

Parish	Frequency 1557	Frequency 1586	Absolute Change	Percentage Change
St. Ambroix	173	184	+11	+ 6.4
St. Austrillet	79	65	-14	-17.7
St. Bonnet	471	484	+13	+ 2.8
Château	208	141	-67	-32.2
St. Croix	35	28	- 7	-20.0
Notre Dame du Fourchault	187	165	-22	-11.8
St. Fulgent	226	251	+25	+11.1
St. Hippolyte	44	44	± 0	± 0.0
St. Jean des Champs	157	130	-27	-17.2
St. Médard	394	317	-77	-19.5
St. Pierre-le-Marché	256	226	-30	-11.7
St. Pierre-le-Guillard	594	510	-84	-14.1
St. Pierre-le-Puellier	52	42	-10	-19.2
Montermoyen	34	20	-14	-46.7
St. Privé	268	209	-59	-22.0
St. Ursin	329	259	-70	-21.3
TOTAL	3,507	3,075	-432	-12.3

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

inside the northern walls, where the marshy land of the pré fichaud formed a part of each parish. St. Fulgent was inside the southwestern walls, near the point where the Auron approached the city. It included a part of the low land along the river banks. Each of these three parishes thus contained a considerable amount of protected if otherwise undesirable land. While the gains of these parishes were more modest than the losses of the faubourgs, their growth likely reflects the movement of persons inside the city's walls. Protection from the armies that plundered the open regions of the duchy was obviously preferable to the insecurity of living on the unsheltered if better land that lay outside the walls.[27]

Despite the wars, the faubourgs were far from abandoned. Although the siege of 1562 destroyed all the households in this area and subsequent problems prevented many of them from reappearing, considerable recovery nevertheless occurred by 1586. Almost two-thirds of the number of households in this area before the wars had reappeared by that year. A closer look at the differing rates of recovery in the southern and northern faubourgs offers a clue to understanding the impact of the wars on Bourges's economic life.

---

[27]The possibility of immigration into these parishes is discussed in more detail in Chapter VI, pp. 208-09.

Changes in the number of households in Bourges's southern faubourgs and its northern faubourgs are presented and contrasted in Table 6. The two regions differed greatly. In the heavily agricultural southern faubourgs, there were approximately one-third fewer households in 1586 than in 1557. This is true of each of the parishes or parts of parishes making up this area. Since this side of the city was most lacking in natural defenses, it should have proved especially vulnerable to war.[28]

Bourges's northern faubourgs, however, suffered greater losses. The faubourg St. Sulpice, formed by that portion of the parish St. Médard lying outside the walls, was some 72.7 percent smaller in 1586 than in 1557, while the small faubourg of the parish St. Ambroix disappeared altogether. The especially heavy losses in this area may have been linked to the misfortunes of the powerful Benedictine monastery of St. Sulpice, whose jurisdiction extended over the entire faubourg. St. Sulpice had been severely sacked and pillaged during the summer of 1562. However, this faubourg was also a center of textile production, and the problems of war may have served only to

---

[28]The heavy damage suffered by this area of the faubourgs, especially the parish of the Château, is mentioned in Nicolay, p. 28.

TABLE 6

FREQUENCY OF HOUSEHOLDS BY AREA OF FAUBOURGS, 1557-1586[a]

		Frequency 1557	Frequency 1586	Absolute Change	Percentage Change
I.	Southern Faubourgs				
	A. Faubourg de Bourbonnoux	332	222	-110	- 33.1
	a. Parish St. Ursin	124	81	- 43	- 34.7
	b. Parish du Château	208	141	- 67	- 32.2
	B. Faubourg d'Auron (Parish St. Pierre-le-Guillard)	83	58	- 25	- 30.1
	C. TOTAL (A + B)	415	280	-135	- 32.5
II.	Northern Faubourgs				
	A. Faubourg St. Sulpice	125	30	- 95	- 76.0
	a. Parish St. Médard	110	30	- 80	- 72.7
	b. Parish St. Ambroix	15	0	- 15	-100.0
	B. Faubourg St. Privé	268	209	- 59	- 22.0
	a. Parish St. Privé (exclusive of Asnières)	160	74	- 86	- 53.8
	b. Village d'Asnières	108	135	+ 27	+ 25.0
	C. TOTAL				
	a. A + B	393	239	-154	- 39.2
	b. A + B (exclusive of Asnières)	285	104	-181	- 63.5

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

reinforce the problems of this industry before the wars broke out.[29]

The losses of the faubourg St. Privé, which formed the city's northeastern fringes, were a less heavy 22.0 percent. At first glance, it seems reasonable to attribute this relatively good fortune to the parish's isolation. Wedged between the walls of the city and several small arms of the Yevre and the swamp, St. Privé appears less vulnerable than other portions of the faubourgs. However, a closer look at this parish reveals that its smaller losses are misleading. St. Privé was divided into two parts: (1) a section that stretched along the Yevre immediately adjacent to the city's walls, and (2) the small village of Asnières, located farther to the north and east, just off the road to Sancerre and well away from the ramparts. The first section of the parish suffered severe losses, declining by 53.8 percent. The village of Asnières, however, not only failed to decline, but actually increased its households some 25.0 percent.

---

[29]Raynal, IV, 43-44, discusses the special vengeance meted out to St. Sulpice following the overthrow of the city in the summer of 1562. The Protestant captain in charge of the city, d'Yvoy, had been an unsuccessful candidate for abbott of the monastery before his conversion to Calvinism. One of his first acts was to destroy all records of dues and tithes owed to St. Sulpice. Thierry de Brimont, I, 279-81.

How did one isolated village in the city's unprotected faubourgs not only fail to decline in size but actually grow during more than two decades of warfare that took a heavy toll elsewhere in this area? The answer to this question probably lies in the village's devout Protestantism. Asnières had become a center of the reformed religion very early, and remained strongly Protestant until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, avoiding periodic persecutions such as those suffered by more important centers of French Calvinism. Its growth between 1557 and 1586 likely reflects a small-scale Protestant immigration from the persecution occurring in larger towns and cities.[30]

The growth of the village of Asnières is a striking exception to the failure of the faubourgs to regain their pre-war size following the siege of 1562. When this village is omitted, an obvious pattern appears: those

---

[30]For the participation of the residents of Asnières in the capture of the city by Protestants in 1562, see Chapter IV, p. 62, f. n. 12. The village was apparently saved from the St. Bartholomew's Massacre by a fluke; when enraged Catholics left Bourges to murder Asnières' Protestants, they were met before their arrival by Catholics from the village who saved the lives of their Protestant neighbors by claiming to have already done the job. At the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, there were still some 700 to 800 Protestants living in the village, ". . . tous vignerons, plus entêtés que les autres." Raynal, IV, 112; 403.

parts of this area most rural in nature—the southern faubourgs—regained their heavy losses more readily than did the more industrialized faubourgs farther north. The textile industry, already in decline when the wars broke out, did not offer sufficient profit to encourage the rebuilding of the faubourg St. Sulpice. By disrupting the normal patterns of trade, war undoubtedly worsened this industry's problems. Agriculture, more basic to the city's survival than industry, was maintained with greater tenacity. Such, at least, is the hypothesis suggested by an examination of how Bourges's faubourgs were affected by the wars. This hypothesis perhaps can be confirmed by turning to the most important information the rolls of the solde contain about Bourges's economic life—the occupations of its heads of households.

D. Patterns of Population: Occupations

Before turning to an examination of Bourges's occupations, one should consider any problems with the occupational data contained in the rolls. In 1586, the solde lists occupations for 37.9 percent of the city's taxpayers, a larger percentage than is usually found in documents of this nature. The data from the 1557 roll is, unfortunately, more typical of early modern fiscal censuses, since in that year occupational information is given for

only 6.9 percent of the city's taxpayers. The greatest distortion to this data results from the tendency of those who compiled these rolls to include the occupations of the city's wealthier taxpayers more frequently than the occupations of its poorer ones. The data thus over-represents the wealthy parishes near the center of the city, where in 1586 occupations for more than 60 percent of the taxpayers are included. The data under-represents the city's poor faubourgs, where occupations are given for less than 10 percent in the same year. Both over-representation of wealthy households and under-representation of poor households are greater in 1557 than in 1586. Thus any changes in the city's occupational structure that run counter to this bias should be noted carefully.[31]

One way of determining whether the data in these rolls is even roughly accurate is by comparing it with similar data from other sixteenth-century cities. Table 7, in which the occupational structure of five additional cities is compared with the occupational structure of Bourges,

---

[31]The wealth of the city's occupations is treated more extensively in Chapter VI. The exception to the above rule is the merchants, one of the city's wealthiest occupations. The reason for this exception is that whoever compiled the roll of the solde in 1557 simply failed to use "merchant" as an occupational label in a single instance. The eight taxpayers identified as such in that roll were among the persons attending the assembly that met to supervise the collection of the solde. They were identified as "merchants" at that time.

TABLE 7

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF SELECTED SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CITIES BY PERCENTAGE[a]

Occupational Grouping	Norwich 1569	Verona 1545	Nördlingen 1579	Poitiers 1552	Lyon 1545	Bourges 1557	Bourges 1586
A. Agriculture and alimentary trades	9.7[b]	21.6	13.9	17.6	16.1	16.6	22.6
B. Textiles and clothing	36.2	32.9	32.8	15.1	12.0	20.3	16.1
C. Leather and skins	11.8	9.5	20.2	9.6	8.6	7.1	10.5
D. Construction	9.1	5.9	4.0	8.4	7.7	10.0	7.6
E. Metalwork	5.2	5.1	7.2	4.5	4.5	2.9	4.1
F. Transport	1.4	3.5	2.4	0.9	4.5	4.1	3.5
G. Liberal professions	1.8	4.5	3.4	2.5	8.2	5.4	6.5
H. Administration and police	NA[c]	3.6	3.2	14.4	NA[c]	19.9	13.3
I. All others	12.8	13.4	12.9	27.0	38.4	13.7	15.8

[a]Figures for Norwich are taken from J. F. Pound, "The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575," PP, XXXIV (1966), 65-66 (Appendix I); for Verona, from Amelio Tagliaferri, L'economia veronese secondo gli estimi dal 1409 al 1635 (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1966), pp. 121-72 (Tables 53, 57, 60, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73); for Nördlingen, figures are derived from Christopher Friedrichs, Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580-1720 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 312-20 (Appendix II); for Poitiers, from Gérard Jarousseau, "Une rôle d'imposition de Poitiers en 1552: étude des structures sociales et économiques de la ville," BPH (1962), p. 492; for Lyon, Richard Gascon, Grand commerce et la vie urbaine au seizième siècle: Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520-environs de 1580) (2 vols., Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1971), I, 381-406; II, 902-05 (Annexe II.3.); for Bourges, the figures are derived from AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

[b]This figure does not include Norwich's grocers, who made up 12.0 percent of the city's labor force in 1569.

[c]Information not available.

does seem to indicate that the information from Bourges is credible. There are noticeable differences, but these can be explained by the differences in the economic life of these cities. For example, the relatively larger number of persons working in textiles and clothing in the first three cities in this table can be attributed to the importance of these cities as major centers for the production of worsteds, which (as seen in Chapter II) had come to dominate the woolens market by the mid-sixteenth century.[32] The number of persons in the liberal professions is large in Bourges (second only to Lyon) because of the presence of a major university in the city. Perhaps the best reason for trusting these data is the similarity between the occupational structure of Bourges and the neighboring town of Poitiers.[33]

The number of persons working in each of the city's occupations is listed in Appendix D. The most logical way to begin an analysis of changes in Bourges's occupational structure is to determine what occupations appear most frequently on this list. In Table 8, the ten most frequently

---

[32]See Chapter II, pp. 37-39.

[33]See Table 7. The 1552 roll of the solde, which forms the basis of Jarousseau's study of Poitiers, lists occupations for almost 70 percent of the city's taxpayers. Poitiers, like Bourges, was also an important administrative center and provincial capital.

TABLE 8

TEN MOST FREQUENTLY OCCURRING OCCUPATIONS, 1557-1586[a]

1557			1586		
Occupation	Rank	Frequency	Occupation	Rank	Frequency
Royal sergeant	1	18	Viticulturalist	1	120
Viticulturalist	2[b]	17	Merchant	2	69
Couturier	2[b]	17	Royal sergeant	3	41
Mason	3	9	Shoe repairman	4	39
Carder	4[b]	8	Baker	5[b]	37
Weaver	4[b]	8	Couturier	5[b]	37
Joiner	4[b]	8	Tailor	6	31
Merchant	4[b]	8	Shoemaker	7	30
Councilor	5	7	Lawyer	8	28
Book dealer	6[b]	6	Carder	9[b]	26
Apothecary	6[b]	6	Joiner	9[b]	26

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

[b]Tied.

occurring occupations in the city are listed for both 1557 and 1586. In 1586, the vignerons are most numerous, trailed distantly by merchants. In 1557, vignerons are a close second. The importance of viticulture in Bourges's economic life as revealed in the solde thus reinforces the emphasis placed on the importance of viticulture by narrative sources.[34] In Table 9, the city's occupations are grouped under the fifteen general headings used in Appendix D. In 1586, viticultural and agricultural workers comprised 10.5 percent of the occupations listed in the solde. Since most of these workers were extremely poor, this group is undoubtedly under-represented in the data. A figure at least twice as great is perhaps more nearly accurate. A general estimate would be that at least one-fifth of Bourges's households earned their living directly from the soil.[35]

A second group of occupations that provided the livelihood for many of the city's households was the alimentary trades. Bakers, who in both years comprise over

---

[34]See above, Chapter II, p. 22.

[35]This estimate seems reasonable when one remembers that the city's southern faubourgs, plus the village of Asnières, contained over five hundred households, nearly all of which were devoted to agriculture or viticulture, but unrepresented among those occupations listed in the soldes. Whatever the total number of these households, they are surely under-represented in the rolls.

TABLE 9

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS, 1557-1586[a]

	Occupational Groupings	1557 Frequency	1557 Percentage	1586 Frequency	1586 Percentage
I.	Viticulture and agriculture	18	7.5	122	10.5
II.	Alimentary trades	22	9.1	141	12.1
III.	Textiles	25	10.3	95	8.1
IV.	Clothing	24	10.0	93	8.0
V.	Leather and hides	17	7.1	122	10.5
VI.	Construction	24	10.0	96	8.2
VII.	Metal and arms	7	2.9	48	4.1
VIII.	Transport	10	4.1	41	3.5
IX.	Other crafts and trades	11	4.6	56	4.8
X.	Day laborers and domestic servants	3	1.2	15	1.3
XI.	Artists and intellectuals	11	4.6	33	2.8
XII.	Health	8	3.3	25	2.1
XIII.	Law	5	2.1	51	4.4
XIV.	Merchants and bourgeoisie	8	3.3	73	6.3
XV.	Administration and police	48	19.9	155	13.3
	TOTAL	241	100.0	1,166	100.0
	Data	1557 - 241/3,507 = 6.9%			
		1586 - 1,166/3,075 = 37.9%			

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

25 percent of the households in this group, are its most numerous members. This is not surprising, when one remembers that the average person probably consumed over two pounds of bread each day. In sixteenth-century Bourges, buying one's bread was less expensive than making it, since grain could be purchased only from designated markets in the city and was subject to an aide. The city's bakers, however, bought their grain from mills outside the walls, avoiding this imposition.[36] Several innkeepers and tavern keepers also appear in this group. A number of persons who peddled a variety of victuals in the city's streets and marketplaces are also included. Among these are several coquatiers (butter and egg dealers). It is worth noting that the latter are more numerous than those who dealt in olive oil, the huilliers. This suggests that butter—not oil—supplied the city's population with its fats, a dietary trait linking Bourges to northern France, rather than to the Mediterranean.

The data can also shed light on Bourges's troubled textile industry. Among the ten most frequently listed

---

[36] Taillemitte, p. 116. Gascon, Grand commerce, I, 383, says that the opposite was true in sixteenth-century Lyon, where grain was directly available to the city's residents, free of any tax. As a result, bakers in Lyon made up only 11 percent of the occupations included in the alimentary trades—less than one-half the percentage of bakers in Bourges.

occupations in the city in 1557 are carders and weavers, who in Table 8 are tied for fourth place with two other occupations. By 1586, only the carders are found among the city's ten most frequently listed trades, and they have sunk to last place. Overall, as revealed in Table 9, textile workers declined in relation to the city's other occupations. Declining almost as rapidly was the clothing industry, whose fate would likely have been linked to that of textiles.

More surprising than the decline in the number of Bourges's textile workers are the relatively few households involved in this industry. For a city whose reputation for centuries had been based on its woolens trade, this percentage seems small. Of all the cities listed in Table 7, only Poitiers and Lyon have fewer households employed in the manufacture of textiles, and neither of these cities had ever been important woolens centers. Even if the number of textile workers is increased by as much as one-fourth to allow for distortion in the data, the results remain well below the other cities in this table.

Had Bourges's woolens industry declined so rapidly by the sixteenth century that it was no longer able to provide work for the large number of persons a thriving textile industry usually employed? Or had the size of the industry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries been exaggerated,

owing perhaps to the prominence of "cloth of Bourges" on the international market during these years?

The city's woolens industry was undoubtedly in decline by the late sixteenth century. On this point, both narrative and documentary sources agree. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that this industry, even at its peak in the late middle ages, employed as large a percentage of the city's population as did the textile industries of many other cities. First, Bourges's industry was completely regional, dependent on the surrounding countryside for the wool it consumed. Unlike the industries of Flanders or northern Italy, which imported great quantities of foreign wool, the size of Bourges's industry was largely controlled by geography; the plain of Berry could support only a limited number of sheep, despite market demands. Second, Bourges's woolens industry had always produced a luxury cloth that sold best on the late medieval market. Quality, not quantity, was the industry's emphasis.[37] Finally, the city's reluctance to mechanize its industry by adopting the fulling mill probably limited the number of persons that could be employed. While more fullers could find work, the industry could not support a large number of carders and weavers, since the unfinished cloth

---

[37]See Chapter II, pp. 29-32.

would have accumulated more rapidly than it could be fulled.[38] Despite the reputation of "cloth of Bourges," the production of textiles probably never involved a greater percentage of the city's population than did the textile industry in many other woolens centers. And when compared to the centers of the worsted industry, such as Norwich or Nördlingen, Bourges's industry was significantly smaller.

The decline of the textile and clothing industries between 1557 and 1586, coupled with the growth of the

---

[38]The high ratio of fullers to weavers and carders as late as 1586—after the fulling mill had been introduced to the city—supports this conclusion. Of those workers in woolens in that year, carders made up 27.4 percent; weavers, 23.2 percent; and fullers, 20.0 percent. In fifteenth-century Florence, where the fulling mill had long been in use, there were more than twice as many weavers as fullers and nearly twice as many carders as fullers. David Herlihy, "The Distribution of Wealth in a Renaissance Community: Florence in 1427," Philip Abrams and E. A. Wrigley, eds., Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 148 (Table 1). Cited hereafter as Herlihy, "Distribution of Wealth."

Resistance to the adoption of the fulling mill was strong in many regions of Europe during the late middle ages. See Jean Gimpel, The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1976), pp. 15-16. For resistance to the fulling machine in the Flemish cities see David Nicholas, Town and Countryside: Social, Economic, and Political Tensions in Fourteenth Century Flanders (Bruges: De Tempel, 1971), pp. 78-79. Taillemitte, p. 45, mentions resistance in Bourges, where the city council approved the mill only in the early 1500's, and where the first mill within the city's walls did not appear until 1560. There were, however, such mills in the faubourg St. Sulpice before that date. These were under the control of the

agricultural and alimentary trades, appears to confirm the hypothesis suggested by the patterns of decline noted earlier in the faubourgs. Food production and food distribution increased between these years, while the textile and clothing industries—that sector of the city's economy geared directly to the export trade—declined in importance. The distortion in the data will not permit one to measure the extent of this change, but such change seems undeniable. Given the bias in the data, poorer occupations should appear with greater frequency in the 1586 roll, yet these findings reveal the opposite. Textile workers were, as a group, far poorer than those who worked in the alimentary trades, yet appear in relatively greater numbers in the 1557 roll.[39]

Most of the remaining occupations appearing on the rolls are typical of those found in other preindustrial cities. A large number of households was employed in the processing of skins and hides and in the manufacture of leather goods. In 1586, most of the persons in this group

---

monastery, which appears to have been less reluctant to permit their use than was the city council. In the surrounding countryside, there were also a few fulling mills, including one at the little town of Mehun-sur-Yevre, between Bourges and Vierzon.

[39]Between 1615 and 1652, when the Thirty Years' War was disrupting the economic life of Nördlingen, a similar shift occurred in that city's occupational structure. See Friedrichs, Nördlingen, pp. 81-84.

were either shoemakers (cordonniers) or shoe repairmen (savetiers), two related but carefully distinguished trades.[40] The production of parchment, an important by-product of the woolens industry, also occupied some households in this group, but there were relatively few parchment makers (parcheminiers). Cattle hides were the most important material with which members of this group worked. Municipal ordinances designed to regulate shoe making and shoe repairing required their use in both these trades.[41] However, few cattle were raised on the plain of Berry, since the large number of sheep made such an undertaking difficult.[42]

The source of the cattle sold in Bourges in the late sixteenth century was very likely the provinces of the

---

[40]For a discussion of the regulations governing both the cordonniers and the savetiers, see E. Toubeau de Maisonneuve, Les anciennes corporations ouvrières a Bourges: cayer des reiglemens et ordonnances sur plusieurs estats et mestiers de personnes demourantes en la ville et faulxbourgs de Bourges, 1561 à 1633 (Bourges: Pigelet et Fils et Tardy, 1888), pp. 1-20; 21-29. Cited hereafter as Toubeau de Maisonneuve, Cayer des reiglemens. Cordonniers, the wealthier of the two trades, were allowed to repair shoes in some instances, but under no circumstances were the savetiers permitted to make shoes.

[41]Toubeau de Maisonneuve, Cayer des reiglemens, p. 4. Both cow skin and calf skin are specified for use by the shoemakers.

[42]Taillemitte, p. 45, cites the livestock holdings on several métairies near Bourges. In each instance, sheep outnumber cattle by between ten and twenty to one.

Marche-Limousin and the Auvergne just to the south of the duchy of Berry. These remote and mountainous regions were the center of a thriving cattle industry that provided most of the animals sold on the important Lyon market.[43] Bourges was equally accessible to this region, and the percentage of workers employed in processing skins and hides was as great as that of the larger city, as revealed in Table 7 (p. 147). It is worth noting that saddle makers (selliers) increased between 1557 and 1586, and harness makers (bourreliers), absent from the first roll, number eleven in the second. It is possible that such changes result from nothing more than differences in the way those compiling these rolls chose to list occupations. But it is also possible that the wars were stimulating the demand for both these commodities.

The importance of Bourges as a center of various administrative services is obvious when one glances at the number of occupations listed each year under the heading of "administration and police." Although this group is undoubtedly over-represented in the data owing to its wealth, its members nevertheless make up a sizeable portion of Bourges's labor force. The 1586 figure of 13.3 percent may not be far from accurate; it is, at least, very close to the size of this group in Poitiers, another important

---

[43]Gascon, Grand commerce, I, 107; 129.

administrative center of the kingdom.[44] All those involved in administering or policing the city—royal, municipal, and ducal officials—are listed, but the predominance of royal officials is clear when the figures for Bourges and Poitiers are compared with the figures in Table 7 (p. 147) for Verona and Nördlingen, where there was no crown to influence urban life. Less than 4 percent of the residents of the latter cities held similar positions. Such a comparison suggests that the numerous procureurs, royal sergeants, lieutenants, fiscal officials, and other administrators employed in the service of the crown were capable of more than quadrupling the size of an urban bureaucracy.

The increase in the size of the legal profession, whose numbers leaped from 2.2 to 4.3 percent of the occupations appearing in the rolls, should be noted last. Such an increase supports the generally accepted thesis that lawyers were rapidly rising to a position of influence in the late-sixteenth-century French city.[45]

---

[44] See Table 7.

[45] The emergence of lawyers to a position of importance in urban life in the late sixteenth century was accelerated by the late Valois kings' desperate need for cash. This need prompted them to expand the number of offices within the royal bureaucracy and to turn to venality as a means of raising revenues. Members of the legal profession purchased these offices in large numbers, joining the nobility

It would be possible to continue to examine each of Bourges's professions and trades, developing arguments to support changes in the size of each. One might argue, for example, that the increase in the number of those working in the metal and armaments trades resulted from a demand for weapons created by the wars, or that the decline in the size of the number involved in construction resulted from an end to a period of pre-war growth. But such attempts to push this analysis further would stretch the limitations of the data and probably yield uncertain results. What can be pointed to with certainty is the large variety of crafts and trades practiced in the city, a feature of early modern urban life that has been frequently noted.[46] In the 1586 roll, over 120 occupations are listed, many of them involving considerable specialization. This is true of even the least distinguished trades: the city's laundry, for example, was handled by

---

of the robe as a result. The process is discussed in Salmon, Society in Crisis, pp. 76-79. By the late sixteenth century, municipal government was coming to be dominated by lawyers. For an example of how lawyers came to control the Paris city council, see J. M. H. Salmon, "The Paris Sixteen, 1584-1594: The Social Analysis of a Revolutionary Movement," JMH, XLIV (1972), 540-76.

[46]Gascon, Grand commerce, II, 902-05 (Annexe II.3.), lists over 170 occupations in sixteenth-century Lyon. Nördlingen, with less than 1,300 citizen households in 1579, had almost 130 occupations. See Friedrichs, Nördlingen, pp. 312-20 (Appendix II).

lavandières, blancheresses, and lingières, each distinguished by the duties she performed or the type of clothing she handled. At the other end of the socioeconomic spectrum, a dozen different men bore the title of receveur, designating their task of handling the various revenues collected by the crown, the city, and the duchess of Berry.[47]

What does an occupational breakdown of Bourges's households reveal? First, it should be emphasized that no swift or radical changes occurred in the composition of the city's labor force, despite almost two and one-half decades of war. Continuity—not change—is the most distinctive feature of these years. In 1586, as in 1557, Bourges was a medium-sized provincial city, with most of its residents making their living in agriculture and viticulture, or as artisans and craftsmen in a number of trades and industries similar to those found in other preindustrial cities. Within this generally stable occupational framework, however, it is possible to discern a few broad but obvious changes which suggest the city's economic life was becoming increasingly geared to a local market. Specifically, the continued contraction of the city's textile industry, coupled with the growth of those

---

[47]See Appendix D.

trades involving the production and distribution of food and drink, points to this process. Bourges's importance as a center of royal administration also stands out. Finally, the sharp increase in the number of the city's lawyers suggests that in Bourges, as in other late-sixteenth-century French cities, the influence of this group was becoming greater.

E. Conclusion

The preceding analysis of some of the changes occurring in the number of Bourges's households now makes possible some general conclusions about the city's demographic and economic history during the Wars of Religion. First, these struggles did cause the city's population to decline, and this decline was related directly to the military activities occurring in the region. This conclusion is supported by the heavy losses in the city's faubourgs, Bourges's most vulnerable area. The most serious demographic blow to the faubourgs probably occurred during the first religious war when the city was besieged and this area razed. However, recurring hostilities in the surrounding countryside for the next two and one-half decades helped to prevent these losses from being regained.

Nevertheless, one cannot conclude at this point that reasons other than military activity failed to contribute to this decline, since those areas within the city's walls also lost households. But this decline was less severe, perhaps owing to an influx of persons seeking safety behind the city's walls.

Loss of population owing to war cannot, however, be offered as the only reason for the city's economic difficulties. Those difficulties stemmed from the continued decline of the textile industry, a process these struggles served to exacerbate. The failure of the industrial faubourg St. Sulpice to regain its losses from the siege of 1562 as readily as other regions of the city lying outside the walls demonstrates how crippling the conjuncture of war and long-range economic decline was: almost three-fourths of the households present in this faubourg in 1557 had been destroyed by 1586, and, unlike the more rural areas on the city's southern fringes, there was no incentive to rebuild them. Economically, Bourges moved further toward becoming the isolated, self-sufficient "backwater" that it was to remain for the duration of the Old Regime. Agriculture, viticulture, and the alimentary trades assumed an increasingly important role in the urban economy, while the export-oriented textile industry grew less important.

One scholar has recently suggested that France's population probably declined by 10 to 20 percent during the Wars of Religion.[48] In losing approximately one-eighth of its households, Bourges appears to fall within this range.[49] However, if the losses of the city's faubourgs are typical of the losses suffered by other unenclosed regions of the realm, this estimate appears too optimistic, especially when one remembers that in Bourges this decline occurred before the 1590's, the decade of the wars generally regarded as the most disastrous for the country's population.[50] That the city's

---

[48]Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "Les masses profondes: la paysannerie," Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse, Histoire économique et sociale de la France, Pt. 2, I (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1977), 692-93, suggests this figure. Cited hereafter as Le Roy Ladurie, "Masses profondes." Le Roy Ladurie calls the period of the religious wars a "fluctuation of the second order." By this, he means that population decline during these years was less severe than population decline during the "crisis" of the late middle ages, but more severe than during a typical subsistence crisis.

[49]A loss of one-eighth of a city's households would have likely been accompanied by a loss of at least 20 percent of the city's residents, since population loss was usually greater than the loss of households. In 1586, Romans lost 51 percent of its population to a plague; its households declined (between 1583 and 1588) only 23.5 percent. Le Roy Ladurie, Romans, pp. 1-5. However, war losses might have produced a different ratio. It is even possible the MHS increased for those households behind the walls, owing to immigration from the surrounding countryside.

[50]See above, p. 122, f. n. 3.

population did not decline even more can probably be attributed to a number of circumstances. Good fortune certainly played a role: after 1562, Bourges escaped further contact with extensive war-related violence. But the structure of the city's economy undoubtedly worked to limit population loss as well; certainly, a well-developed agrarian sector provided the city's residents with the resources necessary to survive.

Access to these resources, however, varied greatly from one socioeconomic group to another. War's impact was thus not the same on all of Bourges's residents, as is demonstrated by turning to an examination of the changes occurring in the structure of the city's wealth.

CHAPTER VI

PATTERNS OF WEALTH, 1557-1586

A. The Solde as an Indicator of Wealth

Analysis of the rolls of the solde has revealed that the population of Bourges was declining in the first two decades of the Wars of Religion and that war was at least one reason for this decline. This analysis has also shown that the city's economy was becoming less dependent on the production of textiles and increasingly geared toward the needs of a local market. The next question to ask is whether the structure of the city's wealth was altered between 1557 and 1586 and, if so, what role war played in this change. Did Bourges's rich and poor households control the same percentage of the city's wealth in the latter year as in the former year, work in the same trades, and continue to live in the same parts of the city? If change did occur, how can it be explained? Did the decline of the textile trade, coupled with the heavy fiscal burden of the wars, reduce the relative size of pre-war fortunes, thus narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor? Or did the poor and middle echelons of urban society suffer more severely than the rich? The figures in the solde supply the information needed to answer these questions, but these

figures must be examined carefully to determine whether they are reliable indicators of the wealth of Bourges's households.

The figures in the solde are payments which each household made to that imposition. They are not actual assessments of the assets and liabilities of that household, and thus do not reflect absolute or per capita wealth. At best, each payment is meaningful only in relation to other payments in the document. But even the accuracy of the payments in the solde as indicators of relative wealth cannot be assumed unless it is first established that the wealth of each household was correctly appraised, and that this appraisal was used as the basis for determining each payment. Such a procedure seems to have been the wish of the municipal assemblies that called for this tax, since in both 1557 and 1586, they carefully instructed the assessors to consider the means (faculté) of each household before assigning its share of the imposition. The custom of "the strong carrying the weak" (le fort portant le faible), which governed the levying of the taille, appears to have applied to the solde as well.[1]

---

[1]In both 1557 and 1586, the city specified that the solde be levied according to the faculté ("means" or "ability" to pay) of each taxpayer. Movable goods were not distinguished from immovable, and both forms of wealth

However, such a rule offers only a general guideline for determining payments. These payments could have been based on mistaken impressions of wealth, since a taxpayer might have taken great pains to conceal his prosperity. But concealing wealth would have been very difficult. Immovable wealth (immeubles) could not have been concealed, and it would have been risky to have attempted to hide movable goods (meubles), since in both years the assembly gave the assessors the authority to interrogate each household concerning the wealth of other households in the neighborhood.[2] Since payments were assigned according to relative wealth, it was in each taxpayer's interest to make certain that all of his neighbor's assets—movable and immovable—were revealed fully. In the tightly-knit neighborhood of a preindustrial city, where individual parishes and courtyards often sheltered the same families for generations, knowledge of such assets would have been easy to acquire. Under such circumstances, wealth could neither be safely nor easily concealed.[3] For these

---

were undoubtedly taxed. Assessments limited to one or the other would have specified "meubles" or "immeubles." Moreover, the taille in this region of France fell on both forms of wealth, and the solde was a replacement for this tax in the cities exempted from it.

[2]See above, Chapter V, pp. 128-30.

[3]This is true of the taille, and is probably true of the solde. For a discussion of how the taille was

reasons, the amount paid to the solde, while revealing nothing about a household's absolute wealth, can provide a rough indicator of the relative fortunes of each of Bourges's households. These figures can thus be used as a basis for studying changes in the city's wealth structure.

There remains one feature of these documents that seriously distorts the results of an analysis. This is the exemption of several households from the solde. In 1557, 0.9 percent of the city's households enjoyed this privilege, while by 1586, probably as a result of the late-Valois practice of liberally granting or selling fiscal immunities, this figure had doubled, rising to 1.8 percent. For those households, the solde contains no payment that can be used as an indicator of household wealth. On first consideration, it might appear that the omission of so few households would not seriously alter any findings. But it must be remembered that in the sixteenth century, the wealthiest members of society most often enjoyed exemption from taxation, and the omission of only a few very wealthy households can significantly alter

---

collected, including the powers and methods used by the assessors, see Wolfe, Fiscal System, p. 309.

the figures reflecting the percentage of the total tax paid by any group within the city.[4]

Fortunately, this problem can be at least partially solved. First, it must be determined if it was the wealthy who enjoyed this exemption. Strong evidence supporting this likelihood is supplied by the payments made to a wine tax, collected in 1586 at the same time as the solde. The amount each household paid to the wine tax—ordinarily an indirect levy, but on this occasion commuted to a direct one—was listed on the roll immediately under the amount paid to the solde. Since this was usually an indirect tax, all households—even those exempted from the solde—contributed to it.[5] Although the ratio between the amount contributed to the solde and the amount contributed to the wine tax occasionally varies slightly, it is obvious the amount paid to the former provided a guide for determining the amount paid to the latter. The wine tax is always between one-fourth and

---

[4]For an example of just how significantly such omissions could alter computations, see the discussion below, p. 173, and Table 10 (p. 174).

[5]This was the "cinq sous sur chaque muid du vin" approved by the Estates-General of 1561. For a discussion, see Clamageran, Histoire des impôts, II, 195-96. The crown made it clear at the time this tax was created that it would be paid by all members of society. By commuting this tax from an indirect to a direct one, the crown saved the expense of collecting or farming it and was assured of its total revenues.

two-fifths of the solde, and in the overwhelming number of instances is exactly one-fourth.[6] By substituting the amount paid to the wine tax for the amount paid to the solde, one can determine that all but two of the households exempted from the solde were among the wealthiest 10 percent in the city in 1586. In that year, the problem of exemptions can be solved by substituting payments to the wine tax for payments to the solde.

Unfortunately, there is no alternate set of figures for 1557. But this problem is not insurmountable, if one remembers that analysis of the data in this roll always yields a more equal distribution of wealth than was actually the case. For this reason, an analysis of the 1586 roll revealing a similar or more equal distribution of wealth than in 1557 will be credible. Conversely, if the results for 1586 reveal a less equal distribution of wealth than in 1557, the results will be inconclusive.[7]

---

[6]Of the 3,075 households in Bourges in 1586, there were only 288 in which the wine tax was not exactly one-fourth of the solde. The majority of these (237) were obvious examples of rounding off payments. For example, persons paying 25 sous to the solde paid six sous to the wine tax. In only 51 instances was the amount greater, and then only slightly (usually one-third). Some of these differences could have resulted from miscalculations on the part of those who assessed the taxes or drew up the rolls.

[7]In other words, one can assume the date is biased to show a more equal distribution of wealth in 1557 than was actually the case.

Since the exemptions are among the city's wealthiest households, changes in the relative fortunes of this group are more difficult to measure than changes in the relative fortunes of other groups in the city. In the following discussion, this limitation of the data should be remembered.

B. The Distribution of Wealth

A study of the changes occurring in the structure of Bourges's wealth between 1557 and 1586 should begin by determining the distribution of the city's wealth in each year among all households. This can be accomplished by computing a table that divides households listed in the soldes into ascending deciles of wealth, then calculating the percentage of the tax paid in each year by each decile of households.[8] Since the wealthy households exempted

---

[8]The value of constructing wealth tables dividing the city's households into deciles of wealth is that such a computation makes possible comparison of these results with similar findings from other cities. When tables are divided by payments to the tax, this is impossible. The former method also yields a Gini index, or "index of concentration." An index of zero indicates a perfect equality and an index of 1.0, perfect inequality. On the uses and misuses of this measure, see Hayward R. Alker, Jr., and Bruce M. Russett, "Indices for Comparing Inequality," in Richard L. Merritt and Stein Rokkan, eds., Comparing Nations: The Uses of Quantitative Data in Cross-National Research (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 349-72. For a criticism of this index, see M. Paglin, "The Measurement and Trend of Inequality: A Basic Revision," AER, LXV (1975), 598-609.

from the solde distort the result of this comparison, the guidelines discussed above for interpreting the results of the analysis must be applied.

To illustrate the extent of this distortion, the distribution of the city's wealth in 1586 is computed by using, first, the payments to the solde (from which almost 2 percent of the city's wealthiest households were exempted), and, second, payments to the wine tax (which all households paid).

The results of these computations are presented in Table 10. The portion of the solde paid by the wealthiest 10 percent and 1 percent of Bourges's households in 1586 is 49.2 percent and 12.4 percent, respectively.[9] When payments to the wine tax are substituted for payments to the solde, these figures are a much greater 59.8 and 16.7 percent. For the solde, the Gini index is .646, while for the wine tax it rises to .719. By omitting only 2 percent of the city's wealthiest households, the results of the computations are altered considerably.[10]

---

[9]The amount of the solde paid by the wealthiest 10 percent of the city's households can be determined by subtracting the amount paid by the poorest 90 percent from 100. For the wealthiest 1 percent, subtract the poorest 99 percent from 100.

[10]The great inequality in the distribution of Bourges's wealth is typical of that found in the preindustrial city. The 16.7 percent of the solde paid by the wealthiest 1 percent of the city's households in 1586 is similar to the

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN BOURGES, 1586[a]

% of Households by Ascending Deciles	% of *Solde* Paid	% of Wine Tax Paid[b]
10	0.8	0.5
20	2.2	1.6
30	3.8	2.7
40	6.1	4.3
50	9.6	6.8
60	13.7	9.8
70	21.1	15.1
80	32.1	24.0
90	50.8	40.2
99	87.6	83.3
100.0	100.0	100.0
Gini index, *solde* = .646		
Gini index, wine tax = .719		

[a]Source: AMB, CC 25.

[b]Reason for difference: The wine tax includes 1.8 percent (63/3,075) of the city's wealthy households that were exempted from the *solde*.

Was the city's wealth more or less equally distributed in 1586 than in 1557 and, if change did occur, what role did war play in bringing this change about? To answer this question, it is necessary to begin by computing a wealth table for 1557, although the exemptions in that year make it impossible to measure precisely the distribution of the city's wealth. However, if the guidelines discussed above for dealing with this problem are kept in mind, the following rule for interpreting the results can be established: if the Gini index from the 1557 roll approximates or is greater than the .719 index based on the 1586 wine tax, there will be sufficient proof that

---

17.4 percent paid by a similar group in Poitiers in 1552. See Jarousseau, p. 487. In Nördlingen in 1579, the wealthiest 10 percent of the city's taxpayers controlled 60 percent of the city's wealth, a figure almost identical to Bourges in 1586. See Friedrichs, Nördlingen, pp. 120-25. Bourges's wealth structure does, however, appear less skewed than that of fifteenth-century Florence, where the wealthiest 10 percent of the households controlled 68 percent of the city's wealth. See David Herlihy, "Family and Property in Renaissance Florence," in Harry A. Miskimin, David Herlihy, and A. L. Udovitch, eds., The Medieval City (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 8 (Table 1.2). Cited hereafter as Herlihy, "Family and Property." Florence, of course, was a much larger city with several extremely prosperous merchant families, and it is not surprising to find great concentrations of wealth there. Conversely, the wealth structure of the little Provençal city of Romans was less skewed than Bourges's wealth structure. In that city in 1578, the wealthiest 10 percent of the households controlled only 40 percent of the wealth. See Le Roy Ladurie, Romans, p. 11.

the city's wealth was less equally distributed in the former year than in the latter. If, conversely, the Gini index is clearly less than .719, the results of the comparison will be inconclusive.

In Table 11 the distribution of Bourges's wealth in 1557 is computed and compared with its distribution in 1586. In 1557, the Gini index is .711—virtually identical to the index of .719 for 1586. The percentage of wealth controlled by the wealthiest 1 percent in the former year is 16.4, again almost the same as the 16.7 percent controlled by that group in 1586. The greatest difference comes in the top decile, precisely where the exemptions in 1557 fall.

The results of this comparison must be interpreted very cautiously. First, and perhaps most important, no major change in the distribution of the city's wealth appears to have occurred. This discovery is not surprising, since under any circumstances the wealth of a preindustrial city was extremely unequally distributed. Nevertheless, the virtual equality of the Gini indices in each year permits one to conclude that Bourges's wealth was becoming at least slightly more equally distributed as the Wars of Religion progressed.[11]

---

[11]This difference is impossible to measure, since it depends on the extent of the wealth of the 32 households exempted from the solde in 1557. Unless such households

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN BOURGES, 1557-1586

% of Households by Ascending Deciles	% of *Solde* Paid in 1557[b]	% of Wine Tax Paid in 1586
10	0.4	0.5
20	1.0	1.6
30	2.0	2.7
40	3.4	4.3
50	5.8	6.8
60	9.4	9.8
70	15.5	15.1
80	26.2	24.0
90	45.5	40.2
99	83.6	83.3
100.0	100.0	100.0

Gini index, 1557 = .711
Gini index, 1586 = .719

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

[b]0.9 percent (32/3,507) of the city's wealthiest households were exempted from the *solde* in this year.

One reason for this change can be determined by a closer look at Table 11. Through the sixth decile, the cumulative percentage of the city's wealth controlled by each decile of its households was greater in 1586 than in 1557. The poorest 30 percent of households, for example, paid only 2 percent of the solde in 1557, but increased this to 2.7 percent by 1586. Since this group includes, perhaps coincidentally, households paying a tax of two sous or less in each year, it is easily broken down. The results are presented in Table 12. Of the 1,049 such households in 1557, 63 were mendicants (6 percent), cent), 546 paid one sous (52 percent), and 440 paid two (42 percent). For the 928 such households in 1586, these figures are nine (1 percent), 343 (27 percent), and 576 (62 percent), respectively. Thus the number of the city's poorest households—those labelled "mendicant" and those paying only one sous in each year—declined sharply between 1557 and 1586. Such households made up 17.4 percent of the city's households in the former year, but only 11.4 percent in the latter—a relative decrease of almost 35 percent.[12] Such a change in the number of the city's

---

were considerably wealthier than those paying the solde, the Gini indices would probably not vary by more than a few points.

[12]The attempt to isolate a group of the city's households appearing in the solde and to label this group "poor" is a difficult task. This difficulty stems in part

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AMONG THE POOREST 30 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS, 1557-1586[a]

Amount Paid to Solde	1557		1586	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Mendicant	63	6.0	9	1.0
One sous	546	52.0	343	37.0
Two sous	440	42.0	576	62.0
Total	1,049	100.0	928	100.0

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

poorest households would have made no major impact on the city's socioeconomic structure, but nevertheless would make the city's wealth appear slightly more equally distributed.

---

from the differing conceptions of poverty in sixteenth-century Europe. Separate legal definitions often existed for those persons genuinely destitute, for those whose wealth was so insignificant they could no longer afford to pay taxes (the "fiscal poor"), and for those who could no longer afford to live at the level demanded by their social position. This last group existed, at least, in Italy. See Richard Trexler, "Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites in the Italian Commune," in Frederic C. Jaher, ed., The Rich, the Well-Born, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History (Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1973), pp. 76-110. See also Bronislaw Géremek, "Criminalité, vagabondage, paupérisme: la marginalité de l'aube des temps modernes," RHMC, XXI (1974), 337-75, for a discussion of poverty during these years.

Popular attitudes were less subtle than legal definitions. There was a tendency to classify all the poor as "good" or "bad." The good included those who, even under the best of circumstances, were unable to provide for their most basic needs—orphans, the old, and the infirm. This group was dependent on private charity. The "bad" poor included all those who, in the eyes of society's more fortunate members, were "lazy" or "slothful," preferring to beg or steal, rather than work. These groups are discussed in Cissie C. Fairchilds, Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence, 1640-1789 (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 73. Cited hereafter as Fairchilds, Poverty and Charity.

Cutting across both legal and popular conceptions of poverty, however, was the reality of being poor. Every sixteenth-century city contained many households which, under normal circumstances, were able to earn a hand-to-mouth survival. But any sharp or unpredicted turn of events—famine, unemployment, a rise in the price of bread, or an extra mouth to feed—could push these households beneath the subsistence threshhold. This group has been called the "conjunctural poor," since its poverty made it vulnerable to any unfavorable conjuncture of circumstances. For a definition of the conjunctural poor,

The decline in the number of Bourges's poorest households is not difficult to explain. The many difficulties of the late sixteenth century—plague, war, and the continued decline of the textile industry—undoubtedly worked to eradicate them. As the city's wealth contracted, the number of households able to cling to the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic ladder likely contracted also. Just as the city's topographical fringes—the faubourgs—appear vulnerable to the problems of these years, so do its socioeconomic fringes—the poor. Those households whose resources were too meager to allow them to compete successfully for survival were simply winnowed out.

It may be possible to determine which of the problems facing the city affected the poor most severely by

---

see Jean Pierre Gutton, La société et les pauvres: l'exemple de la généralité de Lyon, 1534-1789 (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1971), p. 53.

The decision to label those households that were mendicant or paid a tax of only one sous as Bourges's conjunctural poor was determined by the fact that the size of this group in 1557—17.4 percent of the city's households—was very close to the size of the poor in other early modern cities, where approximately one in five households belonged to this group. For Lyon, this has been demonstrated by Richard Gascon, "Economie et pauvrété au XVIe and XVIIe siècles: Lyon, ville exemplaire et prophétique," in Michel Mollat, ed., Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvrété (Moyen âge-XVIe siècle) (2 vols., Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1974), II, 747-60; for Romans, Le Roy Ladurie, Romans, pp. 15-17; for Rouen, Benedict, Rouen, pp. 9-11; and for Aix-en-Provence, Fairchilds, Poverty and Charity, p. 75. The fact that there were fewer poor households in Bourges in 1586 than in 1557 suggests that many of these households were unable to weather the crises between these years.

consulting additional evidence found in the solde—the number of households headed by women. A woman was listed as head of household in an early modern census only if she had no husband. Since marriage (and remarriage) rates were sensitive to socioeconomic influences and local traditions, the number of such households varied considerably from society to society. However, historical demographers have observed a few features of such households that are consistent throughout preindustrial Europe. One such feature is the great poverty of these households; among the poor, the number of households headed by women was always much greater than among other groups.[13] Another feature is that the number of households headed by women increased sharply following periods of extremely high mortality caused by plague or famine. Thus an increase in the number of households headed by women might indicate that the plague of 1582 had made a lasting impact on the city's population.[14]

---

[13]The poverty of the preindustrial female head of household is pointed out, for example, in fifteenth-century Florence by Christiane Klapisch, "Household and Family in Tuscany in 1427," in Peter Laslett, ed., Household and Family in Past Time (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 273.

[14]Increases in the number of women heading households have been noted following major plagues by Enrico Fiumi, "La demografia fiorentina nelle pagine di G. Villani," ASI, CVIII (1950), as cited by Christiane Klapisch, "Fiscalité et démographie en Toscane (1427-1430)," AESC XXIV (1969), 1332, and also in Fritz Rörig, Medieval Towns

In 1557, women headed 15.6 percent of the city's households; in 1586, 13.9 percent.[15] The similarity between these figures seems to suggest that little occurred

---

(Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1967), p. 115. Jacques Dupâquier, "Des rôles de taille à la demographie historique. L'exemple du vexin français," ADH (1965), pp. 31-42, discusses a similar movement in the Vexin following the crisis of 1693-94. For a discussion of Dupâquier's findings, see Thomas Hollingsworth, Historical Demography (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 119.

The question of whether men or women died more readily from plague has been discussed at length. Thomas Hollingsworth, "Plague Mortality Rates by Age and Sex," PS, XXV (1971), 133-46, maintains that males died more readily, since they were less clean and had more contact with fleas. Descriptions of plague victims by contemporaries, as quoted in David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, Les Toscans et leurs familles: Une étude du catasto florentin de 1427 (Paris: Presses de la fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1978), p. 341, claim, however, that women were more vulnerable than men. (This work is cited hereafter as Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Les Toscans). Records of burials, perhaps the most reliable guide, usually show no change in the ratio of adult deaths between males and females during plague years. See, for example, the figures taken from the Florentine "Book of the Dead" in Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Les Toscans, p. 455 (Table 71). See also Friedrichs, Nördlingen, pp. 306-11 (Table A.I.2). Biraben, Les hommes et la peste, I, 225, mentions studies showing a much higher male death rate in the London parish of St. Botolph in the early seventeenth century, but concludes that no pattern holds for all times and all places. This is also the conclusion of Dr. Anne Carmichael of Indiana University with whom I have corresponded. The reason the number of women heading households increased is not that men died more readily from plague than did women, but that women who lost their husbands were less likely to remarry than were men whose wives had perished.

[15]The majority of women heading households in Bourges were widows, designated in the solde by the title of "la veuve." In 1557, 84.0 percent of the households headed by women fell into this category; in 1586, 81.3 percent.

between these years to influence the number of these households. However, among the poor, important changes did take place. In 1557, women headed 216/609, or 35.5 percent, of Bourges's poor households, a far larger number than in the city as a whole (as was true in all preindustrial cities). By 1586, this figure had fallen to 90/352, or 25.6 percent—a much greater decrease than the decrease in households headed by women among other groups.

This decrease in the number of poor households headed by women makes it difficult to argue that the plague of 1582 was responsible for the decline in the number of poor households in Bourges. Plague's failure to have a lasting impact on the city's population is not surprising: four years had passed between this epidemic and the compiling of the 1586 solde, and four years were sufficient time for a city to make considerable recovery from even a major epidemic.[16]

If plague did not cause the decline of Bourges's poor households, can this decline be traced to war? In the faubourgs, the area of the city struck most directly by

---

[16]Recovery ordinarily stemmed from remarriage, the high birth rate, and immigration from rural areas. The plague of 1586 killed over one-half of the population of Romans, but within two years the number of households in the city was over three-fourths the pre-plague level. Le Roy Ladurie, Romans, p. 3. See Biraben, Les hommes et la peste, I, 313-32, for a study of the effects of the plague on the little town of Auriol-en-Provence in 1720, including recovery.

the wars, the number of households headed by women declined from 12.1 percent in 1557 to 7.5 percent in 1586. This decrease is even greater than that found among poor households, and suggests that the single woman who dwelt on the topographical fringes of urban society was especially vulnerable to war. The single woman occupying the socio-economic fringes of urban society would hardly have been less vulnerable. Moreover, war offered such women an alternative to life in the city. By attaching herself to one of the many armies moving through the region and becoming a camp follower, a poverty-stricken woman might have increased her chances of surviving these difficult years. Many early modern women chose or were forced into this life; in some instances, camp followers were as numerous as the soldiers whom they accompanied.[17]

War thus played an important role in reducing the number of poor households. Among these households, those headed by women were especially vulnerable. However, it would be a mistake to blame war for all the problems this group faced. Other possibilities could have contributed to its decline. It is possible, for example, that immigration of these women into the city slowed for a number

---

[17]I have found no evidence to support this possibility in Bourges, although there were armies constantly passing through the region. On the numbers of camp followers, see Geoffrey Parker and Angela Parker, European Soldiers, 1560-1650 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 34.

of reasons. Certainly, the continued decline of the textile industry would have reduced the need for spinners, an important occupation of many poor women. And the contraction of the city's wealth may also have reduced the demand for domestic service, another task frequently performed by members of this group.[18]

Whatever the reason for the decrease in the number of Bourges's poor households, this decrease is one reason the city's wealth appears slightly more equally distributed by 1586. However, less grim circumstances may also have helped bring about this change. The wars may have created a demand for the goods and services supplied by the city's artisans and craftsmen, thus allowing this group to become relatively more prosperous. It is also possible that the fortunes of the wealthy were declining more rapidly than those of other groups, owing perhaps to the demands of wartime taxation and the continuing decline of the textile industry, although the exemptions in the 1557 solde make this difficult to determine. Such possibilities can best be considered by examining the distribution of Bourges's wealth in each year among its occupations.

---

[18]Many of the women heading poor households did perform domestic duties. See the occupational breakdown in Appendix D, which lists chamber maids, laundresses, seamstresses, and other occupations performed by this group. Such households were especially numerous in the cité. See below, pp. 211-12.

C. Occupational Wealth

The role of war in the redistribution of wealth has been the subject of considerable speculation. In his study of Renaissance Florence, for example, David Herlihy has hypothesized that war may have served as a means for periodically redistributing that city's highly concentrated wealth, a process necessary for maintaining the economic and political stability of the Florentine city state. Since the dues and rents owed the city's wealthiest families constantly drained huge sums from the surrounding countryside, there was a staggering inequality in the distribution of wealth and a constant danger that the less fortunate members of society would be exploited until they were exhausted. Left unchecked, the final result would have been to "kill the goose that laid the golden egg." War, however, could help alleviate this problem, since the fortunes of the urban elite were heavily taxed to pay the poor artisans and craftsmen for the war-related goods they produced. In this way, wealth was recycled and, if the war was sufficiently long and costly, conceivably redistributed as well, passing from the wealthy to the less prosperous members of society. The Florentine city state thus fought its wars while at the same time priming its economic pump.[19]

---

[19]See Herlihy, "Distribution of Wealth," p. 155. By the same author see "Family and Property," pp. 11-12. This

Such a process may have occurred in Bourges during the Wars of Religion, and this may have been a reason for the shift toward greater equality in the distribution of the city's wealth. The most logical way to test this hypothesis is to break down the city's occupations by payments to the solde in order to determine which occupations increased and which occupations declined in relative wealth. An increase in the wealth of the city's war-related crafts and trades would be likely evidence that the process Herlihy hypothesized for Florence was occurring in Bourges.

The results of this breakdown are presented in Table 13. Not surprisingly, there is little change in the relative position of each occupation between 1557 and 1586. One could hardly expect two and one-half decades of warfare to make textile workers or vineyard workers more wealthy than merchants or important office holders. What stands out most clearly in this table is the wide range in the wealth of members of the same occupation. In sixteenth-

---

idea is discussed in both these articles, but with somewhat different terminology. In the former article, the author claims that war may have brought about a "forced redistribution" of wealth; in the latter, that war may have "recycled" wealth, implying a less pronounced shift in the relative wealth of rich and poor. I have corresponded with Professor Herlihy and he has suggested that both recycling and redistribution were possible, the latter perhaps occurring if war was sufficiently costly and long-lasting. The matter is also discussed in Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, Les Toscans, pp. 260-64.

TABLE 13

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS BY WEALTH, 1557-1586[a]

	Occupational Grouping	Wealth[b] Index 1557	Wealth Index 1586	Percent Change	Range of Wealth 1557	Range of Wealth 1586
I.	Viticulture and Agriculture	107	305	+185.0	25	25
II.	Alimentary	923	843	- 8.7	44	68
III.	Textiles	350	420	+ 20.0	26	48
IV.	Clothing	550	463	- 15.8	24	42
V.	Leather and hides	479	581	+ 21.3	14	60
VI.	Construction	300	524	+ 74.7	24	36
VII.	Metal and arms	276	854	+209.4	10	62
VIII.	Transport	49	200	+308.2	8	22
IX.	Other crafts and trades	500	583	+ 16.6	18	28
X.	Day laborers and domestic servants	317	154	- 48.6	12	4
XI.	Artists and intellectuals	391[c]	4143	+959.6	13	60
XII.	Health	1242	1571	+ 26.5	7	15
XIII.	Law	2333	2318	- 0.6	6	22
XIV.	Merchants and Bourgeoisie	3152	2016	- 36.0	4	60
XV.	Administration and police	2528	1797	- 28.9	110	225

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

[b]The wealth index for each year is determined by dividing the percentage of the solde paid by each occupation by the percentage of the city's labor force which that occupation represents, then moving the decimal three places to the right. In 1557, the clothing industry paid 5.5 percent of the solde and made up 10.0 percent of the city's labor force. Their relative wealth is thus 550. The range of wealth is the difference between the largest and smallest amount paid to the solde. Thus in 1557, the largest amount paid by a member of the clothing industry was twenty-four times the size of the smallest amount paid by a member of the industry.

[c]This figure is too low, since several members of this occupation were exempted from the solde in this year.

century Bourges, as in other preindustrial cites, one's trade was not an absolute key to one's prosperity, since members of both wealthy and poor groups generally varied considerably in their fortunes.[20]

Did any occupations significantly increase or decrease their relative share of the city's wealth between 1557 and 1586? For several reasons, it is necessary to be extremely cautious when attempting to answer this question. First, it must be remembered that the occupational data contained in this table is, at best, only very roughly representative of an occupation's strength in the city. Most of Bourges's households had no occupation listed in the soldes, and if only a few of those left out were significantly wealthier or poorer than those included, the data is probably unreliable. Second, one group—artists and intellectuals—includes several households exempted from the 1557 solde, which greatly exaggerates its poverty in that year. Third, among the poorer occupations, it is possible that increases in wealth appear only because the poorest households in these groups in 1557 were eliminated by 1586, a likelihood already discussed. Finally, there is the possibility sharp fluctuations in the relative

---

[20]This is a phenomenon found in all preindustrial cities. For a discussion see Friedrichs, Nördlingen, pp. 107-11.

wealth of an occupation results from the inclusion of only one or two persons whose relationship to the occupation was different from that of other persons included.[21]

Given the general untrustworthiness of this occupational data, the following rule should be observed when interpreting it: only those occupations whose relative wealth increased by at least 100 percent, or decreased by at least 50 percent (in other words, occupations whose wealth was doubled or halved) should be considered as varying significantly, and then only if this variation cannot be traced to one of the problems discussed above. When this change is an increase (when an occupation gains a larger share of the city's wealth), rather than a decrease, the conclusion is more trustworthy, since the exemptions in the 1557 solde work against such change.

With these precautions in mind, the information in Table 13 can be assessed. Among those occupations decreasing in relative wealth, the decrease is modest. In no instance does it reach 50 percent and should thus not be considered significant. Among those groups that became wealthier, however, there are more pronounced changes. Aside from the artists and intellectuals, whose exemptions

---

[21]Gascon, Grand commerce, I, 383, discusses how this was a problem in the analysis of the nommées of 1545 in Lyon.

in 1557 greatly exaggerate that group's poverty, three other groups stand out—those who made or dealt in metal-wares or arms, those involved in transport, and the viticulturalists.

Among those in the metal and arms trades, the increase in relative wealth exceeds 200 percent. Evidence of war's effects on the composition of this group is found in Appendix D. Present in 1586 (although missing in 1557) were makers of cross bows, arquebuses, and spurs. Among the trades present in both rolls are the swordmakers, whose relative wealth increased greatly. The demands war placed on this industry are obvious. If war was not making these workers wealthy, it was certainly making them relatively more prosperous than many other groups in the city.[22]

The second occupation to show a sharp rise in relative wealth—the transport trades—probably did not owe this increase to war. The prosperity of this group can instead be traced to the inclusion of several prosperous charretiers on the 1586 roll. While a charretier was usually a cart driver, the name might also have been used for a person who owned several vehicles. It would thus be

---

[22]One of the fourbisseurs, François Enerard, appears on both the 1557 and 1586 roll. His relative wealth was over three times greater in the latter year than in the former.

risky to claim that the relative wealth of this occupation was increasing.

Finally, there is the rise in the wealth of one of Bourges's largest and poorest occupations—the vignerons. Were these workers, like those who worked in metals and arms, benefitting from the redistribution of urban wealth? This is possible, and in some instances even likely. The city occasionally sold wine to passing troops, and some individuals might have done the same.[23] However, there is no reason this group should have benefitted more from such demand than other members of the alimentary trades, whose relative wealth was not significantly altered. Most viticulturalists were extremely poor and probably worked in the city's vineyards, rather than owning them. It is unlikely such persons would have benefitted from the demands of war. More likely, the wealth difference of this group results from problems in the data, or perhaps from the eradication of several of the poorer vignerons.[24]

An examination of changes in the relative wealth of Bourges's occupations thus offers little evidence the city's wealth structure was altered during the Wars of

---

[23]See above, Chapter IV, pp. 105; 110.

[24]These differences probably stem from problems in the data. In 1557, for example, fifteen of seventeen vignerons listed in the solde paid a tax of only one sous. While vignerons were poor, all of them were not in the

Religion. While wealth may have been recycled, it does not appear to have been significantly redistributed. Those artisans involved in the production or sale of metalwares or arms became more prosperous, but this group made up only a small portion of the city's households. This decrease in poor households, rather than the increasing prosperity of middle-echelon households or the declining fortunes of the wealthy, appears to be the most important reason for the shift toward a slightly more equal distribution of wealth.[25]

If Bourges's wealth was not redistributed along socioeconomic lines between 1557 and 1586, it may nevertheless have been redistributed from one area of the city to another. A second way of determining war's impact on the city is to examine changes occurring in Bourges's social topography between 1557 and 1586.

D. Social Topography

Each of Bourges's three areas—the _cité_, _ville_, and _faubourgs_—lost households in the first two and one-half decades of the Wars of Religion. Was the decline in the

---

ranks of the city's most poverty-stricken households, as this seems to indicate. In 1586, a payment as high as 25 _sous_ was made by one _vigneron_.

[25]The city lost 432 households between 1557 and 1586. Of these 432 households, 257 (59.5 percent) were poor. Of these 257 poor households, 126 (49.0 percent) were headed by women. The number of poor households decreased from 609 to 352, or 42.2 percent.

population of these areas accompanied by a change in each area's relative wealth, or did the city's social topography remain unaltered? If change did occur, what role did war play in bringing it about?

Information appearing to answer the first of these questions is found in Table 14, in which the distribution of wealth among the cité, ville, and faubourgs is computed for 1557 and 1586. As in other preindustrial cities, the greatest concentrations of wealth were near Bourges's center, while poverty increased as one moved toward the city's outer edges. Such a pattern occurs in both years. However, by 1586 wealth appears more concentrated in the city's center than in 1557. The percentage of the solde paid by the cité increased from 24.4 to 31.7 percent, while its share of the city's households declined slightly. The relative wealth of the ville declined, while that of the faubourgs did not change greatly.

Unfortunately, these computations are not reliable, since it is possible that what appears to be lower concentrations of wealth in the cité in 1557 may result only from the exemption from the solde of several wealthy households located in that area of the city. For this reason, the question of whether Bourges's wealth was becoming more concentrated near its center must go unanswered. However, another approach to the study of the

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH BY AREA OF CITY, 1557-1586[a]

Year	Area	% of Households	% of Solde Paid
1557	Cité	11.3	24.4
	Ville	65.7	60.4
	Faubourgs	23.0	15.2
	All of city	100.0	100.0
1586	Cité	10.9	31.7
	Ville	72.2	58.5
	Faubourgs	16.9	9.8
	All of city	100.0	100.0

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

city's social topography can be adopted: if exemptions from the 1557 solde make it impossible to determine changes in the concentration of wealth, it is at least possible to determine changes in the location of Bourges's wealthiest households, since those households exempted from the solde were undoubtedly among the latter group.

Such an approach requires identifying Bourges's wealthy households and separating them from other households in the solde. For the purpose of this study, the city's wealthy households are defined as those exempted from the solde in both years, plus those paying a tax of 60 sous or more in 1557 or a tax of 37 sous or more in 1586. Such groups were chosen because in each year they were made up of the wealthiest 10 percent of the city's households, a group usually selected for studying urban elites. Occupationally, this group was comprised largely of municipal and royal officials, merchants, and professionals, although in both years a few of the wealthiest members of the city's more important trades were also included.[26]

---

[26]In 1557, 337/3,507 (9.6 percent) of Bourges's households were exempted from the solde or paid 60 sous or more to it. In 1586, 306/3,075 (10.0 percent) were exempt or paid a solde of 37 sous or more. These groups are not exactly identical in size, but if the range in 1557 had been lowered to include payments of less than 60 sous, the resulting figure would have greatly exceeded 10 percent. Among the members of the city's trades found in this group were a baker, a goldsmith, and a master tanner.

A study of changes in Bourges's social topography requires an examination of shifts in the location of poor households as well as wealthy. The city's poor have already been defined; this group was made up of mendicant households or those paying only one sous in each year.[27]

With these households labelled as "wealthy" and as "poor," it is possible to determine in which area of the city members of each group were located in both 1557 and 1586. This information is presented in Table 15, and reveals that important changes had indeed occurred in Bourges's social topography.

In the faubourgs, the area of the city most exposed to the direct effects of war, both poor and wealthy households declined substantially. The poor, who made up 27.1 percent of the households in this area before the wars, made up only 15.1 percent in 1586. Wealthy households declined from 11.3 percent to 7.2 percent. Since the faubourgs are the only area of the city in which not a

---

[27]See above, pp. 178-80. The fact that the rich have been defined in terms of the wealthiest 10 percent of the city's households, while the poor have been defined in terms of payments to the solde should not invalidate this comparison. Wealth was more relative than poverty in pre-industrial Europe. Obviously, no single group could be absolutely wealthy, but wealthy only in relation to other groups in society. Poverty, however, was at the lowest levels virtually absolute. In both 1557 and 1586, there must have been a group of households in the city capable of paying only the minimum amount to the solde. In other words, their poverty was fixed in each year at an absolute level.

TABLE 15

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE OF POOR AND WEALTHY HOUSEHOLDS BY AREA OF THE CITY, 1557-1586[a]

Area of City	1557		1586	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
	Poor Households			
Cité	44	7.2	7	2.0
Ville	400	65.7	291	82.7
Faubourgs	165	27.1	54	15.3
All of city	609	100.0	352	100.0
	Wealthy Households			
Cité	113	33.5	115	37.6
Ville	186	55.2	169	55.2
Faubourgs	38	11.3	22	7.2
All of city	337	100.0	306	100.0

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

single household was exempt from the solde in either year, a more detailed glimpse into changes in the structure of its wealth is obtained by computing a wealth table for both 1557 and 1586. The results of these computations are presented in Table 16 and Figure 4. Not surprisingly, the decline in the number of both poor and wealthy households resulted in a pronounced move toward greater equality in the distribution of the area's wealth. In 1557, the wealthiest 10 percent of the households in the faubourgs paid 47.0 percent of the solde. By 1586, this figure dropped to 38.4 percent. For the former year, the Gini index is .660; for the latter, .560. Clearly, the wealth of this area became more equally distributed. But why?

Several speculative answers to this question could be constructed. However, the correct answer is obvious when preceded by a brief discussion of the nature of the city's wealth.

In Bourges, as elsewhere in sixteenth-century Europe, two forms of wealth—movable and immovable—were generally recognized. Aside from cash, often in short supply, the former consisted largely of plate, jewels, furnishings, and any other easily transported objects of value. The latter consisted of real property, with land ordinarily forming the largest portion. This rather simple classification of wealth had been passed down from

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN THE FAUBOURGS OF BOURGES, 1557-1586[a]

% of Households by Ascending Deciles	% of Solde Paid in 1557	% of Solde Paid in 1586
10	0.6	1.0
20	1.3	3.1
30	2.8	5.2
40	4.7	8.4
50	7.6	13.4
60	11.7	18.8
70	18.9	28.1
80	31.8	41.6
90	53.0	61.6
99	90.4	92.8
100.0	100.0	100.0

Gini index, 1557 = .660
Gini index, 1586 = .560

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

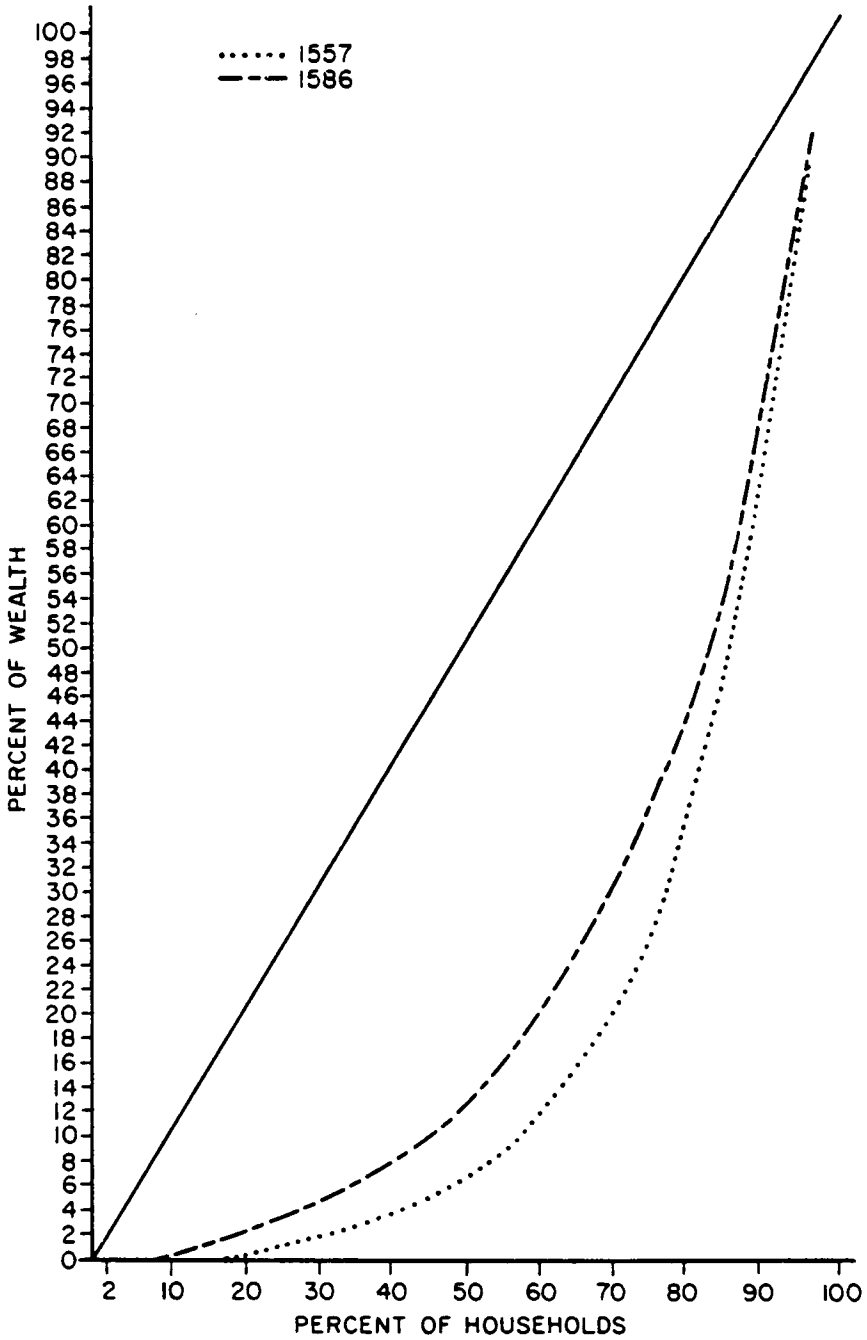


Figure 4. Distribution of wealth in the faubourgs of Bourges, 1557-1586.

an earlier age and was rapidly becoming obsolete; new and more complex forms of wealth were beginning to appear as a result of the expanding European economy. Nevertheless, this distinction remained important to contemporaries. Taxes were often assessed on meubles, immeubles, or on both, as was the solde. Such a classification of wealth is probably safe to use for Bourges, whose economic life had been relatively untouched by the changes experienced in many other cities of sixteenth-century France.[28]

Although the solde does not permit one to distinguish between a household's movable and immovable wealth, there is little doubt that much of Bourges's wealth was composed of the latter. The city's most valuable resources were the fields and vineyards lying both inside and outside its walls. Such resources were certainly not equally distributed. It is unlikely, for example, that Bourges's poorest residents owned any of this property. Many of them worked

---

[28]For a brief discussion of wealth in sixteenth-century France, see Roger Doucet, "La richesse en France au XVIe siècle," RHM, XIV (1939), 296-97. In Bourges, the most important source of income to the bourgeoisie which could be classified as neither meubles nor immeubles was the rents. The rents were interest payments at the rate of 8.5 percent (the "denier douze") made by the city to persons who had become its creditors. Income from impositions and octrois was used as securities. The municipal accounts indicate that such payments were made as early as the 1570's. However, these payments were not extensive. Meubles and immeubles continued to make up a large portion of the city's wealth.

these fields and vineyards for their more fortunate neighbors. The rich undoubtedly owned a sizeable portion of the city's immovable wealth, and their share probably grew as the wars progressed. If the rents from such property were less spectacular than the returns from investments in commercial ventures, they were at least more secure, especially since the decline of the textile industry and the continuing wars made investing in commerce risky.[29] However, those households within the middle

---

[29]There is a good bit of debate over the extent of the bourgeoisie's investments in rural holdings in the sixteenth century. For a discussion, see Salmon, Society in Crisis, pp. 212-16. Salmon concludes that this process did occur, most noticeably in the 1570's and 1580's, although it had been going on for some time at a pace so slow contemporaries were hardly aware of it. However, recent research maintains that in some regions the nobility maintained or increased its hold on rural lands in the sixteenth century. See James B. Wood, The Nobility of the Election of Bayeux, 1463-1666 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 145-49. Wood's findings are discussed in J. Russell Major, "Noble Income, Inflation, and the Wars of Religion," AHR, LXXXVI (1981), 43-44.

In Bourges, where the decline of the textile trade left little opportunity for other types of investments, bourgeois investment in the surrounding countryside would likely have been accentuated. The disappearance of the entrepreneur and his replacement by the rentier is a persistent theme in the city's economic history in the seventeenth century. This development was lamented by the intendants, who saw it as the reason for the city's economic malaise. See, for example, the comments of the intendant Lambert d'Herbigny as quoted in Lot, Recherches, II, 59.

One source of the lands acquired by the bourgeoisie during the wars was ecclesiastical holdings. During these years, the French church was pressured by the crown to sell some of its land in order to finance the Catholic cause in these struggles. Nationally, only about 1 percent of church land was sold, but in the diocese of Bourges, sales were

echelons of urban society probably owned a good bit of immovable wealth as well. Records of the numerous transactions involving small vineyards and parcels of land abound in the archives. Such investments could provide at least a little security against the uncertainties of sixteenth-century life.[30]

When compared to its immovable wealth, Bourges's movable resources were undoubtedly less equally distributed. Cash, plate, and other easily transported objects were ordinarily controlled by the rich.[31] Since such wealth could be easily seized by armies or tax collectors, it was especially vulnerable to war. Of course, immovable

---

particularly extensive. See Ivan Cloulas, "Les acquéreurs des biens écclesiastical venus dans les diocèses de Limoges et de Bourges sous les règnes de Charles IX et Henri III," BSAHL, XCI (1964), 87-140. Cloulas' findings are discussed in Le Roy Ladurie, "Masses profonds," pp. 699-712. Such investments by the bourgeoisie may have worked to keep the city's wealth structure from becoming equal.

[30]See above, Chapter II, p. 22.

[31]Herlihy, "Family and Property," p. 8 (Table 1.2), shows that such was true of fifteenth-century Florence. The wealthiest 10 percent of that city's households in 1427 controlled 71.4 percent of the city's movable wealth, but only 52.7 percent of its immovable wealth. In Romans in 1578, the less skewed wealth structure of that town (the wealthiest 10 percent controlled 40 percent of the town's resources) probably stemmed from the fact that this computation is based on a roll of the taille, and in this region of France, the taille fell only on immeubles. Le Roy Ladurie, Romans, pp. 11-13. Movable wealth—much of which was in the form of luxury items—was possessed more exclusively by the wealthy, who could afford such goods.

wealth was not immune to this peril. The burning of Bourges's faubourgs in the siege of 1562, for example, destroyed many dwellings in that area of the city. But in Bourges the most important form of immovable wealth was land, which could neither be carried off nor destroyed.

Movable wealth thus differed from immovable wealth in two important ways. First, it was less equally distributed and, second, it was more vulnerable to war. With this in mind, the explanation of why wealth became more equally distributed in Bourges's war-torn faubourgs is clearer. The wealthy households of this area, whose possessions in 1557 included a sizeable portion of movable goods, would have lost these goods to passing armies or emigrated with them to a safer area. The poor, unencumbered by any form of wealth, could also have easily immigrated, if they were fortunate enough to survive these difficult years. But those households occupying the middle echelons of urban society would have been more likely to remain in the faubourgs, because they had too great an investment in their land and other immovable goods—the one source of wealth war could not destroy or carry away—to abandon them. No matter how bad conditions became, Bourges's faubourgs must have looked more secure to this group than the more war-torn regions of the duchy. The fields and vineyards surrounding the city at least offered the chance

to produce sufficient foodstuffs for survival, and residents living within the city's walls provided a nearby market for any surplus produced.[32]

The wealth of the faubourgs thus became more equally distributed as the Wars of Religion progressed because the area's immovable resources—more equally distributed than its movable—made up a larger part of its wealth in 1586 than in 1557. Wealthy households, which controlled most of the movable wealth, are less numerous in the latter year than in the former. At the same time, the decline of poor households was relatively greater in this area than in the remainder of the city. Having no wealth to hold them back, the poor departed quickly when war struck. Those households in the middle echelons, who owned much of the area's immovable wealth, chose to remain with their land.

The faubourgs were not the only area of the city whose wealth was affected by the wars. Although neither the

---

[32]In his discussion of the reasons the Basse-Meuse did not suffer permanent losses during the wars of the seventeenth century, Myron Gutmann, War and Rural Life, pp. 200-08, argues that several factors worked to stabilize the population of a rural area under the influence of war. One such factor was the perception that the region had "present and future opportunity." Compared with the other regions of the duchy, the faubourgs of Bourges must have appeared to offer such opportunity. Arable land was adjacent to an important market, and the demand for agricultural and viticultural labor must have increased as its supply dwindled.

ville nor the cité was as directly exposed to these struggles, each of these areas nevertheless experienced important changes in the make-up of their households. In the ville, the most important change was a marked decrease in the relative number of poor households. In 1557, 65.7 percent of the city's poor were located in this area, while by 1586, this figure had increased to 82.7.

A glance at Table 5 (p. 139) reveals the changes in the number of households in each of the city's sixteen parishes, and suggests a possible reason for this shift toward greater poverty in the ville. Only three of the city's parishes—St. Ambroix, St. Bonnet, and St. Fulgent—gained households between 1557 and 1586. All three were located exclusively in the ville. In two of these parishes—St. Fulgent and St. Ambroix—these gains can be traced to an increase in the number of poor households. St. Fulgent's households rose by over 11 percent between these years, but the number of poor increased much more rapidly than the number of other households. In 1557 there were 38 poor households in St. Fulgent and by 1586 this number had risen to 93, an increase of over 150 percent. In St. Ambroix, where households increased a more modest 6 percent, a similar but less

pronounced rise in poor households occurred.[33] Speculation in the preceding chapter about the influx of persons into these protected fringes of the ville now seems correct. The marginal lands of these three parishes were probably the parts of the city where the newly-arriving poor found it easiest to establish households. The number of poor increased in these parishes of the ville for the same reasons they decreased in the faubourgs: unencumbered by wealth, the poor were quick to abandon the unprotected lands outside the walls for the safety of the ville.[34]

---

[33] In St. Ambroix, the poor increased from 29 to 44 households (51.7 percent). St. Bonnet, whose rate of growth was only 2.8 percent, saw the number of poor households remain the same—73 in both years. However, when one considers the sharp decline of poor households in the remainder of the city, St. Bonnet's failure to lose poor households seems significant. St. Bonnet was a large parish, stretching from the edges of the Gallo-Roman walls to the medieval walls in the city's northeastern area. Possibly, a decline in poor households in its inner region was offset by a growth in the number of such households in those areas near its northern end (near the pré fichaud). In 1586, these three parishes—St. Fulgent, St. Ambroix, and St. Bonnet—contained 210/352 (59.7 percent) of the city's poor households. In 1557, they contained only 140/609 (23.0 percent). Such a change points to the likelihood that these poor but sheltered parishes had become a haven for the poor coming into the city.

[34] It would be wrong to adopt a narrow conceptualization of this process. All the poor living in the faubourgs in 1557 had not simply moved into the city by 1586. In fact, it is unlikely many of these households would have survived this difficult 29-year period. The poor as a group—not as individual households—are being considered. The point is that for this group, the faubourgs were a less desirable place to live by 1586, while the ville was more desirable. As their numbers declined in the former, they increased in the latter.

It is not difficult to explain the changes occurring in the social topography of the faubourgs and the ville. However, changes in the cité are more puzzling. The slight increase in both the absolute and relative number of wealthy households can probably be explained by the greater safety the walls of this region provided for this group's movable wealth. But how can the dramatic drop in the number of poor households—from 44 in 1557 to seven in 1586—be explained?

Certainly the poor would not have left this area of the city willingly, since the cité was Bourges's most desirable residential district. Nor is there evidence the poor were forced to move because the land they occupied was needed for other purposes. War can hardly have been a direct cause of this decline; the poor of the cité were less exposed to the fighting that occurred between 1557 and 1586 than were the poor of the faubourgs, where their decline was less severe.

These households might have been eliminated by plague. Although it has been shown that the long-range impact of the epidemic of 1582 was not great, its effects could have lingered in this small area of the city, where immigration of poor households was likely slower than in the ville. Access to this most desirable area of the city might have been difficult for the poor, perhaps requiring them first

to win the acceptance and patronage of the wealthy households in this area.[35]

Finally, there is the possibility that the poor in the cité declined because employment opportunities for them in this area were not as great in 1586 as before the wars. Although occupational information for this group is not abundant, what is available does support this thesis. Many of the poor who lived in the cité worked as laundresses, seamstresses, embroiderers, street porters, and as dealers in second-hand goods, probably collecting and reselling articles cast aside by the wealthy. Not a single viticulturalist is found among this group, and only one textile worker is present; yet these are precisely the occupations occurring most frequently among the poor in other areas of the city. The

---

[35]The kinds of services demanded of the poor in the cité required a personal relationship with the wealthier households in that area. Such relationships would have required time to be established. The fact that many of the poor in this area have no surnames, but are known simply as "Anne la blancheresse" or Francoise la fripière" suggests they were known and patronized by the wealthy.

The possibility that the plague of 1582 had reduced the number of poor households in the cité is supported by the upward movement in the number of households headed by women, a phenomenon usually following periods of high mortality. (See above, p. 182.) In 1557, women headed 14/44, or 34.1 percent of the poor households in this region; in 1586, 5/7, or 71.4 percent. There is general agreement that poor households were more susceptible to plague than were rich. See, for example, Biraben, Les hommes et la peste, II, 31-32.

poor of the cité were thus a rather specialized group who lived closely—perhaps symbiotically—with their more fortunate neighbors.[36] As inflation worsened in the late sixteenth century and Bourges's wealth began to contract, the wealthy households in the cité may have ceased to employ as many of the poor as before the wars, thus limiting the opportunity for work in this area.

An examination of the location of Bourges's poorest and wealthiest households in 1557 and 1586 thus reveals changes in the city's social topography. Of these two groups, the city's poor were most affected by the wars. Such a finding is not surprising. The vulnerability of the poor to the subsistence crises periodically occurring in early modern Europe has been well established since the appearance of Goubert's now-classic study of the Beauvaisis over twenty years ago. If poor households were likely to be eradicated during these years, they were also likely to be uprooted, as their changing number in each area of the city reveals.

---

[36]Of the 44 poor households in the city in 1557, occupational information is available only for five. For the seven in 1586, it is available for four. In the first year, there were two seamstresses (couturières), one laundress (blancheresse), one embroiderer (brodeur), and one street porter (portefraicz). In 1586, there is again an embroiderer and a seamstress, but also a linen weaver (toilière), and a dealer in second-hand goods (fripière).

E. Recurring Households

Thus far, discussion has focused on various groups of households bound together by common socioeconomic or topographical ties. Obviously, the individual households within each of these groups varied greatly in each year. The poor households of 1586, for example, were not the same poor households present in the city in 1557, since the chances of such households surviving almost three problem-ridden decades were undoubtedly very slim. Nevertheless, it is probable that some of the heads of households appearing on the 1557 roll reappear on the 1586 roll. More insight can perhaps be gained into how the city's wealth was affected by the wars by examining changes that occurred in the relative wealth of these households.

For the purpose of this analysis, the city's wealthy households are separated from its nonwealthy ones. Those households in the top decile of the 1557 wealth table—the same group used for studying changes in the city's social topography—have been labelled "wealthy."[37] Households in the first nine deciles (those paying less than 60 sous in 1557) are labelled "nonwealthy."

---

[37]See above, p. 197.

Identifying those households that recur in all of the city would be a tremendously complicated task, since numerous common surnames, many of which have several spellings, occur throughout all areas of Bourges in both years. For this reason, the problem needs to be reduced to a more manageable scale by choosing some group within the city that is at least roughly representative of all its households. It is tempting to search for a "typical" parish and to limit this analysis to its households. Such a parish does appear to exist—St. Pierre-le-Guillard. In both 1557 and 1586, St. Pierre-le-Guillard was Bourges's largest parish, containing approximately one-sixth of the city's households.[38] When examined for the variables used in this study, it appears almost a perfect microcosm of the city. Nevertheless, the use of only one parish as the basis for this analysis has been rejected for the following reason: it is possible that persons living in that parish in 1557 had moved to another parish by 1586. If such movement did occur, the names of those persons would not appear in the data, even though they were still living in the city.

For this reason, another group of households has been chosen for analysis. Those heads of households whose surnames begin with the letter "P" are linked. This letter

---

[38]See Table 5, p. 139.

was chosen for several reasons. First, there are 300 such households appearing in the 1557 roll—some 8.6 percent of the households in the city in that year. These households occur with a greater frequency than households whose surnames begin with almost any other letter. Moreover, there appear to be fewer problems arising from similarities in the spelling of surnames beginning with "P" than arise with other frequently occurring letters. Most important, these households are distributed throughout each area of the city and within each of its socioeconomic groups in numbers that roughly reflect the distribution of all the city's households.[39]

These households can be linked in two ways. The first method would be to link all households sharing a common surname. Thus the "Petit" family or the "Perrault" family

---

[39]Other letters occurring frequently are "B," "C," "D," and "R." All of these letters contain many of Bourges's largest surname groups, which greatly complicates linkage. Using "P" households, there were a few such problems (five households headed by a "Francois Petit" in 1557 and four in 1586, for example), but there were fewer than for other letters. Jacques Dupâquier, "Problèmes de representativité dans les ètudes fondées sur la reconstitution des familles," ADH (1972), pp. 83-91, has argued for this sampling procedure for family reconstitution. Such a procedure is much riskier when dealing with wealth distribution, but, short of using the entire city, I do not think a preferable method can be found.

"P" households are under-represented significantly in only one group, the poor. Of the poor (those households either mendicant or paying a tax of one sous), there were 41/300 (13.7 percent) in 1557, compared to 609/3,507 (17.4 percent) in the city as a whole.

in one year could be compared with the same family in the other year. However, such linkage is inappropriate for this analysis, since it would reveal only changes in the relative fortunes of groups of households that might (or might not) have been related patrilineally. This study is concerned with changes in the wealth of individual households, and therefore only those heads of households having identical Christian names and surnames in each year are linked.[40]

Appendix E contains the names of those heads of households appearing on both the 1557 and 1586 roll, dividing them into "wealthy" and "nonwealthy." The recurrence rate of each group is presented in Table 17. Of the 300 households whose surnames began with the letter "P" in 1557, 49 (16.3 percent) recur in 1586.[41] Among the 35 of

---

[40]On the problems of record linkage, see the articles in E. A. Wrigley, ed., Identifying People in the Past (London: Edward Arnold, 1973). Of especial importance in this work is Mark Skolnick, "The Resolution of Ambiguities in Record Linking," pp. 102-27.

[41]These findings can be compared with those of Friedrichs in Nördlingen. Of the 280 men who became adult citizens of that city (and were thus placed on the tax registers) in 1627, 69 of them (24.6 percent) were still living in the city in 1652, some 25 years later. Since the Thirty Years' War struck Nördlingen much more fiercely between these years (the city lost approximately one-half of its citizens) than the Wars of Religion struck Bourges between 1557 and 1586, one wonders why a larger percentage of households recurs. The answer is probably that the men who were admitted to citizenship in Nördlingen were, as a group, much younger than other heads of households in the city. In Bourges, although the heads of households

TABLE 17

RECURRING HOUSEHOLDS, "P" SAMPLE[a]

	Households Appearing on 1557 Roll	Recurring on 1586 Roll
Total	300	49 (16.3%)
Wealthy	35	10 (28.6%)
Nonwealthy	265	39 (14.7%)

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

these households that were wealthy before the wars, 10 reappear (28.6 percent). Of the 265 nonwealthy households, only 39 (14.7 percent) recur. One is immediately struck by the greater success of wealthy heads of households in surviving these 29 years: these persons recur with almost twice the frequency of nonwealthy heads of households.[42]

Did the wealth of these households change significantly between 1557 and 1586? This question is answered by consulting Table 18, in which evidence is presented in two ways. First, those households whose relative wealth increased between these years are separated from those households whose relative wealth decreased. In the former group, there are 29 such households; in the latter, 20. Such results suggest little change. However, when the wealthy are separated from the nonwealthy, important differences appear. Among the 10 wealthy households, seven were less wealthy in 1586, while only three saw their relative wealth increase. Conversely, the 39 nonwealthy

---

appearing on the soldes are of unknown ages, they must have covered the entire spectrum, from young adulthood to old age. See Friedrichs, Nördlingen, p. 327 (Appendix VI; Table A.VI.3).

[42]Only two of the 39 nonwealthy households recurring in 1586 were among the poor in 1557. These were the households headed by Noel Pellerin and Jehan Perreau (see Appendix E). Both had increased in relative wealth by 1586. These figures indicate a strong positive correlation between wealth and recurrence.

TABLE 18

WEALTH CHANGES AMONG RECURRING HOUSEHOLDS, "P" SAMPLE[a]

	Recurring Households	Number Increasing Relative Wealth	Number Decreasing Relative Wealth	Percentage Change[b]
Wealthy	10	3	7	+11.5 (- 3.9)
Nonwealthy	39	26	13	+87.2
All households	49	29	20	+34.8 (+27.1)

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

[b]Figures in parentheses give change when two Protestant households are removed from this group.

households were more fortunate; 26 increased their relative wealth, while only 13 experienced a decrease.

A second way to assess this information is by comparing the changes occurring in the fortunes of wealthy and nonwealthy when considered not individually, but as a group. This information is also presented in Table 18. The relative fortunes of the city's wealthy households increased some 11.5 percent, although once again the exemptions in 1557 cast suspicion on this figure. Among the nonwealthy, a more certain and pronounced change took place: these households increased their relative wealth some 87.2 percent. Among all households—wealthy and nonwealthy—relative wealth increased some 34.8 percent.

Thus, almost 16 percent of the heads of households appearing on the 1557 roll of the solde recur in 1586. Among these households, there is a move toward greater relative prosperity. This move results from the dramatic upward movement in the fortunes of those households not among the ranks of the urban elite. But why did such change occur, and did war play a role in bringing it about? One might argue that this change resulted, for example, from the aging of these heads of households. Since almost three decades separate these rolls, the fortunes of the heads of households who appear on both rolls could have been swelled by almost thirty years of

accumulating wealth, at least in relation to other groups in the city.[43] Undoubtedly, other explanations having nothing to do with the wars could be offered. How can one be certain that war or any of the problems of the late sixteenth century affected this process?

This question can be answered by comparing these results with the results of a similar analysis of an additional group of households that experienced considerable misfortunes during the wars—Bourges's Protestants. If war was influencing the fortunes of recurring households, it should have influenced Protestant households within this group more than non-Protestant ones. Between 1557, when Calvinism was approaching its high-water mark in the city,

---

[43] A correlation between the age of a head of household and household wealth has been discovered in fifteenth-century Florence by Herlihy, "Family and Property," p. 22 (Table 1.3). Since those heads of households appearing on both the 1557 and the 1586 soldes were almost three decades older in the latter year, it is possible they had accumulated more wealth, at least in relation to other households in the city.

Another feature of this data suggesting that older heads of households were wealthier than younger heads is the greater number of widows heading recurring households among the wealthy than among the nonwealthy in 1586. These households are not included in Appendix E (except in the two cases in which a household was headed by a widow in both years). However, four wealthy households and eight nonwealthy households fall in this category. Nonwealthy households are almost eight times more numerous among the households in the "P" sample than wealthy households (265 of the former and only 35 of the latter), yet widows occur with only twice the frequency. Assuming that a husband was older than his wife, the chances of a woman's outliving her husband over a period of nearly three decades would increase with the age of the husband at the beginning of that period.

and 1586, when Bourges declared for the League, Protestants experienced some of the greatest trials war could bring. Following the Catholic recapture of the city in the summer of 1562, Protestants saw their households plundered. They were also subjected to punitive impositions and eventually expelled from the city. In 1572, the St. Bartholomew's Massacre resulted in additional pillaging of Protestant households and businesses. Throughout the wars, Protestants were singled out for special taxation, and their position and influence declined sharply in the city.[44] For this reason, it seems safe to hypothesize that if the wars were affecting the fortunes of those heads of households surviving these difficult years, those households among this group headed by Protestants should have been affected more adversely than those headed by non-Protestants.

The 1562 roll discussed earlier is again used to provide the names of the city's leading Protestants.[45] This roll appears in Appendix A. Seventy-two of the 95 names appear on the solde of 1586. When Protestants are limited to those heads of households appearing on both rolls, in order to compare them with the households in the

---

[44]See Chapter III, pp. 52-53, for a discussion of the problems Protestants faced in Bourges during these years.

[45]See Chapter III, pp. 44-45.

"P" sample, these numbers are reduced to 29.[46] The changes in the fortunes of these 29 households are presented in Table 19. Fourteen of them were wealthy while 15 were nonwealthy. Eight of these 14 wealthy households declined in relative wealth, while six increased. The 15 nonwealthy households are divided almost equally between those increasing in wealth and those decreasing. However, before these households can be compared with the households in the "P" sample, two households in the "P" sample headed by Protestants must be removed. When these two households are removed, the results can be compared. In the "P" sample, wealthy households decreased in wealth some 3.9 percent between 1557 and 1586; among wealthy Protestants, this decrease was a greater 12.9 percent. Clearly, Protestantism was a liability in holding one's own within the urban elite.[47]

---

[46]These are Protestant households headed by males in both years. Nine households in which a widow had succeeded her husband by 1586 are not included, since changes in the wealth of these households might reflect inheritance practices (e.g., the division of an estate among several heirs).

[47]This is true, of course, of Protestants as a group. Some of the Protestants participating in the 1562 revolt improved their position in the following years, although most did not. On the whole, Protestants fared less well than non-Protestants. It should be remembered that the list of Protestants used in this study was compiled in 1562, and it is possible that many of those appearing on it may have returned to Catholicism by 1586.

TABLE 19

WEALTH CHANGES AMONG RECURRING PROTESTANT HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Recurring Households	Number Increasing Relative Wealth	Number Decreasing Relative Wealth	Percentage Change
Wealthy	14	6	8	-12.9
Nonwealthy	15	8	7	+25.6
All households	29	14	15	- 3.2

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

Among the nonwealthy households, the results also differ between Protestants and non-Protestants. While Protestant households did increase their relative wealth, they did so much less impressively than did non-Protestants, rising only 25.6 percent. The chances of Protestants to improve their relative fortunes within the city during these decades were thus considerably slimmer than the chances of non-Protestants.

To sum up the results of this analysis of changes occurring in the wealth of those heads of households residing in Bourges in both 1557 and 1586: changes in the relative wealth of this group occurred that help to explain why the city's wealth structure was altered slightly between these years. Those households beneath the ranks of the urban elite saw their relative wealth increase, while those within the elite saw their relative wealth decrease. This process was likely linked to a number of variables (one of which was undoubtedly age), but its rate was controlled at least in part by war. This conclusion is supported by evidence that Bourges's Protestants—a group whose fortunes were unquestionably influenced adversely by these struggles—enjoyed less good fortune than did its non-Protestants, represented in the "P" sample. Among wealthy Protestants, relative wealth declined more rapidly than among wealthy non-Protestants, while among the

nonwealthy, Protestants failed to increase their relative fortunes as significantly as did non-Protestants.

F. Conclusion

Although Bourges's wealth structure was slightly less polarized in 1586 than in 1557, this change did not occur because large numbers of households among the lower and middle echelons of urban society became more prosperous. Aside from those involved in the production of arms (whose wealth was probably linked to the demands of war), no other households appear to have grown significantly more prosperous. The reason for the apparent change in the city's wealth structure can be traced instead to the disappearance of a large number of the city's poorest households, probably because these households were unable to survive the numerous problems of the late sixteenth century. The city's growing impoverishment—a condition to which war, inflation, and the decline of the textile industry all contributed—meant the number of poor households that could be supported on the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic ladder decreased. Poor women were especially vulnerable, suggesting that plague, in the long run, was not the most important cause of decline. While a decline in the number of poor households made the city's wealth structure less polarized, it hardly constituted significant socioeconomic change.

If Bourges's socioeconomic structure was changed little by the Wars of Religion, its social topography was affected more significantly. Although the cité remained the city's wealthiest area and the faubourgs the poorest area, the number of wealthy and poor households in each area of the city changed. The poor proved more readily influenced by the problems of these years than did the wealthy. The relative number of the poor declined sharply in the faubourgs and the cité, while increasing in the ville. Once again, war was responsible for much of this change.

A final way in which war affected the city's wealth structure was by interfering with the rate at which household wealth changed over a period of thirty years. This is demonstrated by the changes in the wealth of those households appearing on both rolls. While wealthy households saw their wealth decrease slightly between 1557 and 1586 and nonwealthy households saw their wealth increase, this process was less pronounced among the city's Protestant than its non-Protestant households. This finding suggests that the burdens of war—which fell proportionately more heavily on Protestants—were making the accumulation of wealth over these three decades more difficult.

The tendency of Bourges's wealth to become slightly more evenly distributed as the Wars of Religion progressed contrasts strongly with the changes occurring in the wealth structure of the little German city of Nördlingen during the Thirty Years' War. In that city, wealth became less equally distributed as the burdens of war increased, moving again toward more equal distribution after the conflict had ended.[48]

Why did war affect the wealth structure of these two cities—Bourges and Nördlingen—in opposite ways? The answer may lie in the differences in the economy of each city. In Bourges, immovable wealth appears to have made up a much larger portion of the city's wealth than in Nördlingen. In 1557, almost one-fourth of its households were located in its faubourgs, while all of Nördlingen's households were located behind its walls.[49] In Bourges, a large part of the population—perhaps as much as one-fifth—made its living directly from the soil. Of Nördlingen's

---

[48]Friedrichs, Nördlingen, pp. 111-25.

[49]Friedrichs, Nördlingen, pp. 8-10. This is true at least of households whose wealth assessments were studied. If the city had faubourgs, they were not fiscally integrated with regions inside the walls, as was the case in Bourges.

more than 1,200 households in 1579, only seven were involved directly in agriculture.[50]

It is thus likely that a larger percentage of Nördlingen's wealth consisted of movable goods—cash, plate, and the wages of its artisans and craftsmen—than was the case in Bourges. Changes in the distribution of such wealth would logically favor whatever group was able to protect its wealth most successfully from armies or tax collectors. In Nördlingen, although the city's total wealth declined some 50 percent during the Thirty Years' War, the wealthy appear to have achieved this more successfully than the nonwealthy. Conversely, in Bourges, where immovable resources formed a more important portion of urban wealth, changes in the distribution of wealth favored those groups whose prosperity was based most exclusively on this source—the middle echelons of urban society. Such a change is most obvious in the city's _faubourgs_, where immovable wealth probably formed a greater percentage of the goods of each household than in

---

[50]Friedrichs, _Nördlingen_, p. 319 (Appendix II).

other areas of the city and where the effects of the wars were most direct.[51]

---

[51]A final explanation of this difference may be that a larger number of households succumbed to plague in Nördlingen than in Bourges. Plague deaths were especially great in the German city in 1634. The redistribution of the goods of plague victims among their heirs might have created greater concentrations of wealth in the city, as likely occurred throughout Europe immediately following the Black Death in 1348-49. See above, Chapter II, p. 30, f. n. 27. However, this appears unlikely since Friedrichs is able to demonstrate a direct correlation between periods of war and shifts toward greater inequality in the distribution of Nördlingen's wealth. Friedrichs, Nördlingen, pp. 120-25.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this study, I proposed to examine some of the ways in which Bourges experienced the Wars of Religion during the first two and one-half decades of those struggles. The purpose of such a study was to learn more of war's influence on urban society in early modern Europe. In the preceding chapters, some of the changes occurring in the city's population, economic life, and wealth structure have been analyzed. At this point, it is appropriate to ask what general conclusions can be drawn from these findings.

At first glance, the answer to the question of how seriously war affected the city's population appears relatively simple. The loss of one-eighth of Bourges's households between 1557 and 1586 hardly constitutes a major demographic disaster by the standards of early modern Europe. Much greater losses have been discovered in the wake of wars, plagues, and famines between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. One's first impulse is thus to side with those scholars who have argued that the religious wars, at least in their first two and

one-half decades, did not lead to serious demographic decline.[1]

Closer consideration, however, suggests that such a conclusion would be risky. Bourges was one of France's great walled cities, a haven, as has been demonstrated, from the turbulence of the surrounding countryside. Its demographic fate can hardly be considered "typical" of the demographic fate of the remainder of the realm. The losses of Bourges's unenclosed faubourgs, where over one-third of the households disappeared, clearly point to war as an important reason for demographic decline, and suggest that the open regions of the realm may have suffered extensive losses before the 1590's.

Bourges's population losses may have been relatively modest, but the wars unquestionably placed a tremendous strain on the city's resources. Such a conclusion is supported by the discussion and analysis of both narrative and archival sources. The most direct and dramatic encounter with war came in the summer of 1562, when the city was captured, occupied, and besieged by Catholic and Protestant troops. Violence resulting from the presence of garrisons in the city and encounters between Bourges's Protestants and Catholics continued to occur throughout

---

[1]See above, Chapter V, p. 121, f. n. 2.

the wars, although the destruction of the first religious war was never equalled. In the long run, however, the most serious consequences of the wars did not stem from direct encounters between the city's residents and armies or between its Catholics and Protestants. Such consequences resulted instead from two other sources. The first was the repeated ravaging of the surrounding countryside by the armies that passed through the duchy. Such activities struck directly and continually at the city's economic roots, since it was from this region that Bourges drew much of its wealth. The second was the tremendous fiscal burden which war placed on the city's residents by hampering the collection of urban revenues while at the same time swelling the size of royal and municipal loans necessary to finance the struggles. Under such conditions, wealth could hardly have failed to be drained away much more rapidly than it was generated.

To Bourges's residents, the shrinking of the city's wealth must have been far more obvious than the redistribution of that wealth. Nevertheless, the city's wealth was at least slightly less polarized in 1586 than in 1557. A few groups may have grown more wealthy, but the most important reason for the slight shift toward what appears to be a more equitable distribution of wealth stems from the loss of several of the city's poorest households.

The loss of much of Bourges's movable wealth, of which wealthy households likely held a greater proportion than nonwealthy households, may also have helped to change the city's wealth structure. However, no significant socio-economic change occurred.

The study also suggests that if the changes resulting from war's influence on early modern society are to be understood properly, these changes must be considered in relation to several variables. Among the most important of these variables are the directness and frequency with which a region was visited by war; the role played by other short-term crises, such as plague and famine; the perception of the region's residents concerning the security and opportunity existing in the region; and—perhaps most important—the resiliency of the region's economic life, a condition which may be completely unrelated to war, as the decline of Bourges's textile industry demonstrates. Proper consideration of these and similar variables will explain not only the extent and nature of demographic and socioeconomic change resulting from war, but also why this change varied from region to region, what groups were most affected by it, and what long-range social and economic consequences may have resulted.

A final question should be considered: Would Bourges's population and economy have failed to change as

they did without the influence of the wars? Or did these struggles simply hasten and exacerbate a process already begun before the struggles broke out? Certainly some of the changes occurring during these years can be traced exclusively to the wars. The contraction of the city's faubourgs, for example, and the change occurring in that area's wealth, would not have been as pronounced without the presence of hostile armies in the surrounding countryside. Nor would the city's wealth have been drained so heavily by loans and levies without the wars. However, even a cursory glance at Bourges's history between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries is sufficient to reveal that it was not the Wars of Religion, but the decline of the textile industry, which marked the most important turning point in the city's fortunes. When the wars broke out, this decline had been under way for at least a half century, and the city's importance as a center of the international textile trade had already ended. It is evident from the unsuccessful attempts of the city council to reverse this decline throughout the sixteenth century that the industry's misfortunes were adversely affecting the city's economic life. As these attempts proved unsuccessful, and Bourges began its transition from an important center of international commerce to a small provincial city with only regional significance, it is

possible that its wealth would have contracted and possibly become more equally distributed. The woolens merchants and bourgeoisie would have had great difficulty maintaining their commercial-based fortunes.[2]

The Wars of Religion, as this study has demonstrated, contributed further to this process. However, these struggles did not initiate the city's difficulties. This conclusion is supported by the city's failure to reverse its fortunes in the years following the wars. Bourges's demographic and economic blows were relatively light when compared to those which struck several other towns and cities in the wars of the late sixteenth century. Many towns of the southern Netherlands, for example, saw population tumble by one-half or more and textile production come to a virtual halt in the 1580's. Yet these towns

---

[2]That a society whose economic life was based on large-scale industrial production and international commerce should have been wealthier than one whose economy depended almost exclusively on agriculture, viticulture, and regional trade seems a safe assumption. One is on shakier ground when claiming such society's wealth would have been less equally distributed. However, evidence from some preindustrial cities indicates that such was true. See, for example, the recent study of Judith Brown, In the Shadow of Florence: Provincial Society in Renaissance Pescia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 202, which argues that the wealth of the little city of Pescia became less equally distributed as the city's prosperity increased in the sixteenth century. In colonial Boston, wealth also became less equally distributed as the city's economy grew between the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. See James Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," WMQ, Series 3, XXII (1965), 75-92.

began to rebound once peace was restored in the early seventeenth century.[3]

Far from regaining its prosperity in the decades following the wars, Bourges became a quiet provincial town, where little demographic or economic growth occurred until well into the nineteenth century.[4] During the ancien régime, this stagnation was frequently lamented by the intendants who were aware of the city's former prosperity. They sought to explain its problems in a number of ways, ranging from the lethargy of the population to the disdain of the many members of the urban nobility for engaging in commerce. Attempts to revive the textile industry continued to prove futile. On the eve of the

---

[3]Geoffrey Parker, "War and Economic Change: The Economic Costs of the Dutch Revolt," in Parker, Ten Studies, pp. 180-85.

[4]For a discussion of the city's demographic history during these years see Lot, Recherches, II, 75-84. In 1762, the city had 3,738 households—almost the same number as were found in the 1557 solde. The Napoleonic census of 1810 found a population of 17,552 persons—within the range of possibility for the sixteenth century. Thereafter slight growth appears to have begun. In 1820, there were 18,834; in 1830, 19,104. In the latter year, the city counted 659 births and 614 deaths. These figures indicate a birth and death rate in excess of thirty per thousand, a figure as high as that often found under the ancien régime. For this information see Edouard Jongleux, Bourges, la revolution de 1830 (Bourges: n.p., 1830), p. 97.

French Revolution, Mirebeau referred to the duchy of Berry as "the Siberia of France."[5]

In his discussion of the effects of the Hundred Years' War on English society, Michael Postan has made the following comment:

> In the machinery of social change . . . war was not so much the mainspring as the make-weight. Wherever its actions ran counter to the tendencies of the age . . . it was on the whole ineffective. Only at points at which changes were taking place anyhow was its influence great and irrevocable enough to deserve the attention of the social historian.[6]

Certainly the Wars of Religion weighed more heavily on France's population than did the Hundred Years' War on the population of England, where hostile troops never set foot on the country's soil. Nevertheless, in the long run, Postan's comments ring true for sixteenth-century Bourges. The wars certainly reduced the city's population and its wealth; but had Bourges's economy been resilient, these losses could have been regenerated once the struggles had ended.

Two of the "points at which change was taking place"—Bourges's population and the structure of its wealth—

---

[5]See, for example, the comments of the intendant Lambert d'Herbigny in 1666 as quoted in Hippolyte Boyer, "Histoire de l'industrie et du commerce à Bourges," MSAC, Series 4, I (1884), 223-24.

[6]Postan, "Social Consequences," p. 12.

have been examined in this study. The Wars of Religion unquestionably contributed to these changes. However, if such changes created problems that proved "great and irrevocable," it was not because of the wars. In the long run, Bourges's greatest problems stemmed from changes occurring in the structure of its economy—specifically, the decline of its once-prosperous textile industry. War reinforced this decline, but did not initiate it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BIBLIOGRAPHIES, ARCHIVAL GUIDES, AND DICTIONARIES

1. Bibliographies and Archival Guides

a. Berry

Gueneau, Louis. Sources parisiennes de l'histoire du Berry. 2 vols. Rennes, 1939-44.

b. Bourges

Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Bourges. Paris, 1886.

Desages, Charles, and Jean Béreux. Répertoire numerique des archives municipales de Bourges à 1790.

c. Cher

Inventaire-sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Series A-E. 3 vols. Bourges, 1883-1913.

Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Series E supplément. Bourges, 1913.

Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Series E supplément. Bourges, 1955.

Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Series G. Bourges, 1931.

Répertoire critique des anciens inventaires des archives du Cher. Bourges, 1939.

d. France

Bibliographie annuelle de l'histoire de France du Ve siècle à 1939-. Paris, 1955-.

Caron, Pierre, and Henri Stein, eds. Répetoire bibliographique de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1923-28.

Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Paris; 28 vols. Départements; 48 vols. Paris, 1886-1933.

Gandilhon, René. Bibliographie générale des travaux historiques et archéologique publiés par les sociétés savantes de la France, période 1910-1940. 5 vols. Paris, 1944-61.

Hauser, Henri. Les sources de l'histoire de France. XVIe siècle (1494-1610). 4 vols. Paris, 1906-14.

Langlois, Charles, and H. Stein. Les archives de l'histoire de France. Paris, 1791. Reprint, 1966.

Lasteyrie, Robert de, and Eugene Lefevre-Pontalis. Bibliographie générale des travaux historiques et archéologiques publiés par les sociétés savantes de la France. 6 vols. Paris, 1888-1918. Reprint, 1972.

_____. Bibliographie annuelle des travaux historiques et archéologiques publiés par les sociétés savantes de la France. 3 vols. Paris, 1906-14.

Le Mée, René. Les sources de la démographie historique française dans les archives publiques (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle). Paris, 1967.

Monod, Gabriel. Bibliographie de l'histoire de France. Catalogue méthodique et chronologique des sources et des ouvrages rélatifs a l'histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à 1789. Paris, 1888.

e. Other Bibliographies

Dollinger, Philippe, and Philippe Wolff. Bibliographie d'histoire des villes de France. France, 1967.

Levasseur, Emile. Bibliographie de l'histoire des classes ouvrières en France jusqu'en 1789. Paris, 1903.

2. Dictionaries

Boyer, Hippolyte. Dictionnaire topographique de département du Cher. Paris, 1926.

Brunet de Grandmaison, Pierre. Dictionnaire des aides. Paris, 1726.

Buhot de Kersers, Alphonse L. M. Statisque monumentale de département du Cher. 8 vols. Paris, 1875-78.

Franklin, Alfred L. A. Dictionnaire historique des arts, métiers, et professions exercès dans Paris depuis le treizième siècle. Paris, 1906.

Godefroy, Frederic. Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVIe siècle. 10 vols. 1937-38.

Marion, Marcel. Dictionnaire des institutions de la France au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle. Paris, 1968.

Petitjean de Maransage, Armand Henri. Dictionnaire historique, généalogique, et héraldique des anciennes familles du Berry. 2 vols. Bourges, 1926.

B. ARCHIVAL SOURCES

1. Unpublished

Archives Municipales de Bourges (AMB)

BB 2. Convocations aux assemblées de l'hotel de ville, 1560-1667.

BB 6-BB 11. Registres des déliberations de l'hôtel de ville, 1554-1594.

BB 33. Nomination des maires et échevins, 1483-1786.

BB 39. Receveur des deniers communs et d'octrois de la ville, 1574-1792.

CC 1-CC 2. Taxes pour la subsistence des gens de guerre, 1480-1573.

CC 4-28bis. Rôles de taxes diverses (ordre chronologique).

CC 8. "Raolle de la cottization faicte de la soulde des cinquante mil hommes de pied en l'année 1567."

CC 25. Rôle de l'imposition de cinq cents écus pour la solde de 50,000 hommes de pied "demandée par le roy en l'année dernière 1585," et de 213 écus 1/3 "pour et au lieu de l'imposition des V sols pour muy de vin entrant. . . ." dus pour ladite année.

CC 126-CC 127. Treizain. Pièces divers, 1467-vers 1731.

CC 136. Bail général des fermes de la ville, 1486-1599.

CC 246. Deniers communs.—Pieces diverses, 1471-1775.

CC 337-CC 368. Comptes-rendus à la ville par les receveurs des deniers communs, de la recette et dépense desdits deniers, 1560-1590.

CC 344. Recettes et dépenses des deniers communs, 1567-68.

CC 635-CC 680. Pièces à l'appui des comptes. Pièces justificatives des comptes des receveurs des deniers communs, 1560-1590.

GG 124. Culte protestant. Exercice du culte. Protection de la ville contre les entreprises des huguenots. Mesures de police et de pacification. Impositions sur les reformés; affaires s'y rattachant. Poursuites contre les personnes et les biens des reformés, 1563-1688.

GG 127. Université.—Reformation

GG 670. Mendicité, tax des pauvres et aumône: état et roles divers, 1586-1599.

GG 708-GG 710. Peste. Pièces a l'appui des comptes rendus aux maire et èchevins, par le receveur des deniers communs, pour les dépenses occasionnées par les épidemies, 1585-1637.

2. Published

Jongleux, Henry. Archives de la ville de Bourges avant 1790. 2 vols. Bourges, 1877-78.

Toubeau de Maisonneuve, E. Les anciens corporations ouvrières a Bourges. Cayers des reiglemens et ordonnances sur plusieurs estats et métiers de personnes demourantes en la ville et faulxbourgs de Bourges, 1561 à 1633. Bourges, 1881.

C. WORKS DEALING WITH BOURGES AND BERRY

Archelet, Jean d'. "La vie publique à Bourges au XVI siècle." RB (1916), 90-122.

Bengy-Puyvallée, Maurice de. "Extraits des cahiers des assemblées du tiers état du duché de Berry en 1576 et 1588." MSHLASC, Series 4, XLVI (1934-35), 129-60.

Boyer, Hippolyte. "Les enceintes de Bourges." MSHLASC, Series 4, III (1887), 35-260.

_____. "Histoire de l'industrie et du commerce à Bourges." MSHLASC, Series 4, I (1884), 215-48.

Cathérinot, Nicholas. Le calvinisme en Berry. Bourges, 1684.

_____. Le siège de Bourges. Bourges, 1684.

Charlemagne, Edmond. Les anciennes institutions municipales de Bourges. Bourges, 1889.

Chaumeau, Jean. Histoire de Berry, contenant l'origine, antiquité, gestes, prouesses, privilèges, et libertés des berruyers. Lyon, 1566.

Chenon, Emile. Le pays de Berry et le "détroit" de sa coutume. Paris, 1911.

Chenu, Jean. Recueil des antiquités et privilèges de la ville de Bourges, et de plusieurs autres villes capitales du royaume. Paris, 1621.

Clément, Maurice. Etude sur les communautés d'habitants dans la province de Berry. Châteauroux, 1891.

Devailly, Guy. Le Berry du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe: étude politique, religieuse, sociale et économique. Paris, 1973.

Discours de l'entreprinse et conspiration faicte par ceux de la nouvelle opinion portans les armes contre le Roy sur la ville de Bourges et du succes de la dite enterprinse. Anonymous pamphlet. Paris, 1570.

Fauconneau-Dufresne, D. "La Réforme en Berry (XVIe siècle)." RC, IV (1882), 165-76; 266-74; 454-69.

Fontaine, A. Histoire municipale de Vierzon. St. Amand, 1944.

Fournier, Marcel. "L'ancien université de Bourges, première period (XVe siècle)." MSHLASC, Series 4, IX (1893), 1-93.

Gandilhon, René. La nation germanique de l'université de Bourges. Bourges, 1936.

_____. "Visite de Bourges par deux étudiants bâlois: Felix et Thomas Platter." MSAC, XLV (1931-33), 237-52.

Gay, François P. La champagne du Berry: essai sur la formation d'un paysage agraire et l'évolution d'une société rurale. Bourges, 1966.

Glaumeau, Jean. Journal de Jean Glaumeau, prêtre de Bourges (1541-1562). Bourges, 1867.

Gueneau, Yves. Les Protestants dans le colloque "de Sancerre" de 1598 à 1685. CAHB, XXX-XXXI (1972).

Guidault, P. La léproserie de Bourges. Bourges, 1897.

Jenny, Jean. "Protestants du diocèse de Bourges réfugié à Genève au XVIe siècle d'après le Livre des habitants de Genève." BSEB, LIII (1967), 322-41.

Jongleux, Edouard. Bourges, révolution de 1830. Bourges, 1830.

Jongleux, Henry. Bourges, esquisses historiques. Bourges, 1876.

La Londre, Baudouin. "La maréchal Claude de la Châtre: lettres inédites (1573-1614)." MSHLASC, Series 4, IX (1893), 147-209; X (1894-95), 1-247.

Laugardière, Maurice de. L'église de Bourges avant Charlemagne. Paris, 1951.

Laurent, Henri. "Draps de Burgos, de Bruges, et de Bourges à Florence au XIV siècle." Mélanges offert à Nicholas Iorga par ses amis de France et des pays de langue française. Paris, 1933.

Lery, Jean de. Histoire memorable de la ville de Sancerre; contenant les entreprinses, siege . . . assaux, et autres efforts des assiegeans, la famine extreme et delivrance . . . des assiegez . . . le catalogue des morts. . . . La Rochelle, 1584.

Marion, Marcel. Histoire du Berry et du Bourbonnais. 2 vols. Paris, 1933.

Martinet, Camille. "Un épisode des guerres de religion en Berry." RB (1910), 276-86.

Meunier, J. J. "Un fait divers du siège de Bourges en 1562 raconté par un témoin: Ambroise Paré." CAHB, XIX (1969), 35-37.

Moreux, Thaumas. "Le climat de Cher." MSHLASC, Series 4, XX (1905), 165.

Nicolay, Nicholas de. Description générale du pais et duché de Berry et diocèse de Bourges. Châteauroux, 1883. Printed from a 1567 manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Raynal, Louis. Histoire du Berry depuis les temps plus anciens jusqu'en 1789. 4 vols. Bourges, 1844-47.

Ribault de Laugardière, Charles. Notes historiques sur la ville de Bourges, son origine, ses fortifications, ses monuments gallo-romains. Bourges, 1858.

Ruble, Alphonse de. Documents inédits sur la guerre civile de 1562 en Berry. Bourges, 1888. Published originally in MSAC, XV (1887-88), 127-66.

Taillemitte, Etienne. "La vie économique et sociale à Bourges, 1450 à 1560." Thèse de l'Ecole des chartes, 1948.

Thaumassière, Thaumas de la. Histoire de Berry. 3 vols. Bourges, 1865-71. Reprint of 1689 edition.

Thierry de Brimont, Marie-Camille. Le XVIe siècle et les guerres de la Réforme en Berry. 2 vols. Paris, 1905.

Toubeau de Maisonneuve, E. "Aides royales et impositions municipales dans la ville de Bourges." MASC, V (1873-74), 129-282.

_____. "Droit du treizième sur le vin vendu en détail à Bourges." MSAC, IV (1870-71), 211-29.

Toubeau, Jean. Recueil des privilèges de la ville de Bourges. Paris, 1643.

Vacher, Antoine. Le Berry. Contribution a l'étude géographique d'une région française. Paris, 1908.

Weiss, N. "La Réforme à Bourges au XVIe siècle." BSHPF, LIII (1904), 307-59.

Wimbée, Gaston. Histoire du Berry des origines à 1790. Bourges, 1957.

D. MEMOIRS, JOURNALS, PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS, AND OTHER WORKS DATING FROM THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Aubigné, Théodore d'. Histoire universelle. Ed. Alphonse de Ruble. 10 vols. Paris, 1886-1909.

Bèze, Théodore de. Correspondence. Ed. Hippolyte Aubert et al. 6 vols. Geneva, 1960-73.

_____. Histoire écclesiastique des églises reformées au royaume de France. 3 vols. Nieuwkoop, 1974. Reprint of the Paris edition, 1883-89.

Calendar of State Papers. Foreign Series of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1562. Ed. Joseph Stevenson. London, 1867.

Catherine de Medici. Lettres de Cathérine de Médicis. 11 vols. Vols. 1-V ed. Hector de la Ferrière; vols. VI-XI ed. Gustave Baguenault de Puchesse. Paris, 1880-1909.

Combes, Jean. Traicte de tailles et autres charges, et subsides, tant ordinaires, que extraordinaires, qui se levent en France, et des offices et estats touchant le maniement des finances de ce royaume, avec leur institution et origine. . . . Paris, 1584.

Condé, Louis Ier, prince de. Mémoires du prince de Condé. 5 vols. Edition Sécousse. Paris, 1743.

Crespin, Jean. Histoire des martyrs persécutez et mis à mort pour la verité de l'Evangile depuis le temps des apostres jusques à présent (1619). Ed. Daniel Renoit. 3 vols. Toulouse, 1885-89.

Des-Hayes, Pierre, ed. Recueil de plusieurs ordonnances, réglemens, et arrests, faicts et donnés pour la faict des aydes. Paris, 1633.

Fagniez, E., ed. Documents rélatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie et du commerce en France. 2 vols. Paris, 1898-1900.

Fontanon, Antoine, ed. Les édicts et ordonnances des rois de France, traitans en général et particulier du fait de leur domaine et finances. 3 vols. Paris, 1611.

Geisendorf, Paul, ed. Livre des habitants de Genève. 2 vols. Geneva, 1957-63.

Grimmelhausen, Hans Jacob Christoffel von. The Adventurous Simplicissimus, being the description of the life of a strange vagabond named Melchior Sternfels von Fuchshaim. Translated by A. T. S. Goodrich. Lincoln, Nebraska, 1962.

Haton, Claude. Mémoires de Claude Haton, contenant le récit des évenements accomplis de 1553 à 1582, principalement dans la Champagne et la Brie. 2 vols. Paris, 1857.

Hauser, Henri, ed. Recherches et documents sur l'histoire des prix en France de 1500 à 1800. Paris, 1936.

Hayem, Julien, ed. Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire du commerce et de l'industrie en France. Paris, 1911.

Isambert, F. A., et al., eds. Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la révolution de 1789. 29 vols. Paris, 1821-33.

Marguerite d'Angoulême. Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême, soeur de François I, reine de Navarre. Ed. François Génin. 4 vols. Paris, 1841-42.

Merkwius, Franke. Vues des villes de France. Amsterdam, 1666.

Tassin, Nicolas. Plans et profils de toutes les principales villes et lieux considerables de France, ensemble les cartes generales de chascune province et les particulières de chasque gouvernement d'icelles. Paris, 1636.

Tavannes, Gaspard de Saulx, seigneur de. Mémoires de très-noble et très-illustré Gaspard de Saulx. In Nouvelle collection des mémoires sur l'histoire de France depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Ed. Joseph-François Michaud and Jean-Joseph Poujoulet. Vol. VIII. Paris, 1836-39.

Thou, Jacques Auguste de. Histoire universelle (1553-1601). 11 vols. The Hague, 1740.

E. BOOKS

Appleby, Andrew B. Famine in Tudor and Stuart England. Stanford, California, 1978.

Ardant, Gabriel. Histoire de l'impôt. 2 vols. Paris, 1971-72.

Ariès, Philippe. Histoire des populations françaises. Paris, 1948.

Babeau, Albert. La ville sous l'ancien règime. 2 vols. Paris, 1884.

Baulant, Micheline, and Jean Meuvret. Prix des céréales extraits de la mercuriale de Paris (1520-1698). Paris, 1962.

Benedict, Philip. Rouen During the Wars of Religion. New York, 1981.

Bézard, Yvonne. La vie rurale dans le sud de la région parisienne de 1450 à 1560. Paris, 1929.

Biraben, Jean Noel. Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens. 2 vols. Paris, 1976.

Blanshei, Sarah R. Perugia, 1260-1340: Conflict and Change in a Medieval Italian Urban Society. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. New Series. Vol. LXVI. Part 2. Philadelphia, 1976.

Bowsky, William. The Finances of the Commune of Siena. Oxford, 1969.

Braudel, Fernand, and Ernest Labrousse, eds. Histoire économique et sociale de la France. 4 vols. Paris, 1977-80.

Braudel, Fernand. The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II. Translated from the French by Siân Reynolds. 2 vols. New York, 1972-73.

Brésard, M. Les foires de Lyon aux XVe et XVIe siècles. Paris, 1914.

Brown, Judith. In the Shadow of Florence: Provincial Society in Renaissance Pescia. New York, 1982.

Carrère, Claude. Barcelona, centre économique à l'époque des difficultés (1380-1462). 2 vols. Paris, 1967.

Chandler, Tertius, and Gerald Fox. Three Thousand Years of Urban Growth. New York, 1974.

Charbonneau, Hubert, and André Larose, eds. The Great Mortalities: Methodological Studies of Demographic Crises in the Past. Liège, 1979.

Chaunu, Pierre. La civilisation de l'Europe classique. Paris, 1966.

Cipolla, Carlo. Before the Industrial Revolution. New York, 1976.

_____. Cristofano and the Plague: A Study in the History of Public Health. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973.

Clamageran, Jean Jules. Histoire de l'impôt en France. 3 vols. Paris, 1867-76.

Coornaert, Emile. Les corporations en France avant 1789. Paris, 1941.

Couturier, Marcel. Recherches sur les structures sociales de Châteaudun, 1525-1789. Paris, 1969.

Coynart, Raymond. L'année 1562 et la bataille de Dreux: étude historique et militaire. Paris, 1894.

Croix, Alain. Nantes et le pays nantais au XVIe siècle: étude démographique. Paris, 1974.

Delumeau, Jean. La civilisation de la Renaissance. Paris, 1967.

_____. La vie économique et sociale à Rome dans la seconde partie du XVIe siècle. Paris, 1956.

Devèze, Michel. La vie de la fôret française au seizième siècle. 2 vols. Paris, 1961.

Deyon, Pierre. Amiens, capitale provinciale: étude sur la société urbaine au XVIIe siècle. Paris, 1967.

Dolleans, Edouard, and Gerard Dehove. Histoire du travail en France. 2 vols. Paris, 1953-55.

Dollinger, Philippe. The German Hansa. Translated from the French by D. S. Ault and S. H. Steinberg. Stanford, California, 1970.

Doucet, Roger. Finances municipales et crédit public à Lyon au XVIe siècle. Paris, 1937.

_____. Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle. 2 vols. Paris, 1948.

Duby, Georges, and Armand Wallon, eds. Histoire de la France rurale. Vol. II. L'Age classique des paysans, 1340-1789. Paris, 1975.

Dupont-Ferrier, Gustave. Etudes sur les institutions financières de la France à la fin du moyen âge. Paris, 1930.

Fagniez, Gustave. L'économie sociale de la France sous Henri IV. Paris, 1897.

Fairchilds, Cissie C. Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence, 1640-1789. Baltimore, 1976.

Finances et comptabilité urbaines du XIIIe au XVIe siècle; colloque international, Blankenberge (6-9 septembre, 1962). Brussels, 1964.

Fiumi, Enrico. Storia economica e sociale di San Gimignano. Florence, 1961.

Flinn, Michael W. The European Demographic System, 1500-1820. Baltimore, Maryland, 1981.

Forbonnais, François Veron de. Recherches et considerations sur les finances de France depuis l'année 1559 jusqu'à 1721. 2 vols. Basel, 1758.

Friedrichs, Christopher R. Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580-1720. Princeton, New Jersey, 1979.

Fulk, Richard A., and Samuel S. Kim, eds. The War System: An Interdisciplinary Approach. Boulder, Colorado, 1980.

Gascon, Richard. Grand commerce et la vie urbaine au seizième siècle: Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520-environs de 1580). 2 vols. Paris, 1971.

Gimpel, Jean. The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages. New York, 1976.

Goubert, Pierre. Beauvais et le Beauvaisis, 1600-1730: contribution à l'histoire sociale de la France du XVIIe siècle. Paris, 1960.

Guibert, Aristide. Histoire des villes de France, avec une introduction générale pour chaque province. 6 vols. Paris, 1845-48.

Guillaume, Pierre, and Jean-Pierre Poussou. Démographie historique. Paris, 1970.

Gutmann, Myron. War and Rural Life in the Early Modern Low Countries. Princeton, New Jersey, 1980.

Gutton, Jean-Pierre. La société et les pauvres. L'exemple de la généralité de Lyon, 1534-1789. Paris, 1971.

Hauser, Henri. Ouvriers du temps passé (XVe-XVIe siècles). Paris, 1899.

_____. Travailleurs et marchands de l'ancienne France. Paris, 1929.

Heers, Jacques. Société et économie à Gênes (XIVe-XVe siècles). London, 1979.

Henneman, John Bell. Royal Taxation in Fourteenth Century France. Princeton, New Jersey, 1971.

Herlihy, David. Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia. New Haven, Connecticut, 1967.

Herlihy, David, and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber. Les Toscans et leurs familles: une étude du catasto florentin de 1427. Paris, 1978.

Hollingsworth, Thomas H. Historical Demography. Ithaca, New York, 1969.

Hoover, E. An Introduction to Regional Economics. New York, 1971.

Howard, Michael. War in European History. London, 1976.

Irsay, Stephen d'. Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères, des origines à nos jours. 2 vols. Paris, 1955.

Jacquart, Jean. La crise rurale en l'Ile-de-France, 1550-1670. Paris, 1975.

Kamen, Henry. The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe, 1560-1660. New York, 1971.

Kelley, Donald R. François Hotman; a Revolutionary's Ordeal. Princeton, New Jersey, 1973.

Kingdon, Robert M. Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563. Geneva, 1956.

_____. Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement (1564-1572). Geneva, 1967.

Lafaurie, Jean, and Pierre Prieur. Les monnaies des rois de France: François I à Henri IV. Paris, 1956.

Lapeyre, Henry. Les monarchies européens du XVIe siècle. Paris, 1967.

Laurent, Henri. Un grand commerce d'exportation au moyen âge: la draperie des Pays-Bas en France et dans les pays méditerranéens (XIIe-XVe siècles). Paris, 1935.

Lavedan, Pierre. Histoire de l'urbanisme. 3 vols. 2nd edition. Paris, 1959.

Lavisse, Ernest, ed. Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la revolution. 9 vols. Paris, 1900-11.

Le Boucq, Simon. Fêtes populaires au XVIe siècle dans les villes du nord de la France et particulièrement à Valenciennes (1547 et 1548). Douai, 1871.

Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. Carnival in Romans. Translated from the French by Mary Feeney. New York, 1979.

_____. Les paysans de Languedoc. 2 vols. Paris, 1966.

_____. The Peasants of Languedoc. Translated from the French by John Day. Champaign, Illinois, 1974.

Levasseur, Emile. Histoire de la commerce en France. 2 vols. Paris, 1911-12.

_____. Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France avant 1789. 2nd edition. Paris, 1900-01.

Lewis, P. S. Late Medieval France: A Polity. London, 1969.

_____, ed. The Recovery of France in the Fifteenth Century. Translated from the French by G. F. Martin. New York, 1972.

Liautey, A. Les hausse des prix et la lutte contre la vie chère en France au XVIe siècle. Paris, 1931.

Livet, Georges. Les guerres de religion. Paris, 1962.

Lot, Ferdinand. Recherches sur la population et la supérficie des cités remontant à la période gallo-romaine. 3 vols. Paris, 1946-54.

MacKinnon, James. Calvin and the Reformation. New York, 1962.

Major, J. Russell. The Deputies to the Estates General in Renaissance France. Madison, Wisconsin, 1960.

_____. Representative Institutions in Early Modern France. Princeton, New Jersey, 1980.

Mandrou, Robert, et al. Histoire des Protestants en France. Toulouse, 1977.

Mauro, Frederic. Le XVIe siècle européen: aspects économiques. Paris, 1966.

Merle, Louis. La métairie et l'évolution agraire de la Gâtine poitevine de la fin du moyen âge à la revolution. Paris, 1958.

Merritt, Richard L., and Stein Rokkan, eds. Comparing Nations: The Uses of Quantitative Data in Cross-National Research. New Haven, Connecticut, 1966.

Miskimin, Harry. The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300-1460. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969.

_____. The Economy of Later Renaissance Europe, 1460-1600. New York, 1977.

Molho, Anthony. Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance, 1400-1433. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971.

Mollat, Michel, ed. Etude sur l'histoire de la pauvrété (moyen âge-XVIe siècle). 2 vols. Paris, 1974.

Mols, Roger. Introduction à la démographie historique des villes d'Europe du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle. 3 vols. Louvain, 1954-56.

Mours, Samuel. Les églises reformées en France. Paris, 1958.

Mousnier, Roland. Etat et société sous François I et pendant le gouvernement personnel de Louis XIV. Paris, 1966.

_____. Les hiérarchies sociales de 1450 à nos jours. Paris, 1969.

_____. La venalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII. 2nd edition. Paris, 1971.

Neale, John E. The Age of Catherine de Medici. London, 1943.

Nef, John U. The Conquest of the Material World. Chicago, 1964.

_____. War and Human Progress: an Essay on the Rise of Industrial Civilization. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950.

Nicholas, David. Town and Countryside: Social, Economic, and Political Tensions in Fourteenth Century Flanders. Bruges, 1971.

Ormsby, Hilda. France: A Regional and Economic Geography. 2nd edition. New York, 1960.

Parker, Geoffrey, and Angela Parker. European Soldiers, 1560-1650. Cambridge, England, 1977.

Parker, Geoffrey. Spain and the Netherlands, 1559-1659: Ten Studies. Short Hills, New Jersey, 1979.

Petit-Dutaillis, Charles. Les communes françaises, caractères et évolution des origines au XVIIIe siècle. Paris, 1947.

Pigeonneau, Henri. Histoire du commerce de la France. Paris, 1888.

Pirenne, Henri. Les villes et les institutions urbaines. 2 vols. Paris, 1939.

Postan, Michael M. Medieval Trade and Finance. Cambridge, England, 1973.

Rabb, Theodore K. The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe. New York, 1975.

Raveau, Paul. L'agriculture et les classes paysannes: la transformation de la propriété dans le Haut Poitou au XVIe siècle, précédé d'une étude sur le pouvoir d'achat de la livre tournois de règne de Louis XI à celui de Louis XIII. Paris, 1926.

_____. Essai sur la situation économique en l'état social en Poitou au XVIe siècle. Paris, 1931.

Renaudet, Augustin. Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie. 2nd edition. Paris, 1953.

Roelker, Nancy. The French Huguenots: An Embattled Minority. St. Louis, 1977.

Romier, Lucien. Le royaume de Cathérine de Médicis: la France à la veille des guerres de religion. Paris, 1925.

Rörig, Fritz. Medieval Towns. Berkeley, California, 1967.

Russell, Josiah Cox. Late Ancient and Medieval Populations. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. New Series. Vol. XLVIII. Part 3. Philadelphia, 1958.

_____. Medieval Cities and Their Regions. Bloomington, Indiana, 1972.

Salmon, John H. M. A Society in Crisis: France in the Late Sixteenth Century. London, 1975.

Schnapper, Bernard. Les rentes au XVIe siècle: histoire d'un instrument de crédit. Paris, 1957.

See, Henri. L'évolution commerciale et industrielle de la France sous ancien régime. Paris, 1925.

_____. Histoire économique de la France. Le moyen âge et l'ancien régime. Paris, 1939.

_____. Louis XI et les villes. Paris, 1892.

Shennan, John H. Government and Society in France Between 1464 and 1661. London, 1969.

Sombart, Werner. Krieg und Kapitalismus. Munich, 1913.

Spallanzani, Marco, ed. La lana come materia prima: i fenomeni della sua produzione e circolazione nei secoli XIII-XVIII. Florence, 1974.

_____. Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panni di lana (nei secola XII-XVIII). Florence, 1976.

Spooner, Frank C. L'économie mondiale et les frappes monétaires en France, 1493-1680. Paris, 1956.

Strayer, Joseph R., and Charles H. Taylor. Studies in Early French Taxation. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939.

Sutherland, Nicola M. The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition. New Haven, Connecticut, 1980.

_____. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559-1572. New York, 1973.

Tagliaferri, Amelio. L'economia veronese secondo gli estimi dal 1409 al 1635. Milan, 1966.

Thomas, Anthoine. Les états provinciaux de la France centrale sous Charles VII. Paris, 1879.

Thompson, James Westfall. The Wars of Religion in France: The Huguenots, Catherine de Medici and Philip II. Chicago, 1909.

Vieuille, Pierre. Nouveau traité des élections, contenant l'origine de la taille, aides, gabelles, octrois, et autres impositions. Paris, 1739.

Vuitry, Adolphe. Etudes sur le régime financière de la France avant le révolution de 1789. 3 vols. Paris, 1878-83.

Wailly, Nathalis de. Mémoire sur les variations de la livre tournois depuis le règne de St. Louis jusqu'à l'établissement de la monnaie décimale. Paris, 1857.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century. New York, 1974.

Wedgwood, Cicely Veronica. The Thirty Years' War. London, 1938.

Winter, J. M., ed. War and Economic Development. Cambridge, England, 1975.

Wolfe, Martin. The Fiscal System of Renaissance France. New Haven, Connecticut, 1972.

Wood, James B. The Nobility of the Election of Bayeux, 1463-1666. Princeton, New Jersey, 1980.

Wright, Quincy. A Study of War. Chicago, 1965. Reprint of 1942 edition.

Wrigley, E. A., ed. Identifying People in the Past. London, 1973.

_____. Population in History. New York, 1969.

Zehnacker, François. Les finances municipales de Dijon du milieu du XIVe siècle à 1471. Paris, 1971.

Zeller, Gaston. Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle. Paris, 1948.

F. ARTICLES

Alker, Hayward R., Jr., and Bruce M. Russett. "Indices for Comparing Inequality." In Comparing Nations: The Uses of Quantitative Data in Cross-National Research. Ed. Richard L. Merritt and Stein Rokkan. New Haven, Connecticut, 1966.

Ascoli, Peter M. "French Provincial Cities and the Catholic League." Occasional Papers of the American Society for Reformation Research, I (1977), 15-40.

Baratier, Edouard. "Production et commercialisation de la laine en Provence du XIIIe au XVIe siècle." In La lana come materia prima: i fenomeni della sua produzione e circolazione nei secoli XIII-XVII. Ed. Marco Spallanzani. Florence, 1974.

Bean, Richard. "War and the Birth of the Modern State." JEH, XXXIII (1973), 203-21.

Benedict, Philip. "Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Rouen: The Demographic Effects of the Religious Wars." FHS, IX (1975), 209-34.

_____. "Heurs et malheurs d'un gros bourg drapant: note sur la population de Darnétal au XVIe et XVIIe siècles." AN, XXVIII (1978), 195-205.

_____. "The Saint Bartholomew's Massacres in the Provinces." HJ, XXI (1978), 205-25.

Biraben, Jean Noel. "Inventaire par sondage des registres paroissiaux de France." Population, XV (1960), 25-28.

Bonnard, Pierre. "Peopling and Origins of Settlements." In Themes in the Historical Geography of France. Ed. Hugh D. Clouts. New York, 1976.

Boulet-Sautel, Marguerite. "L'émancipation urbaine dans les villes du centre de la France." RSJB, VI (1954), 371-404.

Braudel, Fernand, and Frank Spooner. "Prices in Europe from 1450 to 1750." In The Cambridge Economic History of Europe. Vol. VI. Ed. M. M. Postan and H. J. Habbakuk. Cambridge, England, 1967.

Brulez, Wilfrid. "Les difficultés financières de la ville de St. Omer dans le troisième quart du XVIe siècle." RN, XXXIV (1952), 219-25.

Cabourdin, Guy. "Structure démographie de la Lorraine au XVIe et au début du XVIIe siècle." C. Lor., New Series, I (1967), 25-26.

Carmona, Maurice. "La Toscane face à la crise de l'industrie lainière: techniques et mentalités économiques au XVIe et XVIIe siècles." In Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panni de lana (nei secoli XII-XVIII). Ed. Marco Spallanzani. Florence, 1976.

Cauwes, Paul. "Les commencements du crédit public en France: les rentes sur l'Hotel de Ville au XVIe siècle." REP, IX (1895), 97-123, 825-65; X (1896), 407-79.

Chaunu, Pierre. "L'État." In Histoire économique et sociale de la France." Vol. I. Part I. Ed. Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse. Paris, 1977.

Chevalier, Bernard. "The Politics of Louis XI Toward the Bonnes Villes: The Case of Tours." In P. S. Lewis, The Recovery of France in the Fifteenth Century. New York, 1972.

Cloulas, Ivan. "Les acquéreurs des biens ecclésiasticals vendus dans les diocèses de Limoges et Bourges sous les règnes de Charles IX et Henry III." BSAHL, XCI (1964), 87-140.

Coornaert, Emile. "Draperies rurales, draperies urbaines: l'évolution de l'industrie flamande au moyen âge jusqu'à XVIe siècle." RBPH, XXVII (1950), 57-96.

Croix, Alain. "La démographie du pays nantais au XVI siècle." ADH (1967), 63-89.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "City Women and Religious Change." In Natalie Zemon Davis, Society and Culture in Early Modern France. Stanford, California, 1975.

_____. "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy: The Case of Lyon." SMRH, VI (1968), 217-75.

_____. "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France." PP, LIX (1973), 51-91.

Deyon, Pierre, and Alain Lottin. "Evolution de la production textile à Lille au XVIe et XVIIe siècles." RN, XLIX (1967), 23-33.

Deyon, Pierre. "Variations de la production textile au XVIe et XVIIe siècles." AESC, XVIII (1963), 939-55.

Doucet, Roger. "La richesse en France au XVIe siècle." RHM, XIV (1939), 296-97.

Dufour, Emile. "Etude sur les finances de la commune de Cahors; trois budgets de la ville de Cahors au XVIe et XVIIe siècles." An. Lot (1859), 1-55.

Dupâquier, Jacques. "Démographie et sources fiscales." ADH (1966), 233-39.

_____. "Problèmes de représentativité dans les études fondées sur la reconstitution des familles." ADH (1972), 83-91.

_____. "Statistique et histoire démographique." AESC, XXX (1975), 394-401.

Dupont-Ferrier, Gustave. "Essai sur le géographie administrative des élections financières en France de 1356 à 1790." ABSHF (1928), 193-342; (1929), 223-390.

_____. "Histoire et signification du mot 'aides' dans les institutions financières de la France, specialement aux XIVe et XVe siècles." BEC, LXXXIX (1928), 53-69.

Durail-Roy, F. G. "Belfort au XVIe siècle d'après les comptes municipaux." BSBE, XXXI (1912), 13-49.

Faure, Michel, and Jean Dumas. "Ardoix au sortir des guerres de religion, d'après son compoix de 1593." R. Viv., LXXVI (1972), 176-83.

Febvre, Lucien. "Une question mal posée: les origines de la Réforme française et le problème général des causes de la Réforme." RH, CLXI (1929), 1-73.

Fiumi, Enrico. "La demografia fiorentina nelle pagine di G. Villani." ASI, CVIII (1950), 78-158.

Frêche, Georges. "Compoix, propriété foncière, fiscalité et démographie historique en pays de taille réele (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)." RHMC, XVIII (1971), 321-53.

Furet, François. "Quantitative History." Daedalus, C (1971), 151-67.

Furgeot, Henri. "L'alienation des biens du clergé sous Charles IX." RQH, XXIX (1881), 428-90.

Gascon, Richard. "Au carrefour des concurrences: draps de France et draps étrangers à Lyon au XVIe siècle." In Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panni de lana (nei secoli XII-XVIII). Ed. Marco Spallanzani. Florence, 1976.

_____. "Economie et pauvrété au XVIe et XVIIe siècles: Lyon, ville exemplaire et prophétique." In Etude sur l'histoire de la pauvrété (moyen âge-XVIe siècle). Ed. Michel Mollat. Vol. II. Paris, 1974.

_____. "La France du mouvement: les commerces et les villes." In Histoire économique et sociale de la France. Ed. Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse. Vol. 1. Part 1. Paris, 1977.

_____. "Immigration et croissance au XVIe siècle: l'exemple de Lyon (1529-1563)." AESC, XXV (1970), 988-1001.

_____. "Lyon, marché de l'industrie des Pays Bas au XVIe siècle et les activités de la maison Panse (1481-1580)." CH, VII (1962), 493-536.

_____. "Nationalisme économique et géographique des foires: la querelle des foires de Lyon, 1484-1494." CH, I (1956), 253-87.

Gay, J. "Les exigences de la fiscalité royale en Bourgogne dans la seconde moitié de XVIe siècle (1547-1572)." RHD, Series 4, XLIV (1966), 172-74.

Geisendorf, Paul F. "Lyon et Genève du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: les foires et imprimerie." CH, V (1960), 65-76.

Géremek, Bronislaw. "Criminalité, vagabondage, paupérisme: la marginalité de l'aube des temps modernes." RHMC, XXI (1974), 337-75.

Gillier, G. "Jametz, heurs et malheurs d'une petite ville protestante du XVIe siècle." BSHPF, CI (1955), 26-32.

Glénisson, Jean, and Charles Higounet. "Remarques sur les comptes et sur l'administration financière des villes françaises entre Loire er Pyrenées, XIVe-XVIe siècles." In Finances et comptabilité urbaines du XIIIe au XVIe siècles; colloque international, Blankenberge (6-9 septembre, 1962). Brussels, 1964.

Goubert, Pierre. "Recent Theories and Research in French Population Between 1500 and 1700." Translated from the French by Margaret Hilton. In Population in History. Ed. D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley. Chicago, 1965.

_____. "Registres paroissiaux et démographie dans la France du XVIe siècle." ADH (1965), 43-48.

_____. "Une richesse historique en cours d'exploitation, les registres paroissiaux." AESC, IX (1954), 83-93.

Guenée, Bernard. "La géographie administrative de la France à la fin du moyen âge: élections et bailliages." MA, LXVII (1961), 293-323.

Guggenheim, Ann H. "The Calvinist Notables of Nimes During the Era of the Religious Wars." SCJ, III (1972), 80-96.

Gutmann, Myron P. "Putting Crises in Perspective: The Impact of War on Civilian Populations in the Seventeenth Century." ADH (1977), 101-28.

Haas, Michael. "Societal Approaches to the Study of War." In The War System: An Interdisciplinary Approach. Ed. Richard A. Falk and Samuel S. Kim. Boulder, Colorado, 1980.

Heers, Jacques. "La mode et les marchés des draps de laine: Gênes et la montagne à la fin du moyens âge." AESC, XXVI (1971), 1083-1117.

Helleiner, Karl F. "New Light on the History of Urban Populations." JEH, XVIII (1958), 56-61.

_____. "The Population of Europe from the Black Death to the Eve of the Vital Revolution." In The Cambridge Economic History. Ed. M. M. Postan and H. J. Habbakuk. Vol. IV. Cambridge, England, 1967.

Herlihy, David. "The Distribution of Wealth in a Renaissance Community: Florence in 1427." In Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology. Ed. Philip Abrams and E. A. Wrigley. New York, 1978.

_____. "Family and Property in Renaissance Florence." In The Medieval Town. Ed. Harry Miskimin, David Herlihy, and A. L. Udovitch. New Haven, Connecticut, 1977.

Hollingsworth, Thomas H. "Plague Mortality Rates by Age and Sex." PS, XXV (1971), 133-46.

Jacquart, Jean. "Immobilisme et catastrophes, 1560-1690." In Histoire de la France rurale. Vol. II. Part 2. Ed. George Duby and Armand Wallon. Paris, 1975.

Jarousseau, Gérard. "Un rôle d'imposition de Poitiers en 1552. Etudes des structures sociales et économiques de la ville." BPH (1965), 481-92.

Kamen, Henry. "The Economic Consequences of the Thirty Years' War." PP, XXXIX (1968), 44-61.

Klapisch, Christiane. "Fiscalité et démographie en Toscane (1427-1430)." AESC, XXIV (1969), 1313-1337.

Lachiver, Marcel. "Prix des grains à Paris et à Meulan dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle (1573-1586)." AESC, XXVI (1971), 140-50.

Lamet, Maryélise Suffern. "French Protestants in a Position of Strength: The Early Years of the Reformation in Caen." SCJ, IX (1978), 35-55.

Laurent, Robert. "Une source: les archives d'octroi." AESC, XII (1957), 197-204.

Lebrun, François. "Registres paroissiaux et démographie en Anjou au XVIe siècle." ADH (1965), 49-50.

Lefebvre, Alain, and Françoise Tribouillard. "Fiscalité et population dans l'élection de Valognes de 1540 à 1660." AN, XXI (1971), 207-33.

Leguai, André. "Emeutes et troubles d'origine fiscale pendant la règne de Louis XI." MA, LXXIII (1967), 447-87.

Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. "Les masses profondes: la paysannerie." In Histoire économique et sociale de la France. Vol. I. Part 2. Ed. Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse. Paris, 1977.

Lot, Ferdinand. "L'Etat des paroisses et des feux de 1328." BEC, XC (1929), 51-107; 256-315.

MacFarlane, Kenneth B. "War, the Economy, and Social Change: England and the Hundred Years' War." PP, XXII (1962), 3-11.

Major, J. Russell. "Noble Income, Inflation, and the Wars of Religion." AHR, LXXXVI (1981), 21-48.

Martin, Xavier. "Pouvoir royale et finances urbaines au temps des guerres de religion: deux épisodes de l'histoire angevine." ABPO, LXXXI (1974), 43-63.

Meuvret, Jean. "Les crises de subsistence et la démographie de la France d'ancien régime." Population, I (1946), 643-50.

_____. "Demographic Crisis in France from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century." Translated by Margaret Hilton. In Population in History. Ed. D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley. Chicago, 1965.

_____. "Monetary Circulation and the Use of Coinage in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century France." In Essays in European Economic History, 1500-1800. Ed. Peter Earle. Oxford, England, 1974.

Meyer, Jean. "L'histoire des provinces françaises et la rénovation des études regionales." RH, CCXLVI (1971), 39-58.

_____. "Quelques vues sur l'histoire des villes à l'époque moderne." AESC, XXIX (1974), 1551-1568.

_____. "Une révélation: l'évolution démographique du pays nantais au cours du XVIe siècle." RBP, LXXVII (1966), 192-95.

Mollat, Michel. "La draperie normande." In Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panni de lana (nei secoli XII-XVIII). Ed. Marco Spallanzani. Florence, 1976.

Monter, E. William. "Historical Demography and Religious History in Sixteenth-Century Geneva." JIH, IX (1979), 399-427.

Moreau, Gérard. "La corrélation entre le milieu social et professional et le choix de religion à Tournai." In Actes du Colloque du Bruxelles (30 novembre-3 décembre, 1967—IIe section). Louvain, 1968.

Morineau, Michel. "La conjoncture ou les cernes de la croissance." In Histoire économique et sociale de la France. Vol. I. Part 2. Ed. Fernand Braudel and Ernest Labrousse. Paris, 1977.

Nef, John U. "War and Economic Progress, 1540-1640." EHR, XII (1942), 13-38.

Neveux, Hugues. "L'expansion démographique dans un village du Cambrésis: Saint Hilaire (1450-1575)." ADH (1971), 265-98.

Paglin, M. "The Measurement and Trend of Inequality: A Basic Revision." AER, CLV (1975), 598-609.

Parker, Geoffrey. "War and Economic Change: The Economic Costs of the Dutch Revolt." In Geoffrey Parker, Spain and the Netherlands, 1559-1659: Ten Studies. Short Hills, New Jersey, 1979.

Piponnier, Françoise. "La consommation des draps de laine dans quelques milieux français à la fin du moyen âge." In Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panni de lana (nei secoli XII-XVIII). Ed. Marco Spallanzani. Florence, 1976.

Polisensky, J. V. "The Thirty Years' War and the Crises and Revolutions of Seventeenth-Century Europe." PP, XXXIX (1968), 34-43.

Polton, J. C. "Coulommiers et Chailly-en-Brie (1557-1715." ADH (1969), 14-32.

Postan, Michael M. "Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War." EHR, XII (1942), 1-12.

Pound, J. F. "The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575." PP, XXXIV (1966), 49-69.

Rabb, Theodore K. "The Effects of the Thirty Years' War on the German Economy." JMH, XXXIV (1962), 40-51.

Raveau, Paul. "La crise des prix au XVIe siècle en Poitou." RH, CLXII (1929), 1-44; 268-93.

Reinhard, Marcel, and Jacques Dupâquier. "Trois problèmes démographiques et sociaux (XVIe-XIXe siècles), orientation de recherches." BSHMC (1971), 176-86.

Reynolds, R. L. "The Market for Northern Textiles in Genoa." RBPH (1929), 831-51.

Richard, Jean. "La laine de Bourgogne: production et commerce (XIIIe-XVe siècles)." In La lana come materia prima: i fenomeni della sua produzione e circolazione nei secoli XIII-XVIII. Ed. Marco Spallanzani. Florence, 1974.

Richet, Denis. "Croissance et blocage en France du XVe au XVIIIe siècle." AESC, XXIII (1968), 759-87.

Roelker, Nancy L. "The Role of Noblewomen in the French Reformation." AFR, LXIII (1972), 168-95.

Russell, Josiah Cox. "Recent Advances in Medieval Demography." Speculum, XL (1965), 84-101.

Salmon, J. H. M. "French Government and Society in the Religious Wars." Forum Series (1976), St. Louis, Missouri.

_____. "The Paris Sixteen, 1584-1594: The Social Analysis of a Revolutionary Movement." JMH, XLIV (1972), 540-76.

Sella, Domenico. "European Industries, 1500-1700." In Fontana Economic History of Europe. Ed. Carlo Cipolla. Vol. II. New York, 1977.

Starn, Randolph. "Historians and 'Crisis.'" PP, LXX (1971), 3-22.

Stephenson, C. "The Aids of the French Towns in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." In Medieval Institutions. Ed. Bryce Lyon. New York, 1954.

Stocker, Christopher W. "The Calvinist Officers of Orleans, 1560-1562." PWSFH, VI (1978), 21-33.

_____. "Office as Maintenance in Renaissance France." CJH, VI (1971), 21-43.

Temple, Nora. "The Control and Exploitation of French Towns During the Ancient Regime." History, LI (1966), 16-34.

Thernstrom, Stephen. "Reflections on the New Urban History." Daedalus, C (1971), 359-75.

Trexler, Richard. "Charity and the Defense of Urban Elites in the Italian Communes." In The Rich, the Well-Born, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History. Ed. Frederic C. Jaher. Champaign, Illinois, 1973.

Van de Wee, Herman. "Structural Changes and Specialization in the Industry of the Southern Netherlands, 1100-1600." EHR, Series 2, XXVIII (1975), 203-18.

Van Doren, Llewain Scott. "Civil War and the Foundations of Fiscal Absolutism: The Royal Taille in Dauphiné." PWSFH, III (1975), 35-53.

Venard, Marc. "Les Protestants du Comtat Venaissin au temps des premières guerres de religion." In Actes du Colloque l'Amiral de Coligny et son temps (Paris, 24-28 octobre, 1972). Paris, 1974.

Werveke, H. van. "Monnaie de compte et monnaie réele." RBPH, XIII (1934), 123-52.

Witteveen-Robert, Daniele. "Une particularité comptable de la recette générale des finances des anciens Pays-Bas: le chapitre des 'deniers comptés et non-reçus.'" In Recherches sur l'histoire des finances publiques en Belgique. Ed. M. Arnould. Vol. II. Brussels, 1967.

Wolfe, Martin. "French Views on Wealth and Taxes from the Middle Ages to the Old Regime." JEH, XXVI (1966), 466-83.

Wolff, Philippe. "Esquisse d'une histoire de la draperie en Languedoc du XIIe au début du XVIIe siècle." In Produzione, commercio et consumo dei panni lana (nei secola XII-XVIII). Ed. Marco Spallanzani. Florence, 1976.

Zeller, Gaston. "Gouverneurs des provinces au XVIe siècle." RH, CLXXXV (1939), 225-56.

G. DISSERTATIONS

Arthur, Alan G. "The Cahiers of the Parishes of the Bailiwick of Chartres, Prepared for the Estates General of 1576." Ph.D. Dissertation, Emory University, 1973.

Benedict, Philip. "Rouen During the Wars of Religion: Popular Disorder, Public Order and the Confessional Struggle." Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1975.

Cordier, Claudine. "Sainte-Foy-la-Grande au temps des guerres de religion (1542-1622)." Thèse de l'Ecole des chartes, 1950.

Croix, Alain. "Nantes et le pays nantais de 1480 à 1600, étude démographique." Thèse, Université de Rennes, 1965.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Protestantism and the Printing Workers of Lyons: A Study in the Problem of Religion and Social Class During the Reformation." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1959.

Gouhard, J. "La ville de Nevers du milieu du XVIe siècle au milieu du XVIIIe siècle." Thèse de l'Ecole des chartes, 1952.

Guggenheim, Ann H. "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Nimes." Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1968.

Lamet, Maryélise Suffern. "Reformation, War, and Society in Caen, Lower Normandy, 1558-1610." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1978.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABLE A-1

PROTESTANT HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Household	Wealth Index[b] 1557	1586	Change
I.	Wealthy Households Appearing on Both Rolls			
	Berthault, Barthélemy Berthault, Jacques	394#	79	-
	Bigot, Pierre, sieur de Monay	127	159	+
	Bonnet, Jean	141	5*	
	Charlemagne, François	85	79	-
	Deboisrouvray, Charles	113	79	-
	Dumolin, Loys	127	53	-
	Genton, Durant, garde des sceaux	exempt	476*	
	Girard, Jean, sieur des Bergeries[c]	310	266	-
	Grasset, André Grasset, Jean	85#	93	+
	Grene, François, avocat	85	159	+
	Hemeré, François, échévin[c]	99	159	+
	LeConte, Anthoine, médecin	exempt	159*	
	LePage, Denis	394	317	-
	Millet, Pierre, sieur de la Vernusse	197	79	-
	Paillasson, Pierre	96	185	+
	Pastoureau, Bernard	197	79*	

TABLE A-1 (continued)

	Household	Wealth Index[b] 1557	1586	Change
	Penin, Jean	134	40*	
	Piat, Jean	96	211	+
	Poupardin, Jean	85	5*	
	Prieur, Claude	282	32*	
	Thibault, Jean	85	79	-
II.	Nonwealthy Households Appearing on Both Rolls			
	Arnoulx, Gilbert, notaire	42	79*	
	Barbier, Etienne	42	40	-
	Berault, Pierre	70	106	+
	Bonnemain, Philippe	28	66	+
	Chabenat, Etienne	56	79	+
	Chenu, Claude, fils de médecin	70	66*	
	Delaporte, Etienne, avocat	21	5	-
	Deschamps, Etienne, avocat	56	13	-
	Devillage, Pierre	49	106	+
	Gentils, Pierre	63	132	+
	Girard, Pierre, libraire	21	79	+
	Huet, Jean	85	106	+
	Michel, Jean	42	40	-
	Millet, Jean	63	53	-

TABLE A-1 (continued)

	Household	Wealth Index[b] 1557	1586	Change
	Ragot, Pierre	70	40	-
	Ragueau, Nicholas	36	26	-
	Tillier, Etienne, médecin	70	79	+
III.	Households Appearing on Only One Roll			
	Alabat, Guillaume	197		
	Arnault, Jean	70		
	Bauchet, Pierre Crenequin, Jean	3#		
	Berthier, Pierre	42		
	Bigonneau, Bernardin	28		
	Bigot, Simon, sieur d'Augy		185	
	Camialle, Yves[c]		266*	
	Hervé, Jacques		106	
	Carré, Jacques, notaire		79*	
	Damours, Etienne, receveur du taillon	127		
	Delachapelle, Jacques	56		
	Delachapelle, Jean		5*	
	Delagrange, Pierre, conseiller[d]	113*		
	Delahaye, Jean, contrôleur	exempt		
	Depardieu, André		79	

TABLE A-1 (continued)

Household	Wealth Index[b] 1557	1586	Change
Doneau, Hugues, docteur[e]	exempt		
Dujon, Denis, lieutenant de la maréchaussée	70		
Faulconnier, François	70		
Fauvre, Anthoine	21		
Gargot, Charles, receveur de la duchesse	197		
Garreau, Jean, libraire	77		
Gibieuf, Esmé		225*	
Goudet, Michel, le substitut	42		
Jacquier, Pierre	63		
LeParin, Jean, médecin[e]	127		
Maugis, Laurent	14		
Misery, Jean, échevin	113		
Mocquet, Pierre	232		
Nicquet, Pierre	141		
Pain, Nicholas, receveur de la ville	56		
Pastourreau, Jacques[e]	620		
Paulin, Pierre	141		
Pelourde, Jean	366		
Pelourde, Pierre, sieur d'Ivry		238	
Piat, la veuve	92*		

TABLE A-1 (continued)

	Household	Wealth Index[b] 1557	1586	Change
	Portebedien, Guillaume, fils de Vincent	63		
	Portebedien, Jean	85		
	Presteau, Jean[d]	70		
	Ragueau, Barthélemy[d]	56		
	Ragueau, Nicholas, l'aisnel	141		
	Riglet, Nicholas, maire	127		
	Simoneau, Jean, notaire[d]	70		
	Thomasseau, Guillaume, échevin	exempt		
IV.	Households Appearing on Neither Roll			
	Audet, Pierre, échevin			
	Barat, médecin			
	Bézard, lieutenant de la maréchaussée			
	Brun, Pierre, libraire			
	Bruyère, Charles			
	Dedril, Claude			
	Dedril, Anthoine			
	Delachapelle, Ardouin			
	Deladois, Jean, sieur de Thauvenay			
	Delaporte, Silvain, avocat[d]			
	Godard, Pierre, sieur de la Greslerie			

TABLE A-1 (continued)

Household	Wealth Index[b] 1557	1586	Change
Hancé, Jean, libraire			
Maréschal, Henri, sieur de Corbet			
Robin, Jean, prêtre			
Glaumeau, Jean, prêtre			

[a]Names of Protestants were derived from the "liste des personnes comprises dans le role de 20,000 livres dresse contre le Religionnaires, en septembre 1572." This list was preserved by the seventeenth-century author Nicholas Catherinot, and the names are recorded in Thierry de Brimont, I, 350-51.

[b]The wealth index was derived by dividing the amount each household paid to the solde by the total amount of that tax, and then moving the decimal six digits to the right. Source for payments: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

[c]Pillaged during the St. Bartholomew's Massacre.

[d]Killed in the St. Bartholomew's Massacre.

[e]Emigrated.

*Household headed by a widow in the year indicated.

#Household vertically or laterally extended.

APPENDIX B

TABLE B-1

MAYORS AND ÉCHEVINS OF BOURGES, 1550-1570[a]

Year	Maire	Échevins
1550	Jacques Pastoureau (P)	Robert Nicquet (*) Guillaume Seurrat Jean Gargot (*) Anthoine Dedril (P)
1551	Idem.	Jean Gargot (*) Guillaume Seurrat Jean Jaupitre Michel Juliot
1552	Jacques Bochetel	Jean Jaupitre Michel Juliot Charles Gargot (P) Jean Piat (P)
1553	Hugues Esterlin	Charles Gargot (P) Jean Piat (P) Guillaume Alabat (P) François Hemeré (P)
1554	Idem.	Idem.
1555	Jean Seurrat	François Godard (*) Estienne Paulin (*) Estienne Tuchieure Pierre Foucaut Boisrogeux
1556	Idem.	Idem.
1557	François Godard (*)	Estienne Tuchieure Pierre Foucaut Boisroguex Estienne Girard (*) Pierre Berthier (P)
1558	Idem.	Estienne Girard (*) Pierre Berthier (P) Jean Bidaut Pierre Paulin (P)
1559	Claude Genton (*)	Estienne Bigot (*) Nicholas Riglet (P) Jean Bidaut Pierre Paulin (P)

TABLE B-1 (continued)

Year	Maire	Échevins
1560	Idem.	Estienne Bigot (*) Nicholas Riglet (P) Clément Caillault Estienne Boirot
1561	Estienne Lalemant	Clément Caillault Estienne Boirot Henri LeMareschal (P) Guillaume Ragueau (*)
1562	Nicholas Riglet (P)	Pierre Audet (P) Guillaume Thomasseau (P) Jean Misery (P) François Hemeré (P)
Idem.	Jerome Chambellan	Vincent de la Croix Gilles Heurtault Jean Jaupitre Pierre Maquereau
1563	Idem.	Vincent de la Croix Gilles Heurtault Pierre Maquereau Claude Lamoignon
1564	Anthoine Barathon	Jacques Gassot Nicolas d'Assier Claude Lamoignon Gilles Heurtault
1565	Idem.	Jacques Gassot Nicolas d'Assier Guillaume Deboisrouvray (*) Martin Tandeguay
1566	Jacques Gassot	Guillaume Deboisrouvray (*) Martin Tandeguay Guillaume Desauzay Pierre Foucaut Boisrogeux
1567	Idem.	Guillaume Desauzay Pierre Foucaut Boisroguex Claude Belin François Pabot
1568	Jerome Chambellan	Claude Belin François Pabot Anthoine Fradet Jean Boirot

TABLE B-1 (continued)

Year	Maire	Échevins
1569	Idem.	Anthoine Fradet Jean Boirot Jean Desauzay Jean Dedril (*)
1570	Robert Damours	Jean Dedril (*) Guillaume Seurrat Estienne Girard (*) Pierre Maquereau

[a]Source: Henry Jongleux, Archives de la ville de Bourges avant 1790 (2 vols., Bourges: A. Jollet, 1877-78), I, 35-37.

(P) - Name appears on 1562 roll of Protestants (Appendix A).

(*) - Same surname as appearing on 1562 roll.

APPENDIX C

TABLE C-1

ACCOUNTS OF THE DENIERS COMMUNS OF BOURGES, 1567-1568[a]

	Amount
I. RECEIPTS	
A. Ordinary Receipts	
1. Fermes deladicte ville	6,619 l. 10 s. 7 d.
2. Recepte faicte par cedict recepveur des deniers des creues de cinq sous et deux sous sur chaque mynot du sel	2,160 l. 11 s.
3. Dommaine	(listed with "fermes")
B. Extraordinary Receipts	
1. Deniers provenu de la cottisation faict par . . . Monsieur de Vatan, gouverneur pour le roy en ceste ville . . . sur ceulx de la nouvelle religion	4,378 l. 5 s.
2. Deniers provenu de la cottisation faict par . . . Monsieur de Vatan . . . tant sur les catholicqz que ceulx de la nouvelle religion	6,751 l.
3. Deue par la fin et arrest de . . . compte de l'annee finye la derniere septembre 1567 . . .	75 l. 11 s. 5 d.
4. Deniers prestez aladicte ville, maire, eschevins, et recepveur par les particullieres cy-apres nommez et dont lesdictz sieurs ont passe obligations es mains de Maistre Andre Depardieu	11,796 l. 2 s.

TABLE C-1 (continued)

		Amount		
5.	Deniers receuz tant de la munitions fournyes aux compaigne de cappitaines La Chambre et Mornini/que de vente de bledz du pain et munition/que de la vente . . . des biens de feu Nicolas Pain cy-davant recepveur	1,446 l.	17 s.	2 d.
6.	Deniers receuz . . . demandez par le roy aux manans et habitans de cestdict ville	3,000 l.		
TOTAL RECEIPTS		36,227 l.	16 s.	7 d.
II.	EXPENDITURES			
1.	Gaiges d'officiers/ordinaires	601 l.		
2.	Gaiges de lecteurs	400 l.		
3.	Fraiz des repparations/fraiz de proces/ voyages et aultres	1,612 l.	17 s.	7 d.
4.	Deniers paiez en acquit delad. ville	4,344 l.	5 s.	10 d.
5.	Deniers paiez par forme de prest	353 l.		
6.	Remboursements	2,147 l.		
7.	Despense et fraiz faictz a raison des troubles commancez en la presente annee 1567/Et payez depuys la premier septembre 1567 jusques au penultième juing 1568	156 l.	10 s.	
8.	Entretenement de cappitaines/lieutenants/ enseigners/sergens/tambourins/phiffiers/ mareschal des logis/dixiniers/portiers/ et aultres	3,523 l.		

TABLE C-1 (continued)

		Amount		
9.	Achapt de picqz a hauchet/palles besset/ pallers et hottereaulx	161 l.	4 s.	
10.	Oeuvres et reparations faictz au quartier de Bourbonnoux/Achapt du boys et chandelles	2,243 l.	17 s.	
11.	Oeuvres et reparations faictz au quartier de St. Sulpice/Achapt de boys et chandelles	3,483 l.	16 s.	9 d.
12.	Oeuvre et reparations faictz au quartier d'Auron/Achapt de boys et chandelles	1,448 l.	15 s.	4 d.
13.	Oeuvres et reparations faictz au quartier de St. Prive/Achapt de boys et chandelles	737 l.	4 s.	3 d.
14.	Fraiz de l'artillerye/pouldres/achapt d'armes/salpestres/souphres/et facon de gabyons	2,814 l.	16 s.	11 d.
15.	Fraiz faictz pour le faict des munitions	220 l.	3 s.	9 d.
16.	Munitions et fraiz faictz pour la grosse tour	216 l.	19 s.	
17.	Achapt de boys, voictures, et ustancilles	369 l.	17 s.	8 d.
18.	Voyages	1,770 l.	5 s.	6 d.
19.	Menuz fraiz, sallaires, et vaccations	482 l.	16 s.	3 d.
20.	Despense et fraiz payez par cedict recepveur despuys le premier jour de juing 1568 jusques au dernier decembre dud. an/tant pour l'entretienment du cappitaine Marini et soldatdz/achapt de boys, chandelles/despense d'aucunes gentilzhommes venuz pour le secours dela ville lors que Monsr. le prince, admiral	176 l.	9 s.	

TABLE C-1 (continued)

		Amount		
	et leurs trouppes passerent pres cestd. ville eulx en allant a La Rochelle/que pour aultres fraiz comme il est contenu cy-apres			
21.	Entretenement de Cappitaine/soldatdz/ mareschal des logis/fiffier et tabourines	2,009 l.		
22.	Fraiz faictz au quartier de Bourbonnoux	674 l.	16 s.	
23.	Despense faictz au quartier de St. Sulpice	1,892 l.	5 s.	3 d.
24.	Despense faictz au quartier d'Auron	69 l.		10 d.
25.	Fraicz faictz au quartier de St. Prive	1,089 l.		6 d.
26.	Voyages	613 l.	8 s.	6 d.
27.	Menuz fraiz	491 l.	18 s.	9 d.
28.	Fraiz faictz tant pour achapt de pouldres a canon/cordes/hotereaulx que munition de bledz	913 l.	8 s.	6 d.
29.	Fraiz paiez pour la munition des compaignyes des cappitaines Lachambre et Monny suyvant leur vouloir du roy	983 l.	18 s.	6 d.
30.	Deniers renduz et non-Receuz	3,153 l.	8 s.	7 d.
31.	Gaiges extraordinanires	250 l.		
32.	Despense Commune	269 l.	10 s.	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES		39,674 l.	14 s.	3 d.

[a]Source: AMB, CC 344.

APPENDIX D

TABLE D-1

OCCUPATIONS—1557-1586

	Occupational Groupings[b]	Frequency 1557	1586
I.	Viticulture and agriculture		
	vigneron (vineyard worker)	17	120
	jardinier (gardener)		2
	métayer (sharecropper)	1	
II.	Alimentary trades		
	boulanger (baker)	5	37
	boucher (butcher)	1	26
	patissier (pastry maker)		16
	meuner (miller)	5	11
	coquatier (butter and egg dealer)	3	9
	pescheur (fisherman)	1	6
	cuisinier (cook)	2	1
	vinaigrier (vinegar dealer)	1	6
	cribleur (flour sifter ?)	1	3
	huillier (olive oil dealer)		4
	veslier (veal dealer)		2
	harangier (herring dealer)		1
	hostellier (hosteler)	3	16
	cabaretier (tavern keeper)		3
III.	Textiles		
	foulon (fuller)	3	19
	tisserand (weaver)	8	22
	cardeur (carder)	8	26
	tondeur (cloth shearer)	3	6
	tapissier (tapestry or carpet maker)	1	4
	teinturier (dyer)		4
	sergier (serge weaver)		1
	presseur (cloth presser)		2
	fillandière (spinner)	2	1
	toillier (linen worker or dealer)		7
	tisserand en toilles (linen weaver)		3
IV.	Clothing		
	tailleur (tailor)	1	31
	chaussetier (hosier)	3	4
	brodeur (embroiderer)	3	4
	couturier (dressmaker or seamstress)	17	37
	chapellier (hat maker)		13

TABLE D-1 (continued)

	Occupational Groupings[b]	Frequency 1557	1586
	chaperonière (hood maker)		1
	bonnetier (bonnet maker)		1
	aiguilletier (maker of lace tips)		2
V.	Leather and hides		
	tanneur (tanner)	2	13
	pelletier (furrier)	3	4
	cordonnier (shoe maker)	5	30
	savetier (shoe repairman)	4	39
	courroyeur (currier)	1	3
	sellier (saddle maker)	2	6
	bourrellier (harness maker)		11
	parcheminier (parchment maker)		16
VI.	Construction		
	charpentier (carpenter)	1	7
	menuisier (joiner)	8	26
	masson (mason)	9	17
	couvreur (roofer)	4	21
	serrurier (locksmith)	2	11
	tailleur des pierres (stone tiler)		3
	carreleur (floor tiler)		2
	paveur (paver)		1
	peintre (painter)		7
	carrier (quarryman)		1
VII.	Metal and arms		
	maréschal (blacksmith)	1	15
	fourbisseur (sword maker)	3	6
	orphevre (goldsmith)	2	8
	pintier / poislier (maker of metal vessels)	1	9
	coutellier (cutler)		2
	quinqualier (hardware dealer)		1
	tallandier (edge-tool maker)		2
	ferronier (ironmonger)		1
	arbeletier (maker of cross bows)		1
	arquebusier (maker of arquebuses)		2
	éperonnier (spur maker)		1

TABLE D-1 (continued)

	Occupational Groupings[b]	Frequency 1557	1586
VIII.	Transport		
	charretier / voiturier (cart maker or driver)	5	13
	fréteur (freight carrier)	3	9
	portier (porter)	1	3
	portefraicz (street porter)	1	13
	messagier (messenger)		3
IX.	Other crafts and trades		
	tonnelier (cooper)	1	7
	cordier (rope maker)	2	8
	charron (wheelwright)	3	8
	tourneur (turner)		2
	paulmier (maker of "jeu de paume" apparatus)		7
	nattier (maker of straw mats)		1
	corbellier / faiseur des boisseaux (basket maker)	1	1
	ciergier (maker of wax candles)		3
	chandellier (maker of tallow candles)		4
	mercier (mercer)	4	6
	revendeur (retailer)		7
	faiseur des formes (?)		2
X.	Day laborers and domestic servants		
	journalier / gagne-denier / manoeuvre (day laborer)		4
	chambrière (chamber maid)	2	2
	lavandière / blancheresse / lingière (laundress)	1	4
	fripière (dealer in second-hand goods)		1
	pauvre (poor)		4
XI.	Artists and intellectuals		
	baladen (comic actor)		1
	musicien (musician)	1	5
	libraire (book dealer)	6	8
	vitrier (glass maker)		4
	(university faculty and staff)	4	15

TABLE D-1 (continued)

	Occupational Groupings[b]	Frequency 1557	1586
XII.	Health		
	appotiquaire (apothecary)	6	11
	barbier (barber-surgeon)	2	6
	chirugien (surgeon)		1
	docteur en medecin (physician)		6
	operateur (tooth-puller ?)		1
XIII.	Law		
	advocat (lawyer)	2	28
	notaire (notary)		2
	notaire royale (royal notary)	3	21
XIV.	Merchants and bourgeoisie		
	marchands (merchants)	8	69
	bourgeois		4
XV.	Administration and police[c]		
	maire		1
	échevin	1	2
	receveur	1	12
	élu	4	5
	conseiller	7	1
	sergent des tailles		4
	commissaire	1	5
	controlleur	3	8
	enquesteur		1
	grenetier	1	1
	greffier	1	8
	garde des sceaux		1
	huissier	1	4
	procureur	2	22
	procureur du roi	1	1
	prévost	1	
	practicien		1
	lieutenant particulier	1	1
	lieutenant du maréchaussée	2	1
	maitre du poix du roi		1
	concierge de la chambre de la ville		1
	portier de la ville		2
	cappitaine		1
	sergent		4
	sergent du quartier		2
	archer du genton	3	
	archers de la ville ou du roi		16

TABLE D-1 (continued)

Occupational Groupings[b]	Frequency 1557	1586
sergent royale	18	41
(other royal officials)		8
TOTAL	241	1,166

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

[b]Occupations were identified by consulting Alfred L. A. Franklin, Dictionnaire historique des arts, métiers et professions exercés dans Paris depuis le treizième siècle (Paris: H. Walter, 1906).

[c]Since many of the occupations within this group have no English equivalent, no translation has been given.

APPENDIX E

TABLE E-1

RECURRING HOUSEHOLDS, "P" SAMPLE[a]

	Wealth[b] Index 1557	Wealth Index 1586	Change
A. Wealthy Households 1557			
Paillasson, Pierre (P)	96	185	+
Paulin, Estienne	197	79	-
Peaudereuf, Pierre	113	32	-
Penin, Francois	211	132	-
Petit, Jehan	113	8	-
Piat, Jehan (P)	96	211	+
Picault, Jehan	84	714	+
Pigny, la veuve Jehan	225	53	-
Poisle, Francois	113	40	-
Portebedien, Estienne	127	79	-
B. Nonwealthy Households 1557			
Paillaux, Jehan	28*	53	+
Palisson, Jehan	14*	66	+
Paniot, Jehan	10	32	+
Papillon, Regne	6	8	+
Paré, Anthoine	77	40	-
Paris, Pierre	6	3	-
Pascault, Jehan	49	13	-
Passault, Jehan	7	3	-
Peaudereuf, Jehan	35	79	+
Peaudereuf, Phl.	7	16	+
Pechereau, Robert	4	21	+
Pellerin, Noel	1	8	+
Perdereau, Pierre	28	11	-
Perdreau, Jehan	4	8	+
Perrault, la veuve Guillaume	3*	13	+
Perreau, Jehan	1	3	+
Perreau, Jehan	3	8	+
Perrinet, Jehan	56	3	-
Perrot, Pierre	7	5	-
Petit, Francois	7	8	+
Petit, Jehan	4	5	+
Petit, Jehan	7	5	-
Petit, Pierre	31	66	+
Petit, la veuve Pierre	14	13	-
Piscard, Francois	14	5	-

TABLE E-1 (continued)

	Wealth[b] Index 1557	Wealth Index 1586	Change
Pierre, Jehan	7*	5	-
Pinault, Antoine	7	16	+
Pinart, Jehan	21	79	+
Pizet, Claude	21	8	-
Poitou, Guillaume	11	66	+
Ponbeau, Francois	6	106	+
Ponbeau, Jacques	17	106	+
Poullet, Martin	17	19	+
Pregnault, Pierre	3	13	+
Prevost, Anthoine	7	13	+
Prevost, Pierre	56	13	-
Prevost, Pierre	7	98*	+
Prevost, Thibault	4	79	+
Prunet, George	3	26	+

[a]Source: AMB, CC 8 and AMB, CC 25.

[b]The wealth index was derived by dividing the amount each household paid to the solde by the total amount of that tax, and then moving the decimal six digits to the right.

(P) - Protestant.

(*) - Household showing extension (vertical or lateral).

VITA

Francis Roland Hodges was born 28 September, 1942, in Mount Olive, North Carolina. He was educated in Wayne County, North Carolina, public schools, from which he graduated in 1960. In the summer of 1960, he enrolled at Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, from which he graduated in June, 1964, with a B.A. in History. In the fall of 1964, he enrolled at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, receiving an M.A. in European History in 1966. From 1965 to 1968 he served on the faculty of Gulf Coast Junior College, Panama City, Florida, in the division of Social Sciences. From 1968 to 1970, he served as Instructor of History at Pembroke State University, Pembroke, North Carolina.

In the fall of 1970, he enrolled at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, serving four years as a teaching assistant in the Department of History. In 1975, with assistance from the Bernadotte Schmitt History Graduate Research Fund, he spent five months in Bourges, France, engaged in doctoral research. In 1977-78, he held a one-year appointment as Instructor of History at Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina. Since 1978, he has served as Assistant Professor of History at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida. In August, 1983, he

received the Ph.D. in History from The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, with a major field in Renaissance and Reformation.

He is married to the former Marianne J. Mattison of Des Moines, Iowa.